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A GENERAL DICTIONARY, Hiſtorical and Critical:

IN WHICH

A New and Accurate TRANSLATION of that of the Celebrated

Mr. BAYLE,

WITH THE

CORRECTIONS and OBSERVATIONS printed in the late Edition at *Paris*, is included; and interſperſed with ſeveral thouſand LIVES never before publiſhed.

The whole containing the Hiſtory of the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of all Ages and Nations, particularly thoſe of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, diſtinguiſhed by their Rank, Actions, Learning and other Accompliſhments.

With Reflections on ſuch Paſſages of Mr. BAYLE, as ſeem to favour *Scepticiſm* and the *Manichee* Syſtem.

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER BERNARD;
The Reverend Mr. THOMAS BIRCH;
Mr. JOHN LOCKMAN;
And other HANDS.

And the Articles relating to ORIENTAL HISTORY
By GEORGE SALE, Gent.

VOLUME I.

LONDON,

Printed by *James Bettenham*,

For G. STRAHAN, J. CLARKE, T. HATCHET in *Cornhill*; J. GRAY in the *Poultry*; J. BATLEY in *Pater-Noſter-Row*; T. WORRALL, J. SHUCKBURGH in *Fleetſtreet*; J. WILCOX, A. MILLAR, C. CORBET in the *Strand*; T. OSBORNE in *Grays-Inn*; J. BRINDLEY in *New Bond-ſtreet*; and C. WARD and R. CHANDLER at the *Ship* between the Temple Gates in *Fleetſtreet*, and ſold at their Shop in SCARBOROUGH.

MDCCXXXIV.

To the HONOURABLE

Sir *HANS SLOANE* Bart.

PRESIDENT,

AND TO THE

COUNCIL and FELLOWS

OF THE

Royal Society of *London*,

For Improving Natural Knowledge.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH You are ſo aſſiduouſly engaged in the moſt rational and moſt ſublime Purſuits, thoſe of the Mathematicks and of Nature, we yet preſume to interrupt them a few moments, in order to requeſt Your Acceptance of the preſent Volume, as the ſubject of it is the Lives of eminent Men, many of whom bear ſo near a reſemblance to Your Selves; that is, were Perſons who employed the Faculties they had received from Heaven to the nobleſt purpoſes, the enlightning their own Minds, and the improvement of Mankind; and who conſidered the Titles

Titles which Virtue and Learning give, as the moſt ſolid and valuable Diſtinction.

But a circumſtance which adds to the propriety of this Addreſs, is, that ſeveral of Your Predeceſſors in Knowledge will be the greateſt Ornament of our Performance. The bare Names of NEWTON and of BOYLE raiſe the moſt exalted Ideas, and image to us ſomething more than human. And here we very naturally might take notice of ſome of Your preſent Members, who are the Glory of their Age and Country, had we not preſcribed to our ſelves the ſame Law in this Epiſtle, as in the Work itſelf, not to celebrate any living Character, how conſpicuous ſoever.

If the Volume we now offer had been entirely of our own compiling, we ſhould not ſo readily have ventured to inſcribe it to a Society of Gentlemen, who are the Fountains of Learning in the Britiſh Kingdoms; but as the Dictionary of the great Mr. BAYLE makes ſo conſiderable a part of it, we flatter our ſelves that his Name will be a kind of Sanction to us on this occaſion; and that our Endeavours to give an accurate Verſion of his excellent Work, and to ſupply ſuch conſiderable Articles as were omitted by him, eſpecially thoſe relating to our own Nation, will be received by You with Candor, and plead for the Imperfections of,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient,

moſt humble Servants,

John Peter Bernard,
Thomas Birch,
John Lockman.

THE

PREFACE.

THE uſefulneſs and importance of an Hiſtorical Dictionary are ſo obvious, that the experience of every Reader will excuſe us from entering into an elaborate proof of that point. We ſhall therefore proceed directly to the conſideration of the ſeveral attempts, which have been made of that kind ſince the revival of Literature. The firſt Eſſay was that of CONRAD GESNER, in his *Bibliotheca Univerſalis*, publiſhed at Zurich in 1545 in fol. The learned NICHOLAS ANTONIO, Author of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Hiſpaniæ*, obſerves that this Work of GESNER is extremely dry and imperfect as well as erroneous: but this is by no means ſurprizing, if we conſider that he was the firſt, who attempted ſuch a deſign; that he wanted the proper Aſſiſtances for the execution of it; that he was engaged at the ſame time in other Works; and was obliged to uſe his pen as a means of ſubſiſtence (*a*). We have two Abridgments of this *Bibliotheca*, the firſt by CONRAD LYCOSTHENES at Baſil 1551 in 4to; the other by JOSIAS SIMLER with Additions, at Zurich in 1555, 1574, and 1583 in fol. The *Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary* of CHARLES STEPHENS, formed upon the Memoirs and Collections of ROBERT STEPHENS, was publiſhed firſt in the year 1596 in 4to, and afterwards in 1621, 1628, and 1633. This Work, tho' very imperfect and erroneous, was however well received by the Public. Our Countryman Mr. NICHOLAS LLOYD, Fellow of Wadham College in Oxford, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary Newington near Lambeth in Surrey (*b*), enlarged this Work of STEPHENS, and publiſhed it at Oxford in 1670 in fol. a ſecond Edition of which with great improvements by him was printed after his death at London 1686. This may juſtly be conſidered as the firſt Hiſtorical Dictionary, which was brought to any degree of perfection; for that of JUIGNE', publiſhed at Paris in 1664, and of which eight Editions appeared before the year 1673, is ſcarce any thing but a French Tranſlation of that of STEPHENS abovementioned. Mr. LLOYD's Dictionary, which was the reſult of thirty years application, was well approved of by the Publick, which was certainly obliged to him for the prodigious pains, which he had taken in ſo valuable a deſign. Nay we have been credibly informed, that Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD late Biſhop of Worceſter, whoſe character for Learning is univerſally allowed, had ſo high an opinion of it, that by frequent uſe he had committed the greateſt part of it to his memory. It was upon the plan of Mr. LLOYD's firſt Edition, that MORERI formed his Hiſtorical Dictionary, which was firſt publiſhed at Lyons in one volume in folio in 1674. Some time after he undertook a ſecond Edition much larger than the former, and began it at Lyons in 1681. But he died before it was finiſhed; and the ſecond volume, which is much leſs compleat than the firſt, was publiſhed by the care of Sieur PARAYRE. Since that time there have been a great many Editions of that Work in Holland, as well as in France, notwithſtanding the multitude of enormous errors in it, which are obvious to every man of a moderate ſhare of Learning. And that we may not be ſuppoſed to advance this out of mere prejudice, we ſhall preſent the Reader with the Judgment of ſome of the greateſt names in the Republic of Letters. Mr. MENAGE, who is diſtinguiſhed by the title of the FRENCH VARRO, tells us expreſly (*c*), that he would never venture to read that Dictionary, becauſe there are ſo many faults in it, that *if he ſhould once get them into his head, it would be difficult for him to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of them.* Mr. BAYLE has demonſtrated the erroneouſneſs of that Work in almoſt every Article, which is common to them both; and he complains, in his *Project of a Critical Dictionary* publiſhed at Rotterdam in 1692, of one great defect, which runs thro' the whole, and that is, MORERI's manner of quoting. "He heaps up, ſays he (*d*), all his quotations at the end of each Ar-
"ticle, without ſhewing that ſuch a thing was ſaid by this, and ſuch an one by that Author.
"He gives his Reader therefore a great deal of trouble, ſince he is ſometimes obliged to knock
"at five or ſix doors, before he can find the perſon, with whom he would ſpeak. This is a
"predominant fault in ſeveral other Books, the conſequences of which were well known to a very
"intelligent and judicious Writer (*e*); who has given us lately the Hiſtory of the Roman Em-
"perors. To this conſideration I add further, that MORERI advances a thouſand things, which
"we either do not find at all in his citations, or which he confirms by no authority, or which
"are mutilated in his repreſentation by the omiſſion of ſome circumſtances, which are the moſt eſ-
"ſential parts of the facts, and afford the greateſt ſatisfaction. To conclude, I ſay he does not
"always repreſent perſons by the moſt remarkable paſſages of their Lives." We ſhall add the opinion of one Writer more, the ingenious Author of the *Mêlanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature* (*f*). "He obſerves, that ſuch a Work as MORERI's required the abilities of a perſon converſant in all parts of Philology, of univerſal Learning, and well skilled in every point, which he treats of; in ſhort ſuch a man, as had the whole ſubject before him, and knew how to make a judicious choice of the Authors and Materials, which he employed. "All theſe qualifications, ſays he, were wanting in MORERI. He is a young man, who having no proper fund

(*a*) See Father Niceron's *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 17. p. 350, 351. edit. de Paris 1732.

(*b*) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 670. edit. 2d, 1721.

(*c*) *Menagiana*, pag. 27, 28. tom. 1. edit. 3. Amſterdam 1713.

(*d*) Pag. 387, 388.

(*e*) Mr. de Tillemont. His manner of quoting is with the utmoſt exactneſs.

(*f*) Publiſhed under the name of Mr. *de Vigneul-Marville*. See Vol. 1. pag. 361, *& ſeq.* edit. 4. Paris 1725.

"of

" of good ſenſe and judgment reads books in haſte, without taſte or choice, and writes down " every thing promiſcuouſly, which occurs to him; in ſhort he copies faithfully the errors of others, " to which he adds his own with a great deal of profuſion and generoſity. When he meets with " Authors, who expatiate upon mere trifles, he follows them in their impertinent excurſions; and when " he happens upon others, who are too ſhort upon ſubjects of importance, he leaves them unfiniſh- " ed, having neither genius nor capacity to ſupply their defects. The deſign of his Dictionary is " very good, and very difficult to be well executed, which is the caſe of all Dictionaries. But his " Work is ſo ill performed, that it deſerves neither the approbation of Men of Learning, nor the " application of thoſe, who would really obtain that character. It is only fit for the uſe of the " mere vulgar, to whom it is of no importance, whether they underſtand things or not. Nay a " famous Abbot uſed to call it, by way of peculiar diſtinction, *The Dictionary of the Vulgar* (*g*). " It is of dangerous conſequence to youth, and to ignorant people, who take all that he ſays " for Oracles. Inſtead of the pains therefore, which are taken to enlarge it, it would be more " proper to correct it, or rather to begin the whole again." Mr. LE CLERC indeed was engaged in the correction of this Dictionary; but, as we are informed in his Life (*h*), he found that it was impoſſible to ſatisfy the Men of Learning, unleſs the whole Work was begun abſolutely anew; and his other ſtudies and engagements would not permit him to attempt that, nor the Bookſellers ſupply him with the neceſſary books, or allow the time and expence ſufficient to bring ſuch a ſcheme to any tolerable perfection. He tells us likewiſe in his obſervations upon the Paris Edition of MORERI in 1699, which were publiſhed in Mr. BERNARD'S *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (*i*), that he aſſumes but very little honour on account of his corrections of that Author, and that he ſhould not have put his name to the Edition, if the Bookſellers had not in a manner obliged him to it: That he often told his friends, that he conſidered all the time, which he employed upon it, as almoſt abſolutely loſt: That very little glory could reſult from the caſtigation of a book ſo extremely full of errors, and which it was impoſſible to render uſeful to the Publick. He obſerves afterwards (*k*), that the reaſon of his ſpeaking with ſo much contempt of MORERI, in the Preface to his edition of him, was for fear his friends ſhould imagine, that he had an eſteem for ſo bad an Author, becauſe he had undertaken to correct him; for to value a bad book, is almoſt as great a reproach as to write one. He tells us likewiſe (*l*), that MORERI underſtood Latin but indifferently, and had not the leaſt knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues; and that his Work was not worth the pains of a more accurate correction than he had given of it, ſince the alteration muſt have been almoſt univerſal to have ſatisfied Men of true Learning; whereas what was already done was more than ſufficient for *a Dictionary of the Vulgar*, as this is juſtly ſtiled (*m*). All that he therefore did was only to correct ſeveral thouſand errors, which occurred to him, as he curſorily read it over; ſo that this Work ſtill continues very full of blunders, which are increaſed in every new edition by the perſons employed by the Bookſellers to ſwell it, rather than to make it uſeful to the Publick.

(*g*) *Le Dictionaire Bourgeois.*

(*h*) Publiſhed in Latin at Amſterdam 1711, p. 73, 74. See likewiſe *Parrhaſiana*, Vol. 1. p. 395, 396, 397. ed. Amſterdam 1699.

(*i*) *Mois de Fevrier* 1700, *Artic.* 7. pag. 212.

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 213.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 217.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 221.

With regard to the Dictionary, which has received the ſanction of Mr. COLLIER'S name, the greateſt part of it is a mere inaccurate tranſlation of MORERI, and conſequently labours under the ſame, or greater defects. And with reſpect to that part which relates to the Engliſh Hiſtory, it is very much upon a level for exactneſs with the reſt of the performance. This aſſertion is founded upon real evidence of the fact, and obvious to every man of Letters, who will take the trouble of examining it. However for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, we ſhall refer to a paſſage in Mr. BERNARD'S *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (*n*), which informs us, that when MORERI was firſt tranſlated into Engliſh, thoſe Articles only were ſelected, which were thought moſt eſſential, and related to the moſt famous Perſonages. Mr. COLLIER therefore found in him materials ſufficient for a Supplement; to enlarge which he made uſe of ſeveral other Authors, as BAYLE, BAUDRAND, HOFFMAN, CHARLES STEPHENS, &c. But he was leſs careful to correct their errors, than to copy them with the utmoſt exactneſs; and beſides, he fell into ſeveral other miſtakes for want of underſtanding the French Language ſufficiently. It appeared likewiſe very ſurprizing, that in giving an account of what MORERI relates in his Articles of CALVIN and CALVINISTS, he ſhould retrench the corrections of Mr. LE CLERC, ſince theſe Articles were tranſcribed from MAIMBOURG, who has been convicted of a thouſand falſities upon that ſubject. Mr. COLLIER having carried his *Supplement* no farther than the year 1688, it was continued by another hand, but in ſo wretched a manner, that nothing can be imagined more abſurd. We ſhall mention but one inſtance of this; he makes Mademoiſelle DE SCUDERY, who wrote ſeveral famous Romances, the wife of Mr. DE SCUDERY her brother.

(*n*) *Nov.* 1705, *Art.* 7. pag. 571, 572, 573.

But we now come to a Work of the moſt ſolid and inconteſtable merit, the DICTIONARY of Mr. BAYLE, which was ſo generally eſteemed, that it not only bore two impreſſions in his lifetime, in 1697 and 1702, but has ſince been reprinted at Geneva in 1715, at Rotterdam in 1720, with his Poſthumous Additions, (which were reprinted at Geneva in 1722 by way of Supplement) and at Amſterdam in 1730; and notwithſtanding the great freedom with which the celebrated Author delivers himſelf on all occaſions, yet a very beautiful edition of this Work is lately printed in France. And indeed it is a Library of itſelf, a noble Treaſure of Erudition, in which an account is given of the Lives and Writings of a multitude of remarkable perſons of different ages and nations (*o*). " It differs almoſt entirely from that of MORERI. It is a Dictionary of a new " and ſingular kind, and comprehends a prodigious variety of particulars. In the text or body " of the Articles, Mr. BAYLE gives a ſuccinct, though very exact account of thoſe perſons, whoſe " Lives he writes; but then he fully gratifies the Reader's curioſity by the remarks ſubjoined to the " text,

(*o*) *See* Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Life* of Mr. *Bayle*, prefix'd to the laſt French edition of his Dictionary.

" text, which are a commentary on it. He there draws the characters of ſuch perſons, relates the " particulars of their lives, diſcovers the ſeveral ſprings of their actions, and examines the judgment " that has been, or may be formed of them. He expatiates on the moſt important articles of Reli- " gion, Morality, and Philoſophy; and ſometimes the text ſeems to be written merely for the ſake " of the notes. The actions or ſentiments of an obſcure and almoſt unknown perſon give him an " opportunity of entertaining and inſtructing the Reader. Thus ſeveral articles, which at firſt ſeem " to promiſe little or nothing, are often illuſtrated with the moſt curious particulars. He has every " where performed the part of an exact, faithful, and diſintereſted Hiſtorian, as well as of an impar- " tial, penetrating, and judicious Critic, &c.

The uncommon applauſe which this Work ſo juſtly obtained, made thoſe of our nation, who did not underſtand the original, very deſirous of an Engliſh tranſlation; and accordingly it was tranſlated. But as this verſion was undertaken by ſeveral perſons, moſt of whom were not only unacquainted with the Author's ſtyle and manner, but unſkilled in the French, and even in their own tongue, it was univerſally condemn'd, eſpecially by the beſt judges, who were particularly offended to find the Work caſtrated in ſeveral places. Theſe defects were prejudicial to the Bookſellers intereſt, as well as highly injurious to the Author; and indeed the whole appeared to be an impoſition upon the Publick. And yet ſo great was Mr. BAYLE's fame, that this tranſlation, which was at firſt ſold very cheap, was afterwards purchaſed at an exorbitant price.

Beſides theſe great defects, the Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, and Italian quotations were not tranſlated; and there being a multitude of them, moſt of which are very curious, ſuch Readers as did not underſtand thoſe Languages, remained ſtrangers to a conſiderable part of the Work.

From theſe conſiderations we believed that a new tranſlation of this excellent Work would be acceptable. We have remedied the defects of the former tranſlation in ſuch a manner as we hope will prove ſatisfactory to the Publick. The verſions of the citations from the Claſſics, are borrowed from our moſt eminent Tranſlators, and where we had no tranſlations, we ourſelves have attempted them. With reſpect to the modern Latin, Spaniſh, Italian, and French Poets, cited by Mr. BAYLE, we either render them in verſe, or endeavour to convey the ſenſe and ſpirit of them in poetical proſe. This, and the prodigious variety of ſubjects, ſtyles, and eſpecially the quotations from the old French Writers, were almoſt ſufficient to deter us from attempting this tranſlation, though the inimitable Author himſelf had not been ſo vaſtly difficult.

But as Mr. BAYLE did not propoſe to compile a General Dictionary, and made choice of ſuch Articles only as beſt ſuited his views, or for which he had materials already prepared, he omitted a great many perſons illuſtrious for their rank and dignity, as Emperors, Kings, Princes, &c. or conſpicuous for their knowledge in the Arts, the Sciences, and Polite Literature. Mr. LEERS his Bookſeller therefore, ſoon after Mr. BAYLE's deceaſe, thought a Supplement of ſuch importance, that he reſolved to engage ſeveral Men of Learning in England (*p*), Germany, and Holland, to undertake each of them a certain number of Articles for that purpoſe (*q*). But as this Scheme was never executed, we have endeavoured to ſupply that omiſſion by interſperſing Articles of the moſt famous perſonages throughout the Dictionary of Mr. BAYLE, and have enlarged and compleated his Articles, wherever we apprehended them to be defective. But with regard to our Additions, our view has been to make the Work curious and inſtructive, rather than voluminous; for which reaſon we have excluded from them whatever relates to Geography, as being foreign to a Work of this kind. The new Articles are drawn up from the original Authors, (who are quoted every where in the moſt exact manner) without any regard to other Hiſtorical Dictionaries, unleſs to correct their errors; and entirely in Mr. BAYLE's manner, that is, with critical Remarks, printed under the Text, which will render the Work leſs voluminous; and theſe Remarks we have endeavoured to render agreeable by a variety of reflections of a miſcellaneous kind.

(*p*) Mr. Des Maizeaux receiv'd a Letter for that purpoſe.

(*q*) *See* Mr. C. Ancillon's Advertiſement prefix'd to his *Memoires concernant les Vies & les Ouvrages de pluſieurs Modernes &c.* Amſterdam 1709, in 8°.

We believe it may be juſtly affirmed, that no nation boaſts of a greater number of valuable Authors in every branch of Learning than our own; and yet no people have been leſs careful of doing juſtice to their memory. Some Eſſays indeed of this kind were attempted by JOHN BOSTON, a Monk of St. Edmundſbury in the year 1410, who drew up a catalogue of all the Britiſh Authors, and gave ſhort cenſures upon them; by JOHN LELAND in his *Collectanea*; by JOHN BALE in his *Summarium Illuſtrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum*, printed at Baſil 1559, in fol.; and by JOHN PITS in his *Relation. Hiſtor. de Rebus Anglicis*, publiſhed after his death at Paris 1619 in 4^to^. But as the lateſt of theſe Authors did not carry his account beyond the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, and all of them are extremely defective and erroneous, their performances muſt neceſſarily prove unſatisfactory to the Learned, as the Language which they wrote in, is unknown to the Engliſh Reader. Since that time Dr. FULLER in his *Worthies of England*, publiſhed at London in fol. 1662, has endeavoured to give an account of our Great Men both in Church and State; but as the late learned Biſhop NICHOLSON obſerves (*r*), " it was huddled up in haſte, *for the procurement of ſome* " *moderate profit for the Author*, tho' he did not live to ſee it publiſhed. It corrects many miſtakes in " his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, but makes more new ones in their ſtead.... His chief Author is " BALE for the Lives of his eminent Writers; and thoſe of his greateſt Heroes are commonly miſ- " ſhapen ſcraps, mixed with tattle and lies." Mr. WOOD, it is owned, has taken a great deal of pains in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*; but we may obſerve, that his deſign is limited to the Writers of the Univerſity of Oxford; and the greateſt part of thoſe, whom he mentions, are very inconſiderable, while

(*r*) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 1, pag. 14.

while the more eminent and valuable Authors are far from being repreſented in a juſt and full light. Add to this the general objection urged againſt his performance by Men of Judgment and Candour, that it is executed in a very looſe and inaccurate manner, with a manifeſt partiality through the whole, and without any tolerable method, or the leaſt elegance of ſtyle and compoſition. In ſhort, if we credit the abovementioned Author (*s*), "his books are little more than a medley of notes and ſuch informations as were ſent in from his ſeveral correſpondents, without being digeſted into any other method "than the throwing them under that particular Author's name, to whom they chiefly related." However we have made uſe of his aſſiſtance, wherever it was proper, as well as that of all other Writers, who can furniſh us with any lights of advantage to our Scheme. Beſides which we have had recourſe to a variety of materials, which lie diſperſed in Dedications, Prefaces, Funeral Sermons, Pamphlets, and other looſe pieces, the laſt of which enjoying generally but a tranſitory life, muſt be copied whilſt they are to be procured, otherwiſe they are in danger of being abſolutely loſt.

(*s*) Ib. Part 2. p. 231, 232.

Eaſtern Hiſtory is a ſpacious field, and furniſhes very entertaining and extraordinary incidents. The genius, turn of mind, manners and cuſtoms of the various nations it treats of, differ ſo much from thoſe on this part of the Globe, that an account of their moſt celebrated perſons cannot but pleaſe an inquiſitive, intelligent Reader. We hope therefore that our reſearches into that Hiſtory, ſince it is ſo little known among us, will prove agreeable; eſpecially as we have not barely had recourſe to D'HERBELOT's Dictionary and other Works on that ſubject written in the European Languages, but the Oriental Authors and Manuſcripts.

It may perhaps be expected, that we ſhould take notice of the objection which has been made to Mr. BAYLE's Work by ſome great and good Men, on account of the vein of unbounded Scepticiſm, and the ſallies of a looſe imagination, which he has indulged in ſeveral Articles. But as this relates to that Author only, whoſe Work we have no right to retrench any part of, we can only condemn whatever is obnoxious in it, and ſhould have taken the liberty of making ſome obſervations of our own upon thoſe paſſages, if we had not already been anticipated by a very eminent Writer, Mr. CROUSAZ, in a late book of his, entitled, *Examen du Pyrrhoniſme Ancien & Moderne*; whoſe Animadverſions, with thoſe of ſome other conſiderable Authors, we ſhall take notice of under the proper Articles of Mr. BAYLE. However we are confident, that no reaſonable complaint can be formed againſt any part of our own performance, as carried beyond the juſt freedom of reveal'd Religion, or inconſiſtent with the moſt ſevere modeſty. And we doubt not but that a juſt account of the Lives and Writings of great and valuable Men will prove of more real and extenſive advantage to the intereſts of Religion and Virtue, than all the efforts of Scepticiſm can to the contrary.

Thoſe Articles, the materials of which were received too late to be inſerted in their proper order, particularly the Life of Dr. ALLIX, will be ſubjoined to the end of every Letter, to which they relate. And here we cannot omit returning our thanks to ſome Gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed Genius and Learning, whoſe aſſiſtance and approbation we eſteem the higheſt compliment to our performance; and in particular to Dr. JOHN MARTYN, Profeſſor of Botany in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and F. R. S. to whom we are obliged for ſeveral Articles and Obſervations; eſpecially with relation to Phyſick, Botany, and other Parts of Natural Hiſtory.

As therefore we have ſpared no labour or expence to make our Work of advantage to the Publick, we hope, that the Learned and Ingenious will ſtill favour us with their encouragement; and not ſhew any regard to the malicious inſinuations of thoſe, who would perſuade them from the copiouſneſs of the firſt Letter of the Alphabet (which with the two following Letters form one third part of Mr. BAYLE's Dictionary) that our Work will ſwell beyond eight Volumes, to which we ſhall abſolutely limit it. And this cannot be conſidered as an inconſiſtency with our firſt propoſal of ſix Volumes; ſince each Volume will now contain but *nine* monthly Numbers, whereas it was deſigned before to contain *twelve*; which upon reflection we imagine would render them too large.

N. B. The additional articles are diſtinguiſhed with this mark, ☞; and the new Remarks inſerted in thoſe of Mr. Bayle are incloſ'd with two Crotchets, with a Star prefix'd, and concluding with CRIT. REM.

PREFACE.

MR. Bayle's Dictionary was ſo generally eſteem'd, that it not only bore two impreſſions in his life-time, in 1697 and 1702, but has ſince been reprinted at Geneva in 1715, at Rotterdam in 1720, with his poſthumous additions (which were reprinted at Geneva in 1722 by way of Supplement) and laſtly at Amſterdam in 1730; and notwithſtanding the great freedom with which the celebrated Author delivers himſelf on all occaſions, yet a very beautiful edition of this work is now printing in France. And indeed 'tis a Library of itſelf, a noble treaſure of erudition, in which an account is given of the lives and writings of a multitude of remarkable perſons of different ages and nations. "It differs * almoſt entirely from that of Moreri. 'Tis "a Dictionary of a new and ſingular kind, and comprehends a prodigious variety of par- "ticulars. In the text or body of the articles, Mr. Bayle gives a ſuccinct, tho' very "exact account of thoſe perſons whoſe lives he writes: but then he fully gratifies "the Reader's curioſity, by the remarks ſubjoin'd to the text, which are a commen- "tary on it. He there draws the characters of ſuch perſons, relates the particulars of their "lives, diſcovers the ſeveral ſprings of their actions, and examines the judgment that "has been, or may be form'd of them. He expatiates on the moſt important articles "of Religion, Morality, and Philoſophy; and ſometimes the text ſeems to be written "merely for the ſake of the notes. The actions or ſentiments of an obſcure and al- "moſt unknown perſon give him an opportunity of entertaining and inſtructing the "Reader. Thus ſeveral articles which at firſt ſeem to promiſe little or nothing, are "often illuſtrated with the moſt curious particulars. He has every where perform'd "the part of an exact, faithful, and diſintereſted Hiſtorian, as well as of an impartial, "penetrating, and judicious Critic, &c."

* See Mr. Des Maizeaux's Life of Mr. Bayle, prefix'd to the laſt French edition of his Dictionary.

The uncommon applauſe this Work ſo juſtly obtain'd, made thoſe of our nation, who did not underſtand the original, very deſirous of an Engliſh Tranſlation; and accordingly it was tranſlated. But as this verſion was undertaken by ſeveral perſons, moſt of whom were not only unacquainted with the Author's ſtyle and manner, but unskill'd in the French, and even in their own tongue, it was univerſally condemn'd, eſpecially by the beſt judges, who were particularly offended to find the Work caſtrated in ſeveral places. Theſe defects were prejudicial to the Bookſeller's intereſt, as well as highly injurious to the author; and indeed the whole appear'd to be an impoſition on the public: and yet ſo great was Mr. Bayle's fame, that this tranſlation, which was at firſt ſold very cheap, was afterwards purchas'd at an exorbitant Price.

Beſides theſe great defects, the Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, and Italian quotations were not tranſlated; and there being a multitude of them, moſt of which are very curious, ſuch Readers as did not underſtand thoſe languages remain'd ſtrangers to a conſiderable part of the Work. We have remedied this imperfection, and in ſuch a manner as we hope will not diſpleaſe. The verſions of the citations from the Claſſics are borrow'd from our moſt eminent Tranſlators; and where we had no tranſlations, we ourſelves have attempted them. With reſpect to the modern Latin, Spaniſh, Italian, and French Poets, cited by Mr. Bayle, we either render them in verſe, or endeavour to convey the ſenſe and ſpirit of them in poetical proſe. This, and the prodigious variety of ſubjects, ſtyles, and eſpecially the quotations from the old French writers, were almoſt ſufficient to deter us from attempting this tranſlation, tho' the inimitable Author himſelf had not been ſo vaſtly difficult.

From the abovemention'd conſiderations, we believ'd that a new Tranſlation of this excellent Work would be acceptable.

But as Mr. Bayle did not propoſe to compile a general Dictionary, and made choice of ſuch articles only as beſt ſuited his views, or for which he had materials already prepar'd; he omitted a great many perſons, illuſtrious for their rank and dignity, as Emperors, Kings, Princes, &c. or conſpicuous for their Knowledge in the Arts, the Sciences, and polite Literature. We have therefore endeavour'd to ſupply this omiſſion, by interſperſing articles of ſuch famous perſonages throughout the Dictionary of Mr. Bayle, whoſe articles we have likewiſe enlarged and compleated, wherever we apprehended it to be neceſſary. But with regard to our additional Articles, our view has been to make the work curious and inſtructive, rather than voluminous; for which reaſon we have excluded from them whatever relates to Geography, as being foreign to a work of this kind.

We have ſelected from the French, Italian, German, Dutch, *&c.* Hiſtorical Dictionaries, all ſuch particulars as we imagin'd would improve our plan: however, theſe Dictionaries were not barely tranſcrib'd, we having not only corrected the errors with which

they abound, but made very conſiderable additions to ſuch articles as we have extracted from them. The Reader will likewiſe meet with a great number of new articles, all which have been careſully drawn up from the original authors, and generally in Mr. Bayle's manner, that is, with critical and other remarks ſubjoin'd to the text, which will render the work leſs voluminous.

The French editors of Moreri's Dictionary being retain'd by the bookſellers of Paris, were more induſtrious to ſwell the work, than to make it uſeful to the Public. As to ourſelves, we are determin'd to inſert ſuch particulars only as we preſume may be eſſential. Theſe editors, who promis'd an Univerſal Hiſtorical Dictionary, confin'd it too much to the French Nation; whence it is that ſo many articles are there found relating to the genealogies of the families of France, and ſo few relating to other countries, eſpecially Great Britain and Ireland. We have therefore attempted to ſupply what was wanting on this occaſion, with as much brevity as was conſiſtent with our deſign, and have been particularly careful to do juſtice, ſo far as lay in our power, to the eminent men of our own country. We ſhall be greatly obliged to thoſe gentlemen who will furniſh us with Memoirs, and to ſuch as ſhall candidly point out any errors we may commit in the courſe of ſo laborious an Undertaking.

Eaſtern Hiſtory is a ſpacious field, and furniſhes very entertaining and extraordinary incidents. The genius, turn of mind, manners and cuſtoms of the various nations it treats of, differ ſo much from thoſe on this part of the globe, that an account of their moſt celebrated perſons cannot but pleaſe an inquiſitive, intelligent Reader. We therefore hope that our reſearches into that Hiſtory, ſince it is ſo little known among us, will be agreeable, eſpecially as we have not barely had recourſe to Herbelot's Dictionary, and other works on that ſubject written in the European Languages, but to the Oriental Authors and Manuſcripts.

Theſe Articles may perhaps ſeem a little diſproportionate to the whole Work, and eſpecially to the reſt of our Additions. But this was occaſion'd by the peculiarity of the Oriental Languages, which has brought a great many Names ſo forward in our Alphabet; whereas few of the Articles relating to European Hiſtory, and particularly to that of our own Countrymen, could poſſibly be introduced in this firſt number. But we aſſure the Reader, that a principal regard ſhall hereafter be had to the latter, as they come in order; and that none of the former kind ſhall be inſerted, but what are remarkably entertaining and important.

This may ſuffice concerning our general plan; and we hope that what we now offer to the Reader will not fall below it with reſpect either to the Matter or the Execution; tho' ſome allowances might juſtly be claim'd from the conſideration of the difficulties, which we muſt unavoidably have met with at the firſt ſettling and digeſting ſo comprehenſive and arduous a Work.

We cannot here avoid taking notice of the uſage which we have met with from the Undertakers of a pretended Tranſlation of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, who have endeavour'd, by all the artifices imaginable, to prevent the public from knowing any thing of our Deſign. Does not this conduct betray an extreme diffidence of their own Verſion? And muſt not ſuch a Partiality make all their ſubſequent efforts againſt us ineffectual with all perſons of judgment and candor? And ſince they have thus appear'd the Aggreſſors, we may be allow'd to ſay, that it was imprudent as well as unjuſt in them to give us ſo much occaſion of Reſentment, whilſt their own Tranſlation is ſo obnoxious to cenſure, with regard to the Inaccuracies of the Style, the flagrant Miſtakes of the Original, and the falſe tranſlations of the Latin, Greek, and Italian Quotations. This every one will be convinc'd of from a few curſory Obſervations we have made upon their firſt Number, of which we ſhall give a ſhort Specimen; tho' a ſlight Attention in their Readers might have ſpar'd us this trouble.

But we ſhall premiſe this general Remark concerning their pretended Tranſlation, upon the moſt candid and impartial view of it, that 'tis either a Tranſcript of the former with its Errors, and a few ſlight Alterations in the Style; or that wherever a new Verſion is attempted, it has added new Blunders to the former.

N. B. The additional articles are diſtinguiſhed with this mark, ☞; and the new Remarks inſerted in thoſe of Mr. Bayle are inclos'd within two Crotchets, with a Star prefix'd, and conclude with CRIT. REM.

P. 68. Note [*A*], col. 2. for *critiques* read *critics*.

CONDITIONS.

I. The whole Work ſhall contain ſix Volumes in Folio.

II. Twenty Sheets ſhall be publiſh'd monthly, which will be ſent regularly to the Houſes of thoſe Perſons who will pleaſe to encourage this Undertaking.

III. The Price of every twenty Sheets will be Three Shillings and Six Pence, which it is preſumed will not be thought unreaſonable, conſidering the Labour ſuch a Work requires, and the Number of Books in moſt Languages that have been purchaſed to complete it.

Such Perſons as are willing to promote this Undertaking, are deſir'd to ſend in their Names and Places of Abode to NICHOLAS PREVOST, againſt Southampton-ſtreet in the Strand.

The Original.	*The pretended Tranſlation.*	*Our Tranſlation.*
	Falſe Tranſlations of the Greek.	
	P. 17. Marg. Note (2) upon Note [*A*].	
ΑΒΔΗΡΑΣ ΚΟΡΑΣ.	*The Maid of Abdera.*	*Abdera the Virgin.*
	The context might have directed the Tranſlators to the true ſenſe of the words; for we are there told, that *the moſt learned Antiquaries* (the word in the original is *Medailliſtes, Medalliſts*) *underſtood it of Diomedes's ſiſter, who founded Abdera, and gave her name to the city.*	
	P. 4. Note [*B*] of the Article ABARIS.	
ἀιτροβατῶν τρόπόν τινα.	As if he had been *an inhabitant of the air.*	*He flew thro' the air, and over rivers, ſeas,* &c.
	They miſunderſtood the word ἀιτροβάτης, which ſignifies to *walk,* or *paſs thro' the air,* and not to *inhabit* it. Porphyry, in his Life of Pythagoras, tells us that Abaris had the ſirname of Αιθιροβάτης, *incedens per aerem,* i. e. *one who paſs'd thro' the air*; which epithet is analogous to ἀιτροβατῶν, which they render *an inhabitant of the air.* The old tranſlation has this paſſage more exactly.	
	Falſe Tranſlations of the Latin.	
	P. 26. Note [*D*].	
Poſt diſceſſum *ejus, qui mihi præproperus viſus eſt.*	After his *Death,* which ſeem'd to me too haſty.	After his *Departure,* much too ſoon for me.
	P. 27. Marg. Not. (*c*).	
Ut quoties mihi *a ſcholis reverſo* vacaret.	That as often as *ſhe was at leiſure,* upon my return from the Schools.	*As often as I was at leiſure, upon my return from the Schools.*
	P. 28. Note [*H*].	
Crebriùs oculos amor in ſe reflectebat quam lectio in Scripturam *dirigebat.*	Love oftner turn'd my eyes on her, than the *Intention of Reading* directed them to the *Scripture.*	We gaz'd more frequently on one another, than on the *Leſſon.*
	Here *Scriptura* is tranſlated *Scripture,* which it never ſignifies, unleſs the epithet *Sacra* be added to it. It means only *Writing.*	
	P. 21. Note [*B*].	
Ex noſtrorum *animadverſionibus.*	*My* Animadverſions.	The Animadverſions *of Proteſtants.*
	Noſtrorum here means *thoſe of our Religion,* &c. as appears from the Context. The ſame Error occurs in the Verſion of the Quotation that immediately follows, where *ex* ſuorum, *hoc eſt* Hæreticorum *hominum animadverſionibus,* is render'd *his own,* that is, *the Animadverſions of* an Heretic.	
	P. 23. Note [*B*]. ABEL.	
Rabbini, & *ex iis* Calvinus.	The Rabbins, *and among them Calvinus.*	The Rabbins, *and after them* Calvin.
	This ſuppoſes *Calvin* to be a *Rabbin*; and it is plain they knew not who he was, when they call'd him *Calvinus,* contrary to the general cuſtom of our Engliſh Writers.	
	P. 32. Note [*Y*].	
Scilicet ut ipſi prævalentes me *interficiant.*	To ſuffer them to *prevail over me.*	And they ſhould ſo far *prevail as to kill me.*
	Here the moſt eſſential Word, *interficiant, kill me,* is entirely omitted in the Tranſlation.	
	Falſe Tranſlations of the Italian.	
	P. 14. Not. [*C*] of ABDAS.	
Per innanzi vi contentavate *d'un poco di licenza*; hora, la volete *del pari*; fra poco, vorrete *eſſer ſoli, & cacciar noi altri fuori del regno.*	The Tranſlation of this paſſage is full of Blunders; vi *contentavate* is tranſlated, THEY *pretend to be ſatisfied,* inſtead of, YOU *were ſatisfied. Hora, la volete del pari, then* THEY *deſire to be upon an equality*; inſtead of, *now* YOU *look upon yourſelves as equals. Fra poco, next,* inſtead of, *in a little time. Vorrete eſſer ſoli, & cacciar noi altri, fuori del regno.* THEY *aſpire to govern alone, and at laſt they would drive us out of the kingdom*; inſtead of, YOU'LL *be for reigning alone, and driving us out of the kingdom.*	
	Falſe Tranſlations of French.	
Fait par un Miniſtre Wallon, qui ne manque pas de ſe recrier ſur la hardieſſe que l'on a euë d'ajouter certaines choſes d'un côté, pendant que de l'autre on faiſoit des ſupreſſions. Double attentat: Verſion obreptice & ſubreptice; traditions pueriles inſérées: & néanmoins, on ne promet dans la Preface, &c.	P. 1. Note [*A*].	Written by a Walloon Miniſter, who does not fail to exclaim againſt the audaciouſneſs of thoſe, who thus added or ſuppreſs'd, as they pleas'd. A double crime this! an obreptitious and ſurreptitious Verſion, interſpers'd with childiſh traditions! at the ſame time that the Preface promiſes nothing but, *&c.*
	Written by a Walloon Miniſter, who fails not to exclaim againſt the impudence of adding in ſome places, and ſuppreſſing in others. But *he* is guilty of both: in *his own Verſion* he has artfully foiſted in ſome things, and drop'd others; beſides inſerting childiſh traditions; and yet *he* promiſes in the Preface, *&c.*	
	This is an egregious perverſion of the ſenſe of this paſſage, and ſuppoſes that the Walloon Miniſter had likewiſe given a Tranſlation of the Bible, and been guilty of the ſame faults which he had complain'd of in the old French Tranſlator; which is abſolutely falſe. The old Tranſlation of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, which the undertakers of the preſent *Compleat and Accurate* one have themſelves ſo highly condemn'd, has given the juſt ſenſe of this paſſage.	
	P. 23. Note [*D*].	
Préceda le mariage des deux freres.	His Death preceded the marriage of HIS *two brothers.*	He died before the marriage of *the two brothers.*
	His is not in the Original: the two brothers here intended are Cain and Abel; but according to their Tranſlation, the latter would be dead and married at the ſame time. The old tranſlation is right in this paſſage.	
	P. 23. Marg. Not. (22).	
Divers jeux *de Rhetorique.*	Some rhetorical *pieces.*	Several rhetorical *flouriſhes.*
	They were not entire *pieces* or tracts, but only ſome occaſional ſtrokes of Rhetoric introduced in one of the books of Biſſelius. The old tranſlation has render'd this better, *ſeveral rhetorical fancies.*	
	P. 24. in the Text.	
Mais comme on n'a que trop de panchant à enta*ſſer* ſupoſitions ſur ſupoſitions *afin de* faire trouver *du merveilleux* en toutes choſes.	But as we are apt to *fancy* we *diſcover* the marvellous *in every ſtory of this kind.*	But as men are but too fond of *ſtarting a numberleſs multitude of hypotheſes,* purely to *ſhew* the marvellous *in every thing.*
	Here *entaſſer ſupoſitions ſur ſupoſitions* is not tranſlated, and *afin de faire trouver,* is render'd *to diſcover,* inſtead of *to ſhew*; and *en toutes choſes, in every ſtory of this kind,* inſtead of *in every thing.* The old Tranſlation is much more exact.	
	P. 26. In the Text.	
Sous pretexte de quelques actions trés-ſales.	On pretence of *ſome ſiniſter management.*	Upon pretence of his having committed ſome *crimes of a very obſcene nature.*
	The old Tranſlation has render'd it much more correctly, *under pretence of ſome* very foul actions.	
	P. 26. Text.	
L'Ecolatre Anſelm.	*His Schoolmaſter* Anſelm.	
	His is not in the Original. ECOLATRE does not ſignify a *Schoolmaſter,* but a Canon, who holds a Prebend in a cathedral, by which he is oblig'd to teach Philoſophy and the *Belles Lettres* to his brethren, and the children of the Dioceſe. The old Tranſlators, probably, underſtood the ſenſe of this word much better than the preſent; tho' they have render'd it by a very unuſual term, viz. *the* Scholaſter *Anſelm.*	
	P. 27. Text.	
Abelard lui tendit des pieges par ces deux Endroits.	Abelard laid hold of thoſe two *Foibles* to enſnare him.	Abelard made theſe two *Paſſions* ſubſervient to his deſign.
	Here *Endroits* is tranſlated *Foibles*; and conſequently, according to theſe Tranſlators, *Fulbert's deſire that his niece Heloiſe ſhould be made a Scholar,* was *one* of *his two Foibles.*	
	P. 28. Text.	
Ils s'abandonnerent *d'autant plus à ces ſortes de plaiſirs,* qu'ils n'en avoient *point gouté auparavant.*	*He* indulg'd this pleaſure the more, as *he* had never before taſted it.	Having never taſted ſuch joys before, *they* abandoned themſelves to them with the leſs reſerve.
	The old Tranſlation is right in this paſſage.	
Il ne faiſoit plus que par maniere d'aquit *ſes fonctions publiques.*	P. 28. Text.	
	He *neglected* his public functions.	Abelard now *perform*'d his public functions *very carelefly.*
	The old Tranſlation is much more exact.	

The Original.	The preliminary Translation.	Our Translation.
Il ſe choiſit un lieu de retraite ſur les terres *du Comte de Champagne.*	P. 28. Text. He choſe a retreat *upon the lands* of the Earl of Champagne. *Terres* ſignifies the *territories* of ſome Lord or Prince, and not *lands*. Beſides, *to chuſe a retreat* UPON *the lands* of a perſon, is a very odd expreſſion. The old Tranſlation has render'd *Terres, Dominions*; which is more agreeable to the ſenſe.	He then withdrew to the *territories* of the Count of Champagne.
Lors qu'elle ne ſe trouvoit point d'humeur, ou que le reſpect de quelque fête ſolennelle lui inſpiroit *quelque ſcrupule.*	P. 28. Note [*H*]. When ſhe was out of humour, or the ſolemnity of a feſtival *inſpir'd* HIM with ſome ſcruple.... This ſuppoſes that Abelard chaſtiſed *her* on account of his own ſcruples. The old Tranſlation has render'd this paſſage right.	When *ſhe* was not in humour, or *was aw'd* by the ſolemnity of ſome feſtival.
Sous le nom de beauté.	P. 28. Note [*I*]. Under the name of *the beauty.* In the Original, *beauty* is repreſented as a perſon. The old Tranſlation is right in this paſſage.	Under the name of *Beauty.*
Le bien public obligeoit le Souverain.	P. 30. Note [*O*]. The public good oblig'd *the Sovereign* to uſe this indulgence.	It was neceſſary theſe things ſhould be conniv'd at for the public good.
Les Jéſuites ne plaiſent point là au Souverain.	Ibid. The Jeſuits there are diſagreeable to the *Prince.* In theſe two paſſages the Tranſlators did not conſider that they were ſpeaking of the *government of Venice,* where the words *Sovereign* and *Prince* are very improper.	The *Government of Venice* does not care for the Jeſuits.
Un Seigneur *Breton.*	P. 31. Note [*P*]. A *Britiſh* Lord. The word *Britiſh* can only be apply'd to *Great Britain*; whereas *Breton* means a native of *Britany* in France. The old Tranſlation has retain'd the word *Breton.*	A Nobleman of *Britany.*
St. Jérôme, dont l'amitié pour Paule ſervit d'entretien *aux médiſans.*	P. 31. Note [*T*]. St. Jerom, whoſe friendſhip for PAULUS SUPPORTED HIM AGAINST CALUMNY. Here *Paula,* a lady, is miſtaken for a man; and inſtead of St. Jerom's being *ſupported againſt calumny,* the caſe was juſt the reverſe. This paſſage, which is ſo wretchedly perverted here, is tolerably well render'd in the old Tranſlation.	St. Jerom, whoſe friendſhip for PAULA *afforded an ample field* for detraction.
Il ne ſe fit nul ſcrupule.	P. 32. Text. He made no *ſecret* of his marriage. The old Tranſlation has render'd this paſſage right.	His marriage did not raiſe the leaſt *ſcruple* in his mind.
C'eſt une marque *qu'elle avoit demandé cette faveur.*	P. 32. Note [*Y*]. *Probably* ſhe *might* petition for the favour. The old Tranſlation is right in this paſſage.	Which *manifeſtly ſhews,* that ſhe had requeſted it as a favour.
	Omiſſion.	
Non eſt, le deuſt-on vif bruſler, Comme un chevaucheur d'eſcouvettes.	P. 4. Marg. Note (3), upon Note [*B*] of ABARIS. Theſe two verſes of Villon are left untranſlated.	Tho' they ſhould burn him as a hag, He's none of thoſe ....
On devoüoit une perſonne, & puis on l'aſſommoit à coups de pierre.	Omitted in p. 20. in the Text, line 7, after the words *an act of religion.* This was omitted in the old tranſlation.	Who of a broomſtick make a nag. A perſon was devoted to death, and afterwards ſton'd.
	Ignorance in point of Learning.	
	P. 9. Marg. Not. (76). *Luneu* inſtead of *Luſneu. Banage* inſtead of *Baſnage.* Theſe errors are barely tranſcrib'd from the old Tranſlation, and ſhew that the Tranſlators very often did not even conſult the Original. Ibid. Marg. Note (*a*) in ABBEVILLE. Father *L'Abbé,* inſtead of *Labbe*; and ſo in every other place where he is mention'd. Such miſpelling of names creates great confuſion in Hiſtory. This name is right in the old Tranſlation. P. 18. Marg. Note 11. *Saumaiſe* inſtead of *Salmaſius,* as he is always call'd by us. P. 29. Note [*M*]. *Mr.* Wallis inſtead of *Dr.*; whence we may preſume that they knew very little of that great man. The old Tranſlation ſtiles him *Dr.*	
	Inaccuracies of Style.	
Dont l'imagination contagieuſe, & les paſſions vehémentes ſachent bien ſe faire valoir.	P. 19. Note [*H*]. Whoſe contagious imaginations and vehement paſſions *know how to gain ground,* &c. The former Tranſlation has made tolerable ſenſe of this paſſage; but here it is abſolutely unintelligible.	Whoſe infectious imagination and fiery paſſions *work in a proper manner,* &c.
S'il mourut vierge.	P. 23. Text. Whether he dy'd a *Virgin.* A *Virgin* is an expreſſion never apply'd to a man in ſerious writings.	Whether Abel dy'd *without having known woman.*
	P. 23. Note [*B*]. Adam and Eve left Paradice *in a ſtate of Virginity.* It is extremely improper in our language to talk of a man's being *in a ſtate of Virginity.* But perhaps they meant, that *Paradiſe was left in a ſtate of Virginity.*	Adam and Eve *did not know one another,* whilſt they were in Paradiſe.
Qu'il ſoit mort Garçon.	P. 23. Note [*D*]. Die a *Batchelor.*	Died *without knowing woman.*
Qu' Abel a été vierge, *Pretre, & Martyr; trois* qualitez, *&c.*	Ibid. That Abel was a *Maid,* a Prieſt, and a Martyr; upon the account of which three *Qualifications,* &c. Inſtead of *Qualifications,* the old Tranſlation has *Qualities,* which is much more proper.	Abel died without knowing woman, was a Prieſt and a Martyr; for which three *Qualities,* &c.
L'Ecriture témoigne qu'il perit avec effuſion de ſang.	P. 24. Note [*G*]. For the Scriptures witneſs, that *he died with effuſion of blood. To die with effuſion of blood* is a very odd expreſſion. The old Tranſlation has render'd it much better, *that he periſh'd by bloodſhed.*	The Scripture ſays, *his blood was ſpilt,*
Cherchant avec ardeur les occaſions de ſe ſignaler contre une Thêſe. *Embraſſer* la religion *des Chanoines Reguliers.* *S'il lui venoit quelque penſée, elle ne rouloit pas ſur quelque difficulté philoſophique; mais ſur des chanſons amoureuſes, qui furent chantées long tems en pluſieurs provinces.*	P. 25. Text. Greedily catching at every opportunity of *diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt ſome Theſis. To diſtinguiſh himſelf againſt ſome Theſis,* is a very whimſical expreſſion. P. 25. Text. Embraced *the Religion* of the Regular Canons. *Religion* is a Galliciſm for a *Religious Profeſſion.* P. 28. Note (1). If any *new thought came into his head,* it *turn'd* not upon any philoſophical difficulty, but *upon amorous ſonnets*; which were ſung a long time after in ſeveral provinces. The expreſſion, of *a new thought's coming into his head, which turn'd upon amorous ſonnets,* has ſomething of the jargon in it.	Seeking ſo eagerly to *ſignalize himſelf in diſputation* &c. Enter'd among the Canons Regular. If ever he *ſtruck out a new thought, it always turn'd on Love,* and not on an abſtruſe point of Philoſophy; and theſe *thoughts* he work'd up into ſongs, which were ſung for many years in ſeveral provinces.
Quorum etiam carminum, ſicut & ipſe noſti, frequentantur *& decantantur.*	P. 28. Note [*I*]. Many of which ſongs are *favourites. Favourite ſongs* is a common phraſe; but *ſongs which are favourites* is not Engliſh. Beſides, it is unaccountable how *frequentantur* in the original can poſſibly be tranſlated, *are favourites.*	
L'Abbé de S. Denis chaſſa les Religieuſes *d'Argenteuil.* *Il avoit lu quantité d'exemples de commerce impur entre des femmes & des hommes* mutilez. *Aimoit ſi ardemment Abélard, quoiqu'on le lui eût* châtré. *Fit tant peur à l'accuſé, qu'il* interjetta apel au Pape.	P. 31. Text. The Abbot of St. Dennis expell'd the *Religious* of Argenteuil. The old Tranſlation has render'd it *Nuns,* as it ought to be. P. 31. Note [*T*]. Having read many inſtances of criminal converſation between women and men, *who were diſabled. Diſabled* is a ſtrange expreſſion for ſuch a defect in men. The old Tranſlators have render'd it with more propriety, *mutilated.* Ibid. Fond of Abelard, tho' *unmann'd,* &c. *Unmann'd* is an unuſual term in that ſenſe. P. 32. Text. So terrified the accus'd, that he *interpos'd an appeal* to the Pope. To *interpoſe an appeal* is not Engliſh. The old Tranſlation has it much better, *he appeal'd to the Pope.*	The Abbot of St. Denis expell'd the *Nuns.* He had read of ſeveral men, who, tho' *mutilated,* did yet engage in an impure commerce with women. Had ſo violent a paſſion for Abelard, altho' he was *emaſculated.* Which terrified him ſo much, that *he appeal'd to the Pope.*
	Inverſion of Order.	
	The Articles ABDERAME and ABDERUS are placed before ABDERA, which is contrary to the order of the Alphabet.	

A GENERAL DICTIONARY, Hiſtorical and Critical.

A

AARON, High-Prieſt of the Jews, and brother of Moſes. As we have a copious account of him in the Pentateuch, in Moreri's Dictionary, and that of Mr. Simon, to give a large article of him here would be ſuperfluous. I therefore ſhall only obſerve, that his weakneſs in complying with the ſuperſtitious deſires of the Iſraelites, with regard to the golden Calf, has given riſe to a multitude of Fictions [*A*]. One Moncæius publiſhed, about the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, an Apology for Aaron (*a*), which the Inquiſition of Rome condemn'd, as Cornelius à Lapide the Jeſuit had foretold the author (*b*). 'Tis ſuppoſed in this Apology, that Aaron intended to exhibit the ſame image which Moſes repreſented ſome time after, I mean a Cherubim; and that the Iſraelites worſhipped it, contrary to the Intentions of Aaron. A Doctor of the Sorbonne, Canon of Amiens (*c*), completely refuted theſe Suppoſitions in 1609. According to ſome authors, the only reaſon of Aaron's criminal Indulgence on this occaſion, was, the fear he was under of being fell'd by the people; and that he hoped to elude their requeſt, by requiring the women to contribute their ear-rings, imagining they would chuſe to continue without a viſible Deity, rather than give up any of their perſonal Ornaments; but found however, that ſuch Minds as are intoxicated with ſuperſtition and idolatry (*d*), will ſacrifice every thing to their darling enthuſiaſm. The Scriptures don't any way favour the opinion of thoſe, who aſſert that the Golden Calf was only of gilded Wood [*B*]

(*a*) 'Tis entitled, *Aaron purgatus*. It was reprinted at Francfort anno 1675, in 8vo. The Leipſic edition of 1689, in 12°, mentioned in Tome 17. of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, is exactly the ſame with that of Francfort, except that the booksellers publiſh'd it with a new title.

(*b*) Cornel. à Lapide Commentar. in Exod. xxxii. 4. pag. 605.

(*c*) His name is *Viſorius*, and his book is entitled, *Deſtructio Pſeudo-Cherubi Moncæi*.

(*d*) Idem Cornel. à Lapide. ibid.

We

[*A*] *Has given riſe to a multitude of Fictions.*] I. Rabbi Solomon (1) imagined, that the calf which the Iſraelites worſhiped was a living animal; and that Aaron ſeeing it walk and eat like other calves, erected an altar in its honour, ſomething like which is related in the Alcoran (2). II. Several Rabbis to juſtify Aaron, relate, that he himſelf did not make the golden calf, but only threw the gold into the fire, purely to free himſelf from the importunities of the people: and that certain Magicians who mixed with the Iſraelites at their leaving Egypt, caſt this metal into the form of a calf. As the Scripture declares expreſly, that the calf was firſt caſt, and afterwards improved by the graving-tool, two things may be inferred; either that a mold was made in the form of the animal abovementioned, and the melted gold poured into it; or that the metal was caſt in an unſhapen maſs, and afterwards wrought into the figure of a calf by the Sculptor's hand. III. Many writers think, that Aaron did not make a whole calf, but the head only. IV. It is related (3) *That the aſhes of the golden calf which Moſes caus'd to be burnt and mixed with the water, that was drunk by the Iſraelites, ſtuck to the beards of ſuch as had fallen down before it, by which they appeared with gilt beards, as a peculiar mark to diſtinguiſh thoſe who had worſhipped the calf.* This idle ſtory is interwoven with the 32d chapter of Exodus, in a French Bible printed at Paris, in 1538, by Anthony Bonnemere; who ſays thus in his preface: *This French Bible was firſt printed in* 1495, *at the requeſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, Charles VIIIth; and afterwards reprinted with emendations.* It declares further: That the French tranſlator *has added nothing but the genuine truth, according to the expreſs terms of the Latin Bible; nor omitted any thing but what was improper to be tranſlated.* So that we are to look upon this fiction of the gilded beards as matter of fact, and another of the ſame ſtamp, inſerted in the chapter above-mentioned, viz. that *upon Hur's refuſing to make Gods for the Iſraelites, they ſpit upon him with ſo much fury and violence, that they quite ſuffocated him.* The book (4) whence theſe particulars are extracted, was written by a Walloon Miniſter, who does not fail to exclaim againſt the audaciouſneſs of thoſe, who thus added or ſuppreſs'd as they pleaſed. A double crime this! an obreptitious and ſurreptitious verſion, interſpers'd with childiſh traditions! at the ſame time that the preface promiſes nothing *but the genuine truth; and declares, that this tranſlation was not calculated for Clerks, but for the Laity, and for unlearned Monks and Hermits.* Theſe aſſertions aggravate the infidelity of the tranſlator; for perſons of erudition may guard againſt the ſnare, which the ignorant cannot. * [The Bible abovementioned was tranſlated by Guiars des Moulins, Canon of Aire in Artois, in the year 1224, with ſeveral gloſſes or inſertions in the text, taken out of Petrus Comeſtor's *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*. John de Reby, Confeſſor to King Charles VIII, and afterwards Biſhop of Angers, reviſed and corrected it by order of that Prince, and got it printed at Paris by Ant. Verard about the year 1487, and not 1495, as Jer. de Pours affirms. To a ſubſequent edition, printed by the ſaid Verard, was prefixed the Preface cited by de Pours. That Bible has been reprinted ſeveral times, with the ſaid Preface, before Bonnemere's edition of 1538. Le Long *Bibliotheca Sacra*. CRIT. REM.] To conclude, the ſtory of the golden beards is not the only fiction the Rabbis have palm'd upon the world. They tell us, that the water, impregnated with the particles of the golden calf, which Moſes forced them to ſwallow, had very near the ſame effect as the waters of jealouſy; for it made tumours and ulcers to break out on the guilty, but did not hurt the innocent (5).

[*B*] *That the Golden Calf was only of gilded Wood.*] 'Tis ſaid expreſly in the Scriptures (6) that it was a molten

(1) Cornel. à Lapide in Exod. pag. 605.

(2) *Aſcemeli Taurum fudit, corporeum, emittentem mugitum.* i. e. Aſcemeli caſt a corporeal bull that bellow'd. *Azora xxx Latini Codicis, xx Arabici*, apud Seldenum de Diis Syris, Synt. 1. Cap. IV. pag. 54.

(3) See Jeremiah de Pours' *Divine Melodie*, pag. 829.

(4) 'Tis entitled, *La Divine Melodie du Saint Pſalmiſte, by Jeremie de Pours*, and printed at Middleburgh, anno 1644, in 4°.

(5) See Salian, vol. 2. p. 165. Bocharti Hierozoïc. part 1. lib. 2. cap. 34.

(6) Exod. xxxii. 4.

We are not, I believe, to ſuppoſe that God ſuſpended the power of fire in favour of Aaron, as he did for the three Hebrew children who were caſt into the fiery furnace at Babylon; tho' this is the opinion of ſome Writers [C].

molten calf; and though they afterwards tell us (7), that Moſes burnt, and reduced it to powder, yet it does not neceſſarily follow, that this idol was formed of combuſtible materials; for it may ſignify, that Moſes melted down the gold again, and divided it into very minute particles, which being thrown into the water, became imperceptible, like thoſe which are ſaid to be found in the Tagus and Pactolus. So that Franciſcus Junius may be miſtaken when he obſerves, (8) *Quamvis non tam exiſtimari poſſit Vitulus iſte totus ex auro fuiſſe conflatus, quam auri laminis tantummodo obductus, cætera ligneus, ut quem S. Literæ tradunt combuſtum, atque in cineres verſum.* i. e. "But "we may rather believe, this calf was not wholly com- "poſed of ſolid gold, but of wood covered over with "thin plates of that metal; agreeable to what the "Scriptures declare, namely, that it was burnt to "aſhes." Franciſcus Junius had more reaſon to rank Aaron at the head of his catalogue of antient Sculptors, Architects, Painters, Statuaries, &c; a place this High-prieſt might juſtly claim by right of antiquity, had not the order of the alphabet given it him. This calls to my remembrance, what ſome writers aſſert, viz. that as Moſes had the art of making gold duſt, or calcining gold, he conſequently muſt have poſſeſt the greateſt ſecrets in chymiſtry. Several are of opinion, that Aaron only ordered the goldſmiths to caſt the golden calf, but did not concern himſelf with the work; and that Moſes did not command the Iſraelites to drink the gold duſt, but having thrown it into the brook, which was the only place they could drink at, 'twas therefore juſtly ſaid, that he made them ſwallow the idol they had worſhiped (9).

(7) Ibid. v. 20.

(8) In catalog. artificium, pag. 1.

(9) See Rivetus on Exod. xxxii. tom. 1. p. 1184.

[C] *Though this is the opinion of ſome Writers.*] Father Nodin a Franciſcan Friar, and Doctor of Divinity of the faculty of Paris, aſſerts, that the miracle of the burning buſh at Horeb, which remained unconſumed, though ſurrounded with flames (10), was repeated ſome time after, viz. when the fire killed the ſons of Aaron, without damaging their inward garments; and again, when Aaron ſtopt the plague which had carried off a great number of Iſraelites (11). *Sicuti factum eſt, quando egreſſus ignis à Domino Nadab & Abiud ignem alienum & prophanum coram Domino offerentes devoravit, id eſt, interfecit: veſtibus & tunicis eorum lineis intactis remanentibus. Idem judicium eſt de Aarone ſummo ſacerdote, qui citiſſimè profectus eſt ad populum, quem ignis egreſſus à facie Domini interficiebat: ſtetitque illæſus inter mortuos ac viventes, licet eſſet in medio flammæ fulgentiſſimæ & flagrantiſſimæ, ſecundum Joſephum. Lib.* IV. *Antiquit. Cap.* III. (12.) That is, "As it came to paſs, "when fire ſent from the Lord, devoured Nadab and "Abihu who were offering ſtrange and profane fire "before the Lord, without touching their coats or "linnen garments: And as it happened to Aaron the "high prieſt, when running out to the people, whom "fire ſtreaming from the face of the Lord was ſlaying, "he yet ſtood unhurt amidſt the living and the dead, "although ſurrounded with fiercely-blazing flames, as "Joſephus tells us, Book IV. Ch. 3. of his Antiquities." Nodin adds to this, among other examples, that of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, who came unhurt out of the fiery furnace. The reader will take particular notice, that this Friar does not quote the Scriptures, but Joſephus, for thoſe particulars which relate to Aaron; and that the Scripture (13) does not inform us, whether the plague that had ſwept away 14700 perſons, and which Aaron ſtopt, was a miraculous fire, or ſome other thing. The Jewiſh Hiſtorian has ſuppreſs'd this miracle, and mentions only the fire which conſumed the two hundred and fifty men who were offering incenſe. The Scriptures ſpeak of it alſo (14), but as an incident that preceded the havock which Aaron ſtopt. Note, that Joſephus obſerves only this, that the miraculous fire which conſumed Korah and the two hundred and fifty men, did not hurt Aaron; but does not mention any of thoſe circumſtances, for which Nodin calls on his teſtimony. Here follows his own words: Ἀφ' οὗ πάντες, οἵ τε διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἅιξαντος ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐφθάρησαν ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι· περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρὼν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβείς, τῷ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν οὐς ἔθελ καιειν ἀπείργοντα (15). "By the force and violence of which "(fire) the two hundred and fifty men, together with "Korah, were ſo effectually conſumed, that not the "leaſt remains of their bodies could be found; Aaron "only continued unhurt, as a manifeſt ſign that this "fire came from God." Joſephus juſtly acknowledges the finger of God on this occaſion; but does not ſpecify whether the fire immediately touched Aaron's body, or that God only prevented his going near to it. Father Nodin ſhould not therefore have deſcended from generals to particulars, nor have cited the Jewiſh Hiſtorian to this purpoſe. Moſt faults of this kind, of which there are innumerable in books, are owing, either to authors not conſulting Originals, or to their preſumption in diſguiſing them by paraphraſes, the better to adapt them to their own hypotheſes.

(10) Exod. iii. 2.

(11) Levitic. x. 2. & 5.

(12) Joan. Nodin. Commentar. in Exod. iii. pag. 142. col. 2.

(13) Num. xvi. 46. & ſeq.

(14) Ibid. xvi. 35.

(15) Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. iv. cap. 3. pag. 107, G.

☞AARON, whoſe name ſignifies a *Mountain*, or a *ſtrong Mountain*, the firſt High-Prieſt of the Jews, was by the father's ſide great-grandſon, and by the mother's grandſon of Levi; for his father Amram, the ſon of Cohath, the ſon of Levi, married Jochebed his aunt who was the ſiſter of Cohath, and daughter of Levi. (Exod. vi. 20. Num. xxvi. 59.) He was born in Egypt three years before Moſes, eighty three years before the children of Iſrael went out of that Land, A. M. 2430, of the Julian Period 3140, before Chriſt 1574. He married Eliſabeth daughter of Amminadab, and ſiſter to Nahſhon, of the tribe of Judah. God having choſen Moſes to deliver the Iſraelites from the bondage of Egypt, made choice of Aaron to addreſs Pharaoh, becauſe Moſes having an impediment in his ſpeech, could not ſo well expreſs himſelf. Aaron, by God's command, met Moſes at the foot of Mount Horeb, and they went together into Egypt, to deliver the children of Iſrael. Aaron always accompanied his brother, and ſpoke in his ſtead, either to the People or to the King. The firſt prodigies were perform'd by his Rod; it was changed into a Serpent; turn'd the waters into blood; fill'd the land of Egypt with frogs, and cover'd it afterwards with gnats. In a word, Aaron had a great ſhare in all that Moſes did to deliver the Iſraelites; the Scripture calls him *the Prophet of Moſes*; and he perform'd the ſame function after the People had paſſed over the Red Sea. He gathered the Manna into a veſſel, which was afterwards depoſited in the Tabernacle. He ſupported, together with Hur, the hands of Moſes, whilſt Joſhua was fighting againſt the Amalekites; he aſcended Mount Sinai with two of his ſons, Nadab and Abihu, and with ſeventy Elders of the People: but neither he nor they went up higher than half way the Mount, from whence they ſaw the Glory of God; Moſes and Joſhua only went to the top, where they ſtay'd forty Days. During their Abſence, Aaron, overcome by the People's eager intreaties, ſet up the Golden Calf, which the Iſraelites worſhipped by his conſent. Moſes being returned, upbraided him for it; but Aaron pleaded the

importunities of the people. All this happened in the third month after the Iſraelites were come out of Egypt. In the firſt month of the following year he was appointed High-prieſt by God, which function he executed during the time that the children of Iſrael continued in the wilderneſs. He died in the fortieth year after their departure from Egypt upon mount Hor, being then a hundred and twenty three years old, A. M. 2552, of the Julian period 3262, before the Chriſtian Æra 1452. With regard to the miracles performed by his rod, and the attempts of the Ægyptian magicians to imitate the ſame, we ſhall offer ſome remarks in the Note hereunder [*A*].

[*A*] *We ſhall offer ſome remarks in the Note hereunder.*] The Scriptures inform us, that when Aaron by Moſes's order, had caſt his rod upon the ground, it became a ſerpent; and when the Ægyptian magicians had ſucceeded in the ſame attempt, that Aaron's rod ſwallowed up all their rods. We find likewiſe that by means of their rods they produced frogs, and changed the water into blood; but their attempts to equal Moſes and Aaron in the other miracles of the ſwarms of lice, murrain upon the cattle, the plague of flies, &c. proved ineffectual, and they confeſſed that theſe were done by *the finger of God*; [אצבע אלהים הוא] *Atsban Elohim Houa*; *This is the Finger of God* (1). The *Targum* of *Onkelos* renders it, *This plague comes from God*; and the Arabic verſion expreſſes it, *A ſign of this nature is of God*. The names of the principal of theſe magicians were Jannes and Jambres, as we learn from St. Paul (2); and we find them celebrated both among heathen writers, as Pliny (3) and Numenius (4) inform us; and in the Jewiſh writings, who not only ſay they were *Principes Præſtigiatorum, The chief of the Magicians*, but alſo that they were the two ſons of Balaam. And Origen acquaints us (5), that there was a book written of them bearing this title, *Jannes & Mambres Liber*. Artapanus (6) calls them ἱερεῖς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν, *Prieſts of Memphis*; and Numenius, the Pythagorean Philoſopher abovementioned, ſays that they were, Αἰγύπτιοι Ἱερογραμματεῦσι, *inferior to none in magic ſkill*; *and therefore choſen by common conſent to oppoſe Muſæus* (as the Heathens call Moſes) *the leader of the Jews*; whom he ſtiles ἀνδρὶ γνωμῶν Θεῷ ἐυξαδαι δυναμενώτατῳ, *a man moſt powerful with God in prayer*.

A very learned author (7) tells us, that the original of theſe magicians ſeems to have been this; that as God admitted the holy Patriarchs to a familiar intercourſe with him; ſo likewiſe the Devil kept men in obedience to him by pretending to diſcover ſecret things to them. And when God was pleaſed to work miracles to confirm the truth, the Devil directed the latter how to invoke him for the performance of ſtrange things, which confirmed them in their error.

With regard to the *Enchantments*, which they are ſaid to make uſe of, if the Hebrew word came from *Lahat*, *a Flame* (*Gen.* iii. 24.) it ſhews that they dazzled men's eyes, and impoſed upon them by falſe appearances. But it may be derived from *Laat*, *hidden* or *ſecret*; and ſo intimate to us, that they uſed ſecret whiſpers or murmurs, as enchanters did, who were familiar with Dæmons; and thus it is expounded in *Gemara Sanhedrin* (8).

A late learned and ingenious writer (9) has obliged the public with ſeveral very curious remarks upon this ſubject of the Egyptians Magicians ſucceeding in ſeveral of their attempts to work miracles. He is not of the opinion that theſe wonders could poſſibly be done by any or all the powers of nature; nor does he agree with ſome authors, who imagine there was not any real tranſmutation, but that they played their parts as juglers, pretending to do what they did not, or that ſome Dæmons aſſiſted them to deceive the ſight of the beholders. For with regard to their impoſing upon Pharaoh by artifice and pretence, this muſt inevitably have given Moſes and Aaron an opportunity of detecting their impoſture. And as to their being able to exhibit the appearances of ſerpents, frogs, and blood, when no ſuch things were really in being, either by themſelves, or the aſſiſtance of Dæmons; this ſuppoſes them to have performed wonders, of which we can give as little account as of a miracle. But the queſtion will recur: If they had no myſtical arts to perform theſe things, how came they to ſucceed in the attempts, which they made in oppoſition to Moſes? To this our author replies. 1. That we have no reaſon to think that the King knew that the works, which he employed them to perform, were within the reach of their art; but rather on the contrary, he ordered them to try to perform them, that he might know whether art could effect them or not, or whether they were true miracles. 2. That it does not appear from the Magicians here trying the experiments, and ſucceeding in them, that they thought at firſt their arts would be effectual; but they would try all experiments in order to judge further of the matter, and upon their attempting, God was pleaſed in ſome caſes to give an unexpected ſucceſs to their endeavours, in order to ſerve his purpoſes by it. For 3dly, their ſucceſs was certainly unexpected, as evidently appears by their not being able to follow Moſes in all his miracles. When they attempted to produce the lice, they could not do it. It is here evident the Magicians did not know the extent of their powers, if they can be conceived to have had any; for they attempted to equal Moſes in all his performances, but upon trial they found they could do ſome, whereas in others, tho' not a whit more difficult, they could not obtain any ſucceſs at all. Had they had any effectual rules of art or ſcience to work by, they would at firſt, without trial, have known what to attempt, and what not; but in truth, they had no arts to perform any thing of this ſort. In ſome inſtances God was pleaſed to give a ſucceſs, which they little expected, to their endeavours, and which they were ſo far from reſting ſatisfied with, that they took the firſt opportunity, which was given them, when their attempts failed, to acknowledge that Moſes was certainly aſſiſted by the Divine Power.

(1) Exod. viii. 19.

(2) 2 Tim. iii. 8.

(3) L. 30. c. 1.

(4) Apud Euſeb. *Præpar. Evangel.* l. 9. c. 8.

(5) Tractat. 35. *in Matth.*

(6) In Euſeb.

(7) Biſhop Patrick *in Exod.*

(8) Cap. 7. n. 10.

(9) Mr. Shuckford, *Connection of the Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory*, Vol. 2. Book 9. p. 411, & ſeq. 2d Edit.

☞ AARON (Isaac) a Greek, was made priſoner at Corinth, when that city was taken by Roger King of Sicily, about *Anno Dom.* 1148, and carried into Italy, where he ſoon learn'd the language of that country, and afterwards ſerv'd as interpreter to the Emperor Emanuel Comnenus. His calumny occaſion'd the diſgrace of Alexis, a nobleman of the Empire, who had marry'd Emanuel's niece. However, this perfidy was not long unpuniſh'd, he being ſoon after convicted of practiſing Magic and Sorcery; a book aſcrib'd to Solomon, for the invocation of evil ſpirits, and a kind of tortoiſe, the image of a man, having irons on his feet, and his ſtomach pierc'd with a nail, were likewiſe found in his poſſeſſion: yet theſe crimes, how heinous ſoever, would ſcarce have loſt him the Emperor's favour, who himſelf was very fond of Soothſaying, had he not betray'd that Prince's intereſt, at the ſame time that, in his preſence, he interpreted his will to the Embaſſadors of the weſtern nations; and for this his eyes were put out. But his miſerable condition could not ſuppreſs his ſtrong propenſion to miſchief; for he inſinuated to Andronicus Comnenus, who had uſurped the government, that his enemies ought to be depriv'd not only of their eyes, but of their tongues alſo. But the conſequence of ſo wicked and barbarous a counſel ſoon prov'd fatal to himſelf: for Iſaac, ſirnam'd *the Angel*, drove Andronicus from the throne, and commanded Aaron's tongue to be cut out. See Nicetas, *Hiſt. Manuel. Comnen.* lib. 4.

☞AARON HARISCON, a learned Rabbi and a Caraite, wrote an Hebrew Grammar, entitled *Chelil Tophi*, that is, *exceeding fine*, or *excelling in beauty*. This Grammar was printed at Conſtantinople in 1581. Some authors believe this Aaron to be the ſame with Aaron the Caraite, who wrote a Commentary on the five books of Moſes, which is lodg'd in the King of France's Library, and in that of the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris. F. Morin *Exercit. Bibl.* M. Simon *Hiſt. Crit.*

" AARSENS (FRANCIS) Lord of Somelsdyck and Spyck &c. was one of the greateſt " Miniſters for negotiations the United Provinces could ever boaſt [*A*]. His father, " who alſo was a man of great abilities, enjoyed ſuch a poſt, as gave him an eaſy op- " portunity of providing an employment for his ſon [*B*]. John Olden-Barnevelt, who at " that time preſided over the affairs of Holland and all the United Provinces, ſent him " Agent into France. There he learnt to negotiate under thoſe profound Politicians, Henry " IV. Villeroy, Roſny, Silleri, Jeannin &c. and ſucceeded ſo well as to gain their applauſe. " He afterwards was inveſted with the character of Embaſſador, being the firſt who was " conſidered as ſuch at the French court, at the time when Henry IV. declared, that " the Embaſſador of the United Provinces ſhould immediately follow that of Venice. " He was afterwards deputed to the latter Republic [*C*], and to ſeveral German and " Italian Princes, upon occaſion of the troubles in Bohemia [*D*]. Beſides this, he " was

[*A*] *Was one of the greateſt Miniſters for negotiations.*] This his enemies confeſs; for when they declare, (1) *That he was the moſt dangerous ſpirit the United Provinces ever gave birth to, and was the more to be dreaded, as he concealed all the malice and knavery of foreign courts, under the falſe and deceitful appearance of the Dutch frankneſs and ſimplicity; that he was vehement and perſuaſive; could raiſe arguments to ſupport the worſt cauſes; had* (2) *an intriguing genius; and had held a private correſpondence with ſeveral great men of France, whoſe actions were not only ſuſpected by, but odious to the King*; and that having bribed the French Embaſſador's Secretary at the Hague, he got intelligence (3) of the moſt private deſigns of the Miniſters of that Crown: When, I ſay, they allow him theſe qualifications, they deſcribe him as a man infinitely capable of managing the moſt delicate negotiations and the moſt important embaſſies. By the way, du Maurier who inveighs ſo bitterly againſt this Stateſman, lets us into ſome circumſtances, which prevent our being prejudiced by his invectives; for he himſelf acquaints us, that his father and this Dutch Embaſſador, *had always been enemies* (4); that there was *an antipathy in their tempers, which nothing could reconcile*; and that *their ſtrong, reciprocal averſion was ever increaſing*. He even informs us, that on the 13th of Nov. 1613, his father made a ſpeech againſt Francis Aarſens, before the States General (5), in which *he reproached him, with ſpeaking irreverently of their Majeſties and the members of their council, who*, he ſaid, *were the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the liberty of the United Provinces*; and accuſed him *of audaciouſneſs, of uſing indiſcreet expreſſions in his common diſcourſe, and of ingratitude; repaying with inſolence all the kind offices which France had indulged him.* Here are antidotes ſufficient. 'Tis well known that large allowances are to be made, when a man is writing againſt his adverſary.

(1) Du Maurier's *Memoirs*, p. 376.

(2) Ibid. p. 378.

(3) Ibid. p. 384.

(4) Ibid. p. 388.

(5) Ibid. p. 381.

[*B*] *His father .... enjoyed ſuch a poſt, as gave him an eaſy opportunity of providing an employment for his ſon.*] His name was (6) Cornelius Aarſens, Regiſter of the States. Having known Mr. du Pleſſis Mornay at the court of William Prince of Orange, he deſired that great Man to let his ſon attend him, which he did; and young Aarſens continued ſome years with him. This gentleman underſtanding the French tongue, and the affairs of the kingdom, ſucceeded in 1598 to Levin Calüard, who died in the poſt of Reſident for the United Provinces at the court of Henry IV. Aarſens was the States Reſident till the year 1609; but a truce for twelve years having been agreed upon, in which Spain had treated with the United Provinces as a free people, he was recogniz'd Embaſſador by Henry IV. (7). *During his fifteen years abode in France, he received great favours and even honours from the King, being ennobled and created a Knight and Baron; and for this reaſon was afterwards received among the Nobles of the Province of Holland.* He afterwards became ſo odious to the French court, that if du Maurier is to be credited, they wanted to have him recall'd. See the Note [*D*] hereunder.

(6) Ibid. p. 377, 378.

(7) Ibid.

(8) See the Preface to the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, tranſlated by Amelot de la Houſſaye.

[*C*] *To the latter Republic.*] 'Tis to this period we muſt apply what Cardinal Pallavicino reproaches Father Paul with. He ſays (8), *That he has a letter by him of the Sieur de Zuilichem Secretary to the Prince of Orange, in which he declares, that happening to be preſent in Venice at an accidental interview of the Sieur de Sommerdick the Dutch Embaſſador, and Father Paul; the latter complimented this Miniſter with ſaying, that he was overjoyed to ſee the Repreſentative of a Commonwealth, which looked upon the Pope as the true Antichriſt.* It appears by the fragments of ſome letters, which the author of *Cancellaria Secreta Anhaltina* has preſerved, that Francis Aarſens had credential letters given him, which impowered him to negotiate in his way to Venice, with the Proteſtant Cantons of Switzerland, and that he received great honours from theſe. This was a year after the Swiſs Miniſters had been deputed to the Synod of Dort. *Gratias ſe imprimis egiſſe, quod civitates & oppida non catholica prædicantes ſuos anno* PRÆTERLAPSO *ad Synodum Dordracenſem dimiſerint* (9). That is, " He very particularly thanked the Proteſtant cities " and towns for ſending their Divines to the Synod of " Dort THE YEAR BEFORE.

(9) Cancel. Anhalt. p. 151.

[*D*] *Upon occaſion of the troubles in Bohemia.*] This was in 1620; and it is to be obſerved, " (10) That " the King of France ordered the Duke of Angou- " leme, the Count of Bethune, and Abbé des Preaux, " his three Embaſſadors, not to receive viſits from " Mr. Aarſens, who was ſent by the United Provin- " ces to negotiate with ſome German and Italian " Princes, upon the ſame affairs of Bohemia, for " which the Embaſſadors of France had been depu- " ted. The order which was diſpatched to them, de- " clared, that it was not deſigned as an affront upon " the States, with whom the King deſired to continue " always in amity; but was wholly levell'd at Mr. " Aarſens, for his having acted in a manner incon- " ſiſtent with the ſervice and dignity of his Ma- " jeſty. Thoſe who have any idea of the affairs at " that time, muſt know, that it was becauſe Mr. " Aarſens had headed thoſe perſons, who, in 1619, " oppoſed the affair, which Boiſſiſe and du Maurier, " the French Embaſſadors, ſolicited very warmly at " the Hague by order of their Sovereign." To theſe words of Wicquefort, let us add a paſſage from du Maurier which clears them up. *Anno* 1618, ſays he, *the King commanded Mr. De Boiſſiſe, to complain in his name to the States General, of a defamatory libel, written, ſigned, and publiſhed by Francis Aarſens; to the great ſcandal and diſhonour of the members of his Majeſty's council, for which no ſatisfaction could then be obtained* (11). It is probable this complaint was grounded on the French council's having been accuſed of betraying the King, by favouring the deſigns of thoſe perſons in Holland, who were ſecretly endeavouring to reduce again this Commonwealth under the Spaniſh yoke; for if du Maurier is to be credited, the uſual topic of Mr. Aarſen's converſation, the perpetual ſubject of all his writings, and of the papers poſted up in every ſtreet, was, that the Barnevelt faction held a private intelligence with Spain, in order to deſtroy the Reformed Religion in the United Provinces, and extirpate their liberties at the ſame time. On this occaſion it may be ſaid, *Se non è vero, è ben trovato*, " (Whether this be true or " not, it was a good invention)" ſuch an artifice as this, muſt give us the higheſt idea of Mr. Aarſen's vaſt abilities.

(10) Wicquef. *de l'Ambaſſ.* tom. 1. p. 658.

(11) Du Maurier, p. 362.

" was ſeveral times Embaſſador extraordinary in France and England [*E*], of which " he has left very accurate and judicious Memoirs. 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that the va- " rious inſtructions which the States gave him, and all the credential letters he carried " in his laſt embaſſies, were drawn up by himſelf; whence we may conclude, that he " was the ableſt perſon in all that country, not only for conducting of negotiations, but " for inſtructing embaſſadors what to negotiate upon. And indeed he did honour to " the States in all his embaſſies, and to the character with which they inveſted him: " nor have his poſterity any reaſon to regret [*F*] the years he ſpent in the ſervice of " his country (*a*). He died in a very advanced age; his ſon who ſurviv'd him [*G*] was " reputed the wealthieſt man in Holland, and has ſince been very well known by the " name of Monſieur de Sommerdyck (*b*).

(*a*) Extracted from Wicquefort's treatiſe on *Embaſſadors*, vol. 2. p. 435, and 436.

(*b*) 'Tis thus pronounced though written Somelſdyck.

[*E*] *Embaſſador extraordinary in France and England.*] He bore that character in England in 1620 and 1641 (12). The firſt time he was the principal of the three Embaſſadors; and the ſecond, the laſt time. In this embaſſy his collegues were, the Lord de Bredrode as firſt Embaſſador, and Heemſvliet as third; and the marriage of Prince William, ſon to the Prince of Orange, was the ſubject of their embaſſy. Aarſens was Embaſſador extraordinary in France in 1624 (13). *As Cardinal Richelieu had but juſt taken the adminiſtration into his hands, and did not know that his predeceſſors in it, had been diſſatisfied with this Embaſſador's conduct, he had a great regard for him; .... and knowing he was an able man, made uſe of him to ſerve his own ends.* Aarſens was appointed to go either into France or England in 1628; but not being able to embark becauſe of the ice, he returned to the Hague. Some dogs happening to throw him down, his enemies looked upon it as an ill omen. *Arſenius à canibus fortè occurſantibus in terram dejectus, Malevolis occaſionem præbuit ſiniſtra ipſi ominandi* (14).

(12) Wicquefort on *Embaſſad.* vol. 1. pag. 650 and 750.

(13) Du Maurier pag. 386.

(14) Barlæus, *Epiſt.* 76. p. 217.

[*F*] *Regret the years.*] Du Maurier tells us, that *Francis Aarſens left behind him an eſtate of an hundred thouſand livres per annum* (15).

(15) Du Maurier pag. 377.

[*G*] *His ſon who ſurvived him, was reputed the wealthieſt man in Holland,*] He was governor of Nimeguen, and colonel of a regiment of horſe. He left two ſons, the eldeſt whereof, Francis Lord de la Plaate, was drowned in his paſſage from England to Holland, in 1659, after having ſpent eight years in viſiting ſeveral parts of Europe. Cornelius, his ſecond ſon, went by the name of Sommerdyck. He was firſt a colonel in the Dutch armies, and afterwards governor of Surinam, whoſe garriſon mutinying, he loſt his life in it, anno 1688. He married the eldeſt daughter of the Marquis of St. André Monbrun, who brought him ſeveral children; and this Lady died at the Hague in 1695, or thereabouts. He had ſeven ſiſters, three of whom were married to perſons of quality; but the other four carried their ſuperſtitious devotion to ſo great an exceſs, that they follow'd Mr. Labbadie a ſchiſmatical preacher, as though he had been an Apoſtle (19).

(16) See du Maurier's *Memoirs*, pag. 387, 390.

☞AARSENS, or rather AERSEN (PETER) a Painter, called in Italy and Flanders *Pietro Lungo* or Long Peter, becauſe of his ſtature, was born at Amſterdam in 1519, of parents who came from Purmerendt, at a little diſtance from that city. His father who was a ſtocking-maker and ſettled in Amſterdam intended to bring up his ſon to his own trade [*A*]; but his mother finding young Peter had an inclination to painting, would never conſent to it; and ſaid to her huſband, that though ſhe ſhould be forc'd to ſpin always for a livelihood, ſhe was abſolutely reſolved their ſon ſhould purſue the genius he had for painting, to which the good man, for peace ſake, at laſt conſented. Peter Aerſen's firſt maſter was Alart Claeſſer, one of the moſt eminent painters in Amſterdam; young Aerſen had a pretty bold, free pencil from the very beginning, ſo that he ſoon got reputation. In his ſeventeenth or eighteenth year he went to Boſſu in Hainault, (the Governor of Amſterdam having favoured him with letters) [*B*], purpoſely to view the pieces of various maſters. From thence he went to Antwerp, where he ſtudied under John Mandin a Walloon; married, and entered into the company of painters. Aerſen was particularly famous for repreſenting a Kitchen, with its furniture, and alſo eminent for all kinds of ſubjects, of which his altar pieces, and (*a*) others, are a proof. An Altar piece of his, viz. a Crucifix, in which an executioner breaking the legs of the thieves with an iron bar, &c. was particularly admired, was deſtroyed by the populace, to the prodigious regret of the artiſt [*C*] who died the ſecond of June 1585 (*b*),

(*a*) Baldinucci *Notizie de' Profeſſori* &c. tom. 1. p. 299. printed at Florence 1728.

[*A*] *Intended to bring up his ſon to his own trade.*] Peter Aerſens would, in all likelihood, have been as unſucceſsful with the Needle, as he was happy with the pencil. There is an elaſtic power, as it were, in all great Genius's; and theſe whenever forced from their natural bent, either return to it or break. Nature will always diſplay her ſelf on ſuch occaſions, and if theſe perſons are obliged either through the frowns of fortune, or ſome other cauſe, to apply themſelves to things they were not deſigned for, life to them is a burthen; and if not enabled to purſue their talent, they pine away with regret. No lover can be fonder of his miſtreſs than they are of their darling ſtudy. Their whole ſoul is fixed upon it, and all other occupations are taſteleſs and inſipid. The parents of Nanteuil, who afterwards was a very famous engraver, were averſe to his practiſing drawing, but the boy uſed to hide himſelf in a tree, and there follow his favourite exerciſe (1). There are many inſtances of ſuch a fondneſs for the arts in all polite countries.

(1) *Reflexions Critiques ſur la Poëſie & la Peinture.* Vol. 2. p. 17. Dutch edit. 1732.

[*B*] *The Governor of Amſterdam having favoured him with letters.*] He probably was a patron to our young artiſt, which muſt neceſſarily fire an imagination like his. To ſee himſelf, though born of mean parents, ſo much taken notice of by a conſiderable Magiſtrate, muſt raiſe it to a pitch it would otherwiſe, in all probability, never have ſoar'd to. The ſmiles of the Great cheriſh a Genius, as much as the warmth of the Sun does plants. When an excellent artiſt meets with favour, how greatly is his fancy invigorated! Wings ſeem to be added to it, and he flies with the boldneſs of an eagle:

Singing, ſhe mounts, her airy wings are ſtretch'd
Towards heav'n, as if from heav'n her note ſhe fetch'd. (2)

(2) *Waller* to the Queen, alluding to the *Muſe*.

On the contrary, if he is neglected his imagination droops; he finds himſelf oppreſſed as it were with a dead weight, and cannot produce any thing, at leaſt not worthy of himſelf. *Nor is it ſufficient barely to reward a great Genius, but he muſt be recompenſed with diſtinction ... The Roman ſoldier would have deſpiſed the oak-crown, to obtain which he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, had it been partially beſtowed on the inglorious* (3).

(3) Reflex. Critique ſur, &c. ibid pag. 74.

[*C*] *An Altar piece of his ... was deſtroyed by the populace, to the prodigious regret of the artiſt.*] This noble piece of painting in the time of the inſurrection anno 1566, being ſeized by the rabble, the Lady of

1585 (*b*), aged ſixty ſix years. He had a mean aſpect, ſo that had it not been for his pencil, little notice would have been taken of him, he always appearing in a very deſpicable habit [*D*]. He left three ſons who were painters and raiſed themſelves in the world. Baldinucci *Notizie de' Profeſſori del Diſegno*, &c.

(*b*) Baldinucci ſays that Aerſen died in 1563; but as he alſo ſays that our painter died aged 66, there muſt be an error in the date 1563: not to mention that Baldinucci ſays afterwards that Aerſen was living in 1566.

Sonneveldt in Alckmaer offered two hundred crowns for its redemption, as the furious Peaſants were bringing it out of the Church; but they trod it under foot, and tore it into a thouſand pieces. Aerſen was deeply afflicted to ſee moſt of his beſt paintings treated in this ignominious manner; and uſed often to bewail himſelf, when he conſidered that his Name would be deſtroyed, as it were, at the ſame time with his productions. Of this he made ſuch heavy complaints to the populace, that they often were going to murder him (4). What pain muſt it be to a great artiſt to ſee his compoſitions, for which he probably hoped to have his name tranſmitted with honour to lateſt poſterity, tore to pieces by the rabble! Such is the deſtruction which is made by the barbarous Vulgar: their ſacrilegious hands often deſtroy in a few hours, what a ſucceſſion of the greateſt genius's had been whole ages in producing.

(4) Baldinucci ibid p. 299.

[*D*] *He always appearing in a very deſpicable habit.*] Aerſen was ſo negligent in his dreſs, that people who uſed to go to his ſhop to beſpeak work, taking him for the colour-grinder, or one in as low a condition, would ask him where his maſter was (5).

(5) Baldinucci ibid p. 300.

☞AARTGEN, or rather AERTGEN, of Leyden, was born in that city in 1498. His father, who was a wool-comber, obliged his ſon to follow the ſame trade till he was eighteen; when young Aartgen having given ſeveral proofs that nature had form'd him for Deſigning, and not for the mean employment abovemention'd [*A*], he was taken from it, and plac'd with Cornelius Engelhechtz; by whoſe care, the force of his own genius, and maturity of years, he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs in painting. Aertgen was very much eſteem'd by the painters of his time, and among others, by the celebrated Francis Floris, who having a great curioſity to ſee him, went to Leyden for that purpoſe [*B*]. Our painter never work'd on Mondays, always devoting to the bottle that day, which he and his diſciples ſpent merrily at the tavern. 'Twas likewiſe his cuſtom to ſtrole about the ſtreets in the darkeſt nights, playing on the German flute, which had like to have prov'd fatal to him, he being once very much wounded in the face, and twice in danger of being drown'd, in his nocturnal rambles. Aertgen loſt his life very unhappily in 1564 (*a*), being aged ſixty ſix years [*C*.]

(*a*) Baldinucci, *Notiz. de' Profeſſ.* Florence 1728. vol. 1. p. 349 & ſeq.

[*A*] *That nature had form'd him for Deſigning.*] The ingenious author of *Reflexions critiques ſur la poëſie & la peinture*, obſerves, that very few great artiſts in painting were ſons of painters (1). That the Genius of thoſe who are born to make a figure in the Arts and Sciences, viſits and takes them, as it were, from their fathers houſes, purpoſely to lead 'em to Parnaſſus (2). Roberval the famous Geometrician, when a child and keeping ſheep, us'd to draw mathematical figures on the ground with his crook, which pleas'd ſo much a gentleman who happen'd to obſerve the boy, that he took him from this humble way of life, and had him well educated (3).

(1) Vol. 2. p. 14. Dutch edit.

(2) Ibid. p. 15.

(3) Ibid. p. 17.

[*B*] *Floris went to Leyden for that purpoſe.*] He enquir'd for Aertgen's habitation, which was a little hovel, half ruin'd, and wretchedly ſituated near the city walls. Having found it, Aertgen was not at home, when Floris deſir'd the diſciples to ſhew him the room where their maſter painted, ſaying that he was come a great way to ſee his works. Accordingly they conducted him into an upper apartment, which was very mean. Floris view'd the paintings, and taking up a piece of charcoal, he ſketch'd on the wall, as large as it would admit, a St. Luke, with the ox's head and the painter's arms, and went away. Aertgen being return'd, and hearing that an unknown ſtranger had been there, he flew to the draught, and at firſt ſight cry'd, *This ſketch is ſo beautiful, that it muſt be Floris's*. Our painter being very modeſt, and entertaining a mean opinion of himſelf, was confounded to think that ſo celebrated an artiſt ſhould come to viſit him. Floris ſent for him, and being together, the latter ſtrongly ſolicited his brother painter to go with him to Antwerp; promiſing that he ſhould be richly rewarded for his labour, and not in the trifling manner, to the great ſcandal of himſelf and the profeſſion, he was at Leyden. Aertgen gave him many thanks, but declar'd, that he found more ſweets in his poverty, than others did in the greateſt riches. Floris hearing this, went away very much diſſatisfied (4).

(4) Baldinucci, ut ſup. p. 350, 351.

[*C*] *Loſt his life very unhappily, &c.*] Coming home late one very dark night, he had occaſion to eaſe himſelf, and pulling off part of his clothes for that purpoſe, he laid 'em on a wall, and went at ſome diſtance; but returning to take 'em, he miſtook the way, and fell into the water, where he was drown'd (5.)

(5) Ibid. p. 351.

L

☞ABADDON is the name which St. John in his Revelations (*a*) gives to the King of the Locuſt, the Angel of the bottomleſs pit. The inſpired writer ſays, this word is Hebrew, and in Greek ſignifies Ἀπολλύων, i. e. *a Deſtroyer*. That Angel-King is thought to be Satan or the Devil [*A*]; but the reader perhaps will be better pleas'd with Mr. le Clerc's opinion concerning *Abaddon*. He thinks (*b*) with Dr. Hammond, that by the Locuſt, which came out of the Abyſs, may be underſtood the zealots and robbers, who prompted by the Devil [*B*], miſerably afflicted the land of Judea, and laid it in a manner waſte, before Jeruſalem was taken by the Romans. Abaddon, the King

(*a*) Ch. ix. v. 11.

(*b*) Ham. on Rev. ix. and le Clerc's *Suppl.*

[*A*] *Is thought to be Satan or the Devil.*] Moreri ſays it expreſly, and Dr. Hammond agreeing with him in this, adds further, that this deſtroyer may be the Apollo of the Heathens, becauſe Apollo was their *Vejovis* or unpropitious God, and was ſuppoſed to be armed with a bow and arrows (1): but this opinion is juſtly exploded by Mr. le Clerc, as being grounded only on the near affinity there is, between the words Ἀπολλύων and Apollo: beſides, it does not appear that the Jews ever worſhiped the Roman Deities. I muſt obſerve by the way, that Mr. Le Clerc himſelf is guilty here of a miſtake, when he ſays, that John of Giſchala was at the head of the *Sicarii* or Robbers; Joſephus only ſays (2), that this Incendiary acted as King over part of the Zealots.

(1) Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* L. V. c. 12.

(2) *De Bel. Jud.* lib. iv. cap. 7.

[*B*] *Prompted by the Devil.*] All evil actions men commit, the Divines generally lay to the charge of the Devil, as though he were always hovering over the heads of men, and laying baits to enſnare them. How this is conſiſtent with the Providence, Wiſdom and Goodneſs

King of the Locuſt, may be John of Giſchala, who having treacherouſly left that town, a little before it was ſurrendred to Titus (*c*), came to Jeruſalem, where he ſoon headed part of the Zealots, who acknowledged him as their King, whilſt the reſt would not ſubmit to him (*d*). This ſubdiviſion of the Zealot-party brought a thouſand calamities on the Jews.

(*c*) Joſeph. *de bel. Jud.* lib. iv. cap. 2. Havercamp.
(*d*) Id. ib. c. vii.

Goodneſs of God, we ſhall not determine; but we would offer to the conſideration of Divines ſome paſſages of the New T. where it is ſaid, that *Satan fell from Heaven* (3), that *Angels, which kept not their firſt eſtate*, are *reſerved in everlaſting chains, under darkneſs unto the judgment of the great day* (4): methinks one may infer from theſe and the like texts, that the Devil has not now the leaſt power in this world; and that if *man is tempted*, it is, *when he is drawn away and inticed by his own luſt* (5).

(3) Luc. x. 18.
(4) Ep. Jud. ver. 6.
(5) James i. 14.

ABA (or rather ABAU) HANIFAH ſirnamed Al-Nooman [*A*] was the ſon of Thabet and born at Coufah [*B*] in the 80th year of the Hegira; this is the moſt celebrated Doctor of the orthodox Muſſulmans, and his ſect holds the principal eſteem among the four which they indifferently follow. Notwithſtanding this he was not very well eſteemed during his life, inſomuch that the Khaliff Almanſor [*C*] cauſed him to be impriſoned at Bagdat, [*D*] for having refuſed to ſubſcribe to the opinion of abſolute Predeſtination, which the Muſſulmans call Cadha. But afterwards Abou Joſeph who was the Sovereign Judge or Chancellor of the Empire under the Khaliff Hadi [*E*] brought his doctrine into ſuch credit that it became a prevailing opinion, that to be a good Muſſulman was to be a Hanifite. He died in the 150th year of the Hegira in the priſon of Bagdat aforeſaid. And it was not till 335 years after his death that Melick Schah, a Sultan of the Selgiucidan race built for him a magnificent monument in the ſame city, whereto he adjoined a college peculiarly appropriated to ſuch as made a profeſſion of this ſect. This was in the 485th year of the Hegira, and Anno Chriſti 1092.

Herbelot p. 21.

The principal works compoſed by this Doctor are, the *Meſuad*, i. e. the Foundation or Support, wherein he has eſtabliſhed all the points of the Muſſulman faith by the authority of the * Alcoran, and the Sonnah or Tradition. He alſo writ a Treatiſe entitled, *Filkelam*, i. e. of Scholaſtick Divinity, and a Catechiſm or Inſtitution of Religion, entitled, *Moallem*, i. e. the Maſter or Inſtructor; wherein he has aſſerted, *That a believer who perſeveres in the faith*, cannot be an enemy to, or hated of God, although he falls into divers ſins; that the commiſſion of ſins doth not (in ſuch) deſtroy the grace of faith; and that God's grace is not incompatible with the commiſſion of ſin. Theſe and

* or Khoran.

[*A*] *Al-Noman or Nooman* was originally the name of a King who firſt introduced the Tulip or Anemony, a flower appearing early in the ſpring, into Arabia; and thence the word. 'Tis ſaid that name was given at firſt to that flower, and hence our Abu-Hanifah ſeems to be ſo named from his being one of the firſt Doctors of the Muſſulman law.

[*B*] *Coufah.*] A city of Chaldea (or the Babylonian Irack) ſituated on the right ſide or nether border of the river Euphrates; its longitude, according to the Arabians, is 79 degrees 26 minutes, or as our calculation is 69 degrees; and hath 31 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, and diſtant from Bagdat about four days journey.

Khondemir in the life of Omar the ſecond Khaliff of the Muſſulmans writes, that in the 17th year of the Hegira, Saad the ſon of Abu-vacaz, after he had gained the battle of Cadeſia, took the royal city Madain and conquered the whole Empire of Perſia. Afterwards writing to Omar he tells him, that his Arabians could not bear the cold air of the city Madain, and deſired leave to build another city for them, which being granted he raiſed this city, the houſes of which conſiſting at firſt of joiſts and planks covered with earth was called Couſah, that word in Arabic ſignifying ſuch materials; and the ſame thing is ſaid in the *Tarik Glafari*.

(1) Herbelot, p. 277.
(2) Gol. *ad Alfarganum*. 125.

But others (1) derive the name from the hills of red ſand wherewith the plains near it are overſpread, and yet Golius (2) in his notes on Alfarganus ſays it had its name from the Rotunditates, either of its walls or of the mount that is in the midſt of the city; and that it was built ſoon after Batra by the Arabians, who built theſe and divers other cities in the beginning of their Empire, on the banks of both the Tigris and Euphrates, in order to ſubdue the Perſians.

Yet notwithſtanding this the Perſians ſay, and perhaps truly, that it was King Houſchenk one of their firſt Dynaſtæ named Piſchdarieus who built the city. But whoever founded it, 'tis certain that Abul Abbas Saffah, the firſt Khaliff of the race of the Abbaſſides made it at firſt his ſeat royal and the capital of his Empire; yet he afterwards left it and reſided at Aubat, and after left Aubat to reſide at Haſchemiah, which he himſelf had built.

But Couſah lies now in ruins, and is not conſiderable for any thing but only for the ſepulchre of Ali which is near it, and which the Schites his followers viſit with great devotion.

The Muſſulmans have a tradition that Noah embarked with his family &c. in the Ark at Couſah. And another, that the Serpent which beguiled Eve was baniſhed thither; but the occaſion of this latter was becauſe of the quarelſom and ſeditious, as well as crafty nature of the inhabitants (i. e. *ſons of the ſerpent.*) To this purpoſe the hiſtory of the Abbaſſides hath the following ſtory.

The inhabitants of Couſah being naturally difficult to pleaſe and of a tumultuous diſpoſition, were conſtantly complaining of their governors, and one day came to the tribunal of the Khaliff Ali Mamon with complaints againſt one of his officers, whom they charged with being no Muſſulman, but either a very Devil or one of the Devil's attendants. The Khaliff obſerving the impertinence of the charge, and that it conſiſted of nothing in particular, began to take his officer's part, and commended him, for having in the exerciſe of his office always behaved with juſtice, honeſty and integrity. Whereupon one who was ſpeaker for the Couſites replied, That what he ſaid, was indeed true, and that all they had ſaid againſt his officer was mere calumny; but, ſays he, as juſtice is due to every body, it was not juſt that the Couſites only ſhould have the happineſs of having ſo good and juſt an officer, and thereby deprive the other provinces of the Empire of ſo great and invaluable a bleſſing; and therefore we intreat your Majeſty, that you would ſend him to govern ſome other of your Provinces, that he may be equally a bleſſing to them as he has been to us.

[*C*] *Almanſor.*] See the article ABBASSIDES.

[*D*] *Bagdat.*] See the article ABAKA-KHAN. But a more ample and exact deſcription of this city may be ſeen in the annotations of Geor. Gentius to the *Roſarium Politicum*, pag. 581, where 'tis ſaid to be two days journey from Old Babylon, &c.

[*E*] *Khaliff Hadi.*] He was the 14th Khaliff of the race of the Abbaſſides, and grandſon of Almanſor. See hereafter.

and ſome other like propoſitions occaſion'd one Vazai to write a book againſt him entitled, *Ebtelaf abi Hanifah*, i. e. the Contradictions of Abou Hanifah.

But many illuſtrious Doctors have written the life of Abou Hanifah with high Eulogiums, and Zamakh Schari, Corderi, Marghinani, Deinouri, Sobahazmouni and Ebu Chalikan are of that number. Some have found his name in the Old Teſtament, and alledge, that he was foretold in thoſe Sacred Writings, as alſo by their own Prophet. All their hiſtorians agree, that he was greatly eminent not only in the knowledge but alſo in the practice of the Muſſulman law, for his life was very auſtere and abſtracted from the things of this world; and 'tis he whom they generally eſteem as the firſt chief Doctor or prime Imam of their law, and none but the Schütes or followers of Ali (of which ſect the Perſians generally are) reject this opinion.

Abou Hanifah, as is ſaid before, was a native of Coufah, and one Malek, who was head of another ſect was a native of Medina. Theſe two being once in familiar diſcourſe, Malek reflecting on the other's native place urged, that Ali ſpeaking of the inhabitants of Coufah, ſaid, they were turbulent and ſeditious; yes (ſays Abou Hanifah immediately) but the Khoran itſelf has charged thoſe of Medina with being hypocrites in religion, rightly inferring that this latter was much the greater crime. Lama gives us this little piece of raillery between theſe two great Doctors in his book entitled, *Deſter Lathaif.* cap. 1.

The author of *Rabilakbiat* relates the opinion which our Doctor had of the Sonnah or Tradition, in his own words, as follows. *As to thoſe things which we have received from God and his Prophet, we embrace them with an entire ſubmiſſion; and as to the things we have received from the companions or cotemporaries of the Prophet we ſelect only that which is the beſt; but as for the things taught by ſuch Doctors as have followed ſince, we look upon them as coming from men of like paſſions and miſtakes with our ſelves.*

Houſſain-vaez in explaining that verſe in the chapter of Amram in the Alcoran, where God ſaith *That he hath prepared Paradiſe for thoſe who reſtrain their anger and who pardon injuries* [F], relates an act of Abou Hanifah highly worthy our notice, viz. This Doctor having cauſeleſsly received a malicious and violent blow on the face, ſpoke thus to him that ſtruck him. *I could return you injury for the injury you have done me, but I will not. I could alſo inform againſt you to the Khaliff, but I'll not be an informer. I could in my prayers and addreſſes to God repreſent the outrage done me, but I will forbear that. In fine, I could at the day of judgment deſire God to revenge it, but far be it from me. Nay ſhould that terrible day arrive this very moment, and could my interceſſion then prevail, I would not deſire to enter Paradiſe without you.* An amazing inſtance of a calm, ſerene and forgiving mind. What Chriſtian could ſay more than this man practis'd? One of their Poets writing upon that occaſion ſays thus:

Vain man! don't think true valour does conſiſt
In an intrepid rage or brutal force:
Dare to ſubdue thy paſſions, and forgive
Thine Enemies; this valour's truly great;
It conquers Heaven.——

The moſt eminent ſucceſſors of this Doctor were Ahmed Benali, Al Giaſſas, and Al Razi, who was the maſter of Naſſari; and there is a Moſque particularly appropriated to them in the Temple of Mecca.

(9) *Roſar. Polit.* Muſladini Sadi p. 39 and 41.

[F] *Thoſe who reſtrain their anger &c.*] Muſladin Sade in his *Roſarium Politicum* (3) has a piece of hiſtory to this effect, viz. A certain King had ordered one of his captive ſlaves to be put to death; the fellow ſeeing no hopes of life ſell a railing at and curſing the King. The King not underſtanding what he ſaid, asked one of his courtiers that ſtood by, who being a perſon of wit and good humour, and willing to ſave the man, replied, This wretch ſaith, *Paradiſe is prepared for thoſe who moderate their anger, and pardon offenders*, and ſo flies to the gate of your Majeſty's mercy. The King hearing this, remitted the puniſhment and gave the man his life. Whereupon another ill natured courtier who hated the former cried out, That it did not become men of their dignity to tell lies in the royal preſence, and turning to the King ſaid, Sir, I will tell you the truth. That wretch has uttered moſt bitter reproaches and curſes againſt your Majeſty, and that Lord has told you an egregious lye. The King knowing the ill nature of this latter and that he hated the former Lord, replied, It may be ſo, but his lye is more acceptable than thy truth, for he has thereby endeavoured to ſave a life, but thou ſtudieſt to deſtroy it; haſt thou not heard of that wiſe ſentence? Better is a lie that works a benefit, than a truth that cauſes miſchief,

W.

ABAFFI, ſee APAFFI.

☞ABAKA KHAN, the name of the eighteenth Emperor of the Moguls, of the race of (Cingis or rather Genghis) Khan (*a*); which ſee hereafter. This Prince ſucceeded his father Holagou Khan in that Empire in the 663 year of the Hegira [A]; that is, in

(*a*) Herbelot. *Bibl. Oriental.* pag. 1.

(1) Herb. 445.

[A] *Hegira.*] This word in Arabic (1) ſignifies properly a flight or deſertion; but it is here, and now almoſt wholly apply'd to the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, to avoid the rage and purſuit of his enemies: and 'tis from hence the Mahometans in general compute the number of their years. Of this flight ſee hereafter in the article MAHOMET. But it appears in their hiſtories, that there was another flight of divers of his diſciples to Negiaſchi King of the Abiſſines, with whom it is ſaid Mahomet held a correſpondence, which may give us light into the meaning of that treaty or compact ſaid to be made between Mahomet and the Chriſtians which is publiſhed at the end of the ſecond edition of Du Ryer's *Turkiſh Grammar*, printed at Paris anno 1633, and runs in this form.

" Mahomet

in the year of Chriſt 1264: and as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, ſent one of his

"Mahomet ſent by God to inſtruct mankind, and "to declare his divine miſſion in truth hath written "theſe things. That the cauſe of the Chriſtian Religion being aſſerted by God himſelf, may remain "in all parts of the world, both in the Eaſt and in "the Weſt, as well among inhabitants as ſtrangers, "near and remote, known and unknown; to all thoſe "people, I enjoin the preſent writing to be obſerved "as an inviolable league, and to be kept as a moſt "ſtrict rule for the determining of diſputes, and for "aſcertaining what is law and right. Therefore whoſoever he be, that is a profeſſor of the Muſulman "faith, that ſhall neglect to perform theſe things, or "ſhall violate what is contained in this treaty in the "manner of an infidel, or who ſhall any ways raſhly "tranſgreſs it, whether he be a Prince or other perſon "among the believers and Muſulmans, he violates the "law, he contemns the will and rejects the covenant "of God. And by this treaty to which I am bound "(as the Chriſtians have requeſted) that I in the "name of my ſelf and of all my followers, would "enter into a covenant of God with them on the "evidence and teſtimony of the Prophets, the Apoſtles "and Elect, and of their holy, faithful and bleſſed "anceſtors and poſterity: I ſay, by this treaty, co"venant, or compact (which I will have kept with "as great obedience as that of a Prophet or an Angel "ſent of God) I promiſe that I will protect and de"fend their Judges, Magiſtrates, &c. within my "provinces, with my forces, and preſerve them &c.

He then proceeds with theſe further covenants, viz.

"To protect them, i. e. the Chriſtians, from their "enemies, both in peace and war. To preſerve "their churches, oratories, monaſteries and places of "pilgrimage. To defend their religion and their pro"perties with as much care as thoſe of himſelf or his "Muſulmans. To take them into his protection againſt "all force, injury, and oppreſſion; and by himſelf and "followers to fight againſt all that oppoſe him or "them, for that being ſet over them it is his duty to "keep them from all adverſity, and to ſee that no "injury be done to them but what ſhall be done to "him and his. That he will remove the grievances "they ſuffer by contributions and impoſitions. So "that they ſhall pay nothing thereof but of their "own free will. And that none ſhall trouble or mo"leſt them on that account (for refuſing it). That "no Biſhop ſhall be forced from his Biſhoprick, or "Chriſtian from his Chriſtianity, nor Monk from "his Profeſſion, Pilgrim from his Pilgrimage, or Religious from his Monaſtery; nor ſhall any Church "&c. be deſtroyed, or converted to a Muſulman "Temple. For whoever does this, violates the co"venant of God, reſiſts his meſſenger, &c. That no "payment ſhall be impoſed on any Biſhop or Monk or "any Perſon (other than ſuch as are bound to pay a ſum "certain by tenure) without their own conſent; and "that the tax laid on rich merchants, fiſhers of pearls, "poſſeſſors of gold or ſilver mines, or of diamonds, "&c. ſhall not exceed twelve pennies yearly; and this "only to be paid by ſuch as dwell and reſide con"ſtantly in a place certain; for as to travellers and "ſtrangers and thoſe whoſe reſidence is uncertain, "they are to pay no tax or impoſition, except they "poſſeſs lands of inheritance. But they who are "lawfully bound to pay, for their lands, a tax to the "Emperor ſhall pay as the reſt do, and no more; "nor ſhall any thing be exacted from them beyond "their power and ability. In like manner he that is "to pay for his lands, houſes or revenues, ſhall not "be burthened above what is cuſtomary, nor ſhall "he pay a greater tribute than other tributaries of "the ſame condition. Theſe confederates (Chriſtians) "ſhall not be compelled to go to war on behalf of "the Muſulmans, either as ſoldiers or explorators: for "theſe confederates are not bound to warfare, and "our contract with them is, that they ſhall not be "compelled thereto; but rather that the Muſulmans "ſhall guard and protect them, &c. Nor ſhall they "be compelled againſt their will to ſupply us with "horſes or arms, but whoſoever does voluntarily do "ſo, it ſhall be eſteemed a benefit, and he ſhall be "compenſated. No Muſulman ſhall infeſt the Chriſtians, nor contend with them but only in doing "good offices; but ſhall entertain them with all hu"manity, and no way trouble or moleſt them where"ever he finds them. If any Chriſtian has committed "an involuntary crime, the duty of a Muſulman ſhall "be to afford him his aſſiſtance, to undertake (be "ſurety) for him, and compound for the cauſe of his "misfortune. He ſhall endeavour to redeem his life; "nor ſhall he deſert him in his diſtreſs, nor withdraw "his help; becauſe by a holy contract I have ſo co"venanted with them, that they and the Muſulmans "ſhall both ſuffer and enjoy among themſelves equally "alike, &c. ſo that theſe ſhall partake with them in "proſperity and adverſity. Let theſe (i. e. the Mu"ſulmans) alſo take care that they uſe no violence in "the affair of matrimony, nor therein force any pa"rent to give him his daughter; nor ſhall any be "moleſted for refuſing or oppoſing ſuch eſpouſals: "for marriage ought to be wholly free, and to de"pend on the Parties will and pleaſure. And if it "happens that any Chriſtian woman ſhall live with "a Muſulman, ſhe ſhall have the liberty of her Re"ligion; to wit, to be directed by her own teachers, "and taught the doctrines of her own faith without "impediment: nor ſhall he trouble her, or threaten "to divorce her, or even ſolicit her to change her "faith; and if he does, he ſhall be eſteem'd as one "that lightly regards the covenant of God, a rebel "to God's meſſenger, and a perjur'd perſon. And "when any Chriſtian being about to reſtore a church, "church yard, or any thing neceſſary for his religion, "hath need of the munificence or aid of the Muſul"mans to that end, they ought to contribute and aid "him to their power, without expecting any reward "or return as a debt; but let it be done freely, as "thereby acting in purſuance of the covenant of God. "Let no Muſulman force any Chriſtian to do any work "or thing againſt his will; for ſuch a one is a tyrant "and oppreſſor, and an enemy to the meſſenger of God.

"Theſe are the covenants of Mahomet the Meſſen"ger of God towards the Chriſtians; and the con"ditions, to the obſervance of which I bind their "faith and conſciences, are theſe: No Chriſtian ſhall "privately or openly aid, or conceal, or harbour any "Soldier who is an enemy of the Muſulmans; nor "ſhall any ſuch enemy be protected or receiv'd, or "permitted to remain in their houſes, churches, "lands, or territories; nor ſend any aid or forces "to take, keep, or defend any caſtles or forts againſt "the Muſulmans; nor ſupply them with arms, horſes, "&c. and if invaded by ſuch enemies, they ſhall re"tire to [redacted] place to fortify it, and fight in de"fence of their lives and their religion. They ſhall "not deny to any Muſulman on his march, &c. "food for him and his beaſt for three days, *i. e.* "ſuch food as they themſelves do eat; but if he "does not like that, they may refuſe, &c." And if "any Muſulman ſhall be forc'd to lie conceal'd in "their houſe, they ſhall endeavour to preſerve and "deliver him from his calamity, by concealing him, "and no way diſcovering him to the enemy, and "thereby perform an act of duty" *&c.* . . . And after ſome other clauſes, concludes thus. "The witneſſes "to theſe covenants made by Mahomet the meſſenger "of God with the Chriſtians, and which they are "enjoin'd to obſerve, were,

"Abu Becre aſſadik.
"Othman Ben Afan.
"Moavia Ben abi Sofcan.
"Abu Adrin.
"Abdalla Ben Maſaud.
"Hamza Ben Abdelmottaleb.
"Zaido Ben Thabet.
"Harfus Ben Zaid.
"Saad Ben Moad.
"Aſamet Ben Zaid.
"Abdalla Ben Omar alæas.
"Haſan Ben Thabet.
"Aben Ben Alabas.
"Zaido Ben Arcam.
"Daud Ben Giobair.
"Abu Ahrifa Ben Oſair.
"Omar Ben-jamin.
"Caab Ben Caab.
"Omar Ben alcatab.
"Ali Ben abi taleb.
"Abu-addarda.
"Abu Horain.
"Abdalla Ben-alabbas.
"Fodail.
"Abdalla Ben Zaid.
"Alzobair Ben-alaüam.

Salvo Tenemento ſuo.

his Brothers to reſide at Derbend or Derbent [*B*], on the Caſpian Sea; and another of them into Choraſan, or rather Khoraſcan [*C*], to hinder the (*c*) deſcendants of Zagathai or Giagathai, alſo a ſon of Cingiskan, who then reign'd in the northern parts of Aſia, from making an irruption into the heart of his empire. He then declar'd Soungiak or Sanziak Nouian General of his army, and his Vicegerent or Deputy throughout his Empire; and made Schamſeddin *(d)* Mohamed both Grand Vizir or Lord Chancellor, and the chief of his Council. Whereupon Schamſeddin made his own ſon Bohaedden Viſir of Iſpahan, and his brother Ala-eddin Athalmolk Vizir of Bagdat. During the reign of this Emperor, the Muſulmans enjoy'd a great repoſe; he repair'd the ruins of Bagdat, and reducing his Moguls or Soldiers to diſcipline and order, and all his ſubjects enjoy'd the fruits of his wiſdom and clemency. Schamſeddin carefully executed his charge, and Athalmolk promoted his Prince's deſigns within his juriſdiction of Bagdat; ſo that in a ſhort ſpace people flock'd to that city from all parts; which not only ſoon regain'd it the ſplendor and glory it had loſt by the ſaccage and ſpoil of Holagou, but even advanced it to be an academy of arts and learning. On the contrary, Bohaeddin, who was Vizir or Chief-Juſtice, and had the government of Iſpahan, was ſo far from imitating the conduct of Athalmolk, that he exercis'd his office with great ſeverity againſt the inhabitants, and often involved the innocent with the guilty in his ſentences: ſo that his raſhneſs and cruelty occaſioned a general complaint of the people againſt him, which coming to the ears of his father Schamſeddin, he often adviſ'd him to moderate his rigour, and to ſpare the blood of his people; which good advice wrought no change in his conduct. But the Divine Juſtice ſoon overtook him; for he died very young. In the beginning of Abaka's reign, Barcah Khan, one of the deſcendants of Zagathai, or Giagathai above-nam'd, endeavour'd to enter Perſia by the Streights of Mount Caucaſus, where Schamat the brother of Abaka, who was poſted at Derbent, diſputed the paſſage; and gaining the victory, forc'd him to retire in diſorder, in the 664th year of the Hegira. But this defeat only enraged that prince the more; ſo that he ſoon after brought an army into the field, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand Horſemen; which had more than threaten'd Perſia with an entire deſolation, had not Abaka march'd with all the forces of his Empire to oppoſe it. For Barcah Khan had march'd this army thro' the deſart plains on the north ſide of the Caſpian Sea, call'd Kapgiack, and had forc'd thoſe Streights between that Sea and Mount Caucaſus, called *the Iron Gates*, and was got as far as the banks of the river Kyr, or Cyrus. When Abaka arriv'd at Teflis, the capital of Gurgeſtan, or Georgia, the two armies were ready to engage, when King Barcah, happily for Perſia, was taken out of the world. He being dead, his army disbanded, and all the Giagathaian and Kapgiak Tartars returned home with them.

(*c*) Vide infr.

(*d*) Vide infr.

In the year of the Hegira 666, (which is 1267 with us Chriſtians) Borak Oglan, who alſo was of the ſaid race of Giagathai Khan, ſent to the court of Abaka a perſon nam'd Maſſoud-Beg, who pretended to come with a congratulatory compliment from his maſter, but had in reality no other deſign than to diſcover the ſtate of Abaka's affairs, and to obſerve by what ways he might beſt be attack'd: yet he could not make his obſervations ſo ſecretly, but that a Soldier perceiv'd it, and gave advice thereof to Schamſeddin, the Lord Preſident of Abaka's council. This cautious Miniſter receiv'd the advice without giving any umbrage to Maſſoud, who was receiv'd and treated with the higheſt civilities; and after ſome ſtay took leave of the court, in order to return to

" Thabet Ben Cais.
" Othman Ben matun.
" Aben Rabiah.
" Giafer Ben-ahi-taleb.
" Talha Ben-abdalla.
" Saad Ben Abade.
" Sahal Ben Baida.
" Abu Alaalia,
" Haſchem Ben-aſſia.
" Caab Ben-Malec.

" May they all be the favourites of God.

" The Secretary hereof was Moavi-ben-abi Sofian, " a Soldier of the Meſſenger of God on Monday the " laſt of the fourth Month in the fourth year of the " *Hegira, at Medina.* May God reward all thoſe " who have atteſted this Writing. Glory to God " the Lord of the Creation.

Note, Herbelot, p. 30. cites a paſſage in the Alcoran, wherein Mahomed declares the Chriſtians of Arabia to be *Believers of the true Faith*; and it ſeems as if his doctrines were not repugnant to their Belief. See Maracci's *Alcoran*, p. 116, 132, 228, 704 and 793.

[*B*] *Derbent.*] A city ſeated at the foot of Mount Caucaſus adjoining to the Caſpian Sea, in Parthia or Perſia, but bordering on Georgia, and not far from the river *Kur*. 'Tis called by the Turks *Demir* (or *Temir*) *capi*, i. e. *The Iron Gates*; not that any iron gates are there, but by reaſon of the ſtrength and fortifications of the place; being formerly ſo ſtrong, and the paſſage there ſo ſtreight, as to have put a ſtop to the greateſt armies; but 'tis now in a declining condition, and the lower part of the city next the ſea is uninhabited. It it ſaid to have been firſt built by Alexander the Great, thereby to ſtop the paſſage of the Scythians and Tartars; but it ſeems to have been of greater antiquity, and to have its name Darabend from one of the Darius's Kings of Perſia. Its longitude is 80 d. 00, latitude 49 deg. 00.

[*C*] *Khoraſſan*] This is a Perſian word, compounded of *Khor* or *Khour*, which ſignifies *the Sun*, and *Aſſan, a place inhabited*, and is expounded *a place full of inhabitants towards the ſun's riſing*; the ſituation of this large Province being towards the Eaſt of Perſia, and bordering on the Weſt with the Perſian Irack, or Chaldea. *Vide ſupra.*

[*D*] *Bagdat.* This is ſtill the capital of the Babylonian Iraque, but not Babylon itſelf, nor near it, as ſome have imagined, this being ſituated on the Weſtern banks of the river Tigris, whereas that of Babylon is on both banks of the river Euphrates, and ſome miles diſtant. This city Bagdat was built by Almanſor Abugiafer the ſecond Khaliff of the Abbaſſides. (See Golius's *Notes* on Aſarganus's *Elementa Aſtronomica*, p. 121, 122. and *Hiſtor. Sacr.* Lib. 1. c. 3. alſo Herbel. in Artic. *Bagdat.*) Almanſor miſliking the city *Couſah*, which was built by his elder brother and predeceſſor Abu Suffa removed the people and ſoldiers hither, and made this the metropolis of his Empire. But this city ſoon extended on the other ſide of the river Tigris, being as it is ſaid about twelve miles in compaſs. Golius, *ſupra*, ſays, Bagdat is two days journey from *Old Babylon.*

[*E*] *Iſpahan.* See above and hereafter.

to his maſter King Borak, and inform him of what he had obſerv'd. He ſet out, and Schamſeddin caus'd him to be follow'd by ſome couriers: but Maſſoud was too quick for the purſuers, having had the precaution to appoint poſt-horſes to receive him at each ſtage of the road he took; whereby he eſcap'd the Vizir's deſigns: and Borak having got all the intelligence from him he wanted, ſoon diſpos'd of every thing ſo as to ſet on foot the project of invading Perſia, which he had for ſome time before form'd in his mind. Hereupon he rais'd a body of an hundred thouſand horſe, and having in the 667th year of the Hegira paſſed the river Amon or Gihon, he ſoon over-ran the large province of Khoraſan, where he found but a ſlender reſiſtance. But from thence entring into the Adherbigian, where Abaka kept his main forces, the Tartars were ſoon repuls'd, and in the following year the two armies fronted each other near Herat; where a fierce battle was fought, and victory having been long kept in ſuſpence, declar'd at length in favour of Abaka; who not only became maſter of the field of battel, but of all the baggage and ſpoil of his enemies. Borak after this defeat was obliged to repaſs the river Amon: and Abaka having left his brother Beuſchin with troops ſufficient to guard the Khoraſan, return'd into the province of Adherbigian. 'Twas alſo in this year that he ſent another of his brothers, named Mangou Timur, into Syria, to revenge the affronts and loſſes which the Moguls had ſuffer'd from the King of Egypt and Syria. To underſtand the grounds of which war, we are to know, that after the death of Malek Saleh the laſt King of Egypt of the Saladine family, Codouz, one of the Mamalucs or ſlaves of the deceas'd King, ſeiz'd on the Crown, caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of Egypt and of Syria, and aſſum'd the title of Malek Modhaffer. Then Holagou, Emperor of the Moguls, and Father of our Abaka, after he had taken Bagdat, ſent one of his Generals, nam'd Kelt-Boga, againſt this Sultan Maleck, who defeated that General in a pitch'd battle; but did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory; for Bondocdar, another ſlave of the late King Saleh, having raiſed an army, defeated him, and ſtep'd into the throne. This new King, before he would engage in a war with the Moguls, was willing to be an eye-witneſs of the ſtate and condition of their forces. To which end, he, with three or four ſelect perſons paſs'd incognito thro' the Mogul's dominions on this ſide of the Euphrates: and being returned into Egypt, he, by way of gallantry, diſpatched a courier to Abaka, who had then newly ſucceeded on his father Holagou's death, to let him know, that having lately taken a tour, for his diverſion, through Abaka's dominions, he had left at a certain Inn a jewel of conſiderable value as a pledge for ſome expences he had been at; and deſiring Abaka as a friend to diſcharge theſe expences and return him his jewel, Abaka returned a civil anſwer, and ſent him his jewel by an expreſs, who alſo brought back very obliging letters from the Sultan. Thus affairs paſſed between theſe two Princes without any war during Bondoedar's reign, and alſo that of his ſon Malec-Saleh. But this laſt reigning only two years, Seifeddin Kelaoun ſirnamed Alfi ſucceeded him; and it was during the reign of this Prince, that Abaka ſent his brother Maugou Timur with a numerous army into Syria in the year of the Hegira 669. But he had no better ſucceſs on this occaſion than his father, for his forces were entirely defeated by the Egyptians and their General ſlain. Shortly after this defeat there happened great troubles in the court of Abaka, for a certain Lord named Magdelmark Jezdi having, in concert with ſome other Grandees, done ill offices to Schamſeddin by influencing the Prince againſt him, that great Miniſter loſt daily more and more of his authority, and ſoon after his brother Athalmolk was impriſoned and charged with having defrauded the Prince; and whilſt matters ſtood in this ſtate Abaka died ſuddenly at Hamadau in the year 689 (which was believed to have been haſtened by a potion given him by Schamſeddin.) He left a ſon named Argoun Khan which ſee hereafter. But was ſucceeded by his brother Ahmed Khan, which ſee alſo. This Abaka Khan reigned ſeventeen years, and is by ſome authors ſaid to have been a Chriſtian; and thus far it may be admitted, that he joined with the Chriſtians in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in the city Hamadau ſome ſhort time before his death. But this does not prove his being a Chriſtian; it being common in thoſe times of brotherly love for Chriſtians and Mahometans to join together in keeping the ſame Feaſts, when each would complement the other with doing honour to his Feaſt.

He was poſſeſs'd of theſe great Provinces, viz.

Herbelot. 995.

1. The Khoraſſan, whoſe capital city was then Niſchiabar and hath ſucceſſively had four capitals, viz. Balkhe, Meru, Niſchiabar and Herat.
2. The Perſian Iraque, whereof the capital was Iſpahan.
3. The Arabick (or Babylonian) Iraque, of which the capital was Bagdat.
4. The Adherbigian or Media, of which Tauris was the metropolis.
5. The Province of Fars or Perſia properly ſo called, whereof the principal city was Schiraz, which ſome think to be the antient Perſepolis.
6. The Khuziſtan, or Suſiana, of which Schuſter (the antient Sufan) was the capital.
7. The Diarbekir or Meſopotamia, of which the metropolis was Muſſal or Moſul.
8. The Province of Rum or Aſia Minor, of which the capital was Conia or Iconium.

And yet all theſe were ſcarce the third part of Giagathai Khan's dominions, which alſo included all Tartary as well as that of the Mogul's &c. Arabia &c.

☞ABANTES. This people came originally from Thrace and ſettled in Phoceca a country of Greece, where they built a town which they called Aba, after the name of Abas their leader; and if we may credit ſome antient writers, the Abantes went afterwards into the Iſland Eubœa, now called Negroponto. Others ſay the Abantes of Eubœa came from Athens, and were ſo named from Abas one of their Kings. The Curetes, ancient inhabitants of the Iſle of Crete, who had ſettled at Phocea before the Abantes, uſed to let their hair grow only at the hind part of their head, ſhaving the fore part very cloſe, becauſe their anceſtors had formerly been ſlain by the enemies taking hold of their forelocks; and for that reaſon they were called Curetes, from the Greek word κυρὰ, which ſignifies *Shaving*. The Abantes followed the ſame cuſtom, from whence Homer calls them ὄπιθεν κομόωντας, *that have hair only behind*. This people ſent a colony into the Iſle of Chio, where only part of them could ſettle, the reſt having been cut off by Amphiclus, one of Hercules's deſcendants, who was King of that Iſland. The Abantes were a very warlike people, cloſing in with their enemies, and fighting hand to hand. Bochart obſerves that there is a near affinity between the words Abantes and Eubœa: for, ſays that learned author, *Abas* in Hebrew, ſignifies *to fatten*; whence the Phœnicians gave that name to thoſe who uſed to keep and fatten oxen, and other cattle, that is, to Shepherds, and ſuch were the people of whom we are ſpeaking; and the Iſland Eubœa is ſo called in Greek, becauſe of its excellent paſtures for oxen. Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 1. Plutarch. *in Theſeo.* Strabo l. 10. Pauſan. *in Achaic.* Stephan. *de Urbibus.* Euſtath. *in Homer.* Bochart *in Canaan.* lib. 1. cap. xiii.

ABARIS, a Scythian [*A*], and ſon of Scuthus. Such a number of fabulous particulars were told of him, that Herodotus himſelf ſeems to ſcruple to relate them, or to enquire particularly into his hiſtory. He tells us only (*a*), that this Barbarian was ſaid to have travell'd thro' the world with an arrow, and took no ſuſtenance. But this does not acquaint us with the marvellous of that incident; for ſuch as know it, inform us, that he rode thro' the Air on his arrow, as tho' it had been a Pegaſus [*B*]; by which means, neither ſeas, rivers, nor thoſe places which were inacceſſible to all other men, could retard his progreſs. Apollo had poſſeſs'd this arrow, and 'tis probable

(*a*) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 36.

[*A*] *A Scythian.*] This Suidas tells us, who alſo declares in the moſt diſtinct terms, that he came out of Scythia into Greece; and flew with the arrow which Apollo gave him, from the laſt mentioned country into that of the Hyperborean Scythians. Τούτου ὁ μυθολογούμενος οἴστὸς τοῦ πετομένου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μίσχει τῶν Ὑπερβορέων Σκυθῶν. Ἐδόθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (1). *Hujus illa Fabulis celebrata Sagitta volantis ex Græcia,* (not *ex Scythia* as the common tranſlation has it) *uſque ad Hyperboreos Scythas.* Euſebius alſo ſays that he came out of Scythia into Greece (2). If the article of Abaris in Suidas was not pretty much confuſed, one might juſtly conclude from it, that the author has there pointed at three different countries, viz. Scythia where Abaris was born; Greece, which he viſited; and another Scythia, that of the Hyperboreans, whither he alſo travell'd. We likewiſe might infer from thence, that Abaris did not take his flight with the arrow till his ſecond journey; and conſequently that 'twas in Greece he received this ſhaft from Apollo. Theſe ſeveral inferences would be juſt, was the author in queſtion accurate; or were we ſure that his writings have been tranſmitted to us exactly as he left them. In this caſe we ſhould conclude, that Suidas has followed a very peculiar opinion; ſince moſt writers who mention Abaris, aſſert that he was an Hyperborean (3); that he came from the country of the Hyperboreans into Greece; and that all ſuch as take notice of his flying arrow, declare that he was poſſeſs'd of it before he went into Greece.

(1) Suidas under the word Ἀβαρις.

(2) Euſebii Chronic. n. 1454.

(3) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 36. Diod. Sicul. lib. 3. cap. 11. Apollonii *Admir. Hiſt.* ſect. 4. Jamblichi *Vita Pythag,* cap. 28. p. 127 & ſeq. Harpocration, under the word Ἀβαρις. Scholiaſtes Ariſtoph. *in Equit.* Euſebius, n. 1568, &c.

[*B*] *Was carried through the air on his arrow.*] This Jamblicus expreſſes very clearly. Οἴσῳ τοῦ ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις Ἀπόλλωνος δωρηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐποχούμενος, ποταμούς τε καὶ πελάγη καὶ τὰ ἄβατα διέβαινεν ἀτροβατῶν τρόπόν τινα (4). *Cum Apollinis, ejus qui ab Hyperboreis colebatur, Jaculo ſibi donato inequitaret, Fluvios & maria, ac loca inacceſſa per aerem quodammodo incedens permeabat.* That is, "When he rode upon the "arrow which was given him by the Hyperborean "Apollo, he flew through the air, over rivers, ſeas, "and inacceſſible places." Mr. Petit ſpeaking of the ſeveral particulars which are told of this arrow, takes notice of what is vulgarly related concerning witches, viz. of their riding on a broomſtick (5) to their nocturnal meetings. A Journaliſt as he was drawing up an extract of Mr. Petit's book, called to mind Villon's verſes, where a wizard is called *Chevaucheur d'Eſcouvettes* (6) i. e. a broomſtick rider. I ſhall tranſcribe the whole paſſage for the ſake of a little obſervation that may be made on it. Mr. Petit *mentions Elijah's tranſlation, Habakkuk's flight through the air, that of Pythagoras, and the dart which the Hyperborean Apollo preſented Abaris with. This was a wonderful dart, and very like the broomſticks on which, we are told, witches ride through the air to their nocturnal meetings* (7). Before I make this little remark, it may be proper to copy the following paſſage from another Journal. Mr. Petit *relates, after Jamblichus, the ſtory or fiction of the Hyperborean Abaris, whom Apollo had endued with the power of flying through the air on an arrow, in the ſame manner as our witches get aſtride upon their broomſticks, and poſt away to their nocturnal meetings* (8). Theſe words illuſtrate the following of Mr. Petit: *Auctor eſt Jamblichus, in vita Pythagoræ, cap.* 28. *id munus Abaridi Hyperboreo ab Apolline conceſſum fuiſſe, ut per aërem quocunque vellet curſum, magico invectus jaculo, tendere poſſet* (9). i. e. "Jamblichus tells us in the "life of Pythagoras that * the Hyperborean Apollo, "inveſted Abaris with the power of flying through "the air on a magical arrow, whitherſoever he "pleaſed." 'Tis plain that the epithet *Hyperboreo,* may refer either to *Abaridi* or *Apolline:* the Latin tongue abounds with ſuch ambiguities; but it is manifeſt from the words of Jamblichus (10), which are here cited (11), that Apollo only is called the Hyperborean. 'Twould be idle to cenſure the Journaliſt upon this account, ſince, beſides that Abaris might have had this epithet given him, as was ſeen in the firſt Remark; Journaliſts, 'tis well known, are not obliged to tranſlate literally. I muſt not omit obſerving, that Abaris's arrow was of gold; and of ſo much ſervice to him in his journies, that he was forced to own, he never could have found his way without it (12). Pythagoras artfully extorted this confeſſion from him, by ſtealing his arrow; which put Abaris into ſuch a fright, that he was obliged, like a blind man who has loſt his ſtaff, to confeſs how greatly uſeful it was to him. This calls to my memory a ſett of people, who pretend to trace loſt roads by the aſſiſtance of their wand. If every thing be true that is related on this head, my opinion is, that all circumſtances conſidered, their wand muſt be full as miraculous as Abaris's arrow; for though the former cannot waft the poſſeſſor of it through the air, it yet has the virtue of diſcovering, not only treaſures, metals, land-marks, thieves and murtherers, but likewiſe the adulterous of both ſexes. A celebrated Philoſopher, whoſe opinion was asked in 1689, on part of the incidents abovementioned, declared, *that nothing of this kind could be performed without the concurrent*

(4) Jamblichi *Vita Pythagoræ,* p. 128.

(5) Petitus *de Sibylla,* lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 200.

(6) *Non eſt, le deuſt-on vif bruſler*
Comme un chevaucheur d'eſcouvettes.
Thus engliſh'd,
"Were they to
"burn him as a
"Hag,
"He's none of
"thoſe, who of a
"broomſtick
"make a nag."

(7) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres,* Oct. 1686. artic. I.

(8) *Bibliotb. Univerſ.* vol. 2. p. 132.

(9) Petit, ubi ſupra, p. 198.

* Or Apollo inveſted the Hyperborean Abaris, &c.

(10) Vide the Citation (4) above.

(11) Petit's Book, p. 199.

(12) Jamblichus, ubi ſupra, p. 131.

bable that he therewith ſlew the Cyclops, who forg'd the thunderbolts which Jupiter hurl'd at poor Æſculapius (*b*). Apollo, after this ſlaughter, hid his dart under a mountain in the country of the Hyperboreans, and recover'd it in a miraculous manner; for the winds wafted it to him the inſtant Jupiter was ſooth'd (*c*). 'Tis difficult to know the period in which Abaris liv'd [*C*]; and the great variety of opinions on this head has miſled ſome modern writers [*D*]. Authors ſeem not to vary ſo much with regard to the motive of his leaving his native-country, in order to travel all the world

(*b*) Hygin. *Aſtr. Poët.* lib. 11. cap. 15. p. m. 386.
(*c*) Id. ib.

concurrent action of ſome intelligent cauſe, which cauſe, he ſaid, *could be no other than the devil* (13). *I this moment heard, that the Chief of theſe wand-conjurers* (14) *having laſt ſummer* (15) *given ſome very ſurpriſing ſpecimens of his art at Lions, was ſent for to Paris; and in that great city made ſuch a multitude of diſcoveries, as obliged many people to confeſs, that we are now better enabled than ever to aſſert by indiſputable phænomena, that devils can produce an hundred things, provided they are determin'd thereto by the intervention of ſome occaſional cauſe, ſuch as the application of a certain ſtick or wand* (16). This may enforce the belief of what is told concerning Abaris's dart; for ſince there is now a wand (that of James Aymar) which performs ſo many extraordinary feats, why may not there have been anciently ſuch a wonder-working dart as the abovementioned? One might enquire in a metaphyſical way, why this wand ſhould be endued with ſuch a magical virtue; for the old proverb, *Virgula Divina,* * *le tour du baton,* and that which our jugglers have perpetually in their mouths, viz. *by the virtue of my little wand*; are, I believe, all borrowed from the vulgar tradition of the frequent uſe of the wand in Sorcery. What mighty virtues were anciently aſcrib'd to Mercury's Wand! The golden wings which he fixed to his heels, did not wholly enable him to fly; his rod alſo aſſiſting him very powerfully in his airy progreſs; and one would even conclude that he rode upon it.

(13) Father Malbranche in the *Mercure Galant* of Jan. 1693.
(14) James Aymar, a peaſant of St. Veran in Dauphiné.
(15) in 1692.

(16) See the Note [*C*] hereunder.

* The figurative ſignification of this phraſe is, the getting money artfully, above what is one's due.

Et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea, quæ ſublimem alis, ſive æquora ſuprà
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat orco
Pallentes, alias ſub triſtia Tartara mittit,
Dat ſomnos, adimitque, & lumina morte reſignat.
Illa Fretus, *agit ventos, et turbida tranat*
Nubila (17).

With golden pinions binds
His flying feet, and mounts the weſtern winds:
And whether o'er the ſeas or earth he flies,
With rapid force they bear him down the ſkies.
But firſt he graſps within his awful hand
The mark of ſovereign power, his magic wand:
With this he draws the ghoſts from hollow graves,
With this he drives 'em down the Stygian waves;
With this he ſeals in ſleep the wakeful ſight,
And eyes, tho' cloſ'd in death, reſtores to light.
Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy race,
And drives the racking clouds along the liquid ſpace.
Dryd. Vir.

(17) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 4. ver. 239. See alſo Homer's *Iliad*, and the *Odyſſey*, book the laſt; Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 1. ver. 75. concerning Argus. Horace, Ode 10. ver. 18. & 24. ver. 16. of Book 1. Statius *Thebaid.* Book 1.

'Tis pity that the treatiſe on Mercury's rod, which Barthius promis'd (18) to publiſh, is not extant; for he undoubtedly had compil'd a great number of curious particulars on this head, which poſſibly might be more inſtructive than what Antiſthenes the Cynic wrote on Minerva's wand. This Goddeſs had alſo her wand, and with it could make perſons appear young or old, as circumſtances might require (19). But this was nothing to the wonders which were perform'd by that of Circe (20); for ſhe, with a gentle tap of it, transform'd men into beaſts, and beaſts into men. Eraſmus, who adds to theſe ſeveral inſtances Moſes's rod, with which he wrought ſo many miracles (21), ſhould have obſerv'd, that the Devil, who apes the Almighty, took his model from hence, when he made the wand one of his chief occaſional cauſes. Huetius aſſerts, that the ſeveral particulars which the Poets tell us of Mercury's rod, &c. were all borrow'd from that of Moſes (22). Obſerve that the Devil was very quick at imitation; for Pharaoh's magicians, by the power of their rods, wrought ſome miracles which reſembled thoſe of the true God (23). We muſt not omit the Brachmans, who went always with a wand and a ring, to which they aſcrib'd very great virtues (24). I poſſibly may purſue this ſubject under the word *Rabdomancy* (Wand-Divination.)

(18) *De virgæ Mercurialis poteſtate & potentia peculiarem tractationem ſatis myſterioden damus in ſuperſtitionum magno commentario.* Barth. *in Stat.* tom. 2. p. 291. That is, "We have "written a treatiſe on the "power of Mercury's rod, &c.
(19) Homer. *Odyſſ.* N & Π.
(20) Ibid. K.
(21) On the proverb *Virgula Divina*, Chil. 1. centur. 1. n. 97.
(22) Huetii *Demonſtr. Evang.* propoſ. 4. p. 258.
(23) See *Exod.* vii & viii.

(24) Philoſtrati *Vita Apol.* lib. 3.

[*C*] *The period in which Abaris liv'd.*] Some fix his embaſſy to Athens under the 21ſt Olympiad; Hypoſtratus under the 3d; and Pindar makes him cotemporary with Crœſus (25). Euſebius agreed with the laſt, ſince he had fix'd Abaris's journey, and the beginning of Crœſus's reign, to the 2d year of the 54th Olympiad: but a little after he varied ſhamefully from this computation, by declaring that our ſoothſayer was living the laſt year of the 82d Olympiad. *Abaris Hyperboreanus Hariolus agnoſcitur*, i. e. *Abaris is acknowledg'd to be the Hyperborean ſoothſayer* (26). Valeſius ſeems to prefer chiefly the opinion of Porphyry and Jamblichus (27), who aſſert that Abaris flouriſh'd the ſecond year of the 54th Olympiad, and was cotemporary with Pythagoras: and this is infer'd from what Porphyry and Jamblicus relate, viz. that Pythagoras ſhow'd his golden thigh to Abaris Prieſt of the Hyperborean Apollo. Were the epiſtles which are aſcrib'd to Phalaris genuine, Abaris muſt have liv'd at the ſame time with this tyrant; but 'tis not probable that thoſe letters paſt between them, which are found in this collection. However, we may argue preſumptively from thence, that Abaris and Phalaris were cotemporaries, ſince it may be ſuppos'd, that the author who aſcrib'd theſe epiſtles to the latter, was exact in chronology, purpoſely to give an air of greater probability to his fictions. According to Suidas, Phalaris liv'd in the 52d Olympiad. Hypoſtratus's opinion may be corroborated from what follows. Suidas obſerves, that in the 5th Olympiad, the Athenians offer'd the ſacrifices call'd Προηρσίαι (28), in the name of all the Greeks. Theſe were perform'd before the earth was plough'd, in order to draw down the Divine Bleſſing on the approaching harveſt. Now the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes relates, that when the Athenians offer'd, for all mankind, the ſacrifices call'd Προηρσία, the whole earth had been infeſted with a famine, and even a plague alſo, which had oblig'd the ſeveral nations to conſult the Oracle; and that it return'd this anſwer, viz. that the Athenians ſhould offer ſuch a ſacrifice, and then the calamity would ceaſe (29). This was therefore the period when ſo many Embaſſadors were ſent to Athens; and, among the reſt, Abaris from the Hyperboreans; conſequently Hypoſtratus has deviated but very little from the truth, in fixing Abaris's journey to the 3d Olympiad. If Scaliger's conjectures on a paſſage of Firmicus Maternus, concerning the Palladium be juſt, ſome authors have made the age in which Abaris liv'd vaſtly remote; ſince, according to theſe, he flouriſh'd long before the ſiege of Troy: but this we ſhall conſider preſently. Others have brought him as low as the age of Alexander the Great; but as this was merely a rhetorical flight, we ſhall not examine it; which indeed would be vaſtly tedious. Abaris, according to Himerius the Sophiſt (30), was compleatly equip'd after the Barbarian faſhion, when he appear'd before the Athenians: *but then,* ſays this author, *he was a Scythian in his dreſs only; for he ſpoke Greek: and the moment he open'd his lips, the auditors imagin'd they were hearing an oration in the Academy or the Lycæum.* A fine abſurdity this, ſince Plato and Ariſtotle founded their ſchools ſo many years after Abaris's time! A writer (31), in order to reconcile theſe difficulties, ſuppoſes two Abaris's, which however won't do, ſince five or ſix would be requir'd for that purpoſe.

(25) *Apud Harpocration.*

(26) Euſebii *Chron.* n. 1568.
(27) Henrici Valeſii *Notæ in Notas Mauſſaci in Harpocrat.* p. 83.

(28) Under the word Προηρσίαι.

(29) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. *in Equit.*

(30) *Apud Photium*, p. 1136.

(31) Edward Simſon, *apud Konig. Bibl. vet. & nova*, p. 1.

[*D*] *The great variety of opinions on this head, has miſled ſome modern writers.*] Voſſius is of opinion, that thoſe only are right, who fix the age of Abaris between the 30th and 38th Olympiad. *In this period,* ſays he (32), *Euſebius tells us, that Phalaris exercis'd his tyranny; Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit ab Olympiadis* XXX (it ſhould have been XXXI) *An.* 11, *uſque ad Olympiadis* XXXVIII, *Anno* 11, *teſte Euſebio.*

(32) Voſſius *de Poëtis Græcis*, cap. 3. p. 16.

world over. One tells us (*d*), that the whole earth being infeſted with a deadly plague, Apollo gave no other anſwer, than that the Athenians ſhould offer up prayers in behalf of all other nations: upon which, ſeveral countries deputed Embaſſadors to Athens, among whom was Abaris the Hyperborean. He was then pretty far advanced in years; and as he return'd to his native country, in order to dedicate to Apollo the Hyperborean, whoſe Prieſt he was, the gold he had collected (*e*), it might be aſſerted, that one of the motives of his journey into Greece, was to make a gathering, to be diſpoſed of in pious uſes. In this journey he renew'd the alliance between the Hyperboreans and the inhabitants of the iſland of Delos (*f*). He pretended to propheſy; and as he gave out his predictions in all places whitherſoever his roving vagabond Genius directed his ſteps, he might have been call'd a walking Oracle [*E*]. According to ſome authors he made the Palladium [*F*], that fatal pledge of the preſervation of ſuch cities as ſhould poſſeſs it, and ſold it to the Trojans. He

(*d*) *Harpocration*, under the word Ἄβαρις.

(*e*) Jamblici in *Vita Pythag.* cap. 19. Spanhemii *Notæ in Callimach.* p. 490.

(*f*) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. 2. cap. 47. p. 126.

Euſebio. Now Abaris was cotemporary with this tyrant. By this computation he refutes thoſe who aſſert that Abaris was Pythagoras's diſciple; by obſerving that this philoſopher flouriſh'd the 1ſt year of the 60th Olympiad, and died about the cloſe of the 70th; and conſequently, that it was not poſſible for a diſciple of Pythagoras to write letters to Phalaris. Laſtly, he aſſures that all the ancients make Abaris prior, not only to Pythagoras, but to Solon. *Antiqui omnes de Abari loquuntur ut non Pythagora modo, ſed Solone etiam antiquiori* (33). However, theſe remarks of Voſſius are built on a very ſlight foundation, ſince Euſebius above-mention'd, on whoſe aſſertions they are grounded, fixes in another place, Phalaris's reign to the 3d year of the 53d Olympiad, and Abaris's journey to the 2d year of the 54th; a circumſtance Voſſius ſhould have obſerv'd; as alſo, that Scaliger (34) prefers the paſſage of Euſebius he has not cited, to the other which he quotes. Scaliger grounds his conjecture on Suidas's placing the beginning of Phalaris's tyranny under the 52d Olympiad: not to mention what Oroſus tells us, viz, that Cyrus was cotemporary with this tyrant (35). 'Tis plain therefore, that the conſequences which Voſſius draws from Abaris being cotemporary with Phalaris, have very little foundation; for Abaris might have writ letters to Phalaris after the 52d Olympiad, and have ſeen Pythagoras after the 60th (36). But be this as it will, Voſſius ſhould not have aſſerted, that all the ancients fix the age of Abaris before that of Solon; it being known that this Grecian Sage gave his laws to the Athenians in the 46th Olympiad (37), and that Euſebius places Abaris under the 82d (38).

(33) Id. ib.

(34) Scaligeri *Animadv. in Euſebium*, n. 1452. p. 94.

(35) Id. ib. n. 1390. p. 84.

(36) Obſerve, Jamblichus tells us, Abaris was in an advanced age, when Pythagoras taught him.

(37) Scaliger, ubi ſupra, n. 1422. p. 86.

(38) See the 26th citation of the preceding note.

Moreri has made an ill uſe of Voſſius's obſervations. He imagines, that thoſe who declare Abaris liv'd before Solon, diſagree with ſuch *as make the former cotemporary with Tullius Hoſtilius, or Ancus Martius, Kings of the Romans.* However, theſe are not two different opinions, ſince every one who is vers'd in Chronology, would not ſcruple to aſſert, that Solon lived after thoſe two Kings. But Moreri was miſled by the following paſſage of Voſſius, *Fuerit igitur* (Phalaris) *temporibus Tullii Hoſtilii & Anci Martii* (39); that is, "Phalaris was therefore cotemporary with Tullius Hoſtilius and Ancus Martius," and by the preceding paſſage. Let us obſerve by the way, that Moreri was miſled by theſe words of Cælius Rhodiginus, *Hujus* (Abaridis) *& Gregorius Theologus commeminit in Epitaphio ad magnum Baſilium* (40); and fancy'd, "St. Gregory ſpeaks of Abaris, in an Epitaph "he wrote to St. Baſil the Great (41)." Now I have not met with any particulars relating to Abaris, in St. Gregory Nazianzen's verſes on St. Baſil's death. I indeed hoped to have there found the five or ſix lines which Giraldi quotes *ex Monodia in Divum Baſilium* (42). The word *Monodia* directs to a piece of poetry, but falſely on that occaſion. However, in turning over the proſe writings of this great Divine, I mean his Sermon preach'd at St. Baſil's funeral, I did not find a fourth part of Giraldi's citation. Moreri is guilty of a particular miſtake, when he ſeems to hint, that this epitaph had not been made for St. Baſil.

(39) Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

(40) Cælii Rodig. *Antiq. Lect.* lib. 16. cap. 22. p. 881.

(41) This fault is not in the Dutch editions.

(42) Giraldus *de Poëtis*, dialogo 3. circa init. p. 119.

[*E*] *A walking Oracle.*] Clemens Alexandrinus ranks Abaris among thoſe who pretended to the gift of prophecy. Προγνῶσιν δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μάγας προσαναθεῖναι σπεύδει. Ἄβαρίς τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος (43). *Præſcientiæ autem Pythagoras quoque magnus ſemper mentem adhibuit, & Abaris Hyperboreus.* i. e. "The great Py- "thagoras and Abaris the Hyperborean, always ap- "plied themſelves to prediction." We have already taken notice (44) of the epithet *Hariolus* (Soothſayer) which Euſebius gives him in his Chronicle. One of the Commentators on St. Gregory Nazianzen relates, that Abaris travelled over all Greece, and there gave out his oracles (45). Apollonius aſſerts the ſame, and declares further, that theſe oracles were not then loſt. Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ χρησμοὺς τοῖς χόροις περιερχόμενος, οἳ εἰσὶ μέχρι τῦ νῦν ὑπάρχοντες (46). *Scripſit autem & oracula regionibus quas obſervans luſtrabat, quæ ad hoc uſque tempus extant.* The Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes (47) ſays likewiſe, "That theſe oracles were "extant in his time." Abaris was not the only perſon of this profeſſion, who thus rambled up and down the world, and eagerly ſpread about his predictions. This was peculiar to Soothſayers, which made Artimedorus aſſert, that when a perſon dreams he is a Prophet, it is generally a ſign he will travel and make a heavy buſtle; *for*, adds he, *Soothſayers generally lead a vagrant life.* Φέρει δὲ καὶ ἀποδημίας πολλάκις καὶ κινήσεις τῷ ἰδόντι τὸν ὄνειρον, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μάντεις περιοδεύειν: *Portendit ſæpe etiam Peregrinationes & motus hoc Somnium ei qui vidit, propterea quod Vates vitam errabundam agunt* (48.) This was common to them with jugglers and empiricks of all kinds. Abaris did not only propheſy; for, 'tis ſaid, he built Temples, and among others, that of Proſerpine the *Salutary*, (49) Κόρης Σωτείρας in Lacedæmonia. Plato draws him with all the characteriſticks of an Empiric, or rather of an inchanter, who pretended to cure diſeaſes by the virtue of certain words (50).

(43) Stromat. lib. 1. p. 334.

(44) Citation 26th, above.

(45) Nicetas *in Orat. 20. Gregor. Nazianz.* p. 774.

(46) Apollon. *Admir. Hiſt.* ſect. 4.

(47) In equit.

(48) Artemidor. lib. 3. cap. 21.

(49) Pauſanias, lib. 3. p. 94. He alſo ſays, that others affirm it was built by Orpheus.

(50) Plato *in Charm.* p. 465.

[*F*] *He made the Palladium.*] We owe this diſcovery to the great Scaliger, who ſubſtituted *Abaris* (51) for *avarus* twice, in a paſſage of Julius Firmicus Maternus (52). Here follows the paſſage thus amended. *Palladii etiam quid ſit Numen audite. Simulachrum eſt ex oſſibus Pelopis factum. Hoc Abaris Scytha feciſſe perhibetur; jam quale ſit, conſiderate quod Scytha Barbarus conſecravit. Eſtne aliquid apud Scythas humana ratione compoſitum, & illa effera gens & crudeli atque inhumana ſemper atrocitate graſſata, in conſtituendis Religionibus rectum aliquid potuit invenire? Simulachrum hoc Trojanis Abaris vendidit, ſtultis hominibus vana promittens.* That is, "Hear what a kind of Deity "this Palladium is? 'Tis a ſtatue formed of Pelops's "bones, and made, as we are told, by Abaris the "Scythian. It's being conſecrated by a Barbarian of "that country, will no doubt give you a ſtrange idea "of it; for does any thing like reaſon appear in this "ſavage people, who are ſo unfit to inſtitute any "thing proper in religious matters? Abaris ſold this "ſtatue to the Trojans, promiſing ſilly people a thou- "ſand idle things." Scaliger has corrected two errors of almoſt the ſame kind, in a paſſage of Ariſtophanes's Scholiaſt (53); by reading Ἄβαριν for βάριν, and Ἀβάριδος for βάριδος, which clears up the ſenſe very much. Ὅτι δὴ καὶ Ἄβάριν φασὶ τὸν Ὑπερβόρειον ἐλθόντα θεωρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀπόλλωνι θητεῦσαι, καὶ ὕτω συγγράψαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς τοὺς νῦν προσαγορευομένους Ἀβαρίδος. The ſenſe of which is, that Abaris being gone into Greece to conſult Apollo, or make oblations to him, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of that God, and wrote the oracles which ſtill bear the name of Abaris. Valeſius alſo corrects (54) a paſſage in Proclus (55) where Pythagoras is cited ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄβαριν λόγῳ, and thinks the true reading is Ἄβαριν (59), whence it would appear that Pythagoras had inſcribed a work of his to this Abaris. But 'tis certain, if Jamblichus (57) is to be credited, that Pythagoras explained his treatiſe of Nature and his book of the Gods to this Hyperborean. I am of opinion that the book mentioned by Plutarch, entitled

(51) Scaligeri *Notæ in Euſeb.* n. 1454.

(52) De Errore profan. Relig.

(53) In Equit.

(54) Valeſii *Notæ in Notas Mauſſ. in Harpocration*, p. 83.

(55) In Timæum Platonis, p. 141.

(56) Confer quæ Jamblich. ubi ſupra. cap. 19. p. 92.

(57) Jambl. ibid.

He form'd it of human bones (*g*); a kind of materials, I am perſuaded, were never employ'd in making taliſmans. 'Tis aſſerted that he could foretell earthquakes [G] drive away plagues, and lay ſtorms; and perform'd in Lacedæmon ſome ſacrifices, whoſe efficacy was ſuch, that this country having till then been very much afflicted with the plague, was never troubled with it after (*b*). He wrote ſeveral books (*i*), viz. *Apollo's arrival into the country of the Hyperboreans: The nuptials of the river Hebrus: Θεογονία, or the generation of the Gods: A collection of Oracles, and another of Incantations, Exorciſms*, or, if the reader pleaſes, *Expiatory Prayers* (*k*). All theſe works, the firſt excepted, were in proſe. Had we the entire Oration of Himerius the Sophiſt, a fragment of which Photius has preſerv'd (*l*), we then ſhould be better able to judge, whether Abaris is the perſon on whom that Sophiſt beſtows ſuch mighty encomiums. However, 'tis certain that he applauds him for ſpeaking pure Greek (*m*). Others affirm, that his eaſy, unaffected carriage and probity gain'd him the eſteem of all the Grecians (*n*). I don't find him mention'd either by Callimachus or Lucian, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of a celebrated Critic (*o*). Had his arrow poſſeſs'd the virtues which are aſcrib'd to James Aymar's wand [*H*], he might have done great ſervice to mankind, and not fear the reproach of being uſeleſs, which Origen caſt upon him (*p*). But News is juſt now brought (*q*), that this Wand enjoy'd but a very ſhort reign [*I*], and met with its doom in the Prince of Condè's palace at Paris.

(*g*) Thoſe of Pelops.

(*b*) Jamblich, ubi ſupra, cap. 19. p. 93. & cap. 28. p. 131. Vide etiam Apollonium, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Suidas, under the word Ἄβαρις.

(*k*) The Greek word in Suidas is καθαρμούς.

(*l*) Photii *Bibliotheca*, p. 1136.

(*m*) See the latter end of the remark [*C*].

(*n*) Strabo, lib. 7. p. 208.

(*o*) Caſauboni *Notæ in Strabon.* lib. 7. p. 113

(*p*) Origen *contra Celſum*, lib. 3. p. 129.

(*q*) I write this in 1693.

☞ ABARIS

(58) Plut. *quomodo audiendi Poët.* initio.

entitled *Abaris*, and written by Heraclides (58), contain'd all the genuine and romantic adventures of our celebrated Soothſayer. By the way, as Scaliger was ſo fond of finding fault, I am ſurpriſed he ſhould refer us to Giraldi, as an author whence the moſt learned particulars could be gathered with regard to Abaris; for how great ſoever Giraldi's erudition might be, it is certain he is not very accurate on this head (59). He ſays, that Valerius Harpocration mentions the wonders of the arrow; and that Herodotus ſays, it wafted Abaris to the country of the Hyperboreans. Now it is certain, that Harpocration does not once ſpeak of the arrow; and that Herodotus takes no notice of Abaris's flight, nor ſpecifies any particular place he went to. Charles Stephens and Moreri fell into the laſt error. *Legatus Athenas veniens ad ſuos Hyperboreos rediit nihil comedens*, ſays the former; *During his long journey from Greece into Scythia he did not take the leaſt ſuſtenance*, ſays the latter. Moreri's error is more pardonable than that of Charles Stephens, who tells us in the hurry of his writing, that the oracles of Abaris are ſtill extant. A proof that he tranſcrib'd injudiciouſly, not conſidering the great impropriety of expreſſing himſelf in that manner, ſince thoſe oracles had been ſo long loſt. We ſhall take notice in another place (60) of the miſtakes which ariſe from ſuch a precipation.

(59) See the latter part of the note [*D*].

(60) In the latter end of the note on the article BALBUS (John).

[G] *Could foretell earthquakes.*] Porphyry informs us, that Pythagoras had this power, and that of ſtopping plagues, making hail to ceaſe, of calming ſtorms on ſeas and rivers, in order to procure his friends a propitious voyage (61). He adds, that Pythagoras having taught his ſecret to Empedocles, Epimenides and Abaris, they practiſed it on ſeveral occaſions, πολλαχῆ ἐπιτετελικέναι τοιαῦτα. A modern writer (62) obſerving that Pherecydes, Preceptor to Pythagoras (63), Anaximander and Abaris (64) foretold earthquakes, puts this humorous queſtion: *If we*, ſays he, *conſider the Earth as a huge animal, had not Theſe the art of feeling its pulſe, and thereby knew the convulſions it would be troubled with?* Now whether Abaris performed theſe ſeveral wonders with, or without his arrow, it is certain that his travels might be vaſtly beneficial to mankind. See the following remark.

(61) In Vita Pythagor.

(62) La Mothe le Vayer, tom. 11. p. 127.

(63) He quotes Diog. Laërt. *in Pherecyd.* Cicero I. *de Divin.*

(64) With regard to Abaris, he quotes Apollonius, ſirnamed Dyſcolus, ch. 5. the ſame with him cited above.

(65) See the remark [*B*] above.

[H] *Which are aſcrib'd to James Aymar's wand* (65).] Nothing ever made more noiſe, or had ſo many books written upon it. I juſt now heard that thoſe who promis'd themſelves ſo many advantages and conqueſts over unbelievers from thence, were very much out in their conjectures. The bare relation of all this would deſerve an article apart; and poſſibly we may take ſome notice of it under the word *Rabdomancy* (Wand-Divination) or on ſome other occaſion. But be this as it will, I ſhall not recant any thing I advance with regard to the uſefulneſs of this wand. This inſtrument, in the hands of ſo great a traveller as Abaris, would have wrought a greater reformation in the morals of mankind throughout the world, than all the labours of our Miſſionaries and Preachers. Were a perſon of this character to return on the earth, jealouſy, that ſcourge of ſo many husbands, would ſoon be drove from it: the Italians and the Eaſtern nations would have no occaſion to ſet goalers over their wives, or play the Argus themſelves; every man would truſt to their fidelity, and have no more to do but to recommend 'em to the wand. Men would not only diſburden themſelves of an anxious ſolicitude (66), which ſometimes haſtens the very thing they guard againſt, but would themſelves be forc'd to keep the hymeneal vow, when a reputation of this kind might be neceſſary. A criminal would be leſs terrify'd at the thoughts of appearing in a court of juſtice, than of coming before an Abaris. Moſt crimes, the moſt dangerous ſins, ſuch I mean as are committed in hopes of their being conceal'd, would be heard of no more: and 'tis then one might ſay,

(66) *Pœnæque gravès in cœlibe vitâ,*
Et gravior cautæ cuſtodia vana maritis. Auſonii Idyll. 15.
Thus Engliſh'd.
" Diſtracting
" care a ſingle
" life attends,
" More grievous,
" Fate, to jealous
" husbands ſends.

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque fauſtitas.
Culpari metuit fides,
Nullis polluitur caſta domus ſtupris:
Laudantur ſimili prole puerperæ.
Culpam pœna premit comes (67).

(67) Horat. Od. 5. lib. 4.

That is,

Safe by thy preſence oxen plough the fields,
And Ceres with increaſe her bleſſings yields *:
No baſe adult'ry ſtains our race,
Strict law hath tam'd that ſpotted vice;
The child can ſhew his father's face;
Pain waits on ſin, and checks its riſe †.

* Horace, by ſeveral hands.

† Creech.

As the Devil is the ſworn enemy of mankind, 'tis difficult I confeſs to conceive the reaſon why he ſhould enter into ſuch engagements with them; a circumſtance which is not duly conſider'd by thoſe, who will neither ſuffer us to doubt the virtues of the wand, nor to account for them mechanically.

[I] *It enjoy'd but a very ſhort reign.*] It ſcarce laſted ſo long in Paris, as was neceſſary for compoſing and printing an article of this Dictionary. The Prince of Condè, whoſe knowledge, when we conſider where he imbib'd it, cannot but be fatal to impoſture and credulity, overthrew all the vain trophies which the followers of James Aymar had rais'd. This creature gave ſo wretched a ſpecimen of his art in the prince of Condè's palace, that he quite loſt his reputation (68). The world has heard the whole ſtory; and ſince the particulars of it have been publiſh'd by that great Prince's order, there can no longer be room for doubt and uncertainty. But indeed, no one pretends to make this a ſubterfuge; all they endeavour is, to find out ſome reaſons why the wand happen'd to be unſucceſsful; as I ſhall obſerve hereunder. Thoſe who ſay, that the abettors of theſe ſoothſayers choſe a wrong point of time; and that ſuch people ſhould not be brought upon the ſtage in ſo philoſophical an age as the preſent, have ſomething like reaſon on their ſide. However, all things conſider'd, they did not argue juſtly. I own that there are more people now than formerly, capable of oppoſing the ſtream, and of guarding againſt illuſion and deceit; but this circumſtance excepted, I aſſert that our age is as much impos'd upon as any: and after what we have ſeen with regard to

(68) See *Lettres Hiſtoriques*, and the *Mercure Politique*, for May 1693.

☞ ABARIS, was an Hyperborean, as is aſſerted by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Apollonius, and divers other authors. Suidas indeed and Euſebius call him a Scythian, but they miſtook the land of the Hyperboreans for Scythia. Among the ſeveral places where Abaris travell'd, it appears that he went to Lacedæmon, ſince, according to ſome writers, he there built a temple conſecrated to Proſerpine the Salutary. If the Hebrides (iſlands ſituated northweſt of Scotland) were the Hyperboreans of Diodorus, then the celebrated Abaris was of that country, and likewiſe a Druid, having been the Prieſt of Apollo. Suidas, who knew not the diſtinction of the inſular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian; as do ſome others, miſled by the ſame vulgar error; tho' Diodorus has truly fix'd his country in an Iſland, and not on the Continent. And indeed the fictions and miſtakes concerning our Abaris are infinite: however, they all agree that he travell'd quite over Greece, and from thence into Italy, where he convers'd familiarly with Pythagoras, who favour'd him beyond all his diſciples, by inſtructing him in his doctrines, (eſpecially his thoughts of Nature) in a more compendious and plainer method than he did any other. This diſtinction could not but be very advantageous to Abaris. The Hyperborean, in return, preſented the Samian, as tho' he equall'd Apollo himſelf in wiſdom, with the ſacred arrow, on which the Greeks have fabulouſly related, that he ſat aſtride, and flew upon it, thro' the air, over rivers and lakes, foreſts and mountains; in like manner as our vulgar ſtill believe, particularly thoſe of the Hebrides, that Wizards and Witches fly whitherſoever they pleaſe on their broomſticks. The Orator Himerius, tho' one of thoſe, who from the equivocal ſenſe of the word Hyperborean, ſeem to have miſtaken Abaris for a Scythian, yet deſcribes his perſon accurately, and gives him a very noble character. That he ſpoke Greek with ſo much fluency and elegance will be no matter of wonder to ſuch as conſider the ancient intercourſe there was between the Greeks and Hyperboreans; nor would the latter have ſent any Embaſſador (as they did Abaris) to the former, unleſs, among the other requiſite qualifications, he underſtood their language perfectly. But let us hear a little what Himerius ſays: *They relate, that Abaris the Sage was by nation an Hyperborean, appear'd a Grecian in ſpeech, and reſembled a Scythian in his habit and appearance.* Now to ſhew that his habit was not that of a Scythian, who were always cover'd with skins, but that which has been in all ages, as generally at preſent

an explication of the *Revelations*, let no one ſay, * *the world is not to be bubbled any longer.* Men are as great ſimpletons as ever, being pleas'd with every impoſture that ſooths their paſſions; don't bluſh when they find themſelves impos'd upon; have the ſame veneration for the deceiver; and exclaim no leſs againſt the belief of thoſe who were not deceiv'd. Here follows what a News-writer (69) has juſt now acquainted us with, which confirms the aſſertions abovemention'd. "The "teſtimony of a great Prince, and the letter of one of "the chief Magiſtrates of the * *Chatelet* are ſo ſtrong a- "gainſt James Aymar, that not one of thoſe who believe "the pretended virtues of his wand has dar'd to con- "tradict them. But a circumſtance which ſhows the "ridiculouſneſs of credulity, is, that ſcarce one of "theſe people will own they were deluded. And "Mr. Vallemont has juſt now publiſh'd a treatiſe on "*the occult Philoſophy of the Divining Wand*, in which "he pretends to explain, how the peaſant of Dau- "phiné (tho' he really is maſter of the ſeveral virtues "and talents he boaſts) might yet miſtake in the expe- "riments he made before the Prince. This ſpecies of "philoſophers, and thoſe who explain propheſies, "(for they differ but very little) are a kind of en- "thuſiaſts, that will never confeſs themſelves in an "error; a ſett of people, who after all they have ad- "vanc'd is prov'd falſe, will yet call thoſe perſons "Free-Thinkers, whoſe good ſenſe will not ſuffer "'em to give into their wild chimæra's."

Since the printing of the abovemention'd, three or four years paſt, and no notice was taken of Aymar. Our News-writers had loſt ſight of our conjurer, and left him to his obſcurity: but at laſt, they again brought him on their ſtage in April 1697, to act a very merry part; which however might have been of wonderful uſe, were the ſtory they relate but true. *Some time ſince*, ſay theſe (70), *the prior of the Carthuſians of* * *Villeneuve chez Avignon, paſt thro' Orange with James Aymar, by whoſe aſſiſtance he intended to find out ſome land-marks which were loſt; but he happen'd to be employ'd in an affair of a different nature. Three days before, a child having been dropt at the gate of the Capuchin monaſtery, the Superior of it deſir'd James Aymar to diſcover the perſon who had laid it there. The peaſant conſenting to it, went to the Capuchin gate, to which the foundling had been brought back. He then, before a great crowd of ſpectators, follow'd the path which the motion of his wand pointed out to him, and went directly to the village of Camaret in the county Venaiſſin, and thence to a farm-houſe, in which he affirm'd the child was born. I forgot to mention, that in his way he met a man on horſeback, whom he knew to be the father of the foundling, by the motion of his wand. The judge of the place, of his own accord, or at the ſolicitation of the parties concern'd, deſired James Aymar and his agents not to make any farther enquiry; promiſing that the child ſhould be taken back, which was accordingly done.* I ſhall make three obſervations on this narrative. Firſt, that we are not ſure 'tis true; for how many people take a pleaſure in inventing fictions, which they inſert in the publick papers? Theſe they ſend unſubſcrib'd to an author, obſerving to lay the ſcene of action at ſome diſtance; beſides that they know few will make enquiries. My ſecond remark is, that ſuppoſing all that is related in the *Mercure Hiſtorique* were true, yet unbelievers won't hold their tongues. *James Aymar*, would theſe ſay, *knew the path he was to take; that one who was acquainted with the whole ſecret of the infant's birth, had play'd falſe with his brethren, overjoy'd to give the alarm, and furniſh ſo fine a ſubject for tattle.* However this be, Aymar would be an exception from the rule, that *a prophet is not honour'd in his own country*; for neither the ſhame he met with in the capital of the kingdom, nor the ſeries of ill ſucceſs which attended him, whereof Mr. Buiſſiere (71) has publiſhed an exact account, would have ruin'd his reputation in the country where he liv'd. I ſhall obſerve in the third place, that this property of the wand would be highly advantageous; it would diſcharge the publick of the funds appropriated for the ſupport of foundlings, by diſcovering the parents, who would then be oblig'd to maintain them. Beſides, it would increaſe the dread of the conſequences that are a check to lewdneſs, which otherwiſe would be much more prevalent and ſcandalous. The Fair, who are generally more aw'd by this fear than the other ſex, tho' ſometimes 'tis otherwiſe, would keep a ſtricter watch over their chaſtity. Did the wand poſſeſs the virtues which are aſcrib'd to it, all precautions would be to no purpoſe; ſuch as the retiring to a lone-houſe in order to lie in; the bringing a midwife hoodwink'd to

* This is a ſarcaſtical alluſion to Mr. Jurieu's *Accompliſhment of the Propheſies.*

(69) *Mercure Hiſtorique* for May 1693. p. 565.

[* A Court of Juſtice in Paris]

(70) *Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique* for April 1697. p. 440, 441.

* A little city in Languedoc, ſeated on the Rhone, and oppoſite to Avignon.

(71) Mr. Buiſſiere, the prince of Condè's apothecary, writ the book entitled, *Lettre à Mr. L'Abbé D. L. ſur les veritables effets de la baguette de Jaques Aymar, par P. B.* A Paris, chez Louis Lucas, 1694. i. e. "A "Letter to Abbé "D. L. concern- "ing the real ef- "fects of Ay- "mar's wand, &c.

preſent, worn in the Hebrides, and the neighbouring Highlands, it needs only to be deſcrib'd, to remove at once all doubts and ſcruples. *Abaris came to Athens*, continues Himerius, *holding a bow in his hand, having a quiver hanging on his ſhoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt about the loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trowzers reaching from his waſte to the ſoles of his feet.* A gun and piſtol being of modern invention, could make no part of his equipage. By this we find he did not make his entry into Athens riding on a broomſtick, as is fabulouſly reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what relates to his abilities, 'twas impoſſible for his principals to have made a better choice; ſince we are inform'd by the ſame Himerius, that *he was affable and pleaſant in converſation, in diſpatching great affairs ſecret and induſtrious, quick-ſighted in preſent exigencies, in preventing future dangers circumſpect, a ſearcher after wiſdom, deſirous of friendſhip, truſting indeed little to fortune, and having every thing truſted to him for his prudence.* Neither the Academy nor the Licæum could furniſh a man with fitter qualities to travel ſo far abroad, and to ſuch wiſe nations, about affairs no leſs arduous than important. But if we attentively conſider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the uſe of all thoſe things which our natural appetites inceſſantly crave; joining the candour and ſimplicity of his manners with the ſolidity and

to it thro' by-ways; or dropping the infant in the ſtreet at midnight: for that Inſtrument would ſhew the way to the very apartment of the lying-in woman, more certainly than the ſcent directs a dog to a hare's form. 'Twould put a ſtop to the falſe oaths (72) which great numbers of men take, in order to ſhift from themſelves the maintaining of baſtards, when the mothers would oblige them to it, by appearing, without ſhame, before a magiſtrate for that purpoſe.

(72) The ſtory ſays, that Aymar knew a horſeman, who rid by, to be the father of this foundling. Aymar confeſſes the whole fraud. Reflexions thereon.

As the moſt infallible method of undeceiving the credulous, will be to ſhew that Aymar confeſs'd himſelf an impoſtor, I ſhall ſet the whole affair in the cleareſt light. For this purpoſe I have a proof ſtill more poſitive than the teſtimony of Mr. Robert, the King's Attorney in the Chatelet at Paris, whoſe letter (73) to Father Chevigni, aſſiſtant to the Father-General of the oratory, takes notice only of ſome unſucceſsful experiments of the wand, and goes on thus; "I have heard that Aymar's wand was as "unlucky in ſeveral other tryals made at Verſailles "and Chantilly; nay, that he himſelf had been con-"victed of fraud, and confeſſed it. However, I "know this only by hear-ſay, thinking ſuch imper-"tinencies beneath my notice; which ſhew how "apt mankind are to credit any novelty, that appears "ſo extraordinary in their eyes." What follows is more expreſs. Mr. Buiſſiere writes to me, that Meſſieurs Dodard and Sauveur, members of the Academy of Sciences (at Paris) having deſir'd him to publiſh a ſecond edition of his letter, and to put his name to it; he determin'd to comply with their requeſt, *becauſe the Prince of Condé will have him do it, by his expreſs order, purpoſely to undeceive the advocates for the wand*; that he will annex to it a narrative of Aymar's ſearch (74) after thoſe villains who aſſaſſinated one of the horſe-patrole in St. Denis's ſtreet; and laſtly, to undeceive totally the wand-advocates, that he will likewiſe add what Aymar confeſſed, in the Prince of Condé's preſence, viz. *That he was ignorant of all thoſe things which were aſcrib'd to him; and that all he had done hitherto, was merely for the ſake of getting a livelihood . . . His Royal Highneſs finding him ſo ingenuous, gave him thirty Louis D'Ors, that he might be enabled to return immediately into his own village; for otherwiſe, being no longer under that Prince's protection, thoſe he had accuſed falſely would have ſecur'd him . . . . . Mr. Robert*, ſays Mr. Buiſſiere, *tells me, that had Aymar been put into his hands, he ſhould have been condemned to the Gallies, ſince the proofs againſt him were undeniable.* The ſame letter informs me, that a lad of fourteen, who was taught his leſſon, had impos'd upon a great number of perſons; *but as his feats came too cloſe upon thoſe of Aymar, people were guarded againſt them; and at laſt the whole affair was detected, to the utter confuſion of the gentleman who had made him act this part.* Mr. Buiſſiere being ordered to examine this lad, found him arch enough for one of his age. *Being confin'd for ſome days, apart from the gentleman, he was prevail'd upon, by a little money, ſome promiſes of being ſetled in the world, and a few menaces, to diſcover the whole fraud.* This letter of Mr. Buiſſiere is dated from Paris the 25th of July, 1698. To this I ſhall add the extract of a letter of

(73) 'Tis printed with that of Mr. Buiſſiere above-cited.

(74) Mr. Robert mentions this in his letter.

M. Leibnitz, which he permitted to be publiſhed in Tenzelius's Journal in 1694, with that (75) of Mr. Robert. Mr. Leibnitz affirms, he had heard the Dutcheſs of Hanover, ſiſter in law to the Prince of Condé, declare, that ſhe had been an eye-witneſs to Aymar's impoſtures in his Royal Highneſs's palace at Paris; and agreed in opinion with this Prince, that 'twould be better to acquaint the public with this fraudulent ſcene, than to ſtifle it, upon pretence that a great number of wicked wretches ſtood in fear of the wand; and that it procured the reſtitution of a great many ſtolen goods. Her Highneſs aſſured, that Aymar at laſt confeſſed the whole was a cheat, for which he begg'd pardon, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that had not mankind been ſo credulous, he ſhould not have been ſo bold (76). *Is* (Princeps Condæus) *Aimarum Lugduno accerſiverat indaginis cauſâ: excuſſum multis modis homuncionem & deprehenſum, tandem ad confeſſionem fraudis adegit; quam ſibi agnoſci petiit ſupplex, & graviora metuens, cauſatus non tam propriâ audaciâ, quam aliena credulitate hominum falli volentium, & velut obtrudentium ſibi, quæ alioqui nec jactare auſus fuiſſet, ſeſe in hæc impulſum eo tandem perveniſſe, unde pedem commodè non potuerit referre. Facile condonavit homini magnanimus princeps; ſed erant, qui ſuaderent diſſimulari comperta, & conſervari famam hominis vel artis, utili dolo, quod conſtaret, furibus aliiſque malis hominibus magnum metum fuiſſe injectum, & ob famam adventantis alicubi rerum furtivarum pretia fuiſſe relata; ſed Duciſſæ pariter noſtræ ac principis egregii ſententia fuit, potiorem habendam rationem veritatis.* To this Mr. Leibnitz adds a reflexion, highly worthy ſo great a Genius; that it were better to examine, how ſo many eminent perſons at Lyons could be impos'd upon, than to enquire phyſically into the pretended virtues of the wand (77). *Et ſcripſi nuper Pariſios, utilius & examine dignius, mihi videri problema morale vel logicum, quomodo tot viri inſignes Lugduni in fraudem ducti fuerint, quam illud pſeudo-phyſicum, quod tractavit Vallemontius, meliori materia dignus, quomodo virga corylacea tot miracula operetur? Nam moralis illa quæſtio, excuſſa pro dignitate, multorum errorum popularium origines ſæpè ſpecioſas aperiret.* "Were "ſuch a moral queſtion as this is, examined in a pro-"per manner, it might diſcover the often ſpecious "original of a great many popular errors." I believe, that had the magiſtrates of Lyons, who caus'd the murderer to be hang'd whom Aymar diſcover'd at Beaucaire, threaten'd to burn this fellow alive, as a wicked magician; and ordered the executioner to appear before him, with the ſeveral inſtruments of torture, they would have extorted from him the whole ſecret of the murder; and how he came to know the particular place in Beaucaire where one of the aſſaſſins was. 'Tis very probable, that ſome perſons who were to ſhare with him in the profits of his wand, prompted him to act this part, in order to raiſe his reputation. Mr. Buiſſiere obſerves in his letter (78), *That a ſett of people made it their buſineſs to cry up this fellow in all parts of Paris; and inſerted in the* Mercure Galant *for February* 1693, that he had found this thing and t'other, *whereas the whole was an errant falſhood.* People were ſo infatuated, that Aymar would have got a prodigious deal of money, could he but have maintain'd his

(75) Mr. Paſch p. 778 of the work above cited, calls the Father to whom this letter was written, *Cheulgni*; which probably is an error of the preſs for *Chevigni*.

(76) Leibnitzius apud *Tenzelii Colloq. Menſtr. anni* 1694. I have tranſcrib'd this paſſage from the work entitled, *De Inventis nov-antiquis*, p. 779. Edit. 1700. written by Mr. Paſch, a learned profeſſor of philoſophy in Kiel.

(77) Id. ib.

(78) *Lettre ſur les veritables effets de la Baguette*, p. 13, 14. i. e. "a letter "on the real "effects of the "wand.

and wiſdom of his anſwers, all which we find ſufficiently atteſted; it muſt be own'd, that the world at that time had few to compare with Abaris. The author from whom all this is extracted, intended to explain what was couch'd under the romantic expedition of Abaris, with the true meaning of the arrow itſelf, the nature of the predictions that Abaris ſpread in Greece, and the doctrines which he learn'd at Crotona; with the conceit of the Hyperboreans, that Latona the mother of Apollo, was born among them, and their moſt exact aſtronomical Cycle of nineteen years; but was prevented by death, he not having ſo much as begun his intended Hiſtory of the Druids, in which he was to explain the abovemention'd particulars. Pauſanias *in Laconic.* Toland's account of the Druids, in his *Poſthumous Works*, vol. 1. p. 161, &c. See HEBRIDES.

ABARIS, a city of Egypt. See the article PITHOM.

his credit. The reader ſhall judge, whether his adherents had not reaſon to promote his deceitful arts. "No impoſtor was ever in greater credit (79). Peo-
"ple were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced in his favour, that
"they made him attempt ſeveral things he himſelf
"never dreamt of; and ſought for arguments to
"excuſe him, whenever he was unſucceſsful. His
"ſpecious ſimplicity and ruſtic air, and the country
"dialect he always ſpoke, impos'd upon the world;
"whereas he was quite the reverſe of what he ap-
"pear'd. The whirl of his wand eluded the eye;
"the ſpectator ſaw a forked ſtick turn ſo ſwiftly in
"his hands, that he could not perceive the motion
"of his wriſt, which gave a ſpring to the wand,
"and made it whirl round with great ſtrength and
"velocity. Beſides his apparent ſimplicity, he af-
"fected to be very devout; was often at confeſſion;
"went every day to maſs, and aſſumed all the out-
"ward characteriſtics of the vaſtly pious Catholic;
"and us'd to declare, that he had never known wo-
"man; *otherwiſe*, would he ſay, *my wand would*
"*have loſt all its virtue.* He never went into the
"ſtreets in the day time, *for fear*, as he pretended,
"*of being knock'd down by thieves and ſharpers*; but
"his real view in this, was, that darkneſs was a
"better cloak to all his knaviſh artifices. Tho' his
"whole conduct was vaſtly ridiculous, it nevertheleſs
"was approved by ſome people, who conſequently
"cried him up. Had not Aymar been kept from
"going abroad, when he was at the Hotêl (palace)
"of Condé, (the Prince who ſent for him to Paris
"purely out of curioſity, being reſolved to ſee ſome
"ſpecimens of his ability, before he exhibited them
"in public) he would have been hurried to death by
"the multitudes who flocked to conſult him. One
"would enquire, *whether the thieves could not be*
"*diſcovered, who had committed ſuch a robbery, at*
"*ſuch a time, and in ſuch a place, &c.* Another
"would ask, *whether ſuch a Saint was not the true*
"*one, and not that of a certain pariſh, which alſo*
"*pretended to have his body?* Others would bring a
"parcel of relicks to know whether they were the
"true ones of ſuch a Saint. I my ſelf ſaw a ſimple
"young fellow, a ſilk weaver, who was contracted
"to a girl, give Aymar a couple of crowns, purely
"to know if ſhe had her maidenhead. Thoſe who
"ſhared the profits with him, took care to bring
"griſt to his mill; and made people pay before hand,
"in order to obtain ſucceſs in what they came
"about."

(79) Extract of the letter Mr. Buiſſiere honour'd me with, dated July 15. 1698.

Such a man as this in Paris, would have brought conſtant profit, and have proved a Peru to thoſe who were to ſhare with him. The ſuſpicious and the ſuſpected would have ſtrove to rival one another in their bounty to him; he would have got money from both husband and wife; from the innamorato and the fair-one; and the wand would have been immoveable, or have whirled round, according as the caſh was depoſited. My opinion is, that were the myſtery of theſe pretended prodigies laid open, the whole would be reduced to this; a knot of people are bent upon getting money, and for this purpoſe, one part of them boaſt their poſſeſſing an extraordinary talent, while the other, labour under hand to perſuade the public that they really are maſters of it. But then, I believe ſome empiricks have no need of emiſſaries, becauſe the bare credulity of mankind, gives them opportunity ſufficient to ſpread their impoſture. Not long ſince, ſome German quacks rambled over Holland, pretending to cure all ſorts of diſeaſes, without the application of medicines. *Only ſend us*, ſaid they, *your urine.* The cures they performed were all the talk; every one related wonders on that head; and their habitations, like the pool of Bethſaida, were crouded with the ſick and weak: but I don't think that thoſe who moſt cried up this wonderful Noſtrum, were in the ſecret, in order to ſhare the profits with them. Some took a pleaſure in recommending this bubble, becauſe it was of the marvellous kind; others who had applied to regular phyſicians in vain, prais'd it merely out of ſpight to the Faculty. However, this cheat did not laſt above a month or two, and being detected (80), ſuch multitudes had been impoſed upon by theſe urine-inſpectors, that the latter were as much deſpiſed as they had before been applauded.

Mr. Leibnitz obſerved very juſtly, that if the narrative of Aymar's ill ſucceſs in the Prince of Condé's palace had not been made public, the credulous would ſtill have diſputed the victory. But 'tis to be feared, Aymar's defeat will ſoon be forgot; and that people will be as much pleaſed to ſee this farce repreſented again, ſhould the ſame motives bring it upon the ſtage ſeven or eight years hence. *Niſi princeps Condæus cognoſcendæ rei tantum ſtudii imò & ſumptus impendiſſet, laboraremus adhuc & conflictaremur cum quibuſdam ingeniis, quibus gratius eſt per mira falli, quàm nudæ veritatis ſimplicitati acquieſcere* (81). "Some people
"had rather be impoſed upon by things of a mar-
"vellous kind, than yield to the ſimplicity of naked
"truth.

(80) Mr. Luſneu, a very able Phyſician of Roterdam, publiſh'd a little treatiſe in Flemiſh and French, to prove the vanity and folly of this practice. See *l'Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, for May 1697, p. 408 & ſeq. and the *Journal des Savans*, for Jan. 13. 1698. p. 30. Dutch edit.

(81) Leibnitzius, ubi ſupra.

☞ ABAS (SCHACH) There were two of this name both Sophis of Perſia; the firſt of whom called Abas the great, was third Son of Codabendi, ſeventh King of the race of the Sophis. Mirza Salmas his father's firſt Miniſter, bearing a mortal hatred to young Abas, conſpired to take away his life, by endeavouring to perſuade the Sophy his father that he meditated an inſurrection of his ſubjects [*A.*] Abas who had always been very ſubmiſſive to his father, being informed of what was plotting againſt him, ſent two noble men of his friends to the King to aſſure him of his loyalty; when the affair being narrowly examined, Abas was found innocent, and the Miniſter put to death. His father dying, Abas being but eighteen years of age, ſucceeded him in 1585 [*B*]. At his acceſſion to the crown, he found the affairs of Perſia at a very low ebb,

[*A*] *Meditated an inſurrection of his ſubjects.*] Mirza-Salmas had likewiſe a political view in this his treacherous procedure againſt Abas, for he wanted to ſacrifice this young Prince to the intereſt of Emir Hemſe his ſon-in-law, whom he hoped by that means to raiſe to the throne (1).

(1) Chardin *Voyage:* & *L'Hiſtoire de la derniere Revolution de Perſe.* Preface.

[*B*] *Abas ſucceeded him in* 1585.] Moreri has here committed an error in chronology, by aſſerting that Abas ſucceeded his two brothers Emir Hemſe, and Iſmael the third (2); for Abas began his reign in 1585, which plainly appears from what Moreri himſelf ſays in the ſequel of the article. Death, ſays he, put an end to his victories in 1629, after he had reigned forty four years. But if he began his reign in 1587, and died in 1629, he could not have reigned forty four years, as he aſſerts.

(2) See *Hiſtoire de la derniere Revolution de Perſe*, Preface, p. 85, 87.

ebb, occaſioned by the conqueſts of the Turks and Tartars [C]; for which reaſon he reſolved immediately to regain, if poſſible, the Provinces they had ſeiz'd. Accordingly he entered with an army into that of Chorazin, beat Abdallah Prince of the Uſbek Tartars whoſe head he cut off; made himſelf maſter of the Province; and from thence returned to Iſpahan which he made the capital of his kingdom, embelliſhing it with many noble, magnificent buildings. He then turn'd his arms againſt the Turks, took the city Tabris or Tauris in the Province of Adirbeitzan, afterwards entered the Province of Kilan, and reduced the inhabitants of it who had revolted in the reign of Schach-Tamas. Abas gained ſeveral victories over the Turks, and retook the iſland and city of Ormus [D] from the Portugueze. Death put a ſtop to the courſe of his victories in 1629, after a reign of forty four years. He was the greateſt Prince that had reigned in Perſia for many ages, and his memory is held in the higheſt veneration by them, he being with reaſon looked upon as the reſtorer of his country. And though at the beginning of his reign he gave very great hopes of what he would one day be, he even ſurpaſs'd the moſt flattering expectations of his ſubjects; and if ſome acts of cruelty with which he may be juſtly reproached [E] are excepted, he was endued with all thoſe qualifications which conſtitute the illuſtrious monarch. He was not only a great warrior, but one of the ableſt politicians of his age; which ſufficiently appears by the methods he employ'd in rendring himſelf abſolute in his kingdom [F], and in forming the civil government thereof, on a more perfect model than it had been before. But the ſuperior force of his underſtanding and good ſenſe, are particularly conſpicuous in the orders he gave at his laſt moments of concealing his death till the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſecured to Schah Sefi his grandſon. The manner in which this was executed is thus: His body was expos'd every day in the hall where he us'd to adminiſter juſtice, ſeated in a chair of ſtate with his eyes open, as though he had been alive, and his back turned towards the tapeſtry

[C] *By the conqueſts of the Turks and Tartars.*] Theſe were very great, for the Turks, after the death of Iſmael the firſt, extended their conqueſts over that great tract of land lying betwixt Taurus and the extremity of the kingdom of Cakel, being no leſs than four hundred miles from ſouth to north; and as many in breadth from the weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian Sea to the Black Sea, which the Muſcovites now poſſeſs. Beſides, they had alſo extended their conqueſts into the very heart of Perſia, as far as Amadan a hundred and eighty miles ſouth of Taurus, and made themſelves maſters of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria (3). All which, and many other places upon the black and red ſeas, Abas recovered from the Turks (4).

(3) *Hiſt. de la derniere Revolution de Perſe.* Preface, p. 89.
(4) Chardin *Voyages en Perſe*, &c. tom. 1. p. 126, 181, 187. Chalcondyle, liv. 21.

[D] *Retook the iſland and city of Ormus.*] Ormus is an iſland of Aſia in the Perſian gulph with a city of the ſame name. The Portugueze being perſuaded that this place was abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on their Eaſt-India trade, ſeiz'd upon it in 1507 under the conduct of the Duke of Albuquerque, and built a ſtrong citadel to defend it: which Abas, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, retook the 25th of April 1622. whereby the Portugueze loſt to the value of eight millions of crowns (5).

(5) Hollert's *Voyages*, p. 39, &c. Tavernier, p. 1. l. 5. c. 23.

[E] *The acts of cruelty with which he may be juſtly reproached.*] Abas had during the courſe of his reign committed ſeveral acts of cruelty, which diſcover a very ſtrange contraſt in one who was otherwiſe a great Prince; and may ſerve to aſcertain the truth of the common maxim, that no man, how perfect ſoever, is without ſome fault. The firſt act of his barbarity was exerciſed on his own governor Murſchid-Kuli-Kan, who alſo had been his beſt friend, and to whom he owed the crown. Kuli-Kan believing he might ſtill uſe the ſame authority over this Prince that he had aſſumed while he was under his tutelage; and putting too high a value on the ſervices he had done him, became by that means ſo odious to Abas, that after ſtriking Kuli-Kan himſelf, he ordered one of his own grooms to diſpatch him, whom, for this action, he afterwards made a Kan, and Governor of Herat (6). Nor did his cruelty ſtop here, for the next day he ordered all the relations and friends of Kuli-Kan to be maſſacred (7). The next act of his cruelty was, his cutting off the head of Prince Abdallah, contrary to the law of nations and of arms (8). The third act which ſullied his glory moſt, was exerciſed upon his own children, againſt whom he conceived ſuch unjuſt and ill grounded ſuſpicions, that he ordered the eyes of the two youngeſt to be put out, reſerving Sofi-Myrza the eldeſt for his ſucceſſor. But afterwards ſuſpecting this Prince alſo, he commanded him to be put to death, which was no ſooner done than he was ſeized with the deepeſt regret; and ſuch was his remorſe of conſcience, that to atone for his crime, he ſhut himſelf up ten days in a dark place, and wore ſackcloth during the reſt of his life (9).

(6) *Hiſt. de la derniere Revol. de Perſe.* Preface, p. 86.
(7) Id. p. 87.
(8) Id. ibid. p. 88.
(9) Id. ibid. p. 93.

[F] *By the methods he employed in rendring himſelf abſolute.*] The kingdom of Perſia before Abas aſcended the throne, was divided between twenty little Princes, each of whom had uſurped a ſovereignty over the countries in their dependance; and all of them combined to maintain themſelves independent on the Kings of Perſia, which very much retrench'd the power of thoſe monarchs. Abas being abſolutely determin'd to eſtabliſh a deſpotic and arbitrary form of government in his kingdom, made it his firſt endeavour to ruin the ancient and moſt powerful families of the country, and to weaken the veteran troops who were alſo a check upon him. He did not however diſcover his deſign till he had filled his troops with Georgians and Armenians, who being moſtly Chriſtians, bore a mortal hatred to the Courtches (of whom theſe troops were formerly compoſed) as being deſcended from the Turcomans and Saracens ſo famous in hiſtory for their enmity to the Chriſtians (10). He filled the great poſts and employments of the ſtate with foreigners, who being originally ſlaves, were not attach'd by kindred or relation to the Grandees; ſo that the government of Perſia, which was anciently very mild, became by his means one of the moſt deſpotic and abſolute in the world (11). Abas recommended to his ſucceſſor as a good political maxim, to puniſh corporally the Grandees of the kingdom when they committed a crime, but to inflict pecuniary mulcts only on the common people on thoſe occaſions, giving this as a reaſon, that the rich have ever been more ſenſible of the infamy which corporal puniſhment is attended with, than the loſs of any part of their poſſeſſions; whereas the poor are always more affected with the loſs of theirs than with any other puniſhment. This maxim of Abas has been ever ſince obſerv'd in Perſia, ſo that when any of the nobility commit a crime that is not capital, they are condemned to receive a certain number of ſtrokes with a cane on the ſoles of their feet, of which they often die (12). Another ſecret, but dangerous maxim of government, he recommended to his ſucceſſor was, that if he hoped to reign in peace, he muſt ſow diviſion among his ſubjects. Abas himſelf practis'd this maxim with great ſucceſs, by introducing into each city of his kingdom colonies of foreigners, from ſuch provinces as were the moſt incompatible in their language, cuſtoms, manners and way of living, whereby he eſtabliſhed in every city of his kingdom two different factions, which ſubſiſted till the laſt revolution: This Prince being ſenſible of the great advantages of commerce to enrich a nation, and that nothing is more proper to invite foreign merchants than the ſecurity of their perſons and effects from all violence and inſults, applied himſelf particularly to provide for the ſecurity of the high-ways; and the regulations he made for that purpoſe are excellent, and highly worthy of imitation (13).

(10) Id. ibid. p. 91.
(11) Id. ibid. p. 92.
(12) *Hiſt. de Revol. de Perſe*, p. 84, 85.
(13) Tavernier's *Voyages*, tom. 1. Paris edit. 1681. p. 556.

tapeſtry behind which the Aga Juſuf was conceal'd, who liſted up his arm by the means of a ſmall cord of ſilk, while Timerbeg made a ſhew of propoſing to him the ſeveral grievances of the people who ſtood at the other end of the hall, and of receiving his judgment upon them; by this artifice Abas's death was kept from the knowledge of the public for ſix weeks. See Olearius and Pietro della Valle's *Voyages into Perſia*.

ABAS (Schah) the ſecond ſon of Sefi, and grandſon to Schah Abas the Great, was the ninth King of Perſia of the race of the Sophis. This Prince ſucceeded his father Sefi when but thirteen years old in 1642, after having run the hazard of being made incapable of the ſucceſſion. Schah Sefi his father, whoſe cruelty was ſo great as not to ſpare his only ſon, commanded one of the principal eunuchs to paſs the iron before the eyes of young Abas, without giving any reaſon for ſo barbarous a ſentence. Sefi intended undoubtedly, that the eunuch ſhould paſs a red-hot iron before his ſon's eyes [*A*]; but as he had not expreſſed himſelf clearly, the eunuch pitying the young Prince, and being perſuaded, that as the King had no other heir he would afterwards repent ſo cruel an order, taking advantage of this equivocal expreſſion, only paſs'd a cold iron before the Prince's eyes; and told the King his orders were executed. In the mean time Abas, being inſtructed by the eunuch, counterfeited the blind man ſo well, that every body believ'd he had really loſt his ſight. When Schah Sefi was upon his death-bed, he lamented bitterly that he had depriv'd himſelf of the only heir he could leave the crown to, by having render'd Abas incapable of ſucceeding him. While he was under this extremity of affliction, and often declar'd to thoſe about him, that he could die ſatisfy'd, provided he had a ſon to ſucceed him; the eunuch, who ſaw his end approaching, aſſured him he had a ſecret whereby he could reſtore the Prince to his ſight, of which he was ready to give him a proof. The King tranſported at what he heard, immediately diſpatched two of the principal noblemen, with orders to bring the Prince before him; and finding the eunuch's ſecret had its effect, his joy was ſo great, that it prolong'd his life for ſome days. Abas the ſecond's reign was very different from that of his father Sefi [*B*]; and 'tis certain, that if we except Iſmael the firſt, and Schah Abas the firſt, there never was a greater Prince of the race of the Sophis than Abas; though, like the former Abas, he was not exempt from imperfections. Abas being but thirteen years old when he aſcended the throne, as was before obſerv'd, committed the affairs of the kingdom to his mother, and to Athemat-Doulet, a venerable old man in whom ſhe placed great confidence. They govern'd very peaceably for three years, till Jani-Kan, a nobleman of great power and intereſt, envying Athemat's exalted fortune, and miſinterpreting a word which the King had dropt in converſation, went, as tho' by the orders of his Sovereign, and aſſaſſinated him. The King's mother was enraged at this, and believing herſelf inſulted in the perſon of Athemat-Doulet, ſhe urg'd the King to revenge the murther. Abas being then ſixteen years of age, was forc'd to diſſemble; but ſo far from puniſhing Jani-Khan, he gave him the employments and the eſtate of Athemat, and two days after created him Generaliſſimo of Perſia, whereby he had thirty thouſand men under his command. This new miniſter might have ſupported himſelf much longer in the King's favour, notwithſtanding the hatred his mother bore him, had he not conſpired to take away her life; but Abas was oblig'd, as ſoon as he was informed of it, to put him and all his accomplices to death [*C*]. The young Prince having by this act of vengeance eſtabliſh'd his authority, took the reins of empire into his own hand. Abas was eighteen years old when he laid ſiege to the city of Candahar, which had ſurrender'd in his father's reign to the Great Mogul; but he made himſelf maſter thereof, and of all the province about it, and preſerv'd it ever afterwards, in ſpite of all the efforts of that Indian Emperor, who beſieg'd it more than once with an army of three hundred thouſand men. The longer Abas reign'd, the more he endear'd himſelf to his ſubjects, and became the dread of all his neighbours. He was a great lover of juſtice, and ſhew'd no mercy to ſuch governors of provinces, or other officers, as oppreſs'd the people, of which there are many inſtances in his life [*D*]. He had a noble and

[*A*] *That he ſhould paſs a red hot iron before his eyes.*] Depriving criminals of their ſight is a puniſhment very frequent amongſt the Perſians, and the manner of inflicting it, was formerly by paſſing a red hot piece of iron before their eyes (1).

(1) Chardin *Voyage de Perſe*, tom. 2. p. 214.

[*B*] *Abas the ſecond's reign was very different from that of his father Sefi.*] The reign of Schah Sefi was a ſeries of cruelty and ſlaughter, he being the moſt blood-thirſty Prince that ever ſat on the throne of Perſia; ſo that it became proverbial among the Perſians, that he came into the world with his hands full of blood. Abas the firſt had alſo foretold that he ſhould bathe his hands in blood, which proved but too true in the ſequel. The firſt act of his cruelty was againſt his only brother, whoſe eyes he order'd to be put out. He alſo gave a command, that his two Uncles, whom his father Abas had deprived of their ſight, ſhould be thrown down a rock, alledging for his reaſon, that being blind they were good for nothing elſe in this world. He likewiſe put to death the moſt conſiderable noblemen of his empire, many of whom were particularly attach'd to his perſon and family. Nor did his barbarity ſtop here, for he buried his own mother, his aunt, and forty of his concubines alive all together in a deep ditch, which he had ordered to be dug for that purpoſe. An inſtance of barbarity exceeding even that of Nero and Caligula.

[*C*] *Put him and all his accomplices to death.*] Tavernier (2) declares, this was by the order of Schah Sefi his father; but Chardin, who was much better informed, and in every reſpect more exact than he, aſcribes it to Abas the ſecond.

(2) Tavernier's *Voyages to Perſia*.

[*D*] *Many inſtances in his life.*] Schah Abas was ſo rigorous and inflexible on theſe occaſions, that he never pardoned any perſons who were found guilty (3). A remarkable example of which we have in the puniſhment of one of his own Nazars or Great Maſters of the houſhold. For this man, though his particular favourite, he ordered to be ſtrip'd naked, cauſed him to be expos'd to the heat of the ſun for three days, and to the inclemency of the air for as many nights, and afterwards condemn'd him to perpetual impriſonment, and to wear a chain about his neck, for having ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by bribes.

(3) Id. ibid. book 5. c. 5, 6, & 7.

and elevated ſoul, lov'd foreigners, and openly protected the Chriſtians [*E*], whom he would not ſuffer to be moleſted in any manner on account of their Religion, ſaying, that God alone was Lord of the conſciences of men. As for myſelf, ſays he, 'tis my duty to preſide over the external government of the ſtate, and to take care that all my ſubjects, of what Religion ſoever, may have juſtice equally adminiſtred to them [*F*]. He form'd a noble deſign, viz. to extend the limits of his kingdom towards the north, for which he had made conſiderable preparations; and it was generally believ'd Abas would have been ſucceſsful, he having levy'd a powerful army of choſen troops, and found means to amaſs vaſt ſums of money without burthening his ſubjects, by keeping vacant many of the great, but unneceſſary poſts of the kingdom, and retrenching from his own private expences. By this good œconomy, upwards of twelve millions of crowns were brought yearly into the treaſury. But death put a ſtop to all his great deſigns. He fell ſick at one of his country-ſeats, ſix miles from Damagaan, a city of the province of Tabriſtan, and after having languiſh'd four months in a diſeaſe, into which a virulent *Lues Venerea* had thrown him, he dy'd the 25th of September 1666, aged thirty ſeven years, leaving two ſons, but without naming which of them ſhould ſucceed him.

[*E*] *Protected openly the Chriſtians.*] The favourable ſentiments which this Prince and the other Kings of Perſia, ſince Abas the firſt, entertain'd for the Chriſtian religion, may be aſcrib'd to their being born of Georgian women. For ever ſince Abas the great conquer'd that country, the Sophis of Perſia have had their Haram or Seraglio ſupplied by Ladies of that country, who being originally Chriſtians, not only preſerve a veneration for the religion of their fathers, but alſo inſpire their ſons who are educated in their ſight till they are ſeven years old, with a particular regard for it. Schah-Abas the ſecond was ſo prejudiced in favour of Chriſtianity, that nothing could offend him more than to hear any one ſpeak ill of it; and many of his Courtiers incurred his diſpleaſure, and were diſgraced on that very account. Some aſcribe the death of Athemal-Doulet, who governed in his minority to the invincible averſion he diſcovered on all occaſions againſt it; and the Armenians of his time uſed to ſay amongſt themſelves, that Abas was more a Chriſtian than a Mahometan (4). I believe no great credit ought to be given to a common report which prevailed among the people at that time, viz. That Abas was baptized a little before his death by his Phyſician F. Raphael, a Capuchin, who was in great favour with him. I ſhould think there is the greater reaſon to doubt of the truth of this, ſince Chardin, who in his hiſtory of the coronation of Solyman ſeems pretty well informed of all the particulars of the death of this Prince, does not mention a word of ſo remarkable an incident; ſo that we may rather conclude it to be a fiction of the Romiſh Miſſionaries.

(4) Chardin's *Coronation of Solyman*, p. 169. Paris edition.

[*F*] *May have juſtice equally adminiſtred to them.*] There is a ſhining inſtance of this ſpirit of toleration in Abas, and his impartial equity to all his ſubjects, on occaſion of a Perſian's having ſtabb'd an Armenian Chriſtian, for taking a fiſh, which they look upon as ſacred, out of the baſon of a Moſque. The criminal being abſolved by the Sedre or High-Prieſt of the kingdom, who declared, that the Armenian had been juſtly killed; Schah-Abas hearing of it was of a contrary opinion, deſpiſed the ridiculous reaſoning of the Prieſt, who pretended that the taking of a conſecrated fiſh was ſuch a ſacrilegious crime, as the firſt who ſaw it, had a right to puniſh with death: Abas therefore reprimanded the Prieſt ſeverely, condemned him to pay a fine to the benefit of the family of the deceaſed Armenian, and puniſhed the murtherer as he deſerved.

☞ ABASSON, a famous Impoſtor, went into France, where he pretended to paſs for a Perſian Prince; by this means he got from ſeveral perſons of diſtinction conſiderable ſums of money, which he ſpent in company with wicked and profligate wretches. From France he went to Iſpahan the capital of Perſia; there he conceal'd himſelf from morning till night, in order to get thoroughly acquainted with the language and manners of the Perſians. Paul Lucas the traveller, who gives an account of this Impoſtor, tells us he had ſeen him often ſtudying his part. In a few years, Abaſſon thinking he was now well prepar'd to appear in publick, perſuaded a Perſian lady of his acquaintance [*A*], that he was brother to the King of Perſia, ſon of Solyman, and great-grand-ſon of Abas the great: that his mother, who was an Arabian, had hid him immediately after his birth, for fear the King ſhould ſacrifice him, in like manner as he

[*A*] *Perſuaded a Perſian lady.*] It is uſual with Impoſtors and Hereſiarchs to practiſe firſt upon the fair ſex, and to endeavour to inveigle them; becauſe they know women generally have a great aſcendant not only over their husbands, but alſo over other men. Their power is often ſo great and ſo unlimited, that even men of honour, of birth and quality, and capable of ſerving their country, muſt be contented to lead a private life, if they will not ſubmit ſo far as to addreſs ſome proud and ambitious woman who bears ſway in courts, and diſpoſes of all the poſts and preferments. Thus under the late French King, Madam de Maintenon was ſo powerful, that not the leaſt favour could be obtain'd but by applying firſt to her. Even the Princes of the Blood were oblig'd to make court to that lady. But this was no new grievance; there are inſtances of it in the hiſtory of the commonwealth of Rome. Lucullus, the moſt worthy man of his time, of whom Abbé St. Real ſays, that one thing only could be laid to his charge, viz. that *he did not know how to be vicious* (1); Lucullus, I ſay, notwithſtanding all his ſhining qualities, could not obtain the government of Cilicia, nor the command of the army againſt Mithridates, without humbling himſelf before Præſcia, and making love to her. This Præſcia was a woman notorious at Rome for her lewdneſs. Cethegus, then the idol of the people, was in love with her, and ſhe had ſo great an aſcendant over him, that to obtain any thing from Cethegus, people were obliged to apply to Præſcia; and to procure the people's favour, Cethegus was to be courted. Lucullus, tho' an enemy to Cethegus, and deſpiſing Præſcia, was nevertheleſs prevail'd upon to pay her ſome reſpect; which ſhe miſtaking for love, was the prouder of it, becauſe Lucullus was univerſally eſteem'd, and had till then ſeem'd little inclin'd to gallantry. Præſcia return'd his addreſſes in a ſatisfactory manner, reconciled him with Cethegus; who blindly believing any thing his miſtreſs told him, was laviſh in all places of the praiſes of Lucullus; apply'd to the people in his favour, and at laſt obtain'd for him the government he deſir'd (2). Thus a man of great abilities and uncommon merit, was promoted to an honourable poſt by the mediation of a woman, nay a lewd woman. I don't know whether the Perſian lady, our Abaſſon apply'd to, was of the ſame character with Præſcia; but in all likelihood Abaſſon would have gain'd little credit among the Armenians, had he not been ſupported by her powerful intereſt.

(1) Oeuvres de St. Real, tom. 1. p. 207.

(2) Id. ibid.

had done his other brothers. He alſo made her believe, that having wander'd up and down ſeveral countries, he reſolv'd at laſt to return to Iſpahan, with an intention to free his countrymen from the tyranny of a Prince, who unjuſtly poſſeſs'd a crown to which he only had a right by his birth. To make his ſtory the more plauſible, the cunning Abaſſon ſhew'd an emerald, on which he had cau'd to be engrav'd the name of Solyman, with that of a ſon of his, born indeed of an Armenian woman, but who dy'd a child. He likewiſe pretended that ſeal had been given him, as a token by which, if occaſion offer'd, he might make himſelf known for the true ſon of Solyman. In a little time he had ſo far infatuated ſeveral Armenians, that they adviſed him to go into Turkey, and beg the Sultan's aſſiſtance, in order to reſtore him to the Perſian throne. The Armenians collected among themſelves a large ſum of money, which they gave to Abaſſon, together with ſeveral bills of exchange upon the Armenian merchants at Conſtantinople. Abaſſon thus furniſh'd, went to that city, where the Armenians receiv'd him with open arms. The Grand Signior having had notice of his arrival, offer'd him five hundred rixdollars (*a*) a day, and a guard of Janizaries; but the haughty Abaſſon refus'd theſe offers, as being beneath the dignity of ſo great a Prince. This magnanimity, as his friends call'd it, endear'd him more and more to the Armenians, who furniſh'd him liberally with money, ſo as to enable him to live in a manner ſuitable to his birth. But worldly felicity is not laſting; for the Grand Signior began to ſuſpect Abaſſon to be an Impoſtor: ſo that he gave orders to have him ſeiz'd, upon which he was carry'd under a ſtrong guard into the iſle of Lemnos in the Archipelago. In the mean time the Grand Signior ſent an Aga to Iſpahan, to enquire into the truth of the whole affair. Abaſſon hearing this, was deeply afflicted; he apply'd to the French Conſuls in the Levant, in order that by their intereſt he might get leave to go to France. The Conſuls, impos'd upon by the ſeal abovemention'd, wrote to Count Pontchartrain in France in favour of this mock-prince; but before they could have an anſwer, the Aga had inform'd the Grand Signior, that Abaſſon was an Impoſtor. Upon which his pretended Perſian Majeſty was beheaded, by the Turkiſh Sultan's order, together with three of his abettors; and their heads were expos'd to the view of the whole army before the Viſier's tent, to teach all ſuch Impoſtors as Abaſſon, not to impoſe upon the credulity of the people, by ſpecious fictions; becauſe the truth never fails, ſooner or later, to come to light (*b*).

(*a*) A Rixdollar is worth about four ſhillings and ſixpence of our money.

(*b*) Paul Lucas *Voyage dans la Turquie*, &c. en 1714, tom. 1. p. 56.

☞ ABBADIE (JAMES) an eminent French Proteſtant Divine, was born at Nay, a town within four leagues of Pau in Bearn, in the year 1654. After he had made a ſufficient progreſs in claſſical learning, under the inſpection and encouragement of the famous John la Placette, miniſter of Nay, he was ſent to the Academy of Sedan, where he ſtudied philoſophy and divinity. From thence he went into Holland, and afterwards into Germany; and having receiv'd holy Orders and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he was miniſter of the Elector of Brandenburg in the French church of Berlin. But he left that place about the year 1690, and came over into England, and was for ſome time miniſter of the French church in the Savoy, London. Some time after, the Deanery of Killalow in Ireland being vacant, he was promoted to that dignity, which he enjoy'd till his death. Having made a tour into Holland in order to publiſh one of his books, ſoon after his return he was taken ill at London, and dy'd at St. Mary la Bonne, near London, on the 25th of September 1727, in the 73d year of his age. He was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the orthodox or primitive doctrine of the Proteſtants, as appears by his writings, which are numerous [*A*]. Beſides an uncommon knowledge of the learned languages and the claſſical authors, he was well vers'd in eccleſiaſtical and prophane hiſtory. But what rais'd and ſupported his reputation was his elevated genius, great penetration, and ſtrong nervous eloquence.

☞ ABBAS

[*A*] *His writings are numerous.*] He publiſh'd the following books. *Sermons ſur divers textes de l'Ecriture.* Leiden 1680, in 8°. This volume contains four ſermons. *Panegyrique de Monſeigneur l'Electeur de Brandebourg.* Rotterdam 1684, in 8°. *Traité de la Verité de la Religion Chretienne.* Rotterdam 1684, in 8°, 2 vol. A ſecond edition of the ſame in the year 1688, with large additions. This book was ſeveral times reprinted in France, and tranſlated into Engliſh, Dutch, &c. *Reflexions ſur la Preſence réelle du Corps de Jeſus Chriſt dans l'Euchariſtie; compriſes en diverſes Lettres.* La Haye 1685. in 12°. Reprinted at Rotterdam in 1713. But the author diſown'd theſe editions, as being full of typographical errors, which often perverted the ſenſe, or made it unintelligible. *Les Caracteres du Chretien & du Chriſtianiſme; marquez dans trois ſermons ſur divers Textes de l'Ecriture, avec des Reflexions ſur les Afflictions de l'Egliſe.* La Haye 1685, in 12°. *Traité de la Divinité de Nôtre Seigneur Jeſus Chriſt.* Rotterdam 1689, in 8°. *L'Art de ſe connoitre ſoy-même, ou la Recherche des Sources de la Morale. En deux Parties.* Rotterdam 1692, in 8°. It has been reprinted ſeveral times in France, and tranſlated into various languages. The High-Dutch Tranſlation is printed at Augsburg in 1712, in 8°. *Defence de la Nation Britannique, où les Droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Societé, ſont clairement établis, au ſujet de la Revolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Auteur de l'Avis important aux Refugiez.* Londres 1692, in 8°. Reprinted in Holland. *Panegyrique de Marie Reine d'Angleterre, d'Ecoſſe, de France, & d'Irlande, de glorieuſe Memoire, decedée à Kenſington le 18 Decembre* 1694. La Haye 1695, in 12°. *Hiſtoire de la derniere Conſpiration d'Angleterre. Avec le detail des diverſes entrepriſes contre le Roi & la Nation, qui ont precedé ce dernier Attentat.* Londres 1696, in 8°. This book was written by order of King William, and extracted from the memoirs and original papers communicated to the author by the Earl of Portland, and Sir William Trumbal Secretary of State. It was reprinted in Holland, and tranſlated into Engliſh. *La Verité de la Religion Reformée.* Rotterdam 1718, 2 vol. in 8°. Dr. Lambert, Biſhop of Dromore in Ireland, judging that this book might be proper for the inſtruction of the Roman Catholics of his Dioceſe, deſired a Clergyman, who was his friend, to tranſlate it into Engliſh; but when the Biſhop ſaw that verſion he diſliked it, and tranſlated it himſelf. *Le Triomphe de la Providence & de la Religion,*

* Note this name is ſometimes written with a ſingle *b*, becauſe the Arabians very rarely write any double letters; their uſual way being to ſet this mark (ω), which they call *Teſdid*, i. e. a forcing or doubling over ſuch letters as they intend ſhall have a double ſound as عباس ω ω Abas for *Abbas*, &c. See Erpenius's *Grammar*, p. 21, &c.

☞ ABBAS *, the ſon of Abdalmothleb or Abdolmutalib, and uncle of Mahomet; at firſt rais'd a war againſt his nephew, whom he eſteem'd an impoſtor and an infidel: but he having been vanquiſh'd and taken priſoner by Mahomet at the battel of Bender, which happen'd in the ſecond year of the Hegira, he was ſet at a very great ranſom. Whereupon one day complaining to Mahomet, he ſaid; *Can you think it reaſonable to reduce your own uncle to ſuch a wretched poverty, as will bring a diſhonour on your family, by forcing him to beg his bread from door to door.* Mahomet, who knew that Abbas had got large ſums conceal'd, reply'd, *What then are become of thoſe purſes fill'd with gold, which you gave to your mother to keep for you the day you came from Mecca?* Whereupon Abbas being very much ſurpriz'd at Mahomet's knowledge of what he thought had been extremely ſecret [*A*], began to have a better opinion of his nephew than he formerly had, and to think him an extraordinary perſon; and thereupon promiſed him not only to pay his ranſom, but alſo to embrace his new religion; which accordingly he did: and ſome years afterward he declar'd publickly, That God had been pleas'd to reſtore to him the money he had ſo disburs'd an hundred fold, which he eſteem'd as an effect of God's favour [*B*] to him for embracing *Muſulmaniſm*. After this he became one of Mahomet's principal captains, and fought on his behalf at the battel of Henain againſt the Thakefites in the eighth year of the Hegira, which was ſome time after the taking of Mecca. It was at this battle that Mahomet's life was in great danger, and he had certainly been loſt, had not Abbas, who had an exceeding ſtrong and loud voice, recall'd and re-animated the flying ſoldiers with theſe words: *Oh ye ſervants of God! Don't you know his prophet is here? Where will you flee? Where will you hide yourſelves? Are you the faithful people ſpoken of in the Scripture, and to whom the promiſes of God are made, and will you deſert the Prophet of God? &c.* Theſe words of Abbas being ſpoken with a piercing and lofty tone, ſo animated the flying Muſulmans, that they return'd to the charge, and reſcu'd their Prophet from the hands of his enemies. But this our Abbas was not only a good Soldier, but alſo a Doctor of the Muſulman Law, and became very knowing therein in a ſhort time; for all their learning then conſiſted in reciting and explaining the chapters of the Alcoran, which Mahomet pretended were ſent to him from Heaven from time to time: and next, to preſerve in their memory certain apocryphal hiſtories which paſſed among them for prophetic traditions. But in that kind of learning our Abbas was greatly ſurpaſſed by his ſon, uſually nam'd Ebn Abbas, i. e. the ſon of Abbas. Our Abbas was ever had in great veneration by the Muſulmans, and both the Khalifs, Omar, and Othman, never came into his preſence on horſeback, but they alighted on foot to ſalute him. He died in the thirty ſecond year of the Hegira; and a hundred years after his death, one of his grandſons, viz. Abul-abbas, ſirnamed Saffah, was proclaimed Khalif, and in him began the Dynaſty, or government of the Abbaſſides, who poſſeſſed the Khalifate for the ſpace of 524 years: and there were thirty ſeven Khalifs of his Race, who ſucceeded one another without any interruption. His ſon Ebn Abbas Abdallah, couſin-german to Mahomet, was grandſon to Abdalmothleb, who was the grandfather of the falſe Prophet. He was one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Muſulman Doctors, who are by way of eminence denominated Sabahah, i. e. *the companions of the Prophet*; and his authority has a preference beyond all of 'em in the doctrine of traditions [*C*]. 'Tis reported of him, (but without foundation) That the Angel Gabriel, who had brought the Alcoran to Mahomet, appear'd to him at the age of ten years, and endu'd him with a perfect underſtanding of that Book, and that therefore he was dignified with the title of Targiuman Alcoran, i. e. *the Interpreter of the Alcoran*. He dy'd in the ſixty eighth year of the Hegira; on whoſe death there was an univerſal cry, *That the Grand Rabbani* [*D*] (*i. e. the great Doctor or Inſtructor*) *of the Muſulmans is dead.* Herbelot, p. 3.

☞ ABBASA, ſiſter of Harun Raſchid, fifth Khalif of the race of the Abbaſſides. (See the next article.) The Khalif her brother marry'd her to Giafer his favourite, upon this hard condition, That they ſhould not bed together: but their reciprocal paſſion made them forget, or diſregard the condition; ſo that a ſon was born to them,

ou l'Ouverture des ſept Sceaux par le fils de Dieu: où l'on trouvera la premiere partie de l'Apocalypſe, clairement expliquée par ce qu'il y a de plus connu dans l'Hiſtoire & de moins conteſté dans la parole de Dieu. Avec une nouvelle & tres ſenſible Demonſtration de la Verité de la Religion Chretienne. Amſterdam 1723, 4 vol. in 12°. Beſides theſe books, he publiſh'd ſome ſermons ſeparately, and ſome other ſmall pieces, which met with as great approbation as his other works. A little before he dy'd, he put out propoſals for printing a new edition of all his works, in 4 vol. 4°, which was to include ſome new Pieces that had never been made publick; but was prevented by death.

[*A*] *Extremely ſecret.*] 'Tis poſſible Abbas was much ſurpriz'd at the diſcovery of this ſecret; and yet 'tis more than probable Mahomet was no Prophet as to the means of the diſcovery: for tho' he was expel'd Mecca, he had yet many friends and agents there, who might be ſuppos'd to have ſome knowledge of the affair tranſacted between Abbas and his mother, and conſequently convey that knowledge to Mahomet.

[*B*] *As an effect of God's favour.*] I cannot ſee any good ground for this Faith or Hypocriſy, (call it which you will) in Abbas, ſince he, ſoon after the fight at Bender, join'd with Mahomet, became a coadjutor of his councils and actions, and conſequently ſhar'd with him in his future rapines and conqueſts; which in a few years augmented their fortunes, as Abbas ſays, an hundred fold.

[*C*] *The doctrine of traditions.*] The whole body of the Mahometan Religion, like that of the Jews, conſiſts either in the book call'd the Coran or Alcoran, or in another book of traditions call'd Sonnah. See the article ABOU-HANIFAH.

[*D*] *The Grand Rabbani.*] The word *Rabbani*, or *Rabbana*, ſignifies both in Arabick and Hebrew, *our Maſter*, or *our Inſtructor*. The Muſulmans likewiſe call ſuch of their Doctors as they eſteem the moſt ſpiritual and devout, Rabbanian and Rabbanioun, (in the plural number.) See Herbelot, p. 704. B.

them, whom they ſent ſecretly to Mecca to be nurs'd. This being afterwards diſcover'd by the Khalif, was the cauſe of both their misfortunes [*A*]; for Giafar, according to ſome authors, thereby loſt the favour of his Sovereign; and Abbaſa being baniſh'd the imperial palace, was reduc'd to a moſt miſerable ſtate. Some years after, Abbaſa happening to meet with a great lady her former acquaintance, the latter was vaſtly ſurpriz'd to ſee her in ſo mean and deſpicable a dreſs; and asking how ſhe who had been ſo rich, was now become ſo poor; Abbaſa anſwer'd, *Once indeed I had four hundred ſlaves at my command; but my condition is now ſo much chang'd, that two ſheep-skins ſerve me, the one as a ſhift and the other for a gown.* Abbaſa ſaid farther, *That ſhe aſcrib'd her misfortunes to her ingratitude for the benefits ſhe had receiv'd from God in the time of her proſperity:* And declar'd, *That having acknowledged her crime, and been truly penitent for it, ſhe then liv'd contented.* The lady hearing this gave her five hundred drachms of ſilver, (about ſeven or eight pounds); at which Abbaſa was as joyful as if ſhe had been reſtor'd to her former grandeur. In the Arabic collection, entitled *Saba*, 'tis ſaid that this Princeſs had an elevated genius, and compos'd elegant verſes. And Abou Hagelah relates, that there is a very moving ſonnet of Abbaſa's to Giaffer her husband. We give a ſtanza of it, tranſlated from the Arabic, in the Remarks [*B*].

[*A*] *The cauſe of both their misfortunes.*] An eminent Perſian hiſtorian accounts for it as follows. (1) *Khondemir.* "Harun Raſchid having a ſiſter call'd Abbaſa, whom "he tenderly lov'd, and a chief favourite named "Giafer, whoſe converſation gave him very great "delight, was in effect ſuddenly deprived of both, "his ſiſter withdrawing her ſelf into the moſt ſecret "apartment of the court-ladies, where ſhe would "ſcarce admit of the Khalif's viſits; and Giafer, "having loſt much of that wit and gaiety wherewith "he us'd to entertain him. Harun being uneaſy at "this, ſoon found that the mutual affection which "Giafer and Abbaſa had for each other was the cauſe "of it, and therefore to ſatisfy in ſome meaſure their "paſſion, which he perceiv'd was very violent, he "reſolved they ſhould marry; hoping by that means "to enjoy the pleaſing converſation of both without "ſcruple or difficulty. He indeed annext to it this "hard condition, viz. that they ſhould neither bed "together, nor have any manner of familiar con-"verſe, except in his preſence. But notwithſtanding "this reſtriction, the inclination of the young Lady, "made her ſtrongly urge Giafer, who was young and "very handſome, to a more intimate correſpondence. "Giafer, being likewiſe naturally amorous, could not "long reſiſt the ſollicitations of his fair-one, and ſoon "found means ſecretly to ſatisfy her deſires. Abbaſa "proving pregnant not long after this, was delivered "of a male child, but ſo privately that the Khalif "could never have known it, had not one of her "ſlaves diſcover'd it to him. In the mean time they "had ſent the child to Mecca to be nurs'd, which "being whiſper'd in the Khalif's ear, he took a "journey thither upon pretence of a pilgrimage, but "before his arrival into that city, the infant had been "ſo ſecretly conveyed into the province of Yemen or "Arabia Felix, that Harun could not trace it with any "certainty. Upon this, 'tis ſaid, the Khalif form'd a "reſolution of deſtroying Giafer and his whole fami-"ly, call'd the Barmecides, which was very numerous."

(2) Abul Pharagius's *Hiſtory of the Dynaſties of the Khalifs, or Mahomet's ſucceſſors.*

Another celebrated author (2) gives the following account of this incident. "The 108th year of the "Hegira (anno Dom. 802.) Al-Raſchid, ſeizing on "the Barmecides put Giafer to death, which is "aſcrib'd to the following cauſe. Raſchid was ac-"cuſtomed whenever he wanted to relax his cares "with drinking, to make Giafer and Abbaſa the com-"panions of his pleaſures, and was ſo delighted with "their converſation, that he could not bear the "abſence of either. It happened that Raſchid in one "of his jovial entertainments with them, ſaid thus to "Giafer, I'll give Abbaſa to thee for a wife, ſo far as "to gaze upon, and converſe with her in my pre-"ſence, but not to touch or converſe with her in "in private. Giafer accepted of her on theſe terms; "but they being both young, ſoon found an oppor-"tunity of gratifying their mutual wiſhes, ſo that "Abbaſa became pregnant and was deliver'd of male "twins. Raſchid hearing of this was ſo exaſperated, "that he cauſed Giafer to be beheaded, and confin'd "Jahia his father and his brother Fadhel (3) in the pri-"ſon of Rakka, where they remain'd till their deaths. "And writing to his governors and miniſters of the "provinces, he order'd all the Barmecides throughout "his dominions to be ſeiz'd, and at the ſame time "poſſeſs'd himſelf of all their eſtates. This being "done, he commanded Abbaſa to be ſhut up in a "tower, where ſhe was put alive into a well, or ra-"ther thrown into a dungeon (4), and ſending for "her two children, they appear'd like orient pearls "in his eyes, when gazing upon them he could not "forbear weeping, but at laſt, he gave orders for "their being thrown into a well or pit, which was "no ſooner done but the ſame was fill'd with earth." Some other Arabic authors mention this incident, but not with any clearneſs. Erpenius (5) ſays ſomething of it, but mentions only one ſon.

(3) There were two other brothers alſo impriſon'd. See the articles **FADHEL** and **GIAFER.**

(4) Pocock has render'd this, as tho' Abbaſa was buried alive in a well; but I take the ſenſe rather to be, that ſhe was kept alive in a cloſe priſon or dungeon.

(5) In *Hiſt. Saracen.*

[*B*] *We give a ſtanza of it tranſlated from the Arabic.*] This copy of verſes was written after their ſeparation, and therein ſhe laments her being fruſtrated the enjoyment of his company, by reaſon of the cruel commands of her brother.

I had reſolv'd to keep my love conceal'd
In the receſſes of my aching heart;
But ah! the little Rover's on the wing,
And, ſpight of me, betrays what I wou'd hide,
If this fond overture does not recall you,
My honour, and my ſecret,——both are loſt.
Or, if I yield to (6) *his ſevere command,*
'Twill ſave my life, but then I ſhall be wretched--
Happen what will, at leaſt, I ſhall not die
Unmourn'd and unreveng'd, ſince my ſad exit
Will palpably point out the dire aſſaſſin.

(6) Harun's.

Abbaſa wrote theſe lines to Giafer her husband, before ſhe ſuffer'd him to violate the too rigorous orders of her brother. They abound with the ſofteſt ſentiments of love for him, and diſcover the dilemma ſhe is in, whether ſhe ought to obey the dictates of her paſſion, or the Khalif's ſevere injunction She writ 'em in an ambiguous, obſcure manner, purpoſely that her brother might not diſcover her to be the author of 'em.

☞ ABBASSIDES. 'Twas in the hundredth year of the Hegira, which anſwers to the common Æra of Chriſtians 718, and under the Khalifate of Omar II. that Mahomet (*a*) Herbelot, p. 4. the ſon of Ali, and grandſon of Abdallah, and great grandſon of Abbas (*a*), began to publiſh his pretenſions to the Khalifate: he was therein ſupported by many great lords of the Empire, who ſent twelve ſelect perſons into the province of Khoraſan and elſewhere, to incite the people in favour of the Abbaſſides againſt the Ommiades, who then poſſeſſed the Khalifate. Theſe reported and ſpread thro' all thoſe parts, That the Abbaſſides were the true ſons of the houſe or family of the Prophet, as being deſcended from Haſchem and Abdalmothleb, the paternal uncles of Mahomet; and that the Ommiades had uſurp'd from them the Empire, which ought to have been

hereditary in their family, and to belong to the blood of their firſt Prince and Legiſlator. See the articles OMAR ſon of Abdelaziz, and MARVAN. Now as the Abbaſſides treat the Ommiades as uſurpers; ſo the Alides, or deſcendants of Ali, treat the Abbaſſides in the ſame manner, but not with the ſame ſucceſs: for they have all along pretended that the Khalifate belong'd to them by direct and plain right, as being neareſt of kin to Mahomet. And this has been a frequent cauſe of diſturbances in the empire of the Abbaſſides. See the article ALIDES. They compute thirty ſeven Khalifs of this family of Abbas, who reigned from the 132d year of the Hegira to the year 656, during the courſe of five hundred and twenty three Arabic or lunar years, two months, and twenty three days. This race hath been ſo prolific, that in the 200th year of the Hegira, under the Khalifate of Al-Mamon, the number of the men and women of this Houſe amounted to 33000. Notwithſtanding which, after they had reign'd five hundred and twenty three years, the people of Egypt, &c. in the year of the Hegira 656, refuſed to acknowledge them, when Moez the Fathimite was there proclaimed Khalif; and the authority of the Abbaſſides was not re-eſtabliſh'd, until Saladine, Anno Chriſti 1171. reſtor'd it *. This family having been in the ſaid year 656 ſubverted by the Tartars, obtain'd notwithſtanding, about three years after, ſome ſhadow of authority (at leaſt as to religion) in Egypt: for Bibans, Sultan of the Mamalucs, reviv'd it there, and caus'd it to be ſupported in ſuch ſort, that Selim the Turkiſh Emperor, on his conqueſt of Egypt, found remaining there one of thoſe Phantoms, nam'd Khalif Moſtangedbilla, whom he carry'd with him to Conſtantinople. The hiſtory of theſe laſt Abbaſſides, Khalifs of Egypt, hath been written by Diarbecri, and inſerted in his Chronicle entitled *Alkamiſi*. But the hiſtory of the former race hath been written by divers authors, viz. Tarick al abbas, and Akhbar beni al abbas; alſo Abdalla, the ſon of Houſain, the ſon of Bader Kateb, hath treated of them: and Soiouthi hath wrote a particular book of their excellencies, entitled, *Aſſas fifadhl beni al abbas*. We are to know, that after the death of Mahomet there ſucceeded him as Khalifs, 1ſt, Abubecre; 2dly, Omar; 3dly, Othman; after whoſe death the Khalifate became divided into the Alides, the Ommiades, and the Abbaſſides. See the articles ALIDES and OMMIADES. The Abbaſſides ſucceeded in the order hereunder [*A*].

* See a particular account of the manner of this reſtoration in the *Excerpta* from *Abul-Feda*, ch. 5. lately publiſh'd at Leyden by Albert Schultens, in his Life of Saladine.

[*A*] *Succeeded in the order hereunder.*]

1. The firſt Khalif of the race of the Abbaſſides was Aboul Abbas Saffah, as was before ſhewn. He was the ſon of Mahomet, the ſon of Ali, the ſon of Abdallah, the ſon of Abbas. See before. He reigned four years and nine months.
2. Abougiafar Almanſer the brother of his predeceſſor, He reign'd two years.
3. Mahadi the ſon of Almanſor. He reigned ten years and one month.
4. Hadi the ſon of Mahadi, reigned one year and three months.
5. Harun Raſchid the ſon of Mahadi and brother of his predeceſſor. Reigned ten years and eight months.
6. Amin ſon of Harun Raſchid, reigned four years and nine months.
7. Al Mamon the ſon of Harun and brother of Amin his predeceſſor, reigned twenty years three months.
8. Motaſſem the ſon of Harun and brother of the two preceding, reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days.
9. Vathec the ſon of his predeceſſor Motaſſem, reign'd five years, nine months and thirteen days.
10. Motavakkel ſon of Motaſſem and brother of Vathec. Reigned fourteen years, nine months and nine days.
11. Montaſſer, ſon of Motawakkel, reigned ſix months.
12. Moſtain, ſon of Motaſſem, and brother of Vathec and Motavakkel, reigned three years, nine months, and ten days.
13. Motaz, ſon of Motawakkel, and brother of Montaſſer, reigned three years, ſix months, and twenty one days.
14. Motadi, ſon of Vathec, and grandſon of Motaſſem, reigned eleven months and two days.
15. Motamed, ſon of Motawakkel, reigned twenty three years.
16. Motadhed, ſon of Moffic, (who was never Khalif) and grandſon of Motawakkel, reigned nine years and nine months.
17. Moctaffi, ſon of Motadhed, reigned ſix years, ſeven months, and twenty days.
18. Moctader, ſon of Moctadhead, and brother of Moctafi, reigned fourteen years and eleven months.
19. Caher, ſon of Moctadhed, and brother to Moctader and Moctaffi, reigned one year, five months, and ſeven days.
20. Radhi, ſon of Moctader, reigned ſix years, ten months, and ten days.
21. Moctafi, ſon of Moctader, and brother to Radhi his predeceſſor, reigned ſix years, eleven months, and fifteen days.
22. Moſtacfi, ſon of Moctafi, reigned one year, four months, and two days.
23. Mothi, the ſon of Moctader, and brother to Radhi and Moctafi, reigned twenty nine years and ſix months.
24. Thai, the ſon of Mothi, reigned ſeventeen years, ten months, and ten days.
25. Cader, the ſon of Iſhac, (who was never Khalif) and grandſon of Moctader, reigned forty one years and four months.
26. Caim or Cajem, the ſon of Cader, reigned forty four years and ſix months.
27. Moctadi, the ſon of Mohammed or Mahomet, (who was never Khalif) and grandſon of Caim, reigned nineteen years and five months.
28. * Moſtedaher, the ſon of Moctadi, reigned twenty five years, ſix months and fifteen days.
29. Moſteraſched, the ſon of Moſtedaher, reigned ſeventeen years and two months.
30. Raſched, the ſon of Moſteraſched, reigned two years.
31. Mottaki, the ſon of Moſtedaher, reigned twenty four years and eleven months.
32. Moſtanged, the ſon of Mottaki, reigned eleven years.
33. Moſtadhi, the ſon of Moſtanged, reigned three years and eight months.
34. Naſſer, the ſon of Moſtadhi, reigned forty ſix years and eleven months.
35. Daher, or Dhaher, the ſon of Naſſer, reigned nine months and fifteen days.
36. Moſtanſer, the ſon of Daher, reigned eighteen years and eleven months.
37. The laſt Khalif of Bagdat was Moſtazem, the ſon of Moſtanſer, who reigned eleven years and ſeven months. But three or four years after his death and the ſubverſion of this Khalifat, as aforeſaid, there appear'd in Egypt another Moſtanſer, a Prince of the ſame family, who was acknowledged for Khalif (i. e. a ſucceſſor of Mahomet) in thoſe parts, and founded a ſecond Dynaſty or race of Abbaſſides: but theſe poſſeſs'd the dignity of Khalif, as to matters of religion only, and being poſſeſs'd of no temporal eſtate never pretended to any temporal power. See what is ſaid of 'em above, and for their ſucceſſion ſee article MOSTANSER, and other particular articles there mentioned. W.

* Note the Saracenic hiſtory, publiſh'd by Erpenius, ends with this Khalif.

☞ ABBESS, the Superior of Nuns and Canoneſſes in monaſteries of virgins. Tho' Nuns are more ancient in the Church than Monks, there nevertheleſs were Abbots long before Abbeſſes. The firſt virgins, who conſecrated themſelves to God, uſed to reſide in their father's houſes. Afterwards, in the fourth century, they went and lived together in monaſteries; but not having any churches aſſign'd them, they always went to the cathedral or parochial churches with their Superiors. In the time of St. Gregory there were churches in almoſt all the convents of Nuns. Formerly the Abbeſs was elected by the Community, who uſed to chuſe her among the eldeſt Nuns who was thought the moſt capable to govern the reſt; the Abbeſs elected, whoſe place was for life, was bleſſed by the Biſhop. Some Abbeſſes have claimed divers prerogatives that did not belong to them [*A*]. See ABBOT.

[*A*] *Some Abbeſſes have claimed, &c.*] It is certain, ſays Father Simon (1), that when women are placed at the head of monaſteries, they are very bold and preſuming; ſome Abbeſſes have ventured to give epiſcopal bleſſing, by laying hands and making the ſign of the croſs upon the heads of men; and though Charles the great forbid it, they yet diſregarded his edict, and went on in this cuſtomary way: nay ſome of them have been ſo ſelf-conceited, and entertained ſo good an opinion of their own talents and abilities that they dared to adminiſter baptiſm, and even to preach. Pope Innocent the third gave ſtrict orders to reſtrain the boldneſs of ſuch Abbeſſes as preſum'd to perform epiſcopal functions, which no way become their ſex.

(1) *Biblioth. Critiq. de M. De Sainjore*, t. 1. p. 6.

ABBEVILLE, in Latin *Abbatiſvilla*, capital of the earldom of Ponthieu in Picardy, on the river Somme, five leagues from the ſea, in the dioceſe of Amiens; was anciently, as its name ſhews, only an Abbot's country ſeat. 'Tis thought this Abbot was St. Riquier, (Richarius) or one of his ſucceſſors, who liking the ſituation and conveniency of this place, being two leagues from his abbey of Centule, firſt built a houſe (*a*), and afterwards a caſtle on it, where was a Priory ſubordinate to the Abbey (*b*). Hugh Capet took it from the Monks (*c*), to make it a ſtrong hold againſt the incurſions of barbarous nations; and fortifying it, gave it Hugh his ſon-in-law, who ſtiled himſelf *Avoüé* (*Patron* or *Defender*) becauſe the King his father-in-law had put St. Riquier's church under his protection. Angelram his ſon took no other title, till he had killed in battle the Count of Boulogne, and married his widow; for then he aſſumed the title of Count of Ponthieu, which his deſcendants enjoy'd (*d*). Abbeville is ſince become very conſiderable; 'tis ſo large, *that ſcarce ten or twelve cities in all France exceed, or even equal it in circumference* (*e*), ſays Sanſon, who in 1636, computed *that it had thirty five, or forty thouſand inhabitants.* 'Twas his native place; and what is remarkable, it gave birth within a few years to three eminent Geographers; himſelf, Peter Du-Val (*f*), and Father Philip Briet the Jeſuit. The river Somme is here divided into ſeveral branches, which run within and without the city. Authors don't agree with Sanſon (*g*), when he affirms that Abbeville was always the capital of Ponthieu [*A*], and much more ancient than any city of that county [*B*]; much leſs will they allow of his aſſertion, that this city was anciently call'd *Britannia* [*C*], and one of the moſt flouriſhing in Gaul, long before our

(*a*) Father Labbe, *Tableaux Method. de la Geographie Royale*, p. 322. edit. 12°.
(*b*) Sirmond. *Notæ in Epiſt.* 36. *Alexandri* III.
(*c*) Hariulfus, Centulenſis Monachus *in Chronico Monaſterii ſui*, lib. 4. cap. 12. apud Hadr. Valeſium, *Notit. Gall.* p. 1.
(*d*) Valeſii *Notitia Galliar.* p. 1.
(*e*) Sanſon *Recherche de l'Antiquité d'Abbeville*, p. 2.
(*f*) Son to one of Sanſon's ſiſters.
(*g*) Sanſon *Antiquité d'Abbeville*, p. 59, 60.

[*A*] *Was always the capital of Ponthieu.*] Father Labbe refutes him thus: *Mr. Sanſon, you have not read the titles and records of St. Riquier's Abbey, which inform us, that under Lewis le Débonnaire, in* 815, *there were within the walls of Centule* 2500 *houſes, ſeveral artificers, a great many ſtreets, &c. and that Abbeville is rank'd among the towns and villages ſubordinate to Centule* (1). If we may believe the verſe ſo often repeated in that Province.

(1) Labbe *Tableaux Methodiq.* p. 320. Edit. 12°.

Turribus à centum Centula nomen habet.

That is

(2) Ibid. p. 316, 317.

"*Call'd Centula from its known hundred towers* (2).

[*B*] *Abbeville ... much more antient than any city of that county.*] "This, ſay thoſe of St. Riquier (3) is an "untruth; ... And what have you, like antiquity, "in Abbeville, ſince your collegiate church of St. "Wulfran recognizes for its founder, William of "Talluas, and John his ſon, after anno Dom. 1100; "and that the Priory of St. Peter, of St. Bennet's "order, was founded but a few years before? For "as to the pariſh of our Lady du Chatel, it has "ſtill the appearance of a village." As to Fredegarius, whoſe teſtimony Sanſon quotes, to prove that Abbeville was ſtanding in the time of Ebroin the Maire; 'tis anſwered (4) that we are to read in chapter 96. *Atque à Bacivo villâ evadens aufugit*, and not *Atque Abacivo villa evadens aufugit.*

(3) Ibid. p. 320.

(4) Labbe *Tableaux Methodiq.* p. 321.

[*C*] *That this city was antiently called Britannia.*] Sanſon grounds his opinion on a paſſage of Strabo, who he thought declared (5), *That Scipio enquiring of thoſe deputed from Marſeilles, what they knew of Britannia, Narbo, and Corbilo; not one of them could ſay any thing remarkable of thoſe cities, though they were the chief in all Gaul.* Sanſon ſuppoſes that theſe Deputies diſcovered their ignorance in the matter, in the year of Rome 532, and gives this reaſon, viz. becauſe the Scipio who ask'd theſe queſtions, was he who loſt the firſt battle Hanibal gained over the Romans. He ſuppoſes, that this Scipio, in order to get intelligence of Hannibal's march, ſail'd to the mouth of the Rhone; and that it was there the Deputies of Marſeilles, who were come to pay him their compliments, could not anſwer his queries: but this we ſhall examine under the article *Pytheas.* Let us now take a view of Sanſon's other hypotheſes. He obſerves, I. That Narbonne, though one of the moſt antient and moſt flouriſhing cities of Gaul, is yet (6) named after that of *Britannia*, among the three cities which Scipio enquired after. II. That the *Belgium* in Cæſar's Commentaries, *was a diſtrict of the Belgi* (7), including the Beauvaiſis, Amienois, Artois, and perhaps the Vermandois and the Senliſiens. III. That thoſe who inhabited the coaſts of Great Britain came from *Belgium* (8), and have retained the names of the ſeveral cities whence they ſprung, as Cæſar informs us. IV. That according to Pliny's enumeration (9), thoſe he calls Britanni muſt have inhabited Ponthieu (10). V. That from the ſeveral parts of Belgium whence people croſt into England, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe that moſt came from the ſea-coaſt, that is, from Ponthieu. Sanſon infers from theſe particulars, that the *Britanni* of Pliny are the Chiefs of Belgium who came into England (11); that they at firſt retained their antient name, and gave it afterwards to the laſt mentioned country, and would not have been called Britanni, but from their capital city; conſequently, ſays Sanſon, this antient *Britannia*, the metropolis of Ponthieu, muſt have been the city which Scipio enquired about; now as Abbeville is the capital of Ponthieu, it therefore exiſted under the name of Britannia before the ſecond Punic war, and was then the moſt flouriſhing city of Gaul.

(5) Sanſon *Recherche de l'Antiquité d'Abbeville*, p. 4.

(6) P. 8.
(7) P. 39.
(8) P. 17.
(9) Lib. 4. cap. 17.
(10) Sanſon *Recherche d'Abbeville*, p. 46.
(11) Cluvier. *German. Ant.* lib. 2. cap. 27. prefers *Britanni* to *Britanni*.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that Sanſon has ſhewn ſome genius

our Saviour. Father Labbe cenſur'd him very ſeverely upon this account, the particulars of which we ſhall give hereunder [*D*]. Abbeville enjoys very great privileges; and having never been taken, is call'd *la Pucelle* (the virgin or maiden) of the country (*b*); and its motto is, *Semper fidelis*, i. e. *Always faithful.* Thoſe who would know all that relates to this city, the privileges of its ancient inhabitants, the eminent men who were born or died in it, &c. (*i*) may peruſe *L'Hiſtoire Généalogique des Comtes de Ponthieu*, i. e. *The Genealogical Hiſtory of the Counts of Ponthieu*, printed in Paris for Francis Clouſier, anno 1657, in folio. The author has conceal'd his name under theſe Letters, F. I. D. J. M. C. D. which ſignify, *Frere Ignace de Jeſus Maria, Carme Déchauſſé*; that is, *Brother Ignatius of Jeſus Maria, a bareſooted Carmelite.* See the article SANSON (JAMES).

(*b*) Du-Val in his *Traité de la France.*

(*i*) I juſtly put an &c. this work abounding with numberleſs d'greſſions; ſuch as the chevalier Bayard, and others who have no relation to Ponthieu.

genius and erudition in this long train of hypotheſes and conſequences; but then the reſult will be chimerical and romantic, becauſe the whole is grounded on a paſſage taken in a wrong ſenſe. The matter ſtands thus. Strabo tells us (12), that Polybius conſidered what follows, as one of Pytheas's fabulous ſtories, viz. That not one of the inhabitants of Narbonne or Corbilo, the chief cities of the country; nor one of the deputies of Marſeilles, who waited upon Scipio, could tell him any thing remarkable concerning Britannia (Great Britain) upon his enquiring about it... This is the true ſenſe of the Greek text, as appears, both from the grammatical conſtruction, and the turn of mind of the writer in queſtion. Περὶ ἧς φησὶ Πολύβιος, μυησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκηπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Ναρβῶνος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλῶνος αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄριστοι πόλεις τῶν τοῦδε (13). I mean Pytheas, who, to ſet off his rhodomontades and fictitious ſtories, always vaunted he would inform his readers of a thouſand particulars, which till then had been unknown. We may therefore believe, that he boaſted himſelf to be the firſt who had given an account of the Iſland of Great Britain, and drew his proof from hence; that Scipio could not learn any thing concerning it from the inhabitants of Marſeilles, of Narbonne or of Corbilo on the Loire, though theſe were the moſt flouriſhing cities of Gaul. 'Tis plain Sanſon miſtook the ſenſe of the antient Geographer, and probably was partly miſled by the Latin verſion following. *Cujus* Corbilonis *mentionem faciens Polybius, ſimul Pytheæ refert commentum, Maſſilienſium ſcilicet qui Scipionem convenerant nullum quicquam habuiſſe dignum memoratu quod diceret interrogatus de Britannia, itemque Narbonenſium & Corbilonenſium, cum hæ tres urbes Galliæ omnium eſſent optimæ.* An inattentive reader may ſuppoſe, that the three beſt cities of Gaul which the tranſlator mentions, are *Britannia, Narbo* and *Corbilo*; but if the paſſage be conſidered, we ſhall find that Βρεττανικὴ ſignifies there the Iſland *Britannia*; Strabo always expreſſing himſelf in this manner, without adding the word νῆσος, *inſula* (14) i. e. Iſland.

(12) Strabo, lib. 4. p. 190.

(13) Idem, ibid.

(14) See, among other paſſages, book 1. p. 71.

(1) *Cum in primordiis fidei pauci quidem, ſed probatiſſimi, monachorum nomine cenſerentur, qui a beatæ memoriæ Evangeliſta Marco, qui primus Alexandrinæ urbi Pontifex præfuit, normam ſuſcepêre vivendi.* Caſſian. lib. 2. de Inſtit. Cœnob. cap. 5. That is, "In the beginning of Chriſtianity, a few perſons, but of the beſt note, were called Monks, who had received their ſtatutes or rule of life from Mark the Evangeliſt, the firſt Biſhop of Alexandria." Note, Mr. Selden in his *Origines Eccleſiæ Alexandrinæ*, p. 32 and 143, &c. has prov'd from undoubted authorities, that till the time of Demetrius XI. Patriarch of Alexandria, i. e. Anno Chriſti 175, there was no Biſhop in any of the Provinces of Egypt, and that St. Mark was neither Biſhop of Alexandria, nor ever inſtituted any Biſhop there.

[*D*] *Father Labbe cenſur'd him very ſeverely upon this account.*] He denounced war againſt Sanſon, and his firſt act of hoſtility was as follows. *Britanniam Abbavillæus chalcographus interpretatur* Abbeville, *lepidiſſimo commento, quod non tam ex Pytheæ mendaciis, quam ex ignoratione linguæ Græcæ editum malignam in lucem demonſtrabimus alias, cum primum ſingularem illum de Britannia tractatum nanciſci & legere datum fuerit.* That is; "The map-"engraver of Abbeville, (Sanſon) by a very pleaſant "fiction takes Britannia for Abbeville; which error "is owing, not ſo much to his following the falſities "of Pytheas, as from his ignorance of the Greek; "which we ſhall ſhew, when we get a ſight of his "extraordinary treatiſe on Britannia." Theſe are his words in his *Pharus Galliæ antiquæ*, printed at Moulins in 1644. Father Labbe had not then peruſed the book which Sanſon publiſhed on this ſubject in Paris, anno 1636: having only ſeen his new Phænomenon of Britannia; not in the large map of ancient Gaul, which Sanſon publiſhed in 1627, but in the ſmall one that appeared afterwards. This book falling at laſt into Father Labbe's hands, he refuted the foundations of it, anno 1646, in his *Tableaux Methodiques de la Geographie Royale*; and obſerv'd, that if Strabo's text is taken in Sanſon's ſenſe, the reſult would be, that the inhabitants of Marſeille knew abſolutely nothing of the city of Narbonne, the 532d year of Rome, tho' Marſeille had then ſtood near four hundred years, and Narbonne was a very flouriſhing city. Sanſon was ſenſible of the great ſtrength of this objection, and anſwered it to the beſt of his abilities (15). But would any one believe, thoſe of Marſeilles were ſo often at war with their neighbours, that they had no time or opportunity to hear of Narbonne? Don't we find by the paſſage of Juſtin (16) which Sanſon quotes, that before the year of Rome 362, they had often defeated the Carthaginians, and made an alliance with the people of Spain? Father Labbe did not gain much by his triumph; for Sanſon fell upon his *Pharus Galliæ antiquæ*, and almoſt demoliſhed it. We are to obſerve, that Sanſon wrote a reply (17), with regard to his hypotheſis concerning *Britannia*, which is ſtill in manuſcript.

(15) Sanſon, *Recherche d'Abbeville*, p. 76 & ſeq.

(16) Juſtin. lib. 43. cap. 5 & 6.

(17) See the Remark [*A*] towards the cloſe of the article PYTHEAS.

ABBEY. This name was given to the Monaſteries of men and women [*A*], when their Superiors took the title of Abbots or Abbeſſes. In the Empire of Germany Abbies were diſtinguiſhed into Singular and Collegiate. The Germans call the former *Geſurſtete Abteyen*, or *Princely Abbies*, becauſe their Abbot is a Prince of the Empire, and has a right to vote in the College of Princes. The Abbot of Fulde, who is Chancellor to the Empreſs, is the moſt conſiderable, and as it were the Primate of all the Abbots in Germany; ſo that in the Diets of the Empire, he has often pretended to the preeminence over the Biſhop of Hildeſheim, and even over the Archbiſhop of Cologn. The ſingular Abbies of Germany are Fulde, Kempten, St. Gall, Elwangen, Bergteſgaden, Corvey, Pruym, Stavlo, Weiſſenburg, Luterburg, Morbach. The Collegiate Abbies are, Weingarden, Salamonſweyer, Schuſſenriedt, Peterhouſen, Zwyfalten, Marchtal, St. Peter,

[*A*] *This name was given to monaſteries of men and women.*] The monaſtic life began in Egypt about the year 300, where a great many Chriſtians being perſecuted for religion, were obliged to fly their native country; though ſome authors think, there were Monks in Egypt long before the date abovemention'd (1). From Egypt the monaſtic life was introduced into Greece, where, about the year 370, St. Baſil gave it the form it now has. It was introduced in Italy ſo early as the year 350 by Athanaſius, but did not gain much ground at Rome and the places adjacent till the year 500, when St. Equitius and St. Benedict regulated it, and ſpread it over all Italy; but the inſtitution of the former did not laſt long. At that time Monks were not Clergymen, but Laymen, and were obliged to work for their ſubſiſtence, though they now and then received alms from charitable people; and, when their Convents were in towns, ſome ſmall gifts from the Church of the town, where they lived. Abbot Tritheme ſays, there were in his time fifteen thouſand monaſteries of Benedictine Monks, beſides the ſmall convents of that order (2): What a prodigious number of unprofitable or rather devouring vermin did thoſe monaſteries entertain? However, the Benedictine Monks have ſometimes been very uſeful to the publick; for their monaſteries were like ſo many inns where they received and entertained *gratis*, gentlemen and other travellers, and inſtructed youth (3).

(2) Fra. Paolo, *Traité des Benefices*, p. 37, 38.

(3) Mezeray, *Abregé de l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. p. 678.

St. Peter, St. Heimeran, Urſperg, Quedlimburg, Eſſen, Hervorden, Andlau. Beſides thoſe Abbies, there are ſeveral which have been ſecular'd, and annex'd to the dominions of ſome Princes: ſuch is the Abbey of Hirfeld, which has the title of a Principality, and by the treaty of Munſter was granted to the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. See Otto Mencken, in his Notes upon Hormius; where he obſerves that the great Maſter of the Order of St. John has a ſeat in the Council with his Abbots, who are Princes. Abbeſſes are reckoned in the Colleges of the Prelates of the Empire. But as it would not be decent for them to be preſent in the Diets, where affairs of State are debated, they ſend deputies to act in their name. There are fifteen of thoſe Abbies, which I place in the ſame order with Imhoff, in his *Notitia S. Rom. Germanici Imperii Procerum*, lib. 3. cap. 29. Eſſenden, Buchau, Quedlimburg, Andlau, Lindau, Hervorden, Gernrode, Ratisbon two Abbies, Bortſcheid, Ganderſheim, Heggenbach, Gurenſel, Roten-Munſter, Baindt. The Abbies of Lindau, and the four laſt, are of the circle of Suabia; the others belong to the circle of the Rhine. There are alſo Royal and Imperial Abbies; theſe are monaſteries built and endowed by Kings and Emperors [*B*], of whom they are immediately held, and are not ſubject to the juriſdiction of Biſhops. They have this privilege, that Abbots cannot be preferred to them, nor inveſted with the Temporalities, but by the ſame Prince, from whom they receive the Croſier. This is an ancient cuſtom, as appears by the Charter of the Emperor Henry II, in 1012; and by Suger's Hiſtory of Lewis VI, King of France. Adam, Abbot of St. Denys being dead, the Monks unanimouſly elected Suger in his room; but that election could not take place till the King, who did not immediately hear of it, had eſtabliſhed Suger by his royal authority, as a perſon who was acceptable to him. As theſe Abbies were erected by the generoſity of Princes, the Abbots in return were bound to ſome feodal ſervice, and eſpecially to ſerve in the armies [*C*], or to ſend ſome perſon in their ſtead, as Du Freſne ſhews by ſeveral inſtances of the Abbots of St. Denys, and of St. Sulpitius at Bourges. In paying homage to the King, they uſed theſe words; *I become your vaſſal, and I promiſe to be loyal till death.*

There were no Abbies of women, at leaſt in France, till about the year 567, when Queen Radegunde, fourth wife of Clotharius the firſt, founded at Poitiers a monaſtery, by the name of the *Holy Croſs*. Several women followed her example; ſo that by degrees the kingdom was fill'd with Abbies, ſome of which are very rich, and of a royal foundation; as thoſe of Chelles, Poiſſi, &c. So early as the third Century, there were ſeveral maidens who reſolved never to marry, as Tertullian and Cyprian inform us. Thoſe uſed to live with their parents, or with ſome near relation, and were not yet confined to Cloiſters, only wearing a veil when they went to the publick places of worſhip, to which they reſorted with the other Chriſtians: ſuch were Paula and Euſtochium, to whom St. Jerom wrote ſeveral letters. Monaſteries were not built for Nuns, till the end of the ſixth Century. 'Tis ſuppoſed that the Abbey of Jouare in France is one of the moſt ancient; that it was erected about the middle of the fourth Century; and that the firſt Abbeſs of it was Thelechilde, who inſtructed Bertilla, the firſt Abbeſs of Chelles, in the principles of religion. Abbies have ſometimes been given to marry'd women, as Chriſtopher Juſtel obſerves (*a*). He mentions a charter belonging to the Monaſtery of Brioude, bearing date Anno 879. "As the Lords, ſays he, then "took the name of the eccleſiaſtical benefices they enjoy'd by the King's favour, and

(*a*) *Hiſt. de la Maiſon d'Auvergne.* lib. 1. chap. 6.

5 "call'd

[*B*] *Endowed by Kings and Princes.*] At firſt Abbies were not very rich; the Friars and Nuns, as well as the Clergy, were maintained by the alms and free gifts of the people; they had no property nor real eſtates; but in a little time they diſcovered a ſafe, ſecure, and inexhauſtible fund, by which they ſoon gained immenſe riches, I mean the fooliſh and ſuperſtitious credulity of the Laity. On this the Clergy both ſecular and regular went to work; they forged a thouſand Saints and Relicks, which were to be ſeen and worſhip'd in churches and monaſteries, where they performed numberleſs miracles. It would take up whole volumes, ſhould we give an account of theſe ſpurious Saints and Relicks, and their pretended miracles. In the church of the monaſtery of Glaſton in England, ſeveral valuable Relicks were kept, among which were "ſome remains of Rachel's Sepulchre, of "the Altar on which Moſes poured oil, of Moſes's "Rod, of the Manna, of Iſaiah's Sepulchre, and the "Relicks of the three children who were delivered "out of the fiery furnace." *De ſepulcro Rachel, de altare Moyſi, in quo fundebat oleum, de virga Moyſi, qua eduxit filios Iſrael de Ægypto, de manna filiorum Iſrael, de ſepulcro Iſaiæ Prophetæ, reliquiæ de tribus pueris, quos liberavit Dominus de camino ignis ardentis, &c.* (4). Nor were they leſs provided with Relicks relating to the New Teſtament: they ſhewed, among others, ſome parts of the place where Chriſt was born, two bits of the manger in which he lay, a bit of the gold the wiſe Men preſented him with; they alſo had part of the Virgin Mary's ſepulchre, a little of her milk, and a croſs of cryſtal which ſhe gave to the famous King Arthur (5). All other monaſteries abounded with ſuch like relicks, nay ſometimes the ſame Saint, or the ſame part of a Saint was found in ſeveral monaſteries or churches: thus the Monks of St. Hermeran at Ratisbon and thoſe of St. Denys in France equally boaſted they poſſeſs'd the body of St. Denys the Areopagite; and the head of John the Baptiſt was ſhewed in three or four places. Theſe Saints and Relicks daily wrought a million of miracles, on which occaſion the deluded laity flock'd to convents and churches, where they paid very dear for their ſuperſtitious credulity: ſee the book quoted in the margin (6). Beſides this the Monks and the ſecular Prieſts had the art of intoxicating widows, old maids, and other ſilly people, to ſuch a degree, that they obliged them to diſinherit their own relations, and bequeath their eſtates to churches or monaſteries, ſo that a father often diſinherited his own children to enrich a ſett of lazy Monks, or greedy Clergymen. This at laſt became ſuch a grievance, that Princes were forced to redreſs it (7). Charles the great enacted a particular law to this purpoſe (8) viz. That no Churches or Monaſteries ſhould receive legacies, by which the children or relations of any perſon were diſinherited.

(4) *Monaſt. Anglic.* Ed. Lond. An. 1655 cit *Bibl. Crit.* de Mr Sainjore (Father Simon) t. 3. p. 342.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 343.

(6) *Bibliotb. Critique* de Mr Sainjore, t. 3. c. 32, 33.

(7) Fra. Paolo, *Traité des Benefices*, p. 23, 24.

(8) Ibid. in Notis.

[*C*] *To ſerve in the armies*] Mezeray obſerves (9) that in the tenth Century, Biſhops and Abbots, notwithſtanding the repeated prohibitions of Princes and Councils, bore arms, and went into the field; which cuſtom at laſt became a law. The dignified Clergy at that time lived like Princes rather than like Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Miniſters of the Goſpel; they were ambitious, proud, and immers'd in all kind of vices.

(9) *Abregé de l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. p. 464.

" call'd themſelves Abbots, Lay-Abbots, or Soldier-Abbots, *Abbates Laici*, *Abbates* " *Milites*, *Abbatioli*, *Abbatiarii*; tho' they had not the title of Abbots, but only en- " joy'd the income of their Abbies, whereof ſeveral inſtances are found in hiſ- " tory. It happened alſo that ſuch benefices were given to marry'd women: thus " Alpaïs, wife of Earl Begon, was Abbeſs of St. Peter of Rheims; Thietberge, wife " of Lotharius, was Abbeſs of Avenay in the year 864; Bertha, mother-in-law of " Otho I, was Abbeſs of Merenſtein in 952; Rothilda, mother-in-law of Hugues the " Great was Abbeſs of Chelles; Orgine, mother of Lewis IV and Greberge his wife, " were ſucceſſively Abbeſſes of St. Mary of Laon." See ABBOT.

☞ ABBON or ALBON, Abbot of Fleury or of St. Benedict, upon the river Loire, lived in the tenth Century. He was born at Orleans; his father's name was Letus, and his mother's Ermengarde. Abbon ſtudy'd firſt in the Monaſtery of Fleury, where he was taught the firſt elements of the Sciences by two learned Prieſts, Gunbolus and Chriſtianus. In that Abbey he receiv'd the religious habit from Wulfaldus, who was Abbot thereof. Abbon made a wonderful progreſs in Grammar, Arithmetic, and Logic; and going to Paris and to Rheims, apply'd himſelf to other branches of learning. He went to Orleans, and there learn'd Muſick: after which he went into England, by order of his Abbot, and at the preſſing invitation of Archbiſhop Oſwald, ſtay'd two years in England; during which he inſtructed the Monks of an Abbey of Benedictines, which Oſwald had founded. Abbon was ordained Prieſt by that Archbiſhop; and having gain'd the eſteem of the King and of the principal Nobles, who made him very rich preſents, he return'd to his Convent, of which he was choſen Abbot. Fulbert of Chartres calls him in one of his letters, *the moſt learned Philoſopher, and the Teacher or Doctor of all France.* He aſſerted vigorouſly the rights of the Monks againſt ſome Biſhops, who wanted to uſurp the tithes belonging to Monaſteries. This rais'd him ſeveral enemies, which oblig'd him to make an apology for himſelf, as he has done in his Letters. He went twice to Rome, once under Pope John XV; and a ſecond time, by the King's command, under Pope Gregory V. He compos'd the difference which aroſe between that Pope and the King of France, on account of Arnould Archbiſhop of Rheims, who had been depos'd by a Council held in that city, the Pope threatning to ſuſpend the whole kingdom from divine ſervice. Abbon having obtain'd from the Pope ſome new privileges for his Convent, return'd home again, and brought with him the *Pallium* for the Archbiſhop. See ARNOULD. Our Abbot, attended by ſome Friars, amongſt whom were Aimoin, went into Gaſcony, to reform the Monaſtery of Squirs, ſituated on the banks of the Garonne; but the women of the places adjacent and the Gaſcoon Friars, not liking the regulations he would make, and wanting to continue their diſſolute way of life, rais'd a ſedition againſt him (*a*), in which he was kill'd the 13th of November 1004; on which day the Martyrology of France and that of St. Benedict have fix'd his feſtival. He was a celebrated author [*A*]. See the circular Letter of the Monks of Fleury on the death of Abbon, and his Life written by Aimoin his ſcholar. Glaber. lib. 3. Fulbert of Chartres *in Epiſt.* Sigebert, *de Viris Illuſtribus*, c. 140. *& in Chron. ad Ann.* 990. Trithem. *in Chron.* Du Sauſſay. Voſſius. Du Breuil. Father Mabillon, *Act. Sanct. Benedict.* tom. 1. *& in Analectis.* Baillet *Vie des Saints.*

(*a*) Mezeray *Abregé de l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. p. 466.

[*A*] *He was a celebrated Author.*] He wrote the lives of ſome Popes collected from the Hiſtory of Anaſtaſius *Bibliothecarius*, or the *Librarian*; an apology directed to King Hugh Capet, and to Robert his ſon; the life of Edmund King of England; ſeveral letters to Pope Gregory V, and other perſons; a collection of canons or church laws, which the learned Father Mabillon publiſh'd; a treatiſe of Cycles, and ſome other ſmall tracts. His apology and ſome of his letters were printed at the *Louvre* in 1687, and at the end of the *Codex Canonum Vetus* (1).

(1) Du Pin, *Bibl. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* X Siecle.

ABBOT (George) Archbiſhop of Canterbury, author of ſeveral books [*A*], was a Sherman's ſon, and born at Guilford in Surrey anno 1562. He went thro' his ſtudies at Oxford, and in 1597 was choſen Principal of Univerſity College. Two years after, he was made Dean of Wincheſter, and continued ſo till 1609, when he ſucceeded Dr. Thomas Morton in the Deanery of Gloceſter. Hitherto his promotion had not been very quick, nor made much noiſe; but he afterwards roſe to great dignities in a very ſhort time; being appointed Biſhop of Lichfield on the third of December 1609; thence tranſlated to London in February 1610, and to Canterbury in March following (*b*). The favour of the Earl of Dunbar, whoſe chaplain he had been, contributed more to his advancement than either his learning, or his abilities as a preacher. His conduct did not pleaſe univerſally; it being thought ſtrange that an Archbiſhop ſhould pay a greater regard in his palace to his Secretary than to his Chaplains; and out of it, reſpect the Laity more than the Clergy. 'Twas ſuppos'd, that as he had never paſs'd thro' the lower benefices, to which a cure of ſouls is annexed; or in other words, had not known the difficulties which attend the ſpiritual direction of a pariſh, 'twas not ſo natural

(*b*) Ex *Athenis Oxonienſibus*, vol. 1.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral books.*] The principal are, *Quæſtiones ſex theologicæ totidem Prælectionibus diſputatæ.* That is, *Six theological Queſtions, argued in ſo many Lectures.* Printed at Oxford in 1598. *Dr. Hill's Reaſons for Papiſtry unmask'd.* Printed at Oxford in 1604. *Sermons on the Prophet Jonas. The Hiſtory of the Maſſacre of the Valteline* *. *A Geography*; the ninth edition whereof, which is not the laſt, was publiſh'd in 1607, and the treatiſe *on the perpetual Viſibility of the true Church*, printed at London in 1624, but without the author's name.

* A country ſubject to the Griſons.

tural for him to be indulgent to the Clergy. His ſeverity towards theſe, and his conniving at the increaſe of the Puritans, made many people inveigh againſt him. The laſt circumſtance occaſion'd a modern author to obſerve, that if Laud had ſucceeded Bancroft, and the ſcheme for univerſal Conformity had not been interrupted under Abbot, the Schiſm would undoubtedly have been ſuppreſs'd in England (*c*). The Archbiſhop became obnoxious to King James, by not joining with that Monarch in his reſolution of marrying the Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain. This the Archbiſhop's enemies perceiving, fancy'd it a proper juncture to ruin him; hoping to impoſe upon the King, from a religious principle, by alledging the ancient Canons of the Church. The better to underſtand this, the reader is to know, that Archbiſhop Abbot had accidentally * kill'd the keeper of Burnhill Park, belonging to the Lord Zouch. Upon this, the Biſhop of Lincoln, then Lord-Keeper, inſinuated to the Duke of Buckingham, that the Archbiſhop was degraded *ipſo facto*, by the murther he had committed. He enforc'd his aſſertions from the laws of the kingdom, and the ancient ſeverity of church-diſcipline; and ſaid, he was afraid the Papiſts would draw an advantage from his Majeſty's ſuffering a man, whoſe hands had been imbrued in blood, to exerciſe the archiepiſcopal functions and the Primacy: in a word, he prevail'd ſo far, that a commiſſion was iſſued out, appointing certain Biſhops and other Lords to examine the affair. The reſult however was not ſatisfactory to his Grace's enemies; it being declar'd, That as the murther was involuntary, he had not forfeited his archiepiſcopal character. This was in 1621. Six years after, another ſtorm broke over his head, which cruſh'd him. But this is no wonder, ſince the King's favourite (*d*) bore him a grudge, for admitting certain perſons he hated, too often to his table, which was one of the moſt ſplendid at that time. The pretence for ruining the Archbiſhop, was his refuſing to licence a ſermon of Dr. *Sibthorp's* on apoſtolical obedience, tho' his Majeſty had expreſsly commanded him to do it. Upon this, he was ſuſpended from all his functions as Primate; and they were exercis'd by certain Prelates, of whom William Laud, afterwards his ſucceſſor, was one (*e*). Abbot then withdrew to the place of his birth, and afterwards to Croydon-Houſe, where he died, Auguſt 4. 1633. His monument, adorn'd with variety of ornaments and inſcriptions, is ſtill ſeen in Guildford church. He founded an hoſpital in that town, and endow'd it richly. There was another George Abbot [*B*] who publiſh'd in Engliſh, *A Paraphraſe on Job*, and *Short Notes on the Pſalms*, and *Vindiciæ Sabbati* (*f*). He liv'd in 1640.

(*c*) Fuller's *Worthies of England.*

* With a croſs-bow.

(*d*) The Duke of Buckingham.

(*e*) Extracted from Ruſhworth's *Hiſtorical Collections*, Vol. 1. in which a pretty large tract of Archbiſhop Abbot on the proceedings of his ſuſpenſion is inſerted.

(*f*) *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. 1.

[*B*] *There was another George Abbot.*] Henninges Witte is miſtaken in his *Diarium Biographicum*, where he aſcribes the works of this George Abbot, viz. his Paraphraſe on Job and on the Pſalms, and his *Vindiciæ Sabbati*, to the Archbiſhop. He alſo makes him author of a treatiſe againſt Biſhops, and another againſt the Browniſts. 'Twould be very extraordinary for an Engliſh Metropolitan to write againſt Biſhops.

☞ ABBOT (GEORGE). We hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here ſome additions to the article of that great and good man, of whom Mr. Bayle, being a ſtranger to the Engliſh tongue, could not give a very full account. The motive for ſequeſtring Archbiſhop Abbot from his office and juriſdictions (*a*), as expreſs'd in the commiſſion itſelf, was that the Archbiſhop could not, at preſent, perſonally attend thoſe ſervices, which were otherwiſe proper for his cognizance and juriſdiction. But the true reaſon was [*A*] that the King was perſuaded, the Nonconformiſts to the diſcipline of the church, increaſed too much by the remiſneſs of his government (*b*). My Lord Clarendon treats Abbot with great ſeverity, when he draws his character thus. "He had been, ſays he, Head or Maſter of one of the pooreſt Colleges in Oxford, "and had learning ſufficient for that Province. He was a man of very moroſe manners, and a very ſour aſpect, which at that time was called gravity; made Biſhop "before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any Pariſh Church of England, or "Dean or Prebend of any Cathedral Church, and was in truth totally ignorant of the "true conſtitution of the Church of England, and the ſtate and intereſt of the "Clergy [*B*], as ſufficiently appears through the whole courſe of his life. He conſi-"dered

(*a*) Baker's *Chron.* p. 460.

(*b*) Le Neve, *The lives, &c. of all the Proteſtant Biſhops ſince the Reformation*, vol. 1. part 1. p. 101, 102.

[*A*] *The true reaſon was &c.*] If we may credit Mr. Rapin, what exaſperated the King * and his Miniſters againſt the Archbiſhop was his refuſing to licenſe (1) Dr. Sibthorp's Sermon, in which that courtier maintained to the utmoſt the doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance; aſſerting, that the King only had the power of making laws; and that when Princes command things, which ſubjects cannot perform, either becauſe they are inconſiſtent with the laws of God or Nature, or becauſe they are impoſſible, ſubjects are nevertheleſs obliged in conſcience humbly to undergo the puniſhments inflicted for their diſobedience, without reſiſting, murmuring, or barely complaining; thus they muſt ſubmit to a paſſive obedience, where they cannot pay an active one: Sibthorp further ſaid, that he knew of no other caſes but thoſe mentioned, wherein ſubjects were not bound implicitly to obey their Prince (2). Theſe were opinions which Abbot could not digeſt, though they pleaſed the King and his Miniſters. The Biſhop of London would not have ſcrupled to licenſe Sibthorp's Sermon; but that would not have done the buſineſs of the miniſtry, who wanted to have Abbot ſuſpended from his functions, and therefore they ſent for his licence, knowing well enough that he would not grant it; this gave them an opportunity to exaſperate his Sovereign more and more againſt him. The King himſelf ſent one of the Lords of the bed-chamber twice to Abbot to try whether he could not overcome his ſtifneſs, but all in vain; the Archbiſhop continued inflexible, and this it was that drew the King's diſpleaſure upon him.

* Charles I.

(1) See alſo Le Neve, *Lives of Biſhops, &c.* p. 101.

(2) Rapin, *Hiſtoire d'Angleterre*, vol. 7. p. 336.

[*B*] *Ignorant of the ſtate and intereſt of the Clergy.*] It muſt perhaps be granted that Abbot did not labour to aggrandiſe the Clergy and enlarge their power. But it ſhould alſo be granted, that he underſtood well enough the conſtitution of England, and the true intereſt of the State. It was certainly the intereſt of Great Britain to maintain King Frederick upon the throne of Bohemia, in order to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant cauſe.

" dered the Chriſtian religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred or reviled Popery, and " valued thoſe men moſt, who did that the moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation " of the diſcipline of the Church, or the Conformity to the Articles, or Canons eſta- " bliſhed, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very " little progreſs in ancient and ſolid ſtudy of Divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine " of Calvin, and for his ſake did not think ſo ill of the diſcipline as he ought to have " done (*c*)." Abbot was nevertheleſs very much beloved and eſteemed by the people of England, to whom his diſgrace and baniſhment contributed to endear him more. Before he went to his houſe at Ford, the report of his misfortunes made the viſits of thoſe who came to take their leave of him ſo numerous and popular, that the diſpleaſure of the court againſt him was greatly increaſed, and when he was got to Ford, inſtead of his making ſubmiſſion to the King [*C*], he wrote a large narrative of his own caſe, which gave new occaſion to the court to be more offended againſt him (*d*). However, in the latter end of the year 1628 Abbot was ſeemingly reſtored to the King's favour (*D*), being ſent for to Whitehall, and received from his barge by the Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Dorſet, and by them introduced with much ſolemnity to the King, who gave him his hand with a very favourable aſpect, bidding him not fail to pay his attendance at the council table twice a week (*e*). Notwithſtanding this ſeeming alteration of his affairs, as to his being reſtored to the King's favour, &c. he had afterwards little comfort in the exerciſe of his function. Whether an unconquerable ſorrow and concern for the caſual homicide he committed, might ſo far engroſs all his thoughts, as to render him too indolent and remiſs; or whether he did not ſee through the fineſſe of court policy in the late taking off his ſequeſtration, and imagined it done, not out of any reſpect to himſelf, but barely to pleaſe a party in the houſe of commons, whilſt moſt of his authority was devolved on the Biſhop of London (*f*), who afterward prov'd his ſucceſſor; which of theſe cauſes haſtened his end, I ſhall not pretend to determine, but take it for granted that one or both did (*g*). Dr. Welwood in his Memoirs, gives us the following character of Archbiſhop Abbot. " He was a perſon of wonderful " temper and moderation, and in all his conduct ſhewed an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the " act of Uniformity beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the church, " or the prerogative of the crown. Being not well turned for a court, though other- " wiſe of conſiderable learning, he was either unwilling or incapable to ſubmit to the " humour of the times, and now and then, by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave occaſion " to his enemies to repreſent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much " addicted to popular intereſt, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of go- " vernment (*h*)." It ſeems that towards the latter end of his life Abbot was grown more ſevere againſt the Nonconformiſts, for one of his laſt acts of juriſdiction was an act of diſcipline to enforce conformity even beyond the rules of the church; an order and injunction that the pariſhioners of Crayford in Kent ſhould receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling at the ſteps aſcending to the communion table (*i*). This Archbiſhop was very charitable, as appears by an account of his alms and gifts reported by Mr. le Neve (*k*): and it is ſaid, that all the money he could ſpare he ſent to the Queen of Bohemia, for whoſe intereſt he was very zealous, as well as for that of the Palatines. Beſides the books mentioned by Mr. Bayle, Abbot wrote ſeveral other pieces [*E*].

(*c*) Clarendon, *Hiſt. of the Grand Rebellion*, apud Le Neve, loc. cit. p. 103, 104.

(*d*) Le Neve, ibid.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Laud.

(*g*) Le Neve, ubi ſupra. p. 110.

(*h*) Apud le Neve, ibid. p. 111.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 114, 115.

ABBOT

Abbot was very well appris'd of this, therefore, when the news came to London that the States of Bohemia had offered the crown to the Elector Palatine, the Archbiſhop, who being then troubled with the gout could not go to court, wrote to Nawnton Secretary of State, " That in his opinion the Elector ought to " accept of the crown, and England ſhould ſupport " him in his pretenſions, and that, as ſoon as the " news of his coronation arrived, all the bells ſhould " be rung, the guns let off, and bonefires made every " where, that all Europe might know the King was " reſolv'd to maintain his ſon in law" (3). The King would not follow this advice as being founded on reaſons that ſavour'd of Puritaniſm, Frederick was forſaken, and every body knows what was the conſequence of it. This is one inſtance which ſhews that Abbot underſtood the intereſt of Great Britain. Another inſtance of his knowledge in ſtate affairs, and his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, was his vigorouſly oppoſing the intended marriage between the Prince of Wales, and a daughter of the King of Spain, and a general toleration of the Papiſts: the letter he wrote to King James I. on theſe ſubjects may be ſeen in Rapin (4), and in the authors quoted by him. This letter, ſays that Hiſtorian, ſhews, it was not without ſome reaſon, the Archbiſhop paſs'd for a Puritan, according to the notions of the court, who called all thoſe Puritans that would not aſſert the King's power to be unlimited (5).

(3) Rapin. ibid. p. 131.

(4) Ibid. p. 211.

(5) Ibid. p. 212.

[*C*] *Inſtead of making his ſubmiſſion to the King.*] What ſubmiſſion could he make, if his fault conſiſted only in refuſing to licenſe a Sermon, which tended to overthrow the conſtitution, and in not complying with the meaſures of the miniſtry, who would raiſe money upon the ſubjects by unwarrantable methods? Theſe were his crimes! crimes indeed againſt an arbitrary Prince and a corrupt and ambitious Miniſter; but which made him more ſhining in the eyes of all good Patriots, and beloved by the whole nation, for whoſe cauſe he ſuffer'd.

[*D*] *He was reſtored to the King's favour.*] Neither Mr. Wood (6), nor Mr. Bayle, nor Mr. Rapin take notice of this; they all ſpeak, as if Abbot had never been reſtored to his functions, tho' Mr. Le Neve, as we have ſeen, ſays expreſly, that his ſequeſtration had been taken off. Mr. Wood has committed another miſtake. *At length*, ſays he, *Abbot being found guilty of a caſual homicide retired for a time to Guildford; afterwards removing to Croydon, he gave way to fate, in his palace there* (7), though it is certain that he was cleared from all imputation of guilt, and according to that judgment had a ſpecial pardon paſs'd the ſeals, dated Nov. 22, 1621, which may be ſeen in Sanderſon's Continuation of Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. xvii. p. 337—340 (8).

(6) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 585.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Le Neve, u ſupra, p. 99.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces*] viz. *A Preface to the Examination of George Sprat* London 1608 4^to^. *A Sermon preach'd at Wincheſter*, May 26, 1608, *at the Funeral of Thomas Earl of Dorſet*, on Iſaiah xl. 6. London 1608, 4^to^. *A Narrative concerning his diſgrace at Court*, in two parts, written 1627 (9). *His Judgment of bowing at the Name of Jeſus*, Ham. 1632,

(9) Ruſhworth Collect. vol. 1. p. 434.

ABBOT (Robert) elder brother to the former, was alſo born at Guilford (*a*), and went thro' his ſtudies in Baliol College in Oxford. He was firſt Lecturer at Worceſter, then Rector of All-Saints in that city; and a little after, Rector of Bingham in Northamptonſhire: all this happen'd between 1581 and 1588. He took his Doctor's degree (of Divinity) in Oxford anno 1597, and was Chaplain in ordinary to King James, in the beginning of his reign. In 1609 he was made Maſter of Baliol College, and three years after, the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford. The ſubject he choſe for his lectures pleas'd the King ſo much, and was treated with ſuch judgment and erudition, that 'tis believ'd this alone rais'd him to the See of Salisbury. His ſubject was the authority of Kings, which he defended againſt all the ſubtile attacks of Bellarmine and Suarez, as appears from his book, *De ſuprema Poteſtate Regia*, i. e. *Of the ſupreme Power of Kings*; Printed at London in 1619. He had publiſh'd a Latin treatiſe in 1613, which gave no leſs ſatisfaction than his lectures; and that was an anſwer to Eudæmon Joannes's Apology for Henry Garnet his brother Jeſuit. He was not long Biſhop, having been conſecrated December 3, 1615, and dying of the ſtone March 2, 1618 (*b*), about two years before he had marry'd a ſecond wife, which greatly diſpleas'd the Archbiſhop of Canterbury his brother (*c*). As he diſcover'd ſo much genius and learning, both as an orator and a writer, ſucceeding in all things, in preaching, in his writings, and in his lectures, in theſes, in diſputations, and in reſolving the moſt difficult queſtions to admiration; ſome have wondered, that he was not made a Biſhop ſooner: but for this three reaſons are aſſign'd; firſt, he was not ambitious; ſecondly, he was ſuſpected to be a Puritan; thirdly, his relations were not willing he ſhould leave the Univerſity, and his Profeſſorſhip for a Biſhoprick (*d*); but the laſt reaſon appears to me falſe. However this be, ſuch as have drawn a parallel between the brothers, affirm, that the Archbiſhop's Sermons were more eloquent, and thoſe of the Biſhop more learned. That the former had a better talent for affairs, and the latter was the abler Divine; and that the Archbiſhop's gravity was mixed with an air of ſeverity, whilſt that of the Biſhop was temper'd with ſmiles (*e*). The Biſhop paſs'd for a Calviniſt, (not of the rigid kind) becauſe he explained the tenet of Predeſtination, according to the *Infralapſarii*. Here follow the titles of his works [*A*]. Since his time there has been a Robert Abbot born in Cambridge, who wrote ſeveral books. He preached for ſome time in Kent, &c. and afterwards in London. The catalogue of the Bodleian Library makes three authors of this Robert Abbot, three being there mentioned under that name, and to them the books which were written by one only are aſcribed.

(*a*) In 1560.

(*b*) Mr. Witte ſays, that he died March 11. 1617. but what led him into this error, was, becauſe the Engliſh don't begin the year like other nations.

(*c*) *Athenæ Oxonienſes.*

(*d*) Fuller's *Engliſh Worthies.*

(*e*) Ibid.

1632, 8vo. *A Letter to the Archbiſhop of York*, deſiring him to put in practice the King's * deſire, that none ſhould preach but in a religious form, dated Sept. 4. 1622. printed in 1642, 4to. *A Letter to Dr. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln Lord Keeper*, to the ſame purpoſe, printed in 1642. *Several Speeches and Diſcourſes* in Parliament and elſewhere (10).

[*A*] *The titles of his works.*] Beſides thoſe already mention'd, he wrote *The Mirror of Popiſh Subtilties*, printed at London in 1594. *Sermons on the 110th Pſalm.* Printed in the ſame place, Anno 1601. *A Defence of William Perkin's Reform'd Catholic, againſt Dr. Biſhop*; and *A Reply to this Doctor's Anſwer.* London 1611. Theſe four, the titles of which I abridg'd, are in Engliſh. *Antichriſti Demonſtratio contra Pontificios.* Londini 1603 (1). *Exercitationes de gratiâ & perſeverantiâ Sanctorum.* Lond. 1618. *Animadverſio in Richardi Thomſoni Diatribam de amiſſione juſtificationis & gratiæ*, ibid. 1618. His *Latin Commentary*, in four volumes on *St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans* was found among his papers, and preſented to the Bodleian Library by Dr. Edward Corbet, husband of Mrs. Margaret Brent, daughter to Martha Abbot, who was only daughter and heir to Robert Abbot Biſhop of Sarum (2). This learned Prelate has ſhown his great skill in polemical Divinity, in every article of the Epiſtle to the Romans, which admits of controverſy.

* [Beſides thoſe books he wrote, *The Old Way*, a Sermon at St. Mary Oxon on Act Sunday, 8 July 1610. on Jerem. vi. 16. London 1610. 4to. (3). Addit. Rem.]

* James I.

(10) Wood *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 585.

(1) Scaliger applauds this work highly in the *Scaligerana*, p. 1 & 2.

(2) Vide the Engliſh authors quoted in the text of this article.

(3) Wood *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 431.

☞ ABBOT (1). This name was given particularly to the chiefs of the Friars in monaſteries, who were alſo call'd by the Greek *Archimandrites*, Ἀρχιμανδρίτης, the chief Monk. The ancient Abbots were either Monks, who had founded monaſteries, which they themſelves governed, as St. Anthony, and St. Pachomius did; or, the Abbots were appointed Chiefs by thoſe who had inſtituted the monaſtic life in ſome countries; or they were choſen by all the Monks of a convent. It was ordered by the fourth Canon of the council of Chalcedon, held in the year 451, that all the Abbots in the Eaſt with their monaſteries ſhould be ſubject to the Biſhops; the ſame decree was made in the Weſt, by the 21ſt Canon of the firſt council of Orleans, by the 19th of the council of Epaone, by the 22d of the IId council of Orleans, by the conſtitutions of Charles the great, and in the Canon *Monaſteria* 18, *quæſt.* 2. But ſuch was the ambition of Abbots and Monks, that notwithſtanding thoſe ſeveral laws and conſtitutions, there were at that very time divers monaſteries, who would not ſubmit to the juriſdiction of the Ordinary; and it appears, by the acts of the council held at Carthage in the year 525, under Archbiſhop Bonifacius, that the founder of a monaſtery, if he were not in holy orders, had the liberty to ſubject it either to the Archbiſhop of Carthage, or to any other Biſhop of Africa, as he pleaſed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Dioceſan Biſhop. The council of Arles, held in the year 455, did alſo ratify the privilege, which the monaſtery of Lerins enjoy'd, of not being ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Frejus. Since that time ſome Abbots obtained for themſelves, and for their Abbies an exemption

(1) 'Tis obſerv'd by Paſquier in his *Recherches* lib. 3. c. 3. That in the primitive church all titles were rather names of charge or ſervice than of honour or dignity, and that the word *Abba* or Father was introduced in the 2d Century to gratify the ambition of ſome who lov'd to have pre-eminence, and hence ſprung the title of *Abbot*, which induced St. Jerom in his Commentary on Galat. 5. to complain, that by an irregular ambition, men had aſſumed thoſe titles which Chriſt had aſcribed to God alone, i. e. *Abba* Father.

exemption from the Ordinary's juriſdiction [*A*], which ſometimes was granted by the Biſhop's conſent at the requeſt of the King, or the founder of the monaſtery. Abbots have had ſeats in councils [*B*], but below the Biſhops; and ſome were permitted to have the Croſier-ſtaff and Mitre; nay, there have been Abbots, who claimed a right to epiſcopal juriſdiction. Some have had the privilege not only to ſhave the crown of their Friars, but moreover to adminiſter the leſſer orders. It is ſuppoſed by ſome authors, that Pope Innocent VIII. granted to the Abbot of Citeaux, the power of ordaining Deacons and Subdeacons, and to conſecrate with epiſcopal bleſſing ſeveral perſons and things, as Abbeſſes, Altars, Chalices, &c. The large eſtates which [*C*] monaſteries became poſſeſs'd of in time, ſoon excited the covetouſneſs of the Laity [*D*]; for

[*A*] *An exemption from the Ordinary's juriſdiction.*] Exemptions of convents were at firſt granted by the Biſhops; and all the Grandees, who founded monaſteries, were proud to make them enjoy ſeveral immunities, which in the beginning conſiſted only in this, that convents ſhould be free from paying certain charges and taxes: afterwards they obtained new privileges, and eſpecially the right of chuſing their own Abbots, and regulating the diſcipline of their monaſteries, and that at their requeſt the Biſhop ſhould ordain ſuch Prieſts as they deſired; at laſt they went ſo far as to make themſelves independent on the Ordinary; but this they could not obtain without the Biſhops conſent, the authority of the Pope, and the King's good will (1). Theſe exemptions encreaſing daily, the Pope at laſt pretended he alone had the right of granting them, and endeavoured to ſubmit all monaſteries to the holy See, notwithſtanding the vehement oppoſition of the Dioceſan Biſhops (2). Theſe favours were not granted *gratis*; the Abbots and Monks ſtripp'd their monaſteries of every thing valuable, to buy this independency, and made themſelves tributary to the Popes, paying yearly a certain ſum to the Apoſtolick Chamber. Such was at that time the corruption of their manners, that they ſpared no pains nor coſt, to indulge their vices without controul. It was however incumbent on all Abbots immediately after their election, to pay obedience in writing to the Biſhop, which they for the moſt part refuſing to do, the Council of Rheims made a particular Canon to oblige them to it; but they were ſo little inclined to ſubmit, that King Henry II. of England made heavy complaints to Pope Innocent II. againſt Hugo Archbiſhop of Rouen, who would oblige the Abbots of Normandy to pay obedience to him. Innocent ſeeing with how much earneſtneſs the King had writ to him, ordered the Archbiſhop not to inſiſt upon his right, for fear of ſome greater evil (3).

(1) Mezeray, *Abregé de l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. p. 669.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 670.

(3) Id. ib.

[*B*] *Abbots have had ſeats in councils.*] In England before the conqueſt, they were often called to the *Wittenagemote*. Thus King Canute, in the fifth year of his reign, held a Wittenagemote (4) of Biſhops, ſeven Dukes, ſeven Earls, many Abbots, &c. wherein the Abby of Bury was exempted from the epiſcopal juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Elmham (5), which ſhews, that the exemptions of monaſteries were granted here in England by the King, and the great council of the nation, without much minding the Biſhop of Rome. Abbeſſes were alſo ſummoned to the Wittenagemote, as appears by the code of laws made in a Wittenagemote held at Barkhemſted by Wightred King of Kent: the decrees were ſigned by the King, the Biſhops of Canterbury and Rocheſter, the Abbots and Abbeſſes (6). The Ladies of birth and quality ſate in council with the Saxon Wita's; the Abbeſs Wilda, ſays Bede (7), preſided in an eccleſiaſtical ſynod. In Wightred's great council at Beconceld, A. D. 694, the Abbeſſes ſate and deliberated, and five of them ſigned the decrees of that council together with the King, the Biſhops and Nobles (8.) All Abbots that held their poſſeſſions by Barony were members of the Norman Parliaments, of theſe there were twenty ſix (9), viz. the Abbots of Glaſſenbury, Canterbury, Weſtminſter, St. Albans, St. Edmundsbury, Peterborough, Colcheſter, Eveſham, Winchcomb, Croyland, Battle Abbey, Reading, Abington, Waltham, Shrewsbury, Cirenceſter, Gloceſter, Bardenay, St. Bennet de Holme, Thorney, Ramſey, Hide, Malmsbury, York, Selby, to which muſt be added Taviſtock, by a particular patent a little while before the diſſolution. There were alſo two Priors, who had ſeats in Parliament, viz. the Priors of St. John and of Coventry. The Prior of St. John had the precedence of all Lay-Barons (10). Several other Abbots and Priors, that did not hold by Barony, were frequently ſummoned to Parliament, as were the Peers, and omitted when the King pleaſed (11). It happened ſometimes that theſe Abbots did not care to ſit in Parliament: thus the Abbot of St. James by Northampton being in the twelfth year of Edward the ſecond ſummoned to Parliament as a Baron, petitioned to be eras'd out of the roll of Barons, he not holding by Barony or Knight-Service *in capite*, his poſſeſſions being *Frank-almain*, and his name was eras'd out of the roll as he deſired (12). The Abbot of Leiceſter alſo being ſummon'd to Parliament as a Baron, petitioned the King to be eras'd out of the Barons roll, for that his abbey was founded by Robert de Bellamont, Earl of Leiceſter, and conſequently not held *in capite*, for which reaſon the King did grant *quod idem Abbas, & ſucceſſores ſui de veniendo ad Parliamenta & conſilia noſtra vel heredum noſtrorum quieti ſint & exonerati in perpetuum*, "that this Abbot and "his ſucceſſors ſhould for ever be diſcharged from "attending at the King's or his heirs Parliaments and "councils (13).

(4) Coke 9 *Rep. Pref.* 7.

(5) Thornhawgh Gurdon, *Hiſt. of the High Court of Parliament* vol. 1. p. 37.

(6) Id. ib. p. 26. a b.

(7) Bede lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 135. lib. 4. cap. 23, 24.

(8) Spel. Conc. tom. 1. p. 189. 101. 348. quoted by Gurdon, *Hiſt. of Parliam.* vol. 1. p. 201. See alſo p. 202. 207.

(9) Thorn. Gurdon *ubi ſupra*, pag. 193.

(10) Atkins's *ancient and preſent ſtate of Gloceſterſhire.*

(11) Gurdon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 193.

(12) Selden, *Titles of Honour*, p. 731. 734.

(13) Sir Edward Coke's *Inſtitutes of the Laws of England*, Part iv. 45. 49.

[*C*] *The large eſtates of monaſteries.*] That the reader may judge how rich they were grown, we will here ſet down an account of the number and revenues of abbies in England, about the time of Henry the Eighth when they were ſuppreſs'd. The abbies ſuppreſs'd in England and Wales were ſix hundred forty five, according to Camden, in his *Britannia*; their yearly revenue is computed at a hundred thirty five thouſand five hundred twenty two pounds eighteen ſhillings and ten pence. Beſides this, the money raiſed out of the ſtock of cattel and corn, out of the timber, lead and bells, out of the furniture, plate and church ornaments, amounted to a vaſt ſum, as may be collected from what was brought away from the monaſtery of St. Edmunds-Bury; it appears from records, that five thouſand marks of gold and ſilver, beſides ſeveral jewels of great value, were ſeized by the viſitors of that convent. As to the revenues of the abbies, they were ſometimes undervalued by the viſitors, perhaps in hopes of an eaſier grant or purchaſe; and therefore in all likelihood, upon rack-rents and modern computation the lands would riſe to near twenty times as much (14). Not to mention what they got by relics, which makes me recollect the following ſtory. A certain Monk called Frere Oignon, having been at Jeruſalem, ſaw there ſeveral valuable and curious relicks, among which were the following. "A bit of the finger of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſound "and entire as it had ever been; the ſnout of the "Seraphim, that appeared to St. Francis; one of the "nails of a Cherubim; one of the ribs of the *Ver-"bum caro factum*, (the Word made fleſh); ſome "garments of the holy Catholick faith; ſome rays of "the Star, which appear'd to the three Kings in the "Eaſt; a vial of St. Michael's ſweat, when he was "fighting againſt the Devil; a hem of Joſeph, which "he fetch'd when he cleaved his wood, &c. all which "things, adds the Monk, I have brought very de-"voutly with me home." *Un Moine de St. Antoine raporte, qu'étant allé à Jeruſalem, le Patriarche lui montra pluſieurs reliques & entre autres celles-ci: un peu du doigt du S. Eſprit, auſſi ſain & auſſi entier, qu'il avoit jamais été; le muſeau du Seraphin, qui apparut à S. François; une des côtes du* Verbum caro factum; *des habillemens de la Ste. Foy Catholique; quelques rayons de l'Etoile, qui apparut aux trois Rois en Orient; une fiole de la ſueur de S. Michel quand il combattit le Diable, un han de Joſeph &c. leſquelles choſes, ajoute le moine, j'apportay fort devotement avec moy* (15).

(14) Collier's *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of Great Britain.*

(15) Henri Eſtienne, *Traité preparatif à l'Apologie pour Herod.* chap. 39.

[*D*] *Excited the covetouſneſs of the Laity.*] In the beginning of Chriſtianity the church did not enjoy any real eſtate; firſt, becauſe Chriſtians, we are told, did not care to acquire any, believing the end of the world was near at hand; ſecondly, becauſe by the laws

for even in the fifth Century, Kings and Princes ſeized upon the richeſt monaſteries in France and in Italy, either to enjoy the revenue themſelves, or to gratify their favourites with it; and though the Popes and the Biſhops oppoſed this grievance as much as lay in their power, they could never get it redreſſed till the reign of King Dagobert; who was a well-wiſher to the church, that is to ſay, (as the Roman Catholicks ſpeak) to the Clergy. But this grievance began again under Charles Martel, when ſeveral Laymen invaded part of the eſtates belonging to the monaſteries, and took alſo the title of Abbots: we meet in hiſtory with ſeveral Kings and temporal Lords, who enjoy'd that title. Pepin indeed and Charles the great revived the laws againſt thoſe who uſurped the Church-revenues; but notwithſtanding theſe laws, and the repeated addreſſes of the Biſhops, monaſteries ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of Laymen: nay, Princes themſelves gave the income of them to their officers as a reward for their faithful ſervices; hence came the name of *Benefice*. Charles the Bald made ſeveral laws to render this cuſtom leſs general and grievous, but to very little purpoſe, for it continued under his ſucceſſors; ſince Philip I. and Lewis VI. and afterwards the Dukes of Orleans are called Abbots of St. Agnan of Orleans in the hiſtory of the church of that city written by Hubert. The Dukes of Aquitaine aſſum'd the title of Abbots of St. Hilary of Poitiers; the Earls of Anjou that of Abbots of St. Aubin; and the Earls of Vermandois that of Abbots of St. Quintin. This grievance ceaſed at laſt under the firſt Kings of the third family, which was that of the Capets; before that time the greateſt Lords did not deſpiſe the title of Abbot, which was then as honourable as that of Earl or Duke; they uſed to chuſe one of the Monks to govern the reſt in their ſtead, and he was ſtiled Dean. In ſome monaſteries the Friars themſelves elected a Superior, whom they called the Abbot. Hugues, Duke and Governor of Orleans, and the Province of Anjou, who was in great favour with King Charles the Bald, Lewis the Stammerer and his children, is very often called Abbot in the hiſtory of thoſe times. The Clergy often endeavoured to rectify this abuſe, and in the year 892 the Prelates of France held a provincial council at Rheims, in which they threatned to excommunicate Baldwin Earl of Flanders, becauſe he had ſeized upon the Abbey of St. Waaſt of Arras, and called himſelf Abbot thereof. Afterwards the revenues of abbies were not beſtowed on Laymen: but the ſecular Clerks deſired to have the abbies *in commendam*, which was granted them by the Pope's conſent. It ſeems thoſe *commendams* ſhould have been granted but for a limited time, but uſe has made them perpetual: however, the Pope grants them only as a particular favour, under a diſpenſation, and on condition that the perſon named to the abbey, ſhall take Prieſts orders, as ſoon as he is of age. At firſt abbies were very ſeldom given *in commendam* to ſecular Prieſts; but this cuſtom is now become ſo univerſal, that moſt abbies are held *in commendam* [*E*], that is to ſay, that a ſecular Prieſt bears the title of Abbot, and enjoys two thirds of the income of the abbey, as being in the place of a regular Abbot, tho' he has no authority nor juriſdiction over the Monks. According to the concordate or agreement made between King Francis I. and Pope Leo X. the commendatory Abbots are choſen by the King, but inveſted with the abbey *in commendam* by the Pope's Bulls. Some have been called Cardinal Abbots; this happen'd when two abbies, which had formerly been united, came to be divided; he that govern'd in chief one of thoſe abbies, was ſtiled the Cardinal Abbot. This title has alſo been granted by courteſy to ſome Abbots; thus Pope Calixtus granted it by a ſpecial bull to the Abbot of Cluny, who ſometimes ſtiled himſelf the Abbot of Abbots. Pontius Abbot of Cluny aſſum'd that title in the council held at Rome in the year 1116, which Cajetanus Chancellor of the

laws of Rome, no corporation or ſociety of men could poſſeſs any real eſtate, nor receive any legacy, without the conſent of the Senate or the Prince (16). This did not hinder the church from amaſſing ſuch large ſums of money, that ſince the year 220 of the Chriſtian Era, they were envied by the Emperors themſelves. Decius ordered St. Laurence Deacon of Rome to be ſeized, in order to make himſelf maſter of the treaſure of that church (17); but the cunning Deacon ſuſpecting the tyrant's covetouſneſs, diſtributed beforehand all the money at once amongſt the poor of Rome, which was always the cuſtom when any perſecution was apprehended. And indeed moſt of the perſecutions, which the church ſuffered ſince the death of the Emperor Commodus, were occaſion'd by their riches: when the Prince or his officers wanted money, the readieſt way they had to procure it was to ſeize upon the eſtate of the church (18).

[*E*] *Moſt abbies are held in commendam.*] This is a grievance the Monks can hardly bear with; they exclaim bitterly againſt it. In the year 1673 Mr. Des Bois publiſh'd a book againſt that abuſe, with this title, *L'Abbé Commendataire, The Commendatory Abbot*; and the next year Mr. de Froimond publiſhed a ſecond part upon the ſame ſubject: a little while after came out a third part of that book, containing a letter written by Mr. Schouter, and ſome reflections made by Mr. De Bonneſoy (19). The commendatory Abbots were very hardly dealt with by the authors of this book, who ſhewed among other things what a great hardſhip it was, that Abbots ſhould enjoy the greateſt part of the revenue of monaſteries, without performing any functions, or taking the leaſt care of their Monks. Mr. Bayle however ſeems to make an apology for the commendatory Abbots, but indeed 'tis in an ironical way. "After all, ſays he, it is not "impoſſible to juſtify thoſe Abbots; for it is very "probable, that their birth and quality, their pomp "and luxury are, though indirectly, very ſerviceable "to the church and ſtate, and contribute much "more to weaken the Hugenots (20), than the "retirement, and all the writings, ſermons and mor-"tifications of a regular Abbot could do." *Dans le fond il n'eſt pas impoſſible de juſtifier les Abbez commendataires, car il eſt fort apparent que leur qualité, leur éclat, & leur magnificence rendent indirectement de grands ſervices à leur Egliſe & à leur patrie; & contribuent à l'affoibliſſement des Huguenots tout autrement, que ne feroit la retraite, les écrits, les ſermons, & les auſteritez d'un regulier* (21). However, father Simon thinks, that the regular Abbots were a worſe grievance than the Abbots who hold in Commendam; for theſe, ſays he, diſpoſe only of a third part of the revenue of their abbey, one part being appointed for the

(16) Fra-Paolo, *Traité des Benefices*, p. 16.

(17) Prudentius brings in an officer of Decius ſpeaking to St. Lawrence after this manner. *Quod Cæſaris ſcis, Cæſari da, nempe juſſum poſtulo; ni fallor, haud ullam tuus ſignat Deus pecuniam.* That is, "Give to Cæſar "what you "know belongs "to Cæſar; I "ask nothing "but what is "juſt; for if I "am not miſ-"taken, thy God "does not coin "money." Apud Fra-Paolo, *Traité des Benefices* p. 15. *in notis.*

(18) Fra-Paolo, *Loc. cit.*

(19) Bayle, *Rep. des Lett.* tom. 4. p. 1033, 1034.

(20) This was written in the year 1685, before the final blow was given to the Proteſtants in France, by the repeal of the edict of Nantes.

(21) Bayle, id.

the Pope did not like, becauſe the title was new, and belonged more properly to the Abbot of Mount Caſſino, in the kingdom of Naples, becauſe that abbey is the firſt where the ſtatutes of St. Benedict were obſerved, and the Abbot of it is called, by the Emperors and Popes, the Vicar of that Saint over all the monaſteries of this order. The regular Canons have alſo given the title of Abbot to him who was at the head of the chapter. Theſe Abbots are mentioned in the ſecond council of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they are diſtinguiſhed from the Abbots of Monks; they are mentioned alſo in the conſtitutions of Charles the Great; nay, ſome chapters of regular Canons have given by courteſy the title of Abbot to Clergymen, who did not belong to the chapter. In the Greek church, ſome Abbots called themſelves univerſal Abbots, *æcumenici univerſales*, in imitation of the haughty ſtyle of the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople. The great maſter of the royal chapel was alſo ſtiled Abbot. The ſtatutes of St. Benedict mention ſome Monks, who claim'd the title of ſecond Abbots. When monaſteries were firſt founded, their Abbots were not in Prieſts orders; in proceſs of time ſome were ordained Prieſts, but not all. Sometimes the chief Curate or Rector of a pariſh was called an Abbot, and if we may credit Mr. Du Cange, there were generally three principal officers in every Pariſh. 1. The Abbot or Guardian, who is now called the Rector. 2. The Prieſt or Chaplain. 3. The Sexton, who was inferior both to the Abbot and Chaplain. The Prieſt or Chaplain had the cure of ſouls: the Abbot was to have an eye over the behaviour of the Prieſt, and to take care that the pariſh wanted nothing. Some Biſhops have been called Abbots, becauſe their Biſhopricks were originally abbies; ſuch were the Biſhop of Catane and of Mount Real in Sicily, who were elected by the Monks. The chief magiſtrate of the Republick of Genoa has alſo been called the Abbot, as appears by the treaty made between that State and Charles King of Sicily, in the year 1307, where Nicholas Frambe is often ſtiled, The Abbot of the People, *Abbas Populi*. * Blondeau, *Biblioth. can.* Pierre Diacre, *Chron.* Lib. 4. Hugues Biſhop of Cluni. Beſli, *Hiſtoire des Comtes de Poitou.* *L'Abbé Commendataire.* Du Cange, *Gloſſarium Latinitatis.*

the maintenance of the Monks, and the other for the neceſſary charges of the monaſtery; whereas the regular Abbots had the diſpoſal of the whole income, and let their Monks ſtarve, whilſt they ſpent their revenue by living in a manner very unbecoming their profeſſion. I am confident, ſays Father Simon, that the Monks don't wiſh that regular Abbots ſhould be reſtored to the ſame power they had formerly; and he quotes Abbot Trithemius, who deſcribes very ingenuouſly the ſtrange depravation of manners, and ſcandalous way of living of the regular Abbots of his time. The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to find here, in what manner he reproves them in a publick oration deliver'd in 1493. "You, gentlemen Abbots, ſays he, that "are ignorant and perfect enemies to the knowledge "of ſalvation; you, that ſpend whole days in whoring, drinking and gaming; you that mind nothing "but this world, how will ye anſwer for your ſelves "before God and before St. Benedict your founder?" *Vous, Meſſieurs les Abbez, qui êtes des ignorans, & ennemis de la ſcience du ſalut, qui paſſez des journées entiéres dans les plaiſirs impudiques, dans l'ivrognerie, & dans le jeu, qui vous attachez aux biens de la terre, que repondrez vous à Dieu, & à votre fondateur St. Benoit* (22)? Trithemius aſſerts further, that of ten thouſand monaſteries there were not a thouſand that kept the ſtatutes of their orders, and that all Abbots lived a lewd and diſſolute life (23). Abbots were anciently obliged to preach to their Monks on certain days; and there is a ſtatute in the order of Citeaux, by which it is enacted, that the Abbots ſhould preach every Sunday in the year, except on Trinity Sunday, when they are excuſed becauſe of the difficulty of the ſubject then to be explained (24), which ſhews, by the way, what little notion was entertained of their parts and learning.

(22) *Hiſtoire &c. des Revenus Eccleſiaſtiques*, par Jerôme à Coſta (Father Simon) *apud* Bayle, *Rep. des Let.* tom. 1. p. 251, 252.
(23) Id. ibid.
(24) Vigneul Marville, *Melange d'Hiſtoire & de Litterature*, apud *Rep. des Lettres* 1700. Janvier, p. 100.

☞ ABDALCADER, was ſirnamed GHILI and GHILANI, becauſe he was a native of the Province of Ghilan [*A*] in Perſia. He was a Scheikh or Doctor, and highly eſteem'd by the Muſulmans for the ſanctity of his life. Jafei (*a*) hath written his hiſtory in a ſeparate and diſtinct piece, different from another work wherein he has collected the lives of perſons eminent for their piety, and which he has adorn'd with the title *Aſna al Mecaſled*, or *The Excellent Hiſtory*: alſo *Noureddin al Kahami*, in a book entitled, *The Secrets of Bahagiat-al-aſrar, or of the life ſpiritual*, hath very highly extoll'd him. His life hath alſo been written in Turkiſh by Mahammed Ben Haſſan Gian, and by Ebn Hagi Haſſan Edreni, a native of Adrianople; and Muſladin Sadi, in the ſecond chapter of his *Guliſtan* or *Roſarium*, has given us a prayer [*B*] which he made when he was at Mecca. See Herbelot, p. 5.

(*a*) See his Article hereafter.

[*A*] *The Province of Ghilan.*] This name Ghilan is uſually given to four Provinces in Perſia, each of which is diſtinguiſhed by ſome addition; but the moſt noted are thoſe of Ghilan Reſchat, and Ghilan Lachſchan. The inhabitants of this Province do generally feed on a ſort of bread made of rice which grows there in great plenty. This Province doth likewiſe abound in fiſh and fowl, &c.

(1) See the Annotations on *Roſarium Politicum*, p. 565.

[*B*] *A prayer which he made at Mecca.*] The prayer here mentioned is related by Muſladin Sadi, thus: *Oh Almighty God! do thou pardon my ſins, but if thou doſt think me worthy of puniſhment, let me be raiſed blind at the day of reſurrection, leſt I ſhould bluſh to appear in the number of thy Saints:* whereto the author ſubjoins his own prayer made at the ſame time and place, viz. *Oh Almighty God, as I thy ſervant do never forget thee, ſo do thou pleaſe ſometimes to remember me.* Which laſt ſeems ſomewhat like that inſcribed on Martin Eltingbrod's tomb, viz.

(2) See *Roſarium Politicum*, p. 149.

Here ligg I Martin Eltingbrod;
Have mercy on my ſoul Lord God!
As I would do, if I were God,
And thou wer't Martin Eltingbrod.

And this, if rightly conſidered, will appear to be as juſt and pious a prayer as can be made by a juſt man to a juſt God; and to bear ſome analogy to that expoſtulation of Abraham, with God, Gen. xviii. 25. *Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?* or that claim of right made by Job, ch. xxiii. where he demands to plead with God touching the cauſe of his ſufferings. But I find the Muſulmans do not all appear before the throne of grace with the like boldneſs. For the ſame author has given us, among di-

vers

ABDALCAHER, a famous Grammarian, author of the *Aouamel*. This book hath been commented on by Ebn Heſchain, and is in the French King's library, N° 1086. It hath alſo been printed at Rome with a Latin Tranſlation, under the title of *Centum Regentes*, i. e. *The hundred Arabic Particles which govern the ſeveral Caſes of Nouns in that Language.* This author hath alſo compos'd an abridgment of the Arabic Dictionary of Giauhari, and entitled it *Mohktar al Sehah*, which is alſo in the ſame library, N° 1088. The entire name of this author is, Mohammed Ben Abubeker Ben Abdalcaher al Razi, or Raji, he being a native of the city Rai [*A*].

ABDALLA, the ſon of Abdalmothleb, and father of their Prophet Mahomet. Mirkoud in his life of Mahomet, p. 3. relates, That many predictions were found in

vers other prayer, one made at Mecca by another perſon in the following form.

* Note, this prayer is in Perſian verſe, in the original; of which kind there are divers in the ſame author.

* *Oh moſt merciful God! who alone art all powerful to pardon,*
Thou beſt doſt know what is fit to be granted to a ſinful and ignorant man.
I come to thee with a deprecation for the errors of my devotion.
Wicked men who repent, pray to have their ſins forgiven,
And good men requeſt thee to accept their imperfect ſervices.
Thus ſervants require a reward for their ſervices,
Thus traders demand a price for their wares,
But I come to thee with the hopes of a ſlave, not the aſſurance of a ſervant;
I make my addreſſes to thee as a beggar, and not as a trader;
Deal therefore with me as it ſeems good to thee,
For whether thou wilt deſtroy me or accept me to thy grace,
Lo I reſign my ſelf to thee, and fix my head on thy threſhold;
For I thy ſlave will make no requeſt,
But willingly ſubmit my will to thine.

I confeſs there is expreſs'd, in this form, a moſt profound ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and it may therefore be well termed a pious ejaculation; but as it contains no petition it cannot be eſteemed a prayer. See Selden's *Comment on the Origin of the Alexandrian Church*, p. 57, 58. touching the Muſulman Liturgy or book of Common Prayer, wherein is inſerted a form of prayer uſed by Chriſt, far different from that which we call the Lord's Prayer, and is as follows, viz.

* See hereafter in the Article ISSA, a moſt ſolemn and ſublime prayer or addreſs made by a Mahometan to Jeſus Chriſt.

A prayer of * Jeſus the ſon of Mary, upon whom be peace (i. e. ſalvation.)

" Oh God! I am not able to avoid that evil which
" I hate, nor can I acquire that good which I would,
" and others have the reward which I deſerved, or
" expected, yet there is a reward laid up in heaven
" for my labour, though at preſent, there is none
" more poor than me. Oh! adorable God! grant
" that by thy favour I may not become either the
" ſcorn of my enemies, or the contempt of my
" friends, nor permit 'em to urge my ſufferings a-
" gainſt my religion. Grant that this world be not
" made my concern, or the object of my ſtudy; nor
" let him have power over me who will have no pity
" on me. This I deſire for thy mercies ſake, oh thou
" the moſt merciful of merciful Beings."

This is the prayer they ſay He made in the garden the night he was betrayed. But it ſeems the moſt common form of private prayer uſed by the Mahometans at this day is thus in Arabic (3).

(3) See *Makometiſm Explain'd*, vol. 2. p. 108,

Ya Alhamdu Lillahi Rabbi el Aalammin! el Rahamin el Rahami! Maliki youm Din; Wiakan aabadon; Waiakana ſtaein; Hedina ſerat el Muſtakima ſerat el adina; Anaimta alikim Mugudrobi, alikim Waladalin Amin. And thus in Engliſh.

" Oh! ever living God! the omnipotent Lord of
" all things! all gracious and all merciful! King and
" Judge of the day of judgment, whom I ſincerely
" worſhip, and from whom alone I ſeek pardon for
" my ſins, guide me in the way of thoſe thou haſt in-
" ſtructed with thy grace, but keep me from the
" road wherein the perverſe Jews and blinded Chri-
" ſtians are wandring. Amen." See further of their prayers and form of worſhip, in *Reland de Mahumedica Religione.*

To theſe we may add a prayer mentioned in the Notes on the Guliſtan, pag. 617. to have been made by Mahomet when he fled from Mecca, viz. *Oh God! ſeeing I am forced to leave that city which is moſt dear to me, guide or lead me to that which is moſt dear to thee;* and they ſay that God hereupon conducting him to Medina, declar'd that city to be more holy than Mecca.

[*A*] *Rai*] This word is variouſly written by divers authors, viz. Rei, Ray, Rey, Raja, Ræa, &c. There were two cities of this name (1), the one in Egypt and the other in Parthia. This latter, is that which is here meant, and is by ſome ſaid to have belonged to the Province of Deile, but by others to that of Choraſan. It was formerly a famous city and very populous, being ſituated in a large open plain, covered on the north ſide with a rocky mount that ſeemed to hang over it, and was one day's journey towards the north-weſt, from Com or Kom, a city of the Perſian Irac. Which two cities, according to Abulfæda, limit the deſart of Choraſan towards the weſt. Rai is by ſome Aſtronomers ſaid to be one degree and a half more eaſt, and one degree more ſouth than Chazbin. From which city Abulfæda makes it diſtant thirty paraſangs (2), but Hamdalla ſays it is only twenty ſeven. 'Tis ſuppoſed to have been the moſt antient city of Parthia, becauſe from the monuments or records of the Magi it appears to have been repaired by Huxenk the firſt Legiſlator of the Perſians, and that it was afterwards rebuilt by Menughir the ſon of Feridun the ſixth King of Perſia of the Piſchdadian family.

(1) See Golius's Notes on Alferganus, p. 210 & 213. That Rei in Egypt is but a ſuburb of Grand Cair.

(2) A paraſang is near four miles.

Theſe Piſchdadians (3) are ſaid to have been the firſt race of the Perſian Kings, and ſo named from *Piſch*, which in their language ſignifies the firſt, and Dad which imports juſtice, as tho' they were ſo denominated from being the firſt diſpenſers of juſtice. The firſt of which race, i. e. Kiumert, brought the people from a wild and ſavage courſe of life to inhabit houſes, build towns and cities, and cultivate the earth. But the firſt city he built is ſaid to have been Jetchar (perhaps Shiraz) which was built with ſo much art, labour and coſt, as if he intended thereby to leave an eternal monument of his power and riches to all poſterity. 'Twas here that both he and his ſucceſſors had their court and palace for many years. This city was very much enlarged by other Kings, eſpecially by Haſchenſch, i. e. Huxenk abovenamed, and Schimſchid. King Feridun alſo abovenamed is ſaid to have been the fifth King of this family, and Gerſcha or Jerſchaſuſus (perhaps Darius Hiſtaſpis) was the laſt. After which ſucceeded the family of the Kianans conſiſting of nine Kings, of whom the firſt was Keicabadus, and the laſt they name Alskander Darabi (i. e. Alexander ſon of Darius *, whom they ſo term, for that he, as they ſay, was begot by the laſt Darius but one, King of Perſia, on a daughter of Philip of Macedon.) They alſo ſay, that Cyrus who reſtored the Jews from their captivity was the ſon of Bahmon, the ſon of Eſfendiar the ſixth King of this family, and by him begot on a Jewiſh woman, and afterwards made by his ſaid father Præfect or Governor of Babylon; and that the mother as well as the wife of King Bahman was a Jeweſs, and derived her pedigree from King David; and hence it is that in Perſian authors we frequently find their Kings ſtiled the ſeed of David, the ſucceſſors and heirs of Solomon, &c.; and they alſo aſſert, that Solomon had his court and palace at Schiras or Cyropolis in Perſia. The third race of the Perſian Kings are called Eſchganiens, and of theſe they reckon twenty five. The firſt of which they name Schabur, and the Romans Sapor (4), and the laſt Bihram. The fourth race they call Saſans, as my author ſays, but I rather think the word to be Schaſchans or Shaekkans and reckon their number to have been thirty one, and ſay, that the firſt of theſe was Ardeſchir Babegan the ſon of Schaſhan; and the laſt Iſdeſchird or Iſdegirdes the ſon of Scheoriari, who being hated by his ſubjects for his unjuſt and tyrannical government gave an (5) opportunity to the Arabs and Mahometans to ſubject all Perſia to their dominion.

(3) See the Notes on *Roſarium Politicum*, p. 599, 600.

* Alexander the Great.

(4) See *Roſar. Politic.* p. 11 & 539.

(5) Note, the Perſians ſeem in a great degree to have voluntarily ſubmitted to the Arabians, as their deliverers from the tyranny of their Kings.

found in the books, both of the Jews and Arabians in his time, relating to his perſon. But it is very probable thoſe prophecies were either forg'd at firſt, or afterwards feign'd to flatter Mahomet. The ſame author, in the fourth page of the ſame book, ſays, That this Abdalla was ſent for to eſpouſe a powerful Queen of Syria, who had been inform'd by her Doctors, That a ſon would be born of this marriage, who ſhould be a mighty conqueror, and make himſelf maſter of a great part of the world.

☞ABDALLA, the ſon of Ali, who was the husband of Fatima the daughter of Mahomet. This Abdalla was uncle to the two firſt Khalifs of the race of the Abbaſſides, i. e. Saffah and Almanſor (*a*); and it was he who uſed the moſt effectual endeavours to eſtabliſh his family on the ruins of the Ommiades (*b*); whereby he ſecur'd the empire to his ſaid nephew Saffah. But after the death of Saffah, he could not endure that his nephew Almanſor ſhould ſucceed, to the prejudice of himſelf; and therefore he took arms, and caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd Khalif. But he did not long enjoy that dignity; for being defeated in battle by Abu Moſlem, the General of Almanſor's army, he fled to Baſſora, where his brother Soliman, who commanded there for Almanſor, kept him conceal'd for ſome time: but at length being diſcover'd, he was taken and impriſon'd in a houſe, the foundation whereof, 'tis ſaid, was laid with ſtones of ſalt; and the Khalif his nephew having turn'd a water-courſe againſt the foot of the building, the houſe ſoon fell, and involv'd Abdalla in its ruins. Herbelot, p. 6.

(*a*) Vide poſt; ABDAL. SAMAD.

(*b*) See hereafter in Article OMMIADES a moſt inhuman execution made by this Abdalla on eighty of the principal Ommiades.

☞ABDALLA, the ſon of Jaſſin, was the firſt Doctor of the Almoravides or African Marabouths [*A*], and a native of Cairoan in Africa. It was he who condemn'd to death Giauhar Gedali, the firſt Chief and Prince of the Marabouths, for having acted contrary to a law which he himſelf had made.

[*A*] *African Marabouths.*] Theſe Marabouths were originally a ſort of religious perſons among the African Muſulmans, and are alſo called Molathemiah and Molathemoun, becauſe they formerly kept their faces concealed under a veil, which in Arabic is named *Letham*. They are alſo called Morabetha and Morabethou, and by the Spaniſh writers Almoravides. Thoſe were chiefly of this ſect who made ſuch a vaſt conqueſt in Spain, that they won almoſt all that country in eight months, which the Spaniards could hardly recover in eight hundred years.

Anthony Guevara a Spaniſh Biſhop in his *Familiar Epiſtles*, pag. 227. ſpeaking of this conqueſt of the Moors in Spain, ſays thus. "It was in the year of "Chriſt 752, on the fifth day of the month of July be-"ing Sunday about break of day when that unfortunate "battle was fought between the Goths (who then poſ-"ſeſs'd Spain and the Alarves (i. e. Almoravides) on the "bank of the river Bedalake near Xeres on the frontiers "wherein King Rodrigo was ſlain, and all the Kingdom "of Spain loſt. The name of the Mooriſh General was "Muſa, who knew ſo well how to improve this victory, "that in the ſpace of eight months he won and obtain'd "the dominion from Xeres on the frontiers, to the rock "Horadada which is near the town Onnia; and that "which we apprehend to be moſt calamitous is, that "the Moors won in eight months that which was al-"moſt eight hundred years in recovering; for ſo much "time elapſed from the loſs of Spain until the regain-"ing of Granada." See alſo the relation which Alphonſus Biſhop of Carthagena in Spain gives of this battle (which he ſays was fought for eight days together without intermiſſion) in his book entitled, *Anacephalæoſis*, cap. 44.

☞ABDALLA, the ſon of Ibrahim, the ſon of Scharokh, the ſon of Tamerlan. He is commonly ſtiled Mirza, i. e. ſon of the Prince, as all other the deſcendants from this conqueror are. Ibrahim his father being dead, he became poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of the province of Fars, or Perſia properly ſo nam'd, whereof Schiraz is the capital, by conſent of his grandfather Scharokh, who liv'd till the 850th year of the Hegira, which is of Chriſt 1481: but he was diſpoſſeſſed thereof in the year 854, by Mohammed Mirza the ſon of Baiſangor, another ſon of Scharokh, who was his couſin german. This oblig'd Abdalla to fly for refuge to his uncle Uleg Beg, who was the eldeſt of all the ſons of Scharokh, and at that time reign'd in Tranſoxane. Uleg Beg receiv'd him very favourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage. At length Uleg Beg having been kill'd in a battle fought againſt his ſon Abdallathif with another of his ſons alſo; and Abdallathif not having enjoy'd the ſucceſs of his parricide above ſix months, this Abdalla, as ſon-in-law of Uleg Beg, took poſſeſſion of his dominions, but did not enjoy them above one year; for Abuſaid, the ſon of Mohammed, the ſon of Miraufchah, the ſon of Tamerlan, who was conſequently his couſin german, and reign'd in Khorazan, declar'd war againſt him, and defeated him in a pitch'd battle, wherein he periſh'd, in the year of the Hegira 855. See the articles ABDALLATHIF and ULEG BEG. 'Tis ſaid * he was ſhot by the arrows of his own ſoldiers, either by chance or deſign; which was look'd on as a divine puniſhment for the murther of his father. This was in the 85th year of the Hegira. *Khondemir.*

* Abdallathif.

☞ABDALLA, the ſon of Jezid or Yezid, a famous Lawyer amongſt the Muſulmans. He was the diſciple of Abu Hureira and Ebu Abbas, both whom were companions of Mahomet. He liv'd till the 100th year of the Hegira. He is noted for ſaying, That a wiſe and able Doctor ought to leave to his ſucceſſors and diſciples for an inheritance, a view or confeſſion of his own ignorance in many points of the law. And that he ought not to bluſh to ſay often, *La Adri*, i. e. *I do not know* [*A*]. See GEHEL.

[*A*] *I do not know.*] This confeſſion ſeems to be in imitation of Pythagoras and other Philoſophers, who teaching their pupils to confeſs their ignorance, thereby trained them up to modeſty and humility, and other real virtues, without which, knowledge and learning are only the parents of pride, ſelf-conceit, ill nature, turbulent diſpoſitions and other ill qualities and actions.

☞ ABDALLA (Ben Mahomet) the brother of Mondir or Almondir [*A*], was the ſeventeenth Khalif of the race of the Ommiades that reſided in Spain. He was proclaim'd at * Cordova in the 275th year of the Hegira, which is 913 of Jeſus Chriſt. He reign'd twenty five years, and liv'd ſeventy three. One Omar, a Prince of his court, rebelling twice againſt him, he pardon'd him the firſt time, but purſu'd him ſo cloſely the ſecond, that Omar was forc'd to throw himſelf into the hands of the Chriſtians, and was baptiz'd, and feign'd himſelf to be one of them. After this, Abdalla reduced the city of Seville to his obedience, which had revolted during this civil war, as ſays the Turkiſh Magrebi.

* Corduba.

[*A*] *Almondir.*] He is named by Alphonſus Biſhop of Carthage in his *Anacephalæoſis*, cap. 66. and by Roderic Archbiſhop of Toledo in his *Chronicon* Almanſor and Almanzor. He conquered many places in Caſtile and Leon, Aſturia, Valentia, &c.

☞ ABDALLA (Ben Massud.) See MASSUD.

☞ ABDALLA, the ſon of Muavie, and grandſon of Giafer the brother of Ali. It was believ'd by many, that he had a right to the Khalifate, by reaſon of the proximity of his blood to the family of Ali; inſomuch that when the people began to be diſguſted with the government of the Ommiades, and to caſt their views towards the Abbaſſides, in order to raiſe them to the ſovereign dignity, he was ſupported by a great party which was form'd in the city Coufah, where the memory of Ali was in great veneration, who there proclaim'd this Abdallah Khalif: but the captains who commanded in thoſe parts on the behalf of Mervan the ſecond of that name, ſoon drove him thence, and forced him to fly into the province of Khoraſan; where Abou Moſtem, who ſupported the party of the Abbaſſides, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. During his continuance in Khoraſan, ſome perſons happened to ask him, how it came to paſs that the names of Abdalla and Giafer, which had been hereditary in the family of Ali, were united in his perſon with that of Moavie their implacable enemy? He reply'd, My grandfather Giafer, being in the company of Moavie, the firſt Khalif of the race of the Ommiades, receiv'd news of the birth of a ſon; whereupon Moavie ſaid to him, I will give thee a thouſand pieces of Gold if thou wilt call thy ſon by my name. My grandfather conſented to the propoſal; and thus I am become the ſon of Moavie. They then told him (which after grew into a proverb) *You have got a* [*A*] *vile name for a little pelf.* And in the event it prov'd, that the name Moavie, which he bore, being deteſted by all the family and kindred of Ali, was the principal cauſe of Abdalla's misfortunes and death.

[*A*] *A vile name, &c.*] 'Tis a proverb among the Arabians, *That an ill name is ill luck, and he that has an ill name is utterly undone.* Which ſeems to be of a like import of that with us, viz. *Give a dog an ill name, and beat his brains out.*

Herbelot, p. 7.

☞ ABDALLA the ſon of Mondir or Almondir [*A*], was the eighteenth Khalif of Spain, and commenc'd his reign in the 295th year of the Hegira (i. e. of Chriſt 893.) and died in the year 300. His brother named Abdalrahman the third of that name ſucceeded him. See hereafter the article ABDALRAHMAN.

[*A*] *Son of Mondir or Almondir.*] It appears from the Article Abdalla Ben Mahomet *ſupra*, that this Abdalla was nephew or brother's ſon to the former. The Spaniſh hiſtorians frequently mention the acts of Almondir the father of this Abdalla, whom they generally name Almanzor.

Ebn Batrick, vol. 2. p.

☞ ABDALLA ſirnamed Motaſeb Billah, drove the Aglabites out of Africa, and placed on the throne one of the family of Ali, named Obeidallah, who after he was well eſtabliſhed thereon, put this Abdalla, to whom he owed his advancement, to death [*A*]. See the Article Obeidalla.

[*A*] *Put this Abdallah to death.*] This act of royal gratitude has ſometimes been practiſed in countries that boaſt of greater civility than Africa. Thus was the Lord Stanley rewarded by Hen. 7. The Duke of Buckingham by Rich. 3. The Earl of Warwick by Edw. 4. and the three Piercies by Hen. 4. The cauſe of Princes ingratitude, ſays Machiavel, (1) is, that 'tis more natural to return an injury than a benefit, the latter being burthenſome, whereas revenge is ſweet; and he obſerves in his *Prince* (2), That becauſe the advancement is founded on either the conduct or the power of the donor, it therefore naturally renders both ſuſpected by the Prince.

(1) Machia. *Diſcourſes*, l. 1. c. 29.

(2) His *Prince*, chap. 3.

☞ ABDALLA the ſon of Omar, was one of the moſt knowing or learned Arabians among the cotemporaries or companions of Mahomet, and is therefore dignified with the title of *Sabaha* (i. e. a companion.) He is alſo very famous for his liberality [*A*], having

[*A*] *Famous for his liberality.*] 'Tis wonderful to find how greatly the Eaſtern nations, and eſpecially the Perſians and Arabians, even before Mahomet's time, eſteemed, and gloried in acts of liberality and charity. To this purpoſe they have many ſtories of one Khatem Taj an Arabian Lord (before Mahomet) who diſtributed all his wealth in his life time in doing great and good actions, ſo that throughout Perſia and Arabia his name is famous to this day, thoſe people often mentioning him in verſe to this effect:

Tho' Khatem Tai has long amongſt the dead
Been number'd; yet his bounty to the poor
Embalms his name, and gives him immortality. (1).

The editor of the *Guliſtan* or *Roſarium Politicum*, in

(1) Note, Herbelot in artic. *Man* calls him *Hatem*.

having beſtowed, at one charitable donation only, above thirty thouſand drachms (i. e. about five hundred pounds) and generouſly made free above a thouſand of his ſlaves. He died in the ſeventy third year of the Hegira.

in his notes thereon, pag. 586, 587, has ſelected, out of many, ſome inſtances of the liberality and generoſity of Khatem-Taj, as alſo of his mother and daughter, ſo that theſe virtues ſeem to have been natural and hereditary in his family. Indeed the ſtory of his killing and dreſſing his fine Arabian horſe, for the entertainment of the Emperor's meſſengers, looks with an air ſomewhat odd to us Europeans: But whoever will conſider the different cuſtoms of countries, and that what appears barbarous to us, is an act of generoſity and civility with others, will not be ſurprized to find Khatem-Taj, or any other Arabian Lord, before Mahomet's time, entertaining his gueſts with roaſted horſe fleſh; and camel's fleſh roaſted or boiled is, I take it, a uſual diſh with them at this day. Note, The author of the abovementioned *Guliſtan* has in divers parts of that work, endeavoured to raiſe in his readers a noble idea of generoſity and liberality. See ibid. p. 435 to 455, and p. 233. He applauds a ſentence written on Bihram Cour a King of Perſia's monument, viz. *A liberal hand is better than a ſtrong arm*; importing, that the authority of Princes is better ſupported by bounty and munificence, than by meer power or force of arms. See further of liberality, &c. Article KHATEM-TAJ.

☞ ABDALLA the ſon of Saba. He carried the veneration he had for Ali even to adoration; and yet was ſo far ſuſpected of Judaiſm, that he became equally abhorred both by the Sunnites and the [*A*] Schiites, i. e. of the orthodox and heterodox Muſulmans.

[*A*] *The Schiites.*] Theſe were they who followed the doctrine of Ali; ſuch were in general the Perſians and thoſe who ſubmitted to the government of the Alides, who are eſteemed as hereticks by the reſt of the Muſulmans. The Sunnites are one of theſe four ſects which they eſteem orthodox, and follow indifferently. There is erected in the temple at Mecca four Moſques, where theſe four ſects, to wit, the Hanefites, the Hanbelites, the Shafaeites and the Malekites, do reſpectively worſhip. See Reland's *Treatiſe of the Mahometan Religion*, pag. 120, 139. But the word Sunnites, when ſet in oppoſition to that of Schiites, doth generally include all orthodox Muſulmans. Vide ib. p. 36, 139, 140. Hadrianus Relandus in his book *De Mahumedica Religione*, p. 36, 37. ſays, "That the moſt material difference between "the Sunnites and the Schiites is, that the former, "of which ſect are generally the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the Moguls, eſteem "Abubeker, Omar and Othman, to be the rightful "ſucceſſors of Mahomet; whereas the Schiites, of "which ſect are the Perſians, and generally all under "their dominion, as alſo many in the Eaſt-Indies, "Golconda and the coaſt of Cormondel, &c. eſteem "Abubeker, &c. to have been a mere uſurper; and "that the real right of ſucceſſion was in Ali and his "deſcendants, who were of the blood of the Pro-"phet, whereas the others were not." So that this difference of opinion ſeems to be rather political than religious. And therefore, p. 129. he ſays, "That "many of the Perſians are Schaefites, and many of "the Turks are Hanefites, i. e. mutually of the ſame "religion, though they perſecute each other bitterly "on account of the right of ſucceſſion abovemen-"tioned."

☞ ABDALLA the ſon of Zobair. After the battle of Kerbela, wherein Houſſain the ſon of Ali was ſlain, the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina obſerving that Jezid (or Yezid) (*a*) the ſecond Khalif of the race of the Ommiades uſed his utmoſt endeavours to exterminate the houſe of Ali, made an inſurrection againſt him, and proclaimed this Abdalla, a deſcendant of Ali, Khalif of the Muſulmans in the ſixty ſecond year of the Hegira. Jezid, receiving news of this revolt, ſent one of his heralds to Mecca with a collar or yoke made of ſilver, i. e. as a preſent to Abdalla, and ordered him to tell Abdalla in his name, that if he would ſubmit himſelf to him and wear that yoke, he would let him live peaceably at Mecca; but if he refuſed to acknowledge him for Khalif, he would come and put that collar about his neck and drag him to Damaſcus. Abdalla refuſing to accept of theſe terms, Jezid ſent a powerful army into Arabia, which took and pillaged the city Medina, and then beſieged Mecca where Abdalla had retir'd and fortify'd himſelf: but it was ſo warmly aſſaulted by Jezid's men, that the temple there, eſteem'd by them as a moſt ſacred place, was burnt and deſtroy'd. But the news of Jezid's death arriving during the ſiege, i. e. Anno Hegiræ 64; Jezid's army drew off, and return'd to Damaſcus; and Abdalla was thereby deliver'd from the attacks of his powerful enemy, and likewiſe remain'd peaceable poſſeſſor of the Khalifate. Immediately after this his ſovereignty was acknowledged by all the Provinces of the Empire, except thoſe of Syria and Paleſtine, which ſubmitted to Moavie the ſon of Jezid. He enjoyed this dignity during nine years, i. e. to the 73d year of the Hegira, which was the 72d of his age, he being the firſt who was born at Medina after the arrival of Mahomet in that city. It muſt then be in this 73d year, that the Khalif Abdalmalek, the ſon of Maryan the ſucceſſor of Moavie who then reigned in Syria, ſent his General Hegiage with an army to form the ſiege of Mecca [*A*] and to force Abdalla thence, who lay intrench'd therein. Abdalla defended himſelf for ſeven months, and gave evident proofs of great courage both in oppoſing the aſſaults of his enemies, and in enduring the utmoſt extremity of hunger, thirſt and heat. But at length not being able to keep the city any longer after he had been prepared, or intoxicated

Herbelot.

(*a*) See *Ebnſaid Batrick*, vol. 2. 360.

[*A*] *To form the ſiege of Mecca.*] Ebn Said Batrik, above cited, gives us, in his life of the Khalif Abdalmalek an account of this ſiege, thus. In the thirteenth year of Abdalmalek's Khalifate, he ſent Hejagie Ebn Joſeph to Mecca to beſiege Abdalla Ebn Zobair in the temple there, where Hegiage by flinging ſtones beat down the top or roof of Abdalla's houſe or palace. Abdalla fearing the houſe would fall on him, ran out of it, and being urged to engage the enemy by his mother, who charged him with fearfulneſs, he reply'd, *Oh mother, I am not afraid of death, but of barbarous uſage if taken priſoner.* His mother retorts, *Oh Son! the ſheep when his throat is to be cut, is not afraid to be skinn'd.* The ſame author tells us, that his mother made him drink a whole pound of muſk before ſhe could ſpirit him up to the action in which he periſhed; which may well make us ſomewhat doubt of his extraordinary courage.

cated, by a perfumed drink, which his mother, then ninety years old, gave him in order to encourage him to a defence, he made a laſt effort to raiſe the ſiege, and in fact killed a great number of his enemies; but being overpowered by their numbers, he at length was forced to retire, and intrench himſelf within the limits of the temple, where ſoon after, in an aſſault, he was ſtruck with a ſtone which took away his life, whereupon his head was cut off and ſent to the Khalif Abdalmalek. The couragious mother of Abdalla abovementioned was the grand-daughter of Abubeker, the firſt Khalif or ſucceſſor of Mahomet, and named Aſima, who during the ſiege uſually exhorted her ſon to the combat with theſe words, *My ſon! fight for God; and whether you conquer or are conquered, you'll live for ever.* 'Tis alſo ſaid, that the news ſhe received of the taking of Mecca and her ſon's death cauſed ſo great an emotion in her, that her Menſtrua returned, though ſhe was then ninety years of age, and ſhe died within five days after. This Abdalla was very valiant, but covetous to the laſt degree, ſo that it became a proverb among the Arabians to ſay, *Courage and liberality were ever united, except in the perſon of Abdalla the ſon of Zobair.* See before the Article ABDALLA the ſon of Omar. He yet was very much reſpected by reaſon of his piety, which they ſay was ſuch, that being at his prayers his devotion was ſo fixed and intenſe, that when a Pigeon came and perch'd on his head [*B*], he continued a long time in divine raptures without perceiving it. 'Tis commonly reported among the Arabians, that the whole family of Zobair the father of this Abdalla were particularly remarkable for their folly. See Article HEGIAGE touching this, as alſo the diſcourſe that paſſed between this captain Zobair and an Arabian peaſant: and note, this family were the enemies of, and therefore were perſecuted by both the Alides and Ommiades.

[*B*] *A pigeon came.*] The ſtory of Mahomet's pigeon ſeems to be founded on this incident, and miſtaken for it.

☞ ABDALMALEK, or ABDALMELEK, the ſon of Marvan, was the fifth Khalif of the race of the Ommiades. He began his reign [*A*] in the 65th year of the Hegira (i. e. Anno Chriſti 648) and ended it in the 86th year; he is ſurnamed by way of ſarcaſm Raſch al Hegiarat, i. e. the Skinner of a Stone, becauſe of his extreme avarice; he was alſo named Aboulzebab, for that his breath was ſo poiſonous as to kill all the flies which reſted on his face; yet he excelled all his predeceſſors in power and dominion, for it was in his reign that the Indies were conquered in the eaſt, and his armies penetrated Spain in the weſt. It was in this Province, i. e. Spain, that it is ſaid they ſearched for a caſtle that had been built by the Fairies, among the moſt inacceſſible mountains, and the relation tells us how they at length diſcovered this caſtle, and that over the gate were written in very ancient characters theſe four verſes.

'Tis no eaſy enterprize to open the gate of this enchanted caſtle;
The iron teeth thou ſeeſt are not thoſe of a ſaw, but of a furious dragon.
Know then that none ſhall be able to diſſolve or break this charm,
If fate does not put the key into his hand who ſhall endeavour to open it.

This Khalif alſo extended his Empire towards the ſouth, by rendring himſelf maſter of Medina and Mecca, where Abdalla the ſon of Zobair was canton'd; and afterwards his troops defeated Maſaab the brother of the ſame Abdalla. He was then at Coufah, and the head of Maſaab being brought thither to him, one that ſtood near him ſeeing it, told him, that he could not forbear relating to him a very ſingular obſervation he had made thereon, viz. *I have ſeen*, ſays he, *within this very caſtle, the head of Houſſain the ſon of Ali, brought to Obeidallah who had defeated him; and afterwards the head of Obeidallah brought to Mokhtar, who had conquered him; and after that the head of Mokhtar brought to Maſaab who had vanquiſh'd him; and now that of Maſaab which they preſent to you.* Abdalmalek was ſo much ſurpris'd and troubled at this diſcourſe, that he commanded the caſtle to be demoliſhed that very inſtant, in order to divert the like ill fate from attending himſelf. He is ſaid to have dreamt one night, that he made water in the ſacred porch at Mecca, and that he dreamt the ſame dream four times ſucceſſively; and that one Saad, a man very ſkilful in expounding dreams, thereupon told him, That (*a*) four of his ſons ſhould enjoy the Khalifate one after another, which was verified in the event. This Prince was ſo great an enemy to the houſe of Ali, that he could not endure Ferozdac an eminent poet of the Arabians who had praiſed him in divers parts of his works. See the Articles FEROZDAC, MOKHTAR, HEGIAGE, SCEHBIB and MASAAB. See alſo SCHANBA the miſtreſs of Gemil, who made a very witty anſwer or repartee to this Khalif. He reigned fifteen years, and had for his ſucceſſor Valid the eldeſt of his ſix ſons, whereof three, beſides Valid, viz. Soliman, Vezdid (or Yezid) and Heſcham ſucceeded each other as Khalifs. He was buried without the gate of Damaſcus; and they remark of him his great moderation towards the Chriſtians [*B*] that he would not remove them from

(*a*) How low the dream! *making water.* How high the thing ſignified by it! *the enjoyment of the Khalifate.* A wonderful analogy.

[*A*] *He began his reign, &c.*] Ebu Said Batrik in his *Alexandrian Chronicle*, vol. 2. p. 372. ſays, "That "he died on the tenth day of the month *Shawal*, in the "84th (for 85th) year of the Hegira, aged ſixty two, "having reigned twenty years." See there a deſcription of his perſon,

[*B*] *His moderation towards the Chriſtians.*] The imprudent conduct of the Chriſtians of Damaſcus towards this Emperor, is obſerved and cenſured by Ebu Said Batrik, ibid. p. 364. who there obſerves, that he ordained pilgrimages ſhould be made to Jeruſalem and not to Mecca, becauſe of Abdalla Ben Zobair.

one church there, which he with intreaties desired of them, and they as unworthily refused, though he offered them double the value. See Ben Schunah, Bina Kiti, Hafed Abru and Ebn Said, Vol. 2. p. 364.

☞ ABDALMALEK, son of Nouh (or Noah) Ben Nasser, was the fifth Sultan or King of the race of the Samanides. He succeeded his father Noah, and was thereby obliged to engage in a fierce war with Rocneddoulat, a Prince of the family of the Bouides: but after many battles fought, this last was obliged to pay to Abdalmalek the yearly tribute of two hundred thousand gold drachms, which had been formerly stipulated with his father Noah. 'Twas under the reign of this Prince that Alphteghin, or Olupteghin, from whom the Sultans Gaznevides deriv'd their origin, rose from the condition of a common soldier to be the General of his armies, and governor of the large province of Khorasan. This Prince reign'd seven years, and dy'd of a fall he receiv'd in managing his horse, or as some say, in throwing at the ring on horseback in the Hippodrome in the 350th year of the Hegira, i. e. Anno Christi 961. (a) Herbelot, p. 8. Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

☞ ABDAMALEK (Ben Noah Ben Mansor) [*A*] who was the ninth and (*a*) last of the Samanides. He succeeded his brother Mansor, after he had depriv'd him of his sight and crown, by the authority of two Turkish Captains, named Faik and Tozon [*B*,] who at that time had all the forces of the kingdom under their command. But Mahmoud the son of Sebekteghin, who was then Sultan of the Gaznevides, being inform'd of what had happen'd, advanced with a puissant army into the Khorasan, where both Faik and Tozon thought fit to submit to him, and to go and sue for peace: to which end they took with them their King Abdalmalek, they walking on foot on each side his horse, and holding his bridle and stirrups, on pretence of doing him honour. Mahmoud receiv'd them very civilly, and granted them the peace they desir'd; which prov'd but of short continuance: for soon afterwards some differences arising, Mahmoud made so fierce a war on them, that he forc'd the one to save himself in the city of Bokhara, and the other in that of Nischabour. Nor would he permit Abdalmalek to remain long in the quiet possession of his dominions, which he invaded under pretence of protecting him. This gave colour to Il-khan King of Turquestan [*C*] to enter with great forces into the Khorasan, on pretence of succouring Abdalmalek against Mahmoud: and proceeding from thence towards Bokhara, the capital at that time, it prov'd Abdalmalek's entire ruin; for he too late observing that he was rather burthened than benefited by such numerous aids; and not knowing how to get rid of them or to defend himself against them, he took a resolution to retire, and conceal himself. By this means, Il-khan soon made himself master of the capital (a) Herbelot, p. 8. Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

[*A*] *Abdalmalek . . . the last Prince, &c.*] History can scarcely produce a more unfortunate Prince than this Abdalmalek, who by caressing and advancing the murtherers of his brother, entrusting the government of his kingdom to slaves and flatterers, by depending on the aid of foreign forces, and plundering and oppressing his own subjects, proved within the compass of a few months not only the cause of the loss of his own liberty, life and kingdom, but also the destruction of his family and posterity, and the subversion of a potent and flourishing Empire.

[*B*] *Faik* and *Tozon.*] These two Turks had been the captive slaves of Abdalmalek's father Nouh, and been advanced to some posts in the army by his brother Mansor; but their treachery and ingratitude was such as to extend to the deposing and murthering of their first benefactor, which might have given our Abdalmalek an idea of what he might expect from slaves, traytors and murtherers.

[*C*] *Mahmoud son of Sebekteghin . . . and Il-khan King of Turquestan.*] Here we find the conduct of two neighbouring Princes who raise numerous forces and fly to the aid of a distressed Monarch, but with what view the event declares; each of them seizes on what he could get, while the poor Monarch being abandoned by his own subjects, is so far from being aided by those foreign powers on whom he relied, that they prove the entire ruin of himself and his family. I am apt to think the ingenious author of the *Gulistan* (1) had a view to this unhappy Prince, when he gives us the following historical observations, viz. "A "certain Persian King having by unjust ways and "means grievously plundered and oppressed his peo- "ple, many wealthy and trading men among them "withdrew themselves and their effects into foreign "countries, as the only way to secure their liberties "and properties. Soon after this a war arising, the "Prince finds his kingdom deserted of its inhabitants, "his revenue very much lessened, his exchequer "emptied, and no way left to raise the necessary sup- "plies to oppose the enemy but a military force, "which encreased the mischief; For, says Sadi,

(1) *Rosarium Politicum.*

The Prince who desires to have necessary supplies in time of war,
Should govern his people mildly and gently in time of peace.
For even slaves, tho' adorn'd with golden chains, will avoid a tyrannic master.
Would you have men serve you freely, use 'em as freemen?

It happened that about this time a piece of history in the book entitled, *The Treasury of Princes* (2), was read to the same King, viz. how Suhac, one of the most potent Princes of the East, was deposed from his kingdom and Feridun a private person substituted in his room; whereupon the King asked one of his courtiers, and as it happened an honest counsellor, who stood near him, *How this Feridun, who had neither armies, nor treasure, nor attendants, could possibly obtain the kingdom? Why*, says the Counsellor, *as your Majesty hath heard from the history, the people esteeming him for his justice and liberality flocked to him from all parts, and with their general vote and fixt resolutions advanced him to the kingdom*; and then adds, *Seeing the people's affection is the Prince's chief security, how could your Majesty, by listening to evil counsellors, thus strive to render your subjects disaffected, except you were grown weary of your kingdom? For seeing Kings are known to reign by the people's favour, they ought to value that favour equal with their lives.* On this discourse the King asks the Counsellor, *By what means the people might be won to come to his assistance? Ah Sir*, replied the other, *in every king that would have the free assistance of his subjects, justice and benignity, or mildness are required; that so his subjects may think themselves secure of their liberties and properties under his government. For an unjust Prince can no more be said to be a King, than a wolf that attends a flock of sheep can be termed a shepherd; and that King who by colour of law imposes things unjust, destroys the fundamentals of his own kingdom.* The King enraged at this bold but honest discourse, ordered his Counsellor to be thrown into prison, but in a short time after the Nobility (2) A famous Persian book.

capital of the kingdom; and a little after, diſcovering where Abdalmalek lay hid, he ſeiz'd on his perſon, and ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of Dizghend, ſituate in the remoteſt part of Turqueſtan. This happen'd in the 389th year of the Hegira, i. e. Anno Chriſti 999; a year fatal to the empire and family of the Samanides: for tho' Ibrahim, who was of that royal race, did for near ſix years after skulk about from province to province with the name of Sultan, he yet was never regarded but as an abdicated Prince, being maſter but of very few troops, which were at length routed, and himſelf ſlain by one of Sultan Mahmoud's Generals. Thus our Abdalmalek had not reign'd above ſix months and ſeventeen days, before Mahmoud ſon of Sebekteghin transferr'd the monarchy of the family of the Samanides, which had given ſeveral powerful and valiant Princes to the Eaſt, to that of the Gaznevides, Anno Chriſti 999.

(a) Herbelot, p. 9. Rabialakhiar.

☞ ABDALMALEK (*a*) the ſon of Saleh [*A*], the ſon of Abdalla, the ſon of Abbas, or, as the Orientals write it, Abdalmalek Ben Saleh Ben Abdalla Ben Abbas, was related in blood to the Prophet Mahomet. The Khalif Harun Raſchid inveſted him with the government of Egypt; and when he ſent him thither, gave him the following inſtructions [*B*]; viz. *So behave yourſelf in your office, as one who negotiates with God on the behalf of his ſervants. A wiſe merchant, when he finds that no profit ariſes from his commerce, will withdraw his capital in time. When you are at the head of your troops, never let them pillage the place where you intend to quarter; and in ſtratagems of war, ſeek rather to conceal your own, than to diſcover thoſe of the enemy*; or, in other words, *endeavour to ſucceed in your own deſigns, rather than to elude thoſe of the enemy.* He continu'd in this government till the year of the Hegira 178, when Harun diſpoſſeſſed him of the office, ſuſpecting him to affect the empire, and that he caball'd with the Barmecides; after which, 'tis ſaid Harun impriſon'd him, committing him to the cuſtody of his Vizier Fadhel [*C*]; and that he was kept confin'd till Harun's death, when Ainm ſucceeding his father, deliver'd him, and inveſted him with the government of Syria, wherein he continu'd till his death.

bility and Commons revolted from their allegiance; ſuch as had fled their country, returned and added weight to the defection, and the agents of his oppreſſion, and even the King's own creatures joined in the revolt; ſo that all concurred to dethrone him. For, ſays Sadi,

If a King will, tho' by colour of law, act that which is unjuſt,
Even the agents of his oppreſſion will in the time of his diſtreſs be his worſt enemies.

Therefore let Princes make their ſubjects their friends in time of peace, that ſo they may be ſecure againſt their enemies in time of war. For even the meaneſt ſpirited ſubject will aſſume courage, and fight in defence of a juſt and good King. Thus far Sadi.

[*A*] *Abdalmalek the ſon of Saleh.*] This Abdalmalek ſeems alſo to have been nearly related to Harun, and to be the ſon of that Abdalmalek, to whom Giafer made thoſe romantic promiſes on the Khalif's behalf, which will be mentioned in the Article GIAFER.

[*B*] *Gave him the following inſtructions.*] The inſtructions here given ſeem to contain the nobleſt maxims of political prudence. The firſt relating to religion and juſtice. The ſecond, to trade and commerce. The third, to war and conqueſt; and the laſt to politicks in general. Muſladine Sadi in the third chapter of his *Roſarium Politicum*, has given us many excellent rules and maxims of government, from whence I ſhall ſelect a few, only to ſhew the genius of the Eaſtern people, and their ideas of the government of Princes and the liberties of the people. *Two things are deſtructive both of government and religion, a paſſionate Prince and an ignorant Prieſt. How can he expect obedience from men who has rejected his obedience to God? A Prince ſhould ſo govern his anger to his enemies that he may not become a terror to his friends. Man is made of humid clay or moiſt earth, let him take care not to appear to be compos'd of fire. The Prince who is a friend to ill men is an enemy to good men, and even his friends will prove his enemies. 'Tis better for a Prince to regard his people's good than his own grandeur, for Princes reign by the benefit or favour of their people. An oppreſſive Prince knows no more to reign or be a King, than a wolf does to be a ſhepherd. The civil and peaceable ſubjects of a Prince will be his beſt ſoldiers in time of war. Inform not a Prince of the frauds of his courtiers, except you can hold the Prince faſt by the ears, &c.*

(3) See *Roſarium Politic.* cap. 8. Vide ib. p. 61, 63, 65, &c. the author's fine remarks on the cauſes which ruin Kings and Kingdoms. See alſo ibid. p. 107, 115, 123, 129, 475, 481, &c.

[*C*] *Committing him to the cuſtody of Fadhel . . .*] It ſeems very impolitic in Harun to commit a perſon for conſpiring with the Barmecides, to the cuſtody of Fadhel, who was one of the Chiefs of that family; and therefore I am apt to think, that the commitment here mentioned (4) was rather to Fadhel's ſucceſſor in the Vizierſhip, and the rather for that it ſeems Fadhel himſelf with all his family was in priſon at that time. See hereafter Article FADHEL, &c.

(4) We find that another Fadhel, i. e. Fadhel Ben Rabia ſucceeded the former.

(*a*) Herbelot, p. 9. ☞ ABDALMALEK (*a*) [*A*] (BEN ZOHAR) an eminent Phyſician, commonly call'd by the Europeans, Avenzoar. He was an Arabian by deſcent, a Spaniard by birth, and of the Muſulman religion, but of good eſteem among the Chriſtians, on account of his skill in Phyſic, whereof he wrote divers books. See the article ZOHAR.

[*A*] *Ben-Zohar.*] This word Ben generally ſignifies Son among the Orientals, viz. in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, &c. But the Arabians, Perſians and Turks do commonly write and pronounce it Ebn or Ibn, and from them the Spaniards and other European Chriſtians have formed the word Aven; and hence inſtead of Ben Eſra, Ben Roſched, Ben Sinai, and the like, we uſually write and pronounce Aveneſra, Avenroſched or Averroes, Avenſina or Avicenna: and the ſame of other like names; as Avenpace or Avempace, &c. tho' theſe names may more properly be reduced under the reſpective Words of Eſra, Roſhed, Pace, Sina, Zobar, &c. and therefore ſee thoſe articles.

☞ ABDALMOTHLEB, or as others write it, Abdol Motalleb [*A*], the ſon of Haſhem and

[*A*] *Or as others write it Abdol Motalleb.*] The learned Mr. Gagnier Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages at Oxford, has in his *Life of Mahomet*, lately publiſhed in French, collected divers paſſages relating to this Abdalmothleb, or Abdol Motalleb, as he names him, particularly pag. 71, 72. of his embaſſy to Nagiaſhi King of Æthiopia, of the orders that he iſſued thereupon, his prayer at Mecca, &c. p. 83. The feaſt he made at Mahomet's birth, &c. all which will be found hereafter under the Articles ABRAHAH and MAHOMET.

and father of Abdalla, and grandfather of Mahomet the Prophet of the Muſulmans. We have ſaid ſomething of him in the life of his ſon Abdallah, and ſhall add more to it in that of his grandſon Mahomet; as likewiſe in the article ABRAHAH: but I cannot but inſert here, what is obſerved in our common Dictionaries, viz. That he was of ſuch wonderful comelineſs and beauty, that all women who ſaw him fell in love with him; which may have given occaſion to the report of that prophetic light which the Arabians boaſt to have ſhined on the foreheads of him and his anceſtors and deſcendants; it being certain they were very handſome and graceful men, as well as perſons of an eminent rank and nobility. He took a peculiar care of Mahomet, but died when Mahomet was only eight or nine years old; tho' 'tis ſaid by ſome, that Abdalmothleb had then liv'd an hundred and ten, and by other writers an hundred and twenty years.

(a) Herbelot, p. 9, 10. Khondemir Leb-tarikh.

☞ ABDALRASCHID (a), or ſome write it Abderraſchid, the ſon of Sultan Mahmoud. This Prince had been kept in priſon the greateſt part of his life, but was at length on the death of his nephew Ali the ſon of Maſſoud taken thence, and proclaimed Sultan of the Gaznevides, and was the ſeventh Prince of that Dynaſty, or rather the eighth, if we compute Mahomet the Blind for one of them. 'Twas he who gave the government of Segeſtan to Togrul the Turk [*A*], who had been brought up in the court of Maudoud the ſon of Maſſoud Sultan of Gazna, for whom he had ſuch an affection, that he inveſted him therein with an almoſt abſolute power. But Togrul abuſed very much the good nature of this Prince, and ſoon after arrogated to himſelf a ſovereign authority, and carried his ingratitude ſo far as to dethrone and murther his maſter and benefactor; for having privately collected forces he led them ſuddenly to attack Abdalraſchid in his capital of Gazna, who being ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of the attempt, was forced to retire with the few people he had then about him into the caſtle. Togrul in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the city, and having taken the caſtle by ſtorm, unmercifully ſlew the Sultan and all his family therein, reſerving only Anca the daughter of Maſſoud, whom he married, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of his maſter's crown and dominions. From this uſurpation 'tis that Togrul was commonly ſirnamed Kafernamet, i. e. the Ungrateful; and this treachery rendered him ſo odious to his new ſubjects, that Kharkhir, who at that time governed the Provinces of India dependant on the crown of Gazna, having received the news of this ſtrange revolution, wrote ſo earneſtly and effectually to the magiſtrates of the city Gazna, and to the Princeſs Anca herſelf, that they all conſpired in an inſurrection againſt the tyrant, who was ſoon after killed in the palace, and on the throne itſelf. Of this they immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Kharkhir, who coming to Gazna, cauſed, with the conſent of the principal Lords of the kingdom, Ferokhzad the ſon of Maſſoud, who happened to eſcape the cruelty of the tyrant, to be proclaimed lawful Khalif of that great Empire. Abdalraſchid's death happen'd in the 445th year of the Hegira, i. e. anno Chriſti 1053. W.

[*A*] *Togrul the Turk.*] At this time the chief forces of the Empire conſiſted of Turks, whereby thoſe foreigners became poſſeſſed of the higheſt employments in the ſtate, the miſchief whereof was before obſerved in the Article ABDALMALEK BEN NOAH. But we muſt here note, that this Togrul is not that Togrul or Thogrul Beg, a Turk, who lived about the ſame time, and was the firſt Sultan of the race of the Samanides.

ABDAS, a Perſian Biſhop, in the reign of Theodoſius the Younger. His raſh zeal gave occaſion to the breaking out of a dreadful perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. Theſe enjoyed a full liberty of conſcience in Perſia, when Abdas preſum'd to demoliſh a temple in which fire was worſhip'd. The Magi complain'd immediately to the King [*A*], who ſent for Abdas, and after a very gentle cenſure, commanded him to get the temple rebuilt. Abdas refuſed, though the Monarch declared he would deſtroy all the Chriſtian churches in caſe he did not obey. He put his (a) threats in execution, and abandon'd the faithful to the mercy of his Clergy [*B*], who being grieved at the toleration

(a) Ex Theodoret. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 39.

[*A*] *To the King.*] This was Iſdegerdes, according to Theodoret (1); but Socrates (2) ſays, that the perſecution did not begin till Vararanes, Iſdegerdes's ſon and ſucceſſor. Baronius (3) does not know which of the two hiſtorians is in the right.

(1) Theodoreti *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 5. cap. 39.
(2) Socrates *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 7. cap. 18.
(3) Baronius *Ad ann.* 420.

[*B*] *The mercy of his Clergy.*] So I call the Magi, who among other things were to ſuperintend religion, and prevent any innovation from being made in it. Theodoret compares them to thoſe hurricanes which lift up the waves of the ſea. Τριάκοντα δὲ ληλυθότων ἐτῶν ἡ ζάλη μεμένηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων καθάπερ ὑπό τινων καταιγίδων ῥιπιζομένη. *Triginta jam elapſis annis permanſit nihilominus tempeſtas, a Magis, tanquam quibuſdam ventis ac turbinibus ſuſcitata* (4). That is, "The ſtorm "which the Magi, like a whirlwind, rais'd, has con"tinued thirty years, and is not yet abated." This was their employment, for thirty years, when the Church of Perſia was ſo violently buffetted by tempeſts. Socrates tells us, that the Magi employ'd various kinds of impoſture, to ſtop the progreſs of Chriſtianity; being afraid that Iſdegerdes's friendſhip for the holy Biſhop Maruthas would prompt him to abandon their religion (5). Theſe had the boldneſs to conceal a man in a place under that temple, in which the King us'd to worſhip fire; and ordered this man to cry aloud, whilſt the King was at his devotions, that he deſerv'd to be dethroned, for ſo wickedly believing, that a Chriſtian Prieſt could be the friend of God. If what Libertines ſo falſely aſſert were true, viz. that Religion is a mere human invention, eſtabliſhed by Sovereigns purely to keep their ſubjects in awe; muſt we not own, that Princes fell firſt into the ſnare they had laid for others? for Religion is ſo far from making them abſolute maſters over their people, that it ſubjects Princes to them; becauſe Kings are not allow'd to profeſs the Religion which they think the beſt, but that of their ſubjects: and whenever they attempt to embrace one different from it, their crown hangs but by a thread. We have heard what menaces the Magi vented againſt their Sovereign, only becauſe he had

(4) Theodoreti *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 5. cap. 39.

(5) Socratis *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 7. cap. 8.

leration the Christians had been indulged, fell upon them with the utmost fury. Abdas was the first Martyr who suffered upon this occasion, if that man may be so entitled, whose (*b*) rashness [C] expos'd the church to so many calamities. The Christians having thus forgot one of the chief points of the Gospel patience, had recourse to a remedy, whereby apother deluge of blood was shed; for they applied for succour to Theodosius, and by that means lighted up a long war between the Romans and Persians (*c*). The latter indeed had the disadvantage; but who could tell whether the Persians would not be victorious, and then the Christian churches in general might have been persecuted? Such evils may the indiscreet zeal of one man occasion. The persecution raged for thirty years (*d*). Those writers are inexcusable, who suppress the motive which prompted the Persians to this cruelty (*e*). These may be impeach'd, if the figure is allowable, of a like crime, at the bar of the republic of letters, as in a court of justice, such trades-people are who conceal defects in their goods (*f*); and happy it were, would the publick treat all historians, who suppress certain incidents with greater severity than they usually do. So few but are guilty in this particular, that 'tis very fit a stop should be put to it for the future.

(*b*) Vedelius a Protestant Divine censures this Bishop. See Voetii *Disputat. Theolog.* tom. 3. p. 310.

(*c*) Socratis *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 7. cap. 18.

(*d*) Theodoreti *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 5. cap. 39.

(*e*) Vide the Remark [C].

(*f*) *Cum ex duodecim tabulis satis esset ea præstari quæ essent lingua nuncupata, quæ qui inficiatus esset dupli pœnam subiret, à jureconsultis etiam reticentiæ pœna est constituta. Quidquid enim esset in prædio vitii id statuerunt, & si venditor sciret, nisi nominatim dictum esset, præstari oportere.* Cicero *de Offic.* lib. 3. cap. 16. See also Grotius *de Jure belli*, lib. 2. cap. 8. num. 7. and Puffendorf *de Jure Nat.* lib. 5. cap. 3. "For it was "enacted by the "twelve Tables, "that it was e-"nough those "defects should "be made good, "that were men-"tioned by word "of mouth, which "whoever refus-"ed, was to pay "double dama-"ges; but the "lawyers laid a "penalty upon "such as con-"cealed any de-"fects in the "things they "sold, viz. that "whoever should "sell an estate, "and not tell all "the inconvenien-"cies of it, should "be obliged to "make them "good. Tully's *Offices* B. 3. c. 16.

had a friendship for a Bishop. Are we not told, that the last King of Siam lost the diadem, upon no other account, but because he was too indulgent to the Christian missionaries (6)? The abovemention'd Socrates, who relates the artifices the Magi employ'd to check the progress of the Gospel, informs us likewise, that after Isdegerdes's death, they breath'd so violent a spirit of persecution into his son, that he was surprizingly barbarous to the Christians. They had endeavour'd to instil the same cruelty into his father, but in vain; he being very near embracing the Christian religion. This Socrates tells us, who ought to have confess'd ingenuously, that the rash conduct of Abdas the bishop, furnish'd the Magi with a very plausible pretence for acting as they did. Compare this with the remark [B] of the article JUNIUS (Franciscus) professor at Leyden.

(6) I write this in 1693.

[C] *A man, whose rashness.*] All Church Historians have not been so disingenuous as Socrates, in the circumstance I reproach'd him with; for Theodoret owns frankly, that the Bishop's demolishing a temple, was the cause of the dreadful persecution which rag'd against the Christians in Persia (7). Theodoret does not deny, that the zeal of this prelate was unseasonable; but then he asserts, that his refusing to rebuild such a temple, was worthy of admiration and the crown: *for*, continues he, *'tis equally impious, I think, to build a temple in honour of fire, as to worship that element.* Nicephorus transcrib'd all these particulars from Theodoret (8). But in my opinion, no man, tho' a Metropolitan or Patriarch, can dispense with this law of the Religion of Nature, That *we must compensate, by restitution, or otherwise, the injury we have done our neighbour.* Now Abdas, who was but a private man, and a subject of the King of Persia, had destroy'd the possessions of another; possessions, which should be so much the more secure, as they belong'd to the establish'd Religion; he therefore was indispensably obliged to obey his Sovereign's commands, with regard to the restitution or reparation of the things he had destroy'd. And 'twas a poor excuse, to alledge, that the temple he had orders to rebuild, was for idolatry; since Abdas would not have put it to that use, and consequently not have been answerable for the abuse which those it belong'd to might have made of it. Would it be a just reason, after a man had stole a purse, to refuse restoring it, because the person robb'd, spent his money in riot and debauchery? We might say thus to the robber, Let the other go on; if he lavishes his money in wicked courses, you won't answer to God for it: let him enjoy his possessions; what right have you to 'em? Besides, what proportion was there between the rebuilding of a temple, without which the Persians would have continued in their idolatry, and the demolition of several Christian churches? The Bishop therefore should have prevented the latter evil, by complying with the former, since the King left it to his choice. In fine, what can give all nations a greater abhorrence of the Christian Religion, than to see a sett of people insinuate themselves into a country, with a specious pretence of merely proposing their doctrine; afterwards, rise to such a pitch of boldness, as to destroy the temples of the established Religion, and refuse to rebuild them when commanded by the Sovereign? Does not this give infidels occasion to say, *These people at their first coming sue only for toleration; but they'll soon be for sharing the posts and employments with us, and afterwards become our masters. They at first think themselves very happy, if they are not committed to the flames; and afterwards, very unhappy, if they are not allow'd all the privileges which the rest of the subjects enjoy; and at last very miserable, if they don't get all the power into their own hands. For some time they resemble Cæsar, who would not admit of a Superior, and afterwards Pompey, who would not allow of an Equal.*

(7) Theodoreti *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. 39.

(8) Lib. 14. cap. 19. I find in *Saldeni Otia Theol.* p. 639. that Socrates calls this conduct of the Bishop, *exertim rem non opportunam*, i. e. a very ill-tim'd action. The *Hist. Tripar.* lib. 10. cap. 30. is cited: but this chapter is certainly borrowed from Theodoret. Voetius *Disputat. Theolog.* vol. 3. p. 310. quotes Eusebius, who could not have mentioned it.

Nec quicquam jam ferre potest Cæsarve priorem; Pompeiusve parem (9).

English'd,

Superior pow'r, fierce faction's deares care,
One cou'd not brook, and one disdain'd to share.
Rowe.

(9) Lucanus lib. 1. v. 125. *Vide etiam Florum*, lib. 4. cap. 2.

The persecutors of the Protestants in France insinuated this reflexion maliciously into Charles IX, who, 'tis said, spoke thus to Admiral De Coligni: *Per innanzi, vi contentavate d'un poco di licenza: hora, la volete del pari; fra poco, vorete esser soli, & cacciar noi altri fuori del regno* (10). That is, "At "first you were satisfy'd with a little liberty; now "you look upon yourselves as equals; and in a little "time you'll be for reigning alone, and driving us out of the kingdom." Such are the calamities to which those are inevitably expos'd, who assert with so much heat, that the secular arm ought to be employ'd to establish Orthodoxy. These were Abdas's principles; and what havock would he not have made of the idolaters under a Christian Emperor, since, in the dominions of a Pagan Prince who tolerated the gospel, he destroyed a temple which the Heathens had in peculiar veneration? Compare this with the Note [B] of the article BRAUN (George).

(10) Davila *Hist. delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, lib. 4. p. 158. Sopra l'anno 1566.

ABDERA, a maritime city of Thrace, near the mouth of the Nestus (*a*). Some say (*b*) it was built by the sister of Diomedes [A], who, they tell us, call'd it by her own name; but that it was rebuilt in the 31st Olympiad by the Clazomenians, who gave it theirs.

(*a*) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 109, 126.

(*b*) Solin. cap. 10. See also Mela, lib. 2. cap. 2.

[A] *That it was built by the sister of Diomedes.*] Moreri would persuade us that Abdera, built by the Teians, was named from Diomedes, the King of it; and that Herodotus informs us of this. Now the whole is absolutely false; for first, the particulars which concern Diomedes, relate to the poetical or fabulous age; but those which relate to Teos's being deserted by its inhabitants, and their retiring to Thrace, where they built Abdera, belong to the historical age, and happened in the 59th Olympiad; consequently the joining these two incidents, so as to make the fabulous posterior to the historical age, is a great absurdity. An author who would follow Herodotus with regard to the building of Abdera by the Teians, must not then introduce Diomedes, who if he ever existed, had been dead several Centuries; or if

theirs. According to Herodotus, theſe only laid the foundation of it, under Timeſius (c); but were drove from thence [B], and all their meaſures defeated. Abdera was properly built by the Teians, who, when Harpagus, Cyrus's Lieutenant, was going to ſeize upon their country, choſe to abandon it, rather than ſubject themſelves to the Barbarians; and accordingly they all embark'd, and went and completed what Timeſius had only begun (d). This gave occaſion to a proverb (e), which Eraſmus did not very well underſtand [C]. I ſhall not take notice of what ſome aſſert, viz. that Hercules founded this city [D]; and think it more to the purpoſe, to mention ſome ſingularities which are told of Abdera. The graſs of the country round it was ſo ſtrong, that ſuch horſes as eat of it ran mad (f). In the reign of Caſſander King of Macedon, this city (g) was ſo peſter'd with frogs and rats, that the inhabitants were forc'd

(c) See his article.

(d) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 168.
(e) Strabo, lib. 14. p. m. 443.
(f) Plinius lib. 25. c. 8.
(g) Juſtin. lib. 15. c. 2.

if ſuch an one would treat of this antient King of Thrace, he ſhould obſerve, that he proceeds on an opinion different from that which relates to the Teians. Secondly, Where Herodotus ſpeaks of the building of this city, he makes no more mention of Diomedes than of the Grand Signior. Laſtly, Abdera was never called from Diomedes. It ſhould be ſaid, Solinus tells us, this city was built by Diomedes's ſiſter, who gave it her own name; whence Salmaſius juſtly concluded, that ſhe was called *Abdera* (1). Goltzius gives us a medal, on which a woman's head is repreſented, with the inſcription ΑΒΔΗΡΑΣ ΚΟΡΑΣ (2); and this the moſt learned medalliſts ſuppoſe relates to the ſiſter of Diomedes, foundreſs of Abdera (3).

(1) Salmaſii *Exercitat. Plinianæ*, p. 160.
(2) *Abderæ virginis*, i. e. of Abdera the virgin. κόρας Doricè pro κόρης.
(3) Spanhemii *Epiſt. ad Laurent. Begerum.*

[B] *But were drove from thence*] Herodotus ſays this expreſly: ὑπὸ Θρηικῶν ἐξελάσθεις, *à Thracibus expulſus* (4), i. e. Drove from Thrace. We ſhall take notice in the following Remark of a miſtake Pinedo made on this occaſion. 'Tis highly probable, the other miſtake, *Thracibus ejectis*, for *ejectus*, in Spanheim's learned letter to Begerus, is a typographical error.

(4) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 168.

[C] *A proverb which Eraſmus did not very well underſtand.*] 'Tis this, Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηίων ἀποικία. That is, "Abdera the fine (noble) colony of the "Teians. This, ſays Eraſmus, ſignifies, *If I am plagued too much, I know whither to fly. Hoc Ænigmate proverbiali ſignificamus, non deeſſe quò confugiamus ſi quis præter modum pergat eſſe moleſtus* (5). Pinedo the Portugueze, who was forced to abandon his country, becauſe of the inquiſition, employs this proverb in that ſenſe; but adds, that experience had taught him not to recommend, in general, theſe voluntarily baniſhments. *Quo* (*proverbio*) *ſignificabatur non deeſſe quo confugiamus, ſi nobis contumeliæ inferantur, ut fecere Teii; ſed hoc non ſemper feliciter ſolet evenire, & doctus & expertus loquor* (6). However, Pinedo's complaint would be unjuſt, were it no better founded than his aſſertion in the ſame page, viz. that the Teians drove away Timeſius the Clazomenian, who was beginning to build Abdera. To return to Eraſmus. I don't ſo much cenſure his explanation of this proverb, as his adding, that Tully perhaps alluded to it in his epiſtles to Atticus. He cites two paſſages from theſe (7), in which it is evident, that Cicero mentions Abdera for no other reaſon, but to repreſent it as a city, where all publick matters were tranſacted in the moſt injudicious and ſtupid manner. But if Eraſmus, who us'd the word *perhaps*, deſerves cenſure, what ſhall we ſay of Moreri's deciſive tone, *Cicero undoubtedly alludes to*, eſpecially when we are told the circumſtance to which Moreri refers this alluſion? Eraſmus's conjectures don't refer to the thing itſelf, for then the error would not be ſo conſiderable, but to a certain ſplendor or magnificence which Moreri *is ſure the Clazomenians, who were drove out of Aſia, gave the city of Abdera, that made it ſo famous, and occaſioned the Greek proverb*, ABDERA THE BEAUTIFUL. I again declare, that Tully mentions Abdera only to ridicule its government; conſequently 'tis falſe to ſay, *he undoubtedly alludes* to the ſplendor, the glory and beauty of that city. But further, the pretended ſplendor which gave riſe to the proverb, was not owing to the Clazomenians. I confeſs, Solinus tells us, that theſe rebuilt and enlarged Abdera, which time had ruined, but this is all we read of them; and as for Herodotus, he relates, that the Thracians did not even allow them time to build it. After all, does not Strabo expreſly refer this proverb to the Teians who fled to Abdera, to ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the Perſians? And is not the word Teians mentioned in the proverb? Beſides, I ſhould be glad to know where Moreri read, that the Clazomenians had been driven from Aſia, when they came to build this city in Thrace; for neither Herodotus nor Solinus mention a word of it. To conclude, all the writers I have perus'd take this proverb rather as a flur than an encomium on Abdera; and Eraſmus himſelf has not rejected Vadianus's explication, though not much to the honour of this city. *Exiſtimat convenire proverbium ubi quis fortunam tenuem, ſed cum libertate conjunctam, anteponit amplis opibus, ſed obnoxiis ſervituti. Cujus ſententiæ non refragor; nam damnatus eſt Abderitarum aer & item paſcua.* See Iſaac Voſſius on Pomponius Mela (8). That is, "He thinks this "proverb may be applied to a man who prefers a ſmall "competency, ſweetened with the bleſſings of li-"berty, to the poſſeſſion of great riches, expoſed to "ſervitude." *I don't*, ſays Eraſmus, *diſapprove this interpretation, for both the air and paſture about Abdera were very unwholſome.*

(5) Eraſm. *Adag.* chiliade 2. cent. 4. num. 53.

(6) Pinedo in *Stephan. de urbib.* p. 5.

(7) Epiſt. 16. lib. 4. & Epiſt. 7. lib. 7.

(8) p. 135.

[D] *That Hercules founded this city.*] Salmaſius (9) has proved only on Tzetzes's authority, that Hercules is ſaid to have founded Abdera, but he might have given a better teſtimony from Apollodorus (10), who tells us the following particulars. "Hercules hav-"ing carried off Diomedes's mares, was told, that "the Biſtones had taken up arms; upon which he "ordered Abderus, his darling youth, to take care "of thoſe beaſts, and himſelf march'd againſt the "Biſtones. Hercules killed part of them, among "whom was Diomedes, and put the reſt to flight; "but at his return found the mares had torn Abderus "to pieces. He then built a city near the monu-"ment of this youth, and deliver'd the mares to "Euryſtheus." Stephanus Byzantinus obſerves no more than this, that the city of Abdera had its name from Abderus, Hercules's minion (11); but does not ſay, whether the hero or his favourite built it. Marcianus of Heraclea declares it was the latter (12). Had we the ſeventh book of Strabo complete, it would poſſibly clear up this matter, but the extracts of it relate only this, that the city of Abdera is the name of a man whom Diomedes's horſes devoured. Take notice that Hyginus ſeems to ſay very clearly, that Abderus was one of Diomedes's ſervants, and was killed by Hercules; *Diomedem, Regem Thraciæ, & equos quatuor ejus, qui carne humana veſcebantur, cum Abdero famulo interfecit* (13). Salmaſius obſerves very juſtly on this occaſion, that we are not to expect uniformity in fables; for indeed the writers on the fabulous ages relate quite oppoſite particulars of the ſame incidents. But perhaps it may be ſaid Hyginus's meaning was, that Hercules, aſſiſted by Abderus, killed this barbarous King of Thrace, who fed his horſes with human fleſh; however, I don't warrant this interpretation. Vigenere had before taken notice, that Hyginus and Philoſtratus differ widely (14). We alſo might obſerve, that the latter differs vaſtly from Apollodorus; for he tells us (15), that Diomedes expos'd Abderus to his mares; that Hercules going to deliver his minion, found him half devoured, and that to puniſh Diomedes, he gave him as food to thoſe beaſts (16). Philoſtratus does not ſay with Apollodorus, that Hercules built a city near his darling's ſepulchre; but on the other ſide, Apollodorus does not agree with Philoſtratus, in ſaying that Hercules inſtituted games or exerciſes in honour of Abderus. I believe we are told but by one author (17), that Patroclus and this Abderus were brothers. Some pretend to prove by medals, that the Abderites choſe to derive the name of their city from Abdera ſiſter of Diomedes, rather than from Hercules's favourite youth (18).

(9) Salmaſii *Exercitat. Plin.* p. 160.
(10) Apollodori *Biblioth.* lib. 2.
(11) Ἀπὸ Ἄβδηρίτου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡρόμης Ἡρακλέης ἐρωμένου. Salmaſius has obſerved very juſtly, that inſtead of Ἀβδηρίτου, we muſt read, Ἄβδηρα, which is the name, Apollodorus (He ſays Apollonius) gives to Hercules's favourite youth. Pinedo and Berkelius ſay, it muſt be corrected thus; but they don't take notice that Salmaſius had made this obſervation before. The former cites Apollonius, but did not ſee that it was either an error of the preſs, or that Salmaſius writ it by miſtake, for Apollodorus. Philoſtratus might be cited.
(12) Apud Salmaſ. *Exercit. Plinian.* p. 160.
(13) Hygin. Fab. 30.
(14) Vigenere *Annotations ſur le Sepulchre d'Abdere de Philoſtrate.*
(15) Philoſtrat. in Iconib.
(16) Vigenere does not ſay true, when he tells us, that Tatian, in his diſcourſe againſt the Gentiles, affirms, that Hercules found Abderus half devoured.
(17) Ptolem. Hæpheſt. apud Photium, p. 484.
(18) Spanhemii *Epiſtola ad Laur. Beger.*

[E] *Were forced to quit it.*] Juſtin relates, that Caſſander being afraid this people would invade Ma-

forc'd to quit it [*E*]: but we muſt ſuppoſe they ſoon return'd to it [*F*], or that others went in their ſtead. The Abderites, or Abderitani, were very much derided for their want of wit and judgment [*G*]; and yet their city has given birth to ſeveral eminent perſons; Protagoras, Democritus, Anaxarchus, Hecatæus the Hiſtorian, Nicænetus the Poet, and many others, who were mention'd among the illuſtrious men (*b*). In the reign of Lyſimachus (*i*), Abdera was afflicted for ſome months with a moſt unaccountable diſeaſe [*H*]: this was a burning fever, whoſe criſis was always on the ſeventh day, and then it left them; but it ſo diſtracted their imaginations, that they fancy'd themſelves Players. After this, they were ever repeating verſes from ſome tragedy, and

(*b*) Πλείους δ' Ἀβδηρίται ὑπὸ τῶν πινακογράφων ἀναγράφονται. *Plurimi autem Abderitæ extitere, de quibus doctorum virorum indices commemorant.* Stephan. Byzant. *Verbo,* Ἄβδηρα.

(*i*) *Lucianus, quomodo Hiſtor. ſit conſcribenda, initio.*

cedon, concluded a treaty with, and ſettled them on the frontiers. Some have ridicul'd this dread of Caſſander (19); and indeed, could a Monarch who made all Greece tremble, be apprehenſive that the inhabitants of a ſingle city, who fled from rats and frogs, would diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions? Moreri, who poſſibly never heard that Juſtin had been animadverted upon, for making Caſſander thus fearful, has done all he can to obviate this cenſure; for he declares, that *Caſſander received the Abderites very graciouſly in Macedonia.* Such as rely upon his Dictionary won't think of cenſuring this ancient hiſtorian. 'Tis added, that Caſſander was thus gracious, *the year of the world* 3650, *according to Euſebius's Chronology.* But who that reads this, will believe that Euſebius does not mention a word of this action of Caſſander, nor even make the beginning of the world his æra? The caſe ſtands thus. Juſtin obſerves that Caſſander ſeated the Abderites on the frontiers of his kingdom, before he killed Alexander's ſons. Now Calviſius (20) tells us that he diſpatched them all, the year of the world 3641: thus Moreri's chronology is as erroneous, as Caſſander's kindneſs claſhes with the only hiſtorian he could have followed.

(19) See Glareanus *in Juſtin. Variorum Græv.* p. 333.

(20) Moreri generally follows Calviſius's chronology.

[*F*] *That they ſoon returned to it, &c.*] The diſeaſe of the Abderites, which Lucian mentions, happened in the reign of Lyſimachus, and conſequently after what we are told of the frogs, which Juſtin ſays (21), was before Lyſimachus and Caſſander aſſumed the title of King. Add to this, that Abdera was in a pretty flouriſhing condition in the time of the laſt Macedonian Monarch. 'Twas plundered by Lucius Hortenſius the Prætor; but the Roman Senate diſapproved of this action, and the Abderites were reſtored to their liberty (22).

(21) Juſtin. lib. 15. cap. 11.

(22) Livius, lib. 43.

[*G*] *The Abderites have been very much derided for their want of wit and judgment.*] We have ſeen how Tully treats them in his epiſtles to Atticus. Nor does he ſpare them in another part of his writings (23), where, after citing an opinion, which he takes to be ridiculous, he adds; *Quæ quidem omnia ſunt patriâ Democriti, quàm Democrito digniora.* That is, "All "which are more worthy Democritus's country, than "Democritus himſelf." Juvenal, who could not deny but Democritus was a man of great wit and ſenſe, pretends to prove from thence, that great Genius's may be born under foggy climates, and in a country fruitful in blockheads.

(23) Cicero *de natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 42.

Cujus prudentia monſtrat
Summos poſſe viros, & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patriâ, craſſoque ſub aëre naſci (24).
In Engliſh,
"Learn from ſo great a Wit; a land of bogs,
"With ditches fenc'd, a heaven fat with fogs,
"May form a ſpirit fit to ſway the ſtate,
"And make the neighbouring Monarchs fear their fate. Dryden's Juvenal.

(24) Juven. Sat. 10. ver. 49.

Martial had not a much more favourable opinion of the underſtanding of the Abderites, when he ſays,

Si patiens, fortiſque tibi, duruſque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes (25).
Thus Engliſh'd,
"If patient he appears to thee, or brave,
"Then Abderite ſtupidity's thy lot.

(25) Martial Epigr. 25. lib. 10.

Vigenere is groſly miſtaken in thinking theſe verſes are addreſs'd to the criminal on the ſtage, who repreſented Mutius Scævola thruſting his hand into the fire (26), whereas 'tis directed to thoſe who could be ſilly enough to look upon this as an heroic action, ſince had not the criminal ſubmitted to it, he would have been burnt alive.

(26) Vigenere, *Annotations ſur le ſepulchre d'Abdere de Philoſtrate.*

Nam cum dicatur tunica præſente moleſta,
Ure manum, plus eſt dicere, non facio (27).
Thus Engliſh'd,
"For, when, the ſcorching coat brought forth, the ſlave's
"Bid burn his hand; 'tis more to cry—*I'll not.*

(27) Martial Epigr. 25. lib. 10.

Iſaac Voſſius, who ſometimes is peculiar in his way of thinking, ſtruck out a new kind of apology for the Abderites. He owns that many of theſe were born mad, or grew ſo; but this, he ſays, was not an indication of ſtupidity; ſince blockheads and heavy-headed creatures (having no brains) never run diſtracted; which the greateſt genii often do (28). And as to what Hippocrates relates, that the fever which ſeiz'd ſeveral Abderites, was attended with a delirium (29), Voſſius aſſerts, that the proverb, in ridicule of this city, did not take its riſe from that circumſtance, but rather from the delightful paſſion which ſucceeded their fever. *Ex affectu jucundiſſimo, qui ipſorum febribus ſuccedere ſolebat, ut teſtatur Lucianus, ſcripto de conſcribendâ hiſtoriâ* (30). They grew extravagantly fond of poetry, muſic, and acted like ſo many Comedians in the ſtreets. Heavy, phlegmatic ſouls, ſays Voſſius, are never ſeiz'd with ſo elegant a diſtraction. *Tam elegans inſania non cadit in craſſos & pituitoſos, nedum in vervecea capita*; but he ſhould have remember'd Ariſtotle's maxim, *One ſwallow does not make a ſummer*; and not have aſcrib'd to cuſtom and habit the conſequences of a fever, the like of which happen'd but once. What he quotes from Lucian is an unparallel'd incident, that does not give occaſion for ſuch proverbs. I ſhall tranſiently obſerve, that Eraſmus did not rightly comprehend a thought of Tully (31), from whoſe words we ought to infer, that the bewilder'd Abderites gave into the moſt incredible paradoxes; and not that they were ſtupid. *Abderitanis naturâ peculiarem fuiſſe mentis ſtuporem indicat Marcus Tull. in libris de natura Deorum:* that is, "Cicero tells us, in his book *de Natura Deorum*, "the Abderites were born with a peculiar kind of ſtu- "pidity. Thus ſays Eraſmus (32). Now ſome very able writers (33) quote theſe as Cicero's words; ſo true it is, that the collections of us Literati reſemble Fame; every change of place gives them increaſe (34). Thoſe who aſſert, that the word Ἀβδηροβόρος, which is us'd proverbially in Tatian's diſcourſe againſt the Greeks, ſignifies *a teller of whimſical, ſilly ſtories*, no ways derogate from the underſtanding of the Abderites, ſince it is not uſual for ſimpletons, ninnies, and boobies to impoſe or play upon people: not to mention that Tatian applies this word to the doctrines of Democritus, which we may believe were far from ſtupid.

(28) Iſaac Voſſius *in Pompon. Melam*, p. 135.

(29) Hippocrat. lib. 3. *de Morib. vulgar.*

(30) Is. Voſſius, *in Pompon. Melam*, p. 135.

(31) In his firſt book, *De Naturâ Deorum.*

(32) Adagior. Chil. 4. Centur. 6. num. 27.

(33) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum, Abderitanos ſtupori mentis obnoxios*, Scribit i. e. "That the Abderites were "ſtupid, &c." Laur. Begerus *Obſerv. in Numiſm. quæd.* p. 16. See alſo Lloyd, and Hoffman under the word *Abdera.*

[*H*] *Abdera was infected for ſome months with a moſt unaccountable diſeaſe.*] Lucian, who deſcribes the ſymptoms of it, pretends the cauſe was this: Archelaus, an excellent player, acted the *Andromeda* of *Euripides* before the Abderites, in the height of a very hot ſummer. Several had a fever at their coming out of the theatre; and as their imaginations were full of the tragedy, the delirium which the fever rais'd, repreſented perpetually, Andromeda, Perſeus, Meduſa, &c. and the ſeveral dramatic incidents, and called up the ideas of thoſe objects, and the pleaſure of the repreſentation ſo ſtrongly, that they could not forbear imitating Archelaus's action and declamation. I ſuppoſe that ſuch as firſt acted thus in the ſtreets, after their continual fever had left them, infected ſeveral who were on the mending hand. Every thing conſpir'd to favour the progreſs of this contagion. The mind is as ſubject to epidemical diſtempers as the body; all the art is, to begin under propitious auſpices, and when the matter is duly prepar'd. Let an hereſiarch, or an enthuſiaſt, whoſe infectious imagination

(34) *Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo*, Virg. Æneid. lib. 4. v 175. That is, "Every moment "brings new "vigour to her "flights, new "pinions to her "wings. Dryd.

and particularly out of the *Andromeda* of Euripides, as if they had been upon the ſtage; ſo that many of theſe pale, meager actors were pouring forth their tragic exclamations in every ſtreet. This delirium continu'd till the winter following, which was a very cold one, and therefore fitter to remove it. Moreri gives a very falſe account of this [*I*]. Begerus (*k*), who publiſh'd his conjectures on a medal of the Abderites [*K*], and ſuppos'd it ſtruck, to perpetuate the remembrance of this unhappy diſtemper, chang'd his opinion upon reading the excellent diſſertation inſcrib'd to him on that ſubject (*l*). There are many particulars concerning Abdera in this diſſertation, ſome of which I have inſerted in the laſt note. On certain days, a kind of ceremony, which being a religious act, might in ſome meaſure be conſider'd as an *Auto de Fé*, was ſolemniz'd in this city. A perſon was devoted to death, and afterwards ſton'd. I believe this is mention'd only by Ovid, who ranks it among the curſes he wiſhes may light upon his enemy:

(*k*) Laurentius Begerus. His book was printed at Berlin in 1691 4°.

(*l*) By Ezekiel Spanheim. 'Tis printed with Begerus's Treatiſe.

Aut

nation and fiery paſſions work in a proper manner, ſtart up at ſuch a juncture, they ſhall ſoon infatuate a whole kingdom, at leaſt great numbers; whereas in another age or country, they would not have three followers. The Mileſian maidens were for ſome time ſo unaccountably out of love with life, that they would have laid violent hands on themſelves, had not the government threaten'd to expoſe their naked, dead bodies to public view (35). The remedy only ſhews, that their paſſion was a diſeaſe of the mind, void of all reaſon. Something like this happen'd at Lyons towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century (36). There is no difference between theſe diſeaſes, the plague, or the ſmall-pox, except that the latter happen infinitely oftner. I will take it for granted, that the havock which Archelaus the tragedian, and the violent heat, made in the minds of the Abderites (37), is leſs a mark of ſtupidity than of vivacity and ſprightlineſs; but ſtill it denotes a weakneſs, and for the truth of this remark, I appeal to ſuch as have obſerv'd what kind of perſons were moſt affected at dramatic performances. *Quos terrores* (or *errores*) *auxerunt poëtæ; frequens enim conſeſſus theatri, in quo ſunt mulierculæ & pueri, movetur audiens tam grande carmen:*

Adſum atque advenio Acheronte vix via alta atque ardua,
Per ſpeluncas ſaxis ſtructas aſperis, pendentibus,
Maximis, ubi rigida conſtat craſſa caligo inferûm (38).

That is, " which horrors (or errors) the Poets have " heighten'd; women and children, being mov'd in the " theatre at the repreſentation of ſo grand a poem:

" From Acheron I come, thro' dreadful paths;
" Thro' caves, where mighty, horrid ſtones impend;
" And Hell's black fogs eternally are ſpread.

(35) Plutarch. *de fortibus fact. Mulierum.*

(36) Brodæus, *Miſcell.* lib. 5. cap. 27.

(37) The common maxim of Philoſophers, *Sol & homo generant hominem*; i. e. " That the Sun " and man en- " gender man, was here particularly verified.

(38) Cicero, *Tuſcul.* lib. 1. c. 16.

[*I*] *Moreri gives a very falſe account of all this* (39).] The Abderites did not die in the theatres, nor did the diſeaſe they were then troubled with give riſe to the proverb, *Abderitica mens.* Should any one be called upon to prove, that ſuch a proverb was antiently uſed, he would find it a difficult task. 'Twould not be enough to aſſert, that the Abderites were generally looked upon as ſtupid; but it muſt be ſhewn, that the very words, *Abderitica mens*, were employed to denote that general opinion: now 'tis certain, Eraſmus has not quoted one writer who uſed thoſe words. But let us wave this incident, and even look upon the following reflection as falſe, viz. That 'tis probable ſo tranſient a thing as this diſeaſe of the Abderites which is mentioned by no other writer but Lucian (and that only in the preamble to a diſſertation) could give riſe to a proverb, which throws an everlaſting odium on a people. For if it be objected, that the *Serò ſapiunt Phryges, The Phrygians are wiſe too late*, might have been founded on a ſingle fault or defect of the Phrygians, a good diſtinction may preſently be made; ſince it is certain, that as ſoon as this fault became proverbial, it was not applied to the Phrygians, more than to any other nation; whereas the reproaches caſt upon the Abderites related to them perpetually, and in a literal ſenſe, like as thoſe which are levell'd at the Normans and Gaſcons, reflect on the natives of thoſe Provinces (40.) However, let us look upon this as mere quibble, ſince what follows will be found unanſwerable. Moreri's proverb, *Abderitica mens*, declared the Abderites were very ſtupid; now the diſeaſe mentioned by Lucian is not ſtupidity, but a crazy imagination, and a kind of frenzy, which ſeizes perſons of exalted genius, rather than blockheads and idiots; conſequently Moreri was in the wrong to affirm, that his proverb was founded on the frenzy Lucian ſpeaks of. Though I mention Lucian, I know Moreri cites only Cælius Rhodiginus, as was objected to him (41), and that he borrowed this citation from Charles Stephens. Moreri and a multitude more imitate that Italian, who would never quote any writer, becauſe he himſelf wanted to be quoted, which would never have happen'd, had he referred to his authors in the margin.

(39) He has committed ſeveral other miſtakes. See the Remarks [*A*] [*C*] and [*E*].

(40) 'Tis certain that proverbs which are made in deriſion of the Normans and Gaſcons, are founded on permanent and habitual defects, that paſs on from one generation to another.

(41) In the Dutch edition of his Dictionary.

[*K*] *On a medal of the Abderites*]. On one ſide is a griffin, and on the other a man's head, beardleſs, and crown'd with laurel, with theſe words, ΕΠΙ ΙΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΙΟΥ. *Begerus* conjectured, that this medal conſecrated to Apollo under the title of Jupiter the Impropitious, *ſub Jove ſiniſtro* (the ſame as *ſub Vejove* in Rome) denoted the too hot influence of the ſun, which cauſed thoſe imperfections the Abderites were branded with, but at the ſame time made them fit diſciples of Apollo. Spanhemius thinks this inſcription alludes either to the Prætor or Governor of Abdera (42); and obſerves, that as it appears from ſeveral medals, a griffin was the ſymbol of Teos, 'tis no wonder the inhabitants of Abdera who were a colony of Teians, ſhould uſe that ſymbol in their publick monuments. 'Twas uſual for colonies to pay this compliment to the cities whence they ſprung, of which Syracuſe and * Corfu, whoſe arms were a Pegaſus, in imitation of Corinth, are a proof. As to the head crowned with laurel, it either repreſents Abderus, Hercules's minion, or Tiſamenes of Clazomene, whom the Teians that fled for refuge to Abdera (43) rever'd as a hero. Iſaac Voſſius thinks the inſcription on the medal ſignifies, *Jupiter frumentarius*, i. e. *Jupiter the corn beſtower* (as though Ζεὺς λαΐος, was the ſame as Ζεὺς ἐπικάρπιος) (44), becauſe the territory round Abdera abounded every where with corn and graſs, which prompted the Triballi, according to Diodorus Siculus, when oppreſs'd with famine, to go thither, as to the moſt fruitful country (45). Spanhemius does not deny this, and cites another paſſage from Diodorus Siculus, where Abdera is ſaid to be one of the moſt powerful cities of Thrace in that age (46). He alſo quotes another paſſage from an epiſtle aſcribed to Hippocrates, which obſerves barely, that Abdera is not an obſcure city, μία πόλεων οὐκ ἄσημος; however, he refutes Voſſius's explication of the medal .... Before we conclude, it muſt be obſerved, that 'twould be wrong, to conſider what paſs'd between the Abderites and Hippocrates, with regard to Democritus, as a mark of little ſenſe (47). The great concern they ſhewed for the health of ſo famous a Philoſopher, their countryman, does honour to their judgment. Hippocrates indeed did not confirm the idea theſe entertained of Democritus, who took him for a madman; whereas Hippocrates thought him wiſer than they. But this was nothing. I am perſuaded the reſt of the Greeks would have judged as unfavourably of Democritus as his countrymen did. A Philoſopher would now be conſidered in the ſame light, who ſhould laugh at every thing; ſhould affirm that the air is filled with images; ſtudy the muſic of birds; ſhut himſelf up in ſepulchres, &c. Thoſe only of an exalted genius, and who ſoar above prejudice, would be capable of forming a right judgment of him; but theſe ſeldom ariſe in any age or country, and are as few, perhaps fewer, than the virtuous, whom Juvenal declares, ſcarce equal the mouths of the Nile (48).

(42) *Epidius Laii filius.* i. e. " Epidius ſon of " Laius.

* Or rather Corcyra, as 'twas antiently call'd.

(43) By this name Spanheim calls the man, to whom Herodotus gives the name of Τιμήσιος.

(44) Iſ. Voſſius *in Pompon. Melam.* p. 135.

(45) Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 354.

(46) Idem, lib. 13. p. 194.

(47) See the letters written on both ſides on this occaſion, among thoſe of Hippocrates.

(48) *Rari quippe boni: Numerus vix eſt totidem, quot Thebarum portæ, vel divitis oſtia Nili.* Juvenal. Sat. 13. verſ. 26. " Good men are " ſcarce, the juſt " are thinly " ſown, " They thrive " but ill, nor can " they laſt when " grown. " And ſhould we " count them, " and our ſtore " compile, " Yet Thebes " more gates " wou'd ſhew, " more mouths " the Nile.

Aut te devoveat certis Abdera diebus,
Saxaque devotum grandine plura petant (*m*).

(*m*) Ovid. *in Ibim.* verſ. 469.

Thus Engliſh'd,
" Or may'ſt thou in Abdera be devoted,
" And ſhowers of murth'ring ſtones at thee be hurl'd.

Commentators are ſilent on this paſſage; undoubtedly, becauſe they could not find either the origin or particulars of this ceremony. I ſhall obſerve elſewhere (*n*), that Parmenio deſtroy'd a temple dedicated to Jaſon, in Abdera.

(*n*) In the article JASON. [Mr. Bayle has not compos'd this article.]

ABDERAMA Governor of Spain under Iſcham, Caliph of the Saracens in the eighth Century, endeavoured to enlarge their conqueſts by the addition of France, a little after they had ſubdued all Spain. They had reaſon to be ſatisfied [*A*] with what they had already won, and yet it was natural not to ſtop ſhort in ſo glorious a career. Had we Abderama's hiſtory by a Saracen, 'twould undoubtedly acquaint us, that this General was naturally form'd to ſatiate the boundleſs ambition of his Sovereign, and was one of the greateſt Heroes that ever liv'd; the whole would be a ſeries of illuſtrious actions and triumphs. I know that ſome Chriſtian writers make honourable mention of him, and indeed his piercing into the midſt of France proves him a great warrior: but there's nothing like having a writer of one's own party. Abderama quickly remov'd the obſtacle which Eudes, or Eudo, Duke of Aquitain had thrown in his way, by ſoon reducing the governor of Cerdania (*a*), whom this Duke had ſtirred up to rebellion, to the ſad neceſſity of killing himſelf; but he treated his widow [*B*], a lady of exquiſite beauty and daughter of Duke Eudo, with great humanity. As ſoon as he had quell'd this inſurrection, he made ſuch diſpatch in raiſing a force neceſſary for conquering France, that the year after (*b*), he march'd into it with the greateſt army that had been ſeen many years. It ſpread far and wide, and carry'd terror and deſolation into all places; inſomuch that the common people of thoſe provinces, which were thus made a ſcene of Blood, ſtill talk of it. 'Tis not known whether the Gaſcons, whoſe Duke was join'd in amity with that of Aquitain, reſiſted [*C*] or ſubmitted to the Saracens; we are only told, that Abderama advancing to Bourdeaux, took that city, and ſet fire to all the churches in it; and afterwards defeated Eudo in a bloody battle [*D*] fought a little on the other ſide (*c*) the Dordogne [*E*]. He croſs'd Poitou, plunder'd St. Hilary's church in Poitiers, and

(*a*) His name was Munuza. See his article.

(*b*) In 732.

(*c*) With reſpect to the Pyrenean Mountains.

[*A*] *To be ſatisfy'd.*] Perhaps we have no examples of ſo long a train of victories and mighty conqueſts, as in the hiſtory of the Saracens. The idea which a Roman Poet (1) form'd of a vaſtly extenſive empire, took in only part of theirs. Reaſon prompted them to diſcontinue, and to purſue their exploits; which, tho' a ſeeming contradiction, is nevertheleſs true. Had the Saracens diſcontinued, they might have been applauded upon many accounts: but then they alſo might have been blamed for ſeveral reaſons; for firſt, they would have been thought weak and imprudent: people would have ſaid, they did not dare, nor knew how to make an advantage of the opportunities which Providence indulged them; and that with a little more heroiſm and intrepidity, they might have conquer'd the world. Thus are thoſe always calumniated, who perform illuſtrious actions. When the ſlanderers can't deny their having atchiev'd them, they then obſerve coolly, that all they did was nothing to what another would have perform'd on a like occaſion: and in this manner do they detract from what they were oblig'd to own. The Heathens would have call'd this a critique of fortune, on the ill choice of thoſe whom ſhe favours with opportunities.

(1) *Latius regnes avidum domando*
Spiritum, quam ſi
Lybiam remotis
Gadibus jungas,
& uterque Pœnus
ſerviat uni.
Horat. Od. 2. lib. 2.
" That man a
" wider empire
" gains,
" That his own
" craving wiſh
" reſtrains;
" Than he whoſe
" ſword and wide
" command,
" Join diſtant
" Spain and Ly-
" bia's ſand;
" Than if they
" did his arms
" obey,
" And either
" Carthage own
" his ſway.
Creech's *Horace.*

[*B*] *His widow.*] We ſhall obſerve elſewhere (2), that Duke Eudo's daughter, wife to the governor of Cerdania, was the moſt beautiful Princeſs of her age; and how being brought to Abderama, after her husband's death, he ſent her to the Caliph. A Saracen hiſtorian would not have paſs'd ſo lightly over this incident as the Chriſtian writers do, but have extoll'd it above whatever the Greeks boaſt of Alexander, and the Romans of Scipio. The Grecian monarch indeed did not offer the leaſt violence to Darius's wife or daughters, his captives (3); and the Roman General ſuppreſs'd all unchaſt deſires, with regard to a very beautiful young lady his priſoner; and ſent her back to the perſon of quality to whom ſhe was promis'd in marriage (4). But an hiſtorian who was to attempt the elogium of Abderama, would ſet the continence of this General in a ſtill more amiable light. The widow of a rebellious Chief was entirely at his diſpoſal; ſhe was a finiſh'd beauty, and yet he did not offer her the leaſt violence.

(2) In the article MUNUZA.

(3) Vide the Note [*C*] of the article MACEDONIA.

(4) *Valer. Maxim.* lib. 4. cap. 3.

[*C*] *If the Gaſcons reſiſted.*] The moſt accurate Hiſtorians obſerve (5), that Abderama entered France by that part lying between the Garonne and the ocean; and that this country was then ſubject to the Duke of the Gaſcons, and not to the Duke of Aquitain. Theſe writers don't mention the ſiege of Arles, which Moreri ſays, Abderama attempted, before he march'd to ſuccour the Saracens in Aquitain, or had ſubdued Languedoc, Querci, &c. Theſe miſtakes are the greater, becauſe it is certain the Saracens were poſſeſs'd of Languedoc, before Abderama paſt the Pyrenean Mountains. The courſe of his march will be of uſe to me hereafter, in juſtifying the Duke of Aquitain. The miſtakes of Auguſtinus Curio (6) cauſe a ſtill greater confuſion. He tells us, that Abderama entred France before Munuza's death, and vanquiſh'd Eudo in this country; that returning thither after Munuza's deceaſe, he croſt the Rhone and made a dreadful ſlaughter at Arles. That he then beſieg'd Toulouſe, but without ſucceſs; afterwards Bourdeaux where he came off victorious, and laſtly, that he plundered and burnt St. Martin's church in Tours.

(5) Mezeray, Cordemoi.

(6) *Hiſtoria Saracen.* lib. 11. p. 111, 112.

[*D*] *Defeated Eudo in a bloody battle.*] The Chriſtians loſt ſo many men, that to uſe the words of Iſidorus Biſhop of Badajos (7); God only knows the number of French that were then cut to pieces. Mezerai relates, that Duke Eudo *fought with the utmoſt bravery, but at laſt was kill'd, with a numberleſs multitude of his ſoldiers* (8).

(7) *Iſidorus Pacenſis Chronic.*

(8) Mezeray *Abregé Chronol.* vol. 1. p. 192.

[*E*] *A little on the other ſide the Dordogne.*] I don't know what Cordemoi means in obſerving, that had Eudo but waited, *as he ſhould have done, the* coming up of Charles Martel, *the Saracens would never have paſs'd the Dordogne* (9); for had not they croſs'd it before the battle was fought (10), or that Charles Martel *had paſt the Loire* (11)? To what purpoſe then ſhould he have waited for him, to hinder the paſſage of the Dordogne? He ſhould have ſaid, that had Eudo waited for Charles Martel, the Saracens would not have ſpread themſelves over Saintonge and Poitou, and then he would not have loſt the battle which he fought; and having all his forces, he could have aw'd the Saracen army, by poſting himſelf advantageouſly. Thus had he but preſerv'd his forces till he was join'd to Charles Martel, there was a greater probability of the Chriſtians defeating the Saracens entirely, wherever they might come up with them. It would, poſſibly, be difficult to determine, whether the

(9) Cordemoi *Hiſt. de France*, p. 404.

(10) Eudo did not retreat, when news came that Abderama had paſt the Dordogne, but fought him. *Cordemoi*, ibid.

(11) Ibid.

and advanced towards Tours, to ſeize the treaſure of St. Martin's church: but now Charles Martel, in conjunction with the Duke of Aquitaine, ſtopt his furious progreſs. Abderama having ſo great an army, his plundering ſo many cities, and firing ſo many churches in his way through Perigord and Saintonge, render'd his march exceeding ſlow; which gave Eudo an opportunity of drawing together a conſiderable body of freſh troops, before he reinforc'd Charles Martel. The Chiefs being join'd, march'd beyond Tours (*d*), to meet Abderama. And now the armies being come in ſight, ſix days were ſpent in skirmiſhes; but on the ſeventh, which fell on a Saturday, in October 732 [*F*], the battle was fought, when a prodigious ſlaughter was made of the Saracens. We muſt not however believe it ſo great [*G*] as the hyperboles of ſome hiſtorians make it. Abderama loſt his life in the Field; but the remains of his army retreated with leſs difficulty than (*e*) could be expected [*H*]. The Duke of Aquitain, who has been unjuſtly accus'd of occaſioning this inroad [*I*], had a great ſhare in

(*d*) With reſpect to Paris.

(*e*) See Cordemoi, *Hiſt. de France*, vol. 1. p. 403 & ſeq.

ſire which hurried Eudo on to the engagement, or Charles's great ſlowneſs in marching towards the Loire, moſt deſerv'd cenſure. Both theſe Generals would act the cunning part; for Eudo deſired to gain the victory without Martel, who, on the other ſide would have had the Saracens over-run Aquitain, and vanquiſh Eudo. This removed the obſtacles he feared from that quarter, with regard to his great deſign of making himſelf King; and the glory of having delivered France, muſt have riſen in proportion to the little ſhare his rival Eudo ſhould have in it. According to ſome Spaniſh writers, Eudo was defeated between the Garonne and the Dordogne (12.) Mezerai wrote from better memoirs, when he ſays (13), that Eudo *did not dare to wait the coming up of the Saracens on the other ſide the rivers, and therefore retreated on this ſide the Dordogne, where, being reconciled to Martel, he aſſembled his forces, expecting he would reinforce him with the French. Abderama did not give him time for this, but puſhing ſtill forward, paſs'd the river to attack Eudo in his camp. The Duke waited for him, and fought with the utmoſt intrepidity.* This ſhews, that Charles Martel's dilatorineſs deſerv'd cenſure more than Eudo's impatience.

(12) In Catel *Memoir. de l'Hiſt. de Languedoc*, p. 526, 529.

(13) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* vol. 1. p. 192.

[*F*] *Anno* 732.] 'Tis ſurpriſing that Hiſtorians ſhould not be agreed on the period, when ſo ſignal a victory was gain'd. *Catel*, pag. 529 of his *Memoirs* (14), fixes it to anno 725; but page 531 he places it in 727. *The year following*, ſays he, viz. *in* 728, *Eudo Duke of Aquitain died.* Calviſius places it in 726, and cites the *Annals* of Fulde for that purpoſe; according to Petavius 'twas in 725 (15). Formerly all writers fixed it to 725 or 726, but within ſome years it has been placed in 732; Father Labbe, Mezerai, Cordemoi, &c. fix it to that date, according to the *Annals of Mets*, and the moſt antient chronicles.

(14) For the hiſtory of Languedoc.

(15) Petavii *Rationar. Temp.* part 1. lib. 8.

[*G*] *A dreadful ſlaughter was made . . . We muſt not however believe it ſo great*, &c.] Three hundred and ſeventy, or three hundred and ſeventy five thouſand Saracens were cut to pieces, and only fifteen hundred French, according to Anaſtaſius the Librarian (16), Paulus Diaconus, and ſeveral other Hiſtorians; but this account is now looked upon as fictitious. Mezerai ſays clearly, that the Saracen army conſiſted but of fourſcore or an hundred thouſand men. We are to remember particularly, that they fought till night, without giving way (17), and were not purſued the next day, when news was brought that they had march'd all night. Now 'tis almoſt impoſſible ſo prodigious a havock ſhould have been made of men who ſtood their ground; ſo many hundred thouſand could not be put to the ſword, except they fled, and were purſued and had no quarter given; therefore as the battle was interrupted by the coming on of the night, we are to look upon what du Haillan relates as romantic, viz. *That King Abderama, and moſt of his chief officers were found among great heaps of the ſlain, being ſtifled by the multitudes who crouded upon them in their retreat.* Had there been weekly news-papers in that age, the publick would have run leſs hazard of being deceiv'd, in judging of the number of the Saracens, from ſuch papers as were publiſhed before the engagement, than from the accounts of the battle itſelf. While theſe Barbarians were on their march, ſuch Gazetteers as were hirelings, or writ by authority, would have repreſented the Saracen army as inconſiderable, and have weakned it daily by deſertion and ſickneſs; but after the victory, they'd bethink themſelves, and hear from mighty good hands, that the Saracen army was prodigiouſly numerous. Thus might people be impoſed upon by the News-papers both before and after the battle; but were we to chuſe, methinks it would be ſafer to rely, at all adventures, on the former than on the latter.

(16) This he extracted from the narrative which Eudo writ to Pope Gregory II. See the note [*K*] following.

(17) See the ſubſequent Remark.

[*H*] *Retreated with leſs difficulty than could have been expected.*] We ſhall rectify the idea which people generally form of this great victory, by examining what the moſt accurate Hiſtorians ſay of it. "The Sara- "cens hurl'd their darts to no purpoſe, the French "warding them off, by diſpoſing their ſhields one "over the other; and when the Saracens advanced "reſolutely ſword in hand, the Chriſtians kept ſo "cloſe, that the enemy only broke their own ranks "in endeavouring to force ſo great a body of men. "Charles, who made a proper uſe of advantages, "took the opportunity of charging them, when the "French, who ſtill kept very cloſe, killed prodigious "numbers. Abderama was ſlain in the field, but "night drawing on put an end to the battle; Charles "Martel not knowing the great advantages he had "gained. This general would not ſuffer the ſcatter'd "remains of the Saracen army to be purſued, for fear "of ambuſcades, which ſhould always be guarded "againſt when the enemy are very numerous. He "even made his ſoldiers retreat in good order, ſword "in hand, into their camp, and paſs the night there; "but at day-break he again drew them up in battle "array, in ſight of the Saracen camp. But now ſuch "numbers of the enemy's tents were ſeen, that tho' "the field they fought in the day before, was cover- "ed with the bodies of the Saracens, yet Martel had "reaſon to ſuſpect, a great number of theſe were "ſtill under the tents, and ſuppos'd they were com- "ing out. At laſt, after having long expected this, "he found they had abandoned their camp; and ſpies "brought advice that they had marched all night to- "wards Septimania. However, he looked upon this "flight of an army, which he thought more conſi- "derable than his own, as a ſtratagem, to draw him "into an ambuſcade, and therefore only plundered "the Saracen camp, where he found all their bag- "gage, and the booty they had taken (18)." For this reaſon it has been ſaid, *That Charles Martel might have made a better advantage of his great victory* (19). I will ſuppoſe that he, like ſo many other Generals (20), knew very well how to conquer, but did not make a proper uſe of his conqueſts. Yet who can ſay, whether Martel might not let the Saracens march away unmoleſted, to give them the better opportunity of oppreſſing the Duke of Aquitain, whom he conſidered as a dangerous enemy? This uſurper and his ſon Pepin, had infinite difficulties to ſtruggle with before they could ſubject this family, which was the laſt that paid homage to them. But to return: Abderama's ſucceſſors were not intimidated at his ill fortune, for they returned ſome years after and made great havock.

(18) Cordemoi, *Hiſt. de France*, vol. 1. p. 405.

(19) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* vol. 1. p. 193.

(20) See the remark [*A*] under the article CÆSAR.

[*I*] *Who has been unjuſtly accuſed of occaſioning this inroad.*] Never accuſation could be more unjuſt, according to outward appearance; for firſt, Eudo (21) had married his daughter to the Governor of Cerdania, to engage him in a civil war, and thereby prevent the Saracens from paſſing the mountains; Munuza his ſon-in-law periſh'd miſerably in this enterprize, and his daughter was taken by Abderama, and ſent to the Caliph of the Saracens. Secondly, It does not ap-

(21) See his article.

in the victory [K]. 'Tis ſurpriſing that the writers of this age ſhould not have given a juſt account of this battle, and yet that the moderns ſhould preſume to relate ſo many particulars of it [L].

pear that Eudo any ways favoured the incurſions of thoſe barbarians, for he did not ſuffer them to march through his territories, they having entered Gaul by thoſe of the Duke of the Gaſcoons, and had advanced to Bourdeaux. Farther: We don't find that the Saracens ſpared the Duke of Aquitain's dominions, but treated him all along as an enemy; ſo far from reſtoring any thing he had been diſpoſſeſs'd of in their preceeding expeditions, which they certainly would have done, had he engaged to favour Abderama's enterprize. Laſtly, What occaſion was there to invite this General into France? Had not the Saracens been there before; had not they poſſeſs'd themſelves of Narbonne, Carcaſſone, and ſpread as far as the Rhone? Abderama only continued what his predeceſſors had ſo happily begun, and wanted to extend their conqueſts beyond (22) the mountains; but to make his enterprize ſtill more glorious, he reſolved to ſtrike out a new path. Abderama therefore ſeized on the paſs of the Pyrenean mountains towards Biſcay, and ſo could not but conquer the firſt ſtep he took; but had he gone by Rouſſillon, as Hannibal did, he would immediately have entered a Province already conquered. Now, though a great number of hiſtorians have ſlandered the Duke of Aquitain upon that account, yet this circumſtance does not outweigh what may be offered in his favour; for theſe writers did little more than copy one another, and the firſt borrowed their materials from a tradition, which owed its riſe to the artifices of Charles Martel's faction; and there were ſeveral reaſons why this faction ſhould accuſe their antagoniſts of holding a private correſpondence with the enemies of the church and ſtate. We don't find that Iſidorus of Bajados, Sebaſtian of Salamanca, Rodericus Toletanus, or any other Spaniſh hiſtorian (uninfluenced by that faction) accuſe Eudo of bringing in the Saracens. This it is to be born under a happy planet. 'Tis really my opinion, that Charles Martel did not invite the infidels, and yet he ought to be ſuſpected rather than Eudo, ſince this Duke was to be firſt cruſh'd; whereas Martel might naturally believe, that whilſt the Saracens were ridding him of ſo formidable an enemy, he himſelf would be preparing to repulſe their attacks; and that ſhould he have the good fortune to defeat them, it would ſhorten his way to the throne. What a handle does this afford thoſe authors, who are apt to give the conduct of the Great a malicious turn? and yet Charles has not been once ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with Abderama.

(22) With reſpect to Spain.

[K] *Had a great ſhare in the victory.*] Some Hiſtorians don't mention his engaging that day in conjunction with Martel; but others declare expreſsly that he did. Paulus Diaconus ſays, *Deinde poſt decem annos, cum uxoribus & parvulis venientes,* (he ſpeaks of the Saracens) *Aquitaniam Galliæ provinciam quaſi habitaturi ingreſſi ſunt. Carolus ſiquidem cum Eudone Aquitaniæ principe tunc diſcordiam habebat, qui tamen in unum ſe conjungentes contra eoſdem Sarracenos pari conſilio dimicarunt; nam irruentes Franci ſuper eos trecenta ſeptuaginta quinque millia Sarracenorum interemerunt; ex Francorum verò parte mille & quingenti tantum ibi ceciderunt; Eudo quoque cum ſuis ſuper eos irruens pari modo multos interficiens omnia devaſtavit* (23). "Ten years after, the Saracens "with their wives and children enter'd Aquitain, a "province of France, as tho' they were come to in- "habit it. Charles was then at enmity with Eudo "Prince of Aquitain; however, they join'd their "forces, and fought againſt the Saracens. The "French ruſhing upon theſe, ſlew three hundred "and ſeventy five thouſand, with the loſs only of "fifteen hundred of their own men. Eudo alſo "pouring upon them with his forces, made a great "ſlaughter." Rhegino ſpeaks alſo of Martel's reconciliation with Eudo, which, he ſays, was before the battle; and that afterwards they fell, in conjunction, upon the Saracens. Sigebertus ſo divides the glory of this battle between the two Generals, that the only advantage he ſeems to allow Eudo is, that he forced the Saracen camp, and cut to pieces the remains of their army, *Eudo quoque reconciliatus caſtra Sarracenorum irrupit, & reliquias eorum contrivit.* We have a good proof in Roderic Archbiſhop of Toledo, for he relates (24), that Charles Martel's forces conſiſted chiefly of *Germans, Goths and French, who ſurviv'd* in the battle which Eudo loſt againſt the Saracens near the Dordogne. We muſt not omit Eudo's letter to Pope Gregory the IId, in which he gave an account of the battle. This letter is mentioned by Marianus Scotus, Otho of Friſingen, and Anaſtaſius the Librarian (25); and a very particular circumſtance is, that the latter aſcribes all the glory of this victory to the Duke of Aquitain, but does not once mention Charles Martel; and declares, that three hundred and ſeventy thouſand Saracens, and but fifteen hundred French were ſlain. Anaſtaſius refers for the truth of this to Eudo's letter abovementioned, whence he extracted a burleſque kind of incident, viz. That on the day of battle Eudo caus'd to be chopp'd into very ſmall pieces three holy ſpunges, which the Pope ſent him, *from among thoſe that were us'd at his table,* and gave them his ſoldiers to eat, which had ſo happy an effect, that all who did ſo were neither kill'd nor wounded. To underſtand this cuſtom *of uſing ſpunges at table,* we muſt remember theſe words of Martial, *Hæc tibi ſorte datur tergendis ſpongia menſis utilis* (26). That is, This ſpunge which ſportive chance on thee beſtows, will clean thy table.

(23) *Hiſt. Longob.* lib. 6. cap. 46. apud Catel *Memoires de Languedoc.* p. 530.

(24) Roderic. *Hiſtor. Arabum,* in Catel's Memoirs, p. 529.

(25) In Catel *Memoires de l'Hiſt. de Languedoc.* p. 531.

(26) Martial. *Epigram.* 144. lib. 14.

[L] *That the moderns ſhould preſume to relate ſo many particulars of it.*] I ſhall borrow a judicious reflection from the hiſtorian, whom I have chiefly followed in this article. *This battle,* ſays he (27), *deſerves the higheſt notice, and we cannot enough blame the antient annaliſts, for not mentioning a ſingle circumſtance of ſo memorable an engagement. But on the other ſide, the lovers of truth will ſcarce pardon ſome moderns* (28), *who yet are perſons of great merit, for deſcribing this battle ſo minutely. Theſe ſpeak of it, as though they had been preſent in all the councils, and ſeen every motion of both armies; they not only deſcribe the arms both of the French and Saracens, but in what manner Martel and Abderama drew up their forces. They give us long ſpeeches, filled with falſe and improper particulars. They tell us the ſtratagems Abderama employed, and with what art Martel eluded them; and conclude with deſcribing the various poſtures in which the dead lay in the field; neither do they omit the groans of the expiring, nor the applauſes which Martel and Eudo, the Generals of the French army, beſtowed on each other.*

(27) Cordemoi, *Hiſt. de France,* p. 406.

(28) He quotes Paulus Æmilius, and Fauchet in the margin.

ABDERUS, Hercules's minion. See the note [D] of the article ABDERA.

ABDIAS of Babylon, a writer who deſerves a place among the boldeſt legend-writers. This impoſtor boaſted he had ſeen our Saviour; was one of the ſeventy two diſciples; had been an eye-witneſs of the actions, and preſent at the death of ſeveral apoſtles; had follow'd into Perſia St. Simon and St. Jude, who he ſaid made him the firſt Biſhop of Babylon. The work which goes under his name is divided into ten books; and entitled, *Hiſtoria Certaminis Apoſtolici.* Wolfgang Lazius (*a*) found the manuſcript of it in a cave of Carinthia; and tho' a man of judgment and learning, he yet was ſo impos'd upon by this fabulous writer, as to reſolve to publiſh his work, as a piece of great importance. He gave credit to the inſcription on this manuſcript, importing that Abdias, made Biſhop of Babylon by the Apoſtles themſelves, had written that hiſtory of their actions in the Hebrew language, that Eutropius tranſlated it into Greek (*b*), and Africanus into Latin. He publiſh'd it at Baſil in 1551 (*c*), with ſome other

(*a*) A Phyſician of Vienna in Auſtria, and Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor Ferdinand the firſt. See the epiſtle dedicatory to his edition.

(*b*) Julius Africanus ſays in his preface, *that Eutropius was the diſciple of Abdias.*

(*c*) In folio, printed for Oporinus.

other lives of the ſaints; but it has ſince borne ſeveral impreſſions in different places [*A*]. Fabricius ſays, thoſe are miſtaken (*d*), who imagine it was inſerted in the Bibliotheque of the Fathers. Laurence de la Barre took it into his hiſtory of the Fathers, printed at Paris in 1583 (*e*). Pope Paul IV, and not Pope Gelaſius, as Moreri relates, rejected this work of Abdias (*f*) *as ſpurious*. Several Catholic and Proteſtant writers diſcover'd the fraud; and the latter pretend to have undeceiv'd the former [*B*], which the Catholics deny [*C*]. But little glory would accrue to either; for this impoſtor was ſo unguarded, as to quote Hegeſippus, who liv'd an hundred and thirty years, or thereabouts, after our Lord's aſcenſion (g). He alſo mentions one Cratho, a diſciple of the Apoſtles, who, he ſays, *writ a hiſtory in ten books, of all the actions and ſufferings of St. Simon and St. Jude in Perſia, for thirteen years; which hiſtory*, he ſays, *Africanus the hiſtoriographer tranſlated into Latin* (*h*). Now how can this Africanus be any other, but Julius Africanus, who died about the year 230 (*i*)?

(*d*) Jo. Alb. Fabricius *in codice Apocryph. Novi Teſtament.* p. 401.
(*e*) Not in 1581, as Moreri ſays.
(*f*) Labbe *de Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 3.
(g) See Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, p. 200.
(*h*) Abdiæ *Hiſt. Certamin. Apoſtol.* lib. 6. p. 83.
(*i*) Cave, *Hiſtor. Literar.* p. 72.

[*A*] *Borne ſeveral impreſſions in different places.*] Du Pin takes notice of the editions of 1557, 1560, and 1571, with a Baſil edition of 1532 (1), and one of Paris 1583, but omits the firſt, which is moſt worthy of notice. As I have not the Paris edition of his *Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique*, I won't preſume to aſſert, that du Pin himſelf mentions this pretended edition of Baſil, printed in 1532. Now as he ſpoke but of one Paris edition, that of 1583, his readers may conclude, that the others he mentioned are not printed there. However, 'tis certain, this work was publiſhed in Paris anno 1560, in 8°, with a Preface written by John Faber, Doctor of Sorbonne. The Epitomizer of Geſner and Dr. Cave mention the Paris edition in 8°, anno 1571. The *Eponymologium* of *Magirus*, ſays, that this work was firſt printed at Paris in 1551, which is not true.

(1) 'Tis thus ſaid in the Amſterdam edition, vol. 1. p. 18.

[*B*] *To have undeceived the former in this particular.*] See the ſixth chapter, book the firſt, of Rivetus's *Criticus Sacer*, i. e. *Sacred Critic*, where, after taking notice of Lazius's prepoſſeſſion, and the authority which Harding and Bellarmine aſcribe to Abdias, he adds; *Ejus nugas & mendacia non eſt quod operoſiùs perſequamur, quia jam oculatioribus pontificiis ita patent, ex noſtrorum animadverſionibus, ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat* (5). That is, "'Twould be "needleſs to take any farther notice of his lies and "trifles; for the animadverſions of Proteſtants have ſo "plainly diſcovered them, that the more clear-ſighted "Romaniſts are aſhamed of them, they are ſo groſs." He cites Baronius, Molanus, Poſſevinus, and even Baronius (now more judicious) as confeſſing this hiſtory of the Apoſtles to be ſpurious.

(2) Riveti Opera, tom. 2. p. 1076.

[*C*] *Which the Catholicks deny.*] Father Labbe inveighs bitterly againſt Rivetus, upon account of the paſſage abovementioned. The former aſſerted, perhaps with truth, that the Catholicks diſcovered the impoſture before the Proteſtants hinted any thing of it; however, this Father ſhould not have writ with ſo much rancour: theſe are his words (3). *Haſce quiſquilias ab otioſo fabulatore, qui merito jure pſeudo-Abdias dicitur, confictas interpolataſve nullius fidei atque auctoritatis eſſe apud eruditos docuerunt jampridem Catholici tractatores, Sixtus Senenſis, Joannes Heſſelius, Joannes Molanus, Cardin. Baronius, Poſſevinus, Salmero, Miræus, aliique, ut ſileam Voſſium, Cocum, Rivetum, ſimileſque hetorodoxos criticos, in alienis ab eccleſia Catholicâ caſtris militantes, atque ex Catholicorum duntaxat ſcriptis & obſervationibus ſuffarcinatos. Mentitur enim pro more Andreas Rivetus, qui libri I. cap. 6. effutire auſus eſt, oculatiores pontificios ex ſuorum, hoc eſt, hæreticorum hominum animadverſionibus edoctos, nugas & mendacia illius operis deprehendiſſe, ita ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat. Sed amabo, quis Calvini catulus hoc commentum ſubodoratus eſt ante Heſſelium, Molanum, Sixtum, ipſumque adeo Paulum IV, Romanum Pontificem, qui inter ſcripta à ſe damnata rejicit.* That is, "Several Ca- "tholic writers, as Sixtus Senenſis, Heſſelius, Mo- "lanus, Baronius, Poſſevinus, Salmero, Miræus, and "others, have ſhewn long ſince, that the traſh of "the idle Romancer, who is ſo juſtly called the falſe "Abdias, is forged, interpolated, and of no authority "with the learned. Not to mention Voſſius, Cocus, "Rivetus, and ſuch heterodox critics, of the Pro- "teſtant party. Rivetus lies, as is his cuſtom, "when he fooliſhly preſumes to tell us, that the "more clear-ſighted Catholics have been ſo inſtructed "by his (heretical he ſhould have ſaid) animadverſi- "ons, that they are aſhamed of Abdias's trifling, rank "falſhoods. But I would fain know, which of Cal- "vin's puppies ſmelt this lie, before Heſſelius, Mola- "nus, Sixtus, and even Pope Paul IV, who rejected "that work as ſpurious?" I believe this work was condemned at Rome after Paul the IVth; for I don't think Claudius Eſpencæus hints at the cenſure it met with under this Pope, when he ſays, *Qualiſcunque autor ſit Abdias, ſuperiore certè quam hæc ſcriberemus anno, à Romanis inquiſitoribus proſcriptus eſt.* i. e. "Whoever this Abdias be, 'tis certain he was con- "demn'd by the inquiſition at Rome, a year ſince." Theſe words are in the fifth chapter of book V, *Of Continence*; but the continuator of Magirus was wrong to conclude from thence (4), that the year 1568 is there referr'd to, ſince the Treatiſe *Of Continence* was printed in 1565 (5). Petrus Paulus Vergerius, a Proteſtant writer who died in 1565, had called Abdias an impoſtor, in his *Idolum Lauretanum*, firſt written in Italian, afterwards tranſlated into Latin, and printed in 4°, anno 1554.

(3) Phil. Labbe, *Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 3.

(4) *Eponymol. Critic.* p. 2.
(5) See Launoi *Hiſt. Colleg. Navarr.* p. 710.

ABDISSI [*A*], Patriarch of Muzal in Aſſyria, beyond the Euphrates, came to Rome in 1562; and after paying obeiſſance to Pope Pius IV, received the *Pallium* or Pall from him. As the council of Trent was then met, Cardinal da Mula, protector of the eaſtern Chriſtians, wrote to that aſſembly upon this affair. His letters were read in the XXIId Seſſion, importing, that the nations ſubject to this Patriarch, had been inſtructed in

[*A*] *Abdiſſi.*] Onuphrius Panvinius calls him *Abdyſu*, which, he ſays, ſignifies *Servus Jeſu*, i. e. *The Servant of Jeſus* (1). Surius and Spondanus give him the ſame name; but Thuanus calls him *Abiſius*; and adds, that he was ſon to John *de domo Marcia*, in the city of Gezira on the Tigris (2). I confeſs, I don't underſtand the words *Domus Marcia* well enough to tranſlate them to my mind, and therefore cannot approve of Moreri's verſion, *Maiſon de Marc*, (*houſe of Marc.*) Aubertus Miræus calls this Patriarch, Abdieſu, of whom he relates the following particulars. He was a Monk of S. Pachomius's order (3), and ſucceſſor to Simon Sulacha the Patriarch (4), a very learned Monk of the ſame order, who paid obeiſſance in perſon to Pope Julius the IIId. Abdieſu was a very great ſcholar, underſtood a great many languages, and had a profound knowledge in the Scriptures. Thuanus ſays, this Patriarch underſtood Chaldee, Arabic and Syriac, and anſwered pertinently the very difficult queſtions that were put to him; which Panvinius, Surius and Spondanus alſo declare, with ſeveral other circumſtances. In the confeſſion of faith mentioned by thoſe writers, we find, he had been a Monk of St. Anthony, in the monaſtery of the brothers S. Rochas and St. John. If Aubertus Miræus ſays true, he had ſpread the Romiſh faith very conſiderably, which his ſucceſſors neglected, inſomuch that Leonard Abel Biſhop of Sidon, the Pope's Nuncio in thoſe countries in 1583, found that Donha Simon the Patriarch, the ſecond ſince Abdieſu, was gone towards the confines of Perſia. The Pope's affairs were in no better condition, when Peter Strozza, Secretary to Pope Paul V, publiſhed in 1617, at Rome and Colen, his diſpute *De Chaldæorum Dogmatibus* (5). i. e. *The tenets of the Chaldæans.*

(1) Panvin. *in Vitâ Pii* IV.

(2) Thuani *Hiſtor.* lib. 32.

(3) Aub. Miræus, *Politiæ Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 217.

(4) Thuanus calls him Salaka: *Spondanus Sulaka.* Vide the remark [*A*] of the article HEBED-JESU.

(5) Aubertus Miræus, *Politiæ Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 219.

in the faith by the Apoſtles St. Thomas and St. Thaddæus, and by one of their diſciples called **Mark**; that their belief agreed entirely with the Romiſh church; that they had the ſame Sacraments and Ceremonies, as appeared by their books written in the Apoſtolic times; that this Patriarchate extended very far in India, and included ſeveral nations, ſome whereof were ſubject to the Grand Signior, ſome to the Sophi of Perſia, and others to the King of Portugal. Upon this the Embaſſador of the laſt Monarch declared, that the eaſtern Biſhops in the dominions of his Sovereign, did not recognize any Patriarch. Abdiſſi's confeſſion of faith, dated March the 7th 1562, was afterwards read (*a*), by which he promiſed to obſerve, and to inculcate into his inferiors, a perfect and perpetual conformity of ſentiments with the church of Rome. Laſtly, they read his letters to the council, excuſing his not attending it [*B*], and intreating the Fathers to ſend him their decrees, promiſing they ſhould be punctually obeyed. Theſe ſeveral pieces had been read before in one congregation, or aſſembly, without occaſioning any particular reflections; but upon the Portugueze Embaſſador's proteſtation, notice was taken of the abſurdity of his relation; immediately a murmuring aroſe; the Portugueze Biſhops were going to ſpeak, but were ſtopt by the Promoter or Proctor, in the name of the Legates. Thus Father Paul relates this incident (*b*), which we ſhall examine in another place (*c*).

(*a*) 'Tis inſerted in Onuphrius, *in Vita Pii* IV; in Surius, *Commentar.* p. 754, &c. in Spondanus, *Contin. Annal. ad an.* 1562.

(*b*) *Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*, lib. 6.

(*c*) In the article HEBED-JESU.

[*B*] *Excuſing his not attending it.*] This ſhews that Moreri miſtook greatly in affirming, *that Abdiſſi was at the council of Trent, and preſented his confeſſion of faith there, in the 22d ſeſſion.* Aubertus Miræus has committed the ſame error, *Qui* (*Abdieſu*, as he calls him) *& Tridentino concilio interfuit*, i. e. "Who was at "the council of Trent." But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance is, that Moreri ſhould cite Thuanus and Spondanus, when the former does not mention a word of this Patriarch's pretended journey to the council; and the latter ſays expreſly, that Abdiſſi's letters, to excuſe his not going to Trent, were read. I ſhall take notice by the way, of an error which has certainly crept into Thuanus. He ſays, this Patriarch came, *Ad Apoſtolorum limina pontificem ſalutaturus, ut ab eo confirmatus partem de corpore Sancti Petri acciperet*; i. e. "He came to Rome to ſalute the "Pope, and be confirmed by him, in order to receive "a part of St. Peter's body." Now would not one conclude from hence, that he was come to beg an arm, or ſome other part of St. Peter's body? For it is a proper way of paying one's court at Rome, to declare, that he is come thither for ſuch gifts. But I am perſuaded, we ſhould read *pallium* for *partem*, as it is in Spondanus, who, except in that word, uſes the ſame expreſſions as Thuanus, as we find in the continuation of Baronius's Annals by the former, anno 1562.

(6) Idem, ibid. p. 217.
(7) Thuani *Hiſt.* lib. 32. p. 640, col. 2. Edit. Francof. anni 1625.

☞ABDOLONYMUS [*A*] was of the royal family of Sidon (*a*), being deſcended from King Cinyras [*B*]. Strato (*b*) was in poſſeſſion of the crown of Sidon, and in great favour with Darius; whilſt Abdolonymus was contented to live in obſcurity, and get his living by cultivating a garden. When the city was ſurrendred to Alexander the Great, the conqueror depos'd Strato, and enquir'd whether any one of the race of Cinyras was living [*C*], that he might ſet him on the throne. It was generally ſuppos'd that the whole race was extinct, but at laſt this Abdolonymus was thought of, and mention'd to Alexander [*D*], who immediately ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to bring him. They found the good man at work in a garden, happy in his poverty, and entirely a ſtranger to the noiſe of arms, with which all Aſia was at that time ſhaken. It was with ſome difficulty that they could perſuade him they were in earneſt. Alexander was ſatisfy'd of his high deſcent by the dignity that appear'd in his perſon; but was deſirous alſo of being inform'd by him, in what manner he bore his poverty. *I wiſh*, ſays Abdolonymus, *I may bear my new condition as well. Theſe hands have ſupply'd my neceſſities: I have had nothing, and I have wanted nothing.* Alexander was ſo pleas'd with this anſwer, that he gave him not only all that was Strato's, but added likewiſe a large preſent out of the Perſian ſpoils, and augmented his dominions. Cowley has made ſome fine reflexions [*E*] on the pleaſures of a country life, drawn from this ſtory of

(*a*) *Quint. Curt.* lib. 4.
(*b*) *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 17. *Quint. Curt.* lib. 4.

[*A*] *Abdolonymus.*] Some call him Abdalonymus; Diodorus Siculus (1) calls him Ballonymus, and Plutarch (2) Alynomus.

(1) Lib. xvii.
(2) *De Fort. Alex.* p. 340.

[*B*] *Deſcended from King Cinyras.*] We learn this from Plutarch (3), who ſeems to differ from all the other writers, in making Abdolonymus, or, as he calls him Alynomus, to be promoted to the crown of Paphos, a city in the Iſland of Cyprus. This Iſland was formerly governed by a King named Cinyras, famous for the inceſtuous embrace of his daughter Myrrha (4). Ovid (5) feigns him to be the ſon of Pygmalion by his ſtatue, which Venus, at his intreaty, turned into a woman. Heſychius mentions a Cinyras ſon of Apollo and Pharnace, and King of Cyprus; Κινύρας, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Φαρνακῆς παῖς, Βασιλεὺς Κύπρου. Strabo (6) mentions a Cinyras who kept his court at Byblus; ἦ μὲν ἐν Βύβλος τὸ τῦ Κινύρα Βασίλειον. Diodorus Siculus (7) makes Ballonymus to be advanced to the Kingdom of Tyre. It is very poſſible, that the Iſland of Cyprus and Phœnicia might be under the government of the ſame King, which being ſuppoſed, our different Cinyras's might be but one. But if the Cyprian and Phœnician Cinyras's were different, it was eaſy for Plutarch to miſtake the one for the other, and remembring that Alynomus was deſcended from Cinyras, to ſay he was promoted to be King of Paphos or Cyprus, inſtead of Sidon or Phœnicia.

(3) Ibid.
(4) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. x.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Lib. xvi.
(7) Lib. xvii.

[*C*] *Alexander ... enquired whether any one of the race of Cinyras was living.*] Juſtin differs from the reſt in this particular, and tells us, that Alexander overlooked thoſe of high deſcent, having a mind the King ſhould think he owed his kingdom not to the greatneſs of his birth, but to the generoſity of his benefactor. *Quem Alexander, cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhauriendos, hortoſque irrigandos ſolitus eſſet, miſerè vitam exhibentem, regem fecerat, ſpretis nobilibus, ne generis id non dantis beneficium putarent* (8).

(8) Juſtin. lib. xi. cap. 10.

[*D*] *Abdolonymus was .... mentioned to Alexander.*] Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius inform us, that Alexander committed the placing of a King on the throne of Sidon to Hephæſtion, who offered it to a friend of his, a Sidonian. The young man declined this offer and recommended Abdolonymus, as being of the Royal Family.

[*E*] *Cowley has made ſome fine reflexions.*] His words are as follow:

"Bleſt be the man (and bleſt he is) whom e're
"(Plac'd far out of the roads of hope or fear)
"A little field, and little garden feeds;
"The field gives all that frugal nature needs;
"The wealthy garden lib'rally beſtows
"All ſhe can ask when ſhe luxurious grows.
"The ſpecious inconveniences that wait
"Upon a life of buſineſs and of ſtate,

(c) Edit. in folio, 1672, p. 113.

of Abdolonymus (c): but he ſeems to be miſtaken, in ſuppoſing he liv'd in an agreeable retirement, cultivating a garden of his own [F], which he unwillingly exchang'd for a crown.

" He ſees (nor does the ſight diſturb his reſt)
" By fools deſir'd, by wicked men poſſeſt.
" Thus, thus (and this deſerv'd great Virgil's praiſe)
" The old Corycian yeoman paſt his days,
" Thus his wiſe life Abdolonimus ſpent:
" Th' Ambaſſadors which the great Emp'ror ſent
" To offer him a crown, with wonder found
" The rev'rend gard'ner howing of his ground.
" Unwillingly ſlow and diſcontent,
" From his lov'd cottage, to a throne he went.
" And oft he ſtopt, in his triumphant way,
" And oft lookt back, and oft was heard to ſay,
" Not without ſighs, alas I there forſake
" A happier kingdom than I go to take.

[F] *Cultivating a garden of his own.*] Diodorus Siculus (9) ſays he liv'd in extreme poverty, πένητα καθ' ὑπερβολήν; and that he was at work in a garden, drawing water for hire; κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἔν τινι κήπῳ μισθῷ μὴν ἀντλοῦντα. Quintus Curtius ſays (10), he work'd in a garden, for ſmall wages, and was found picking out the weeds; *ob inopiam ſuburbanum hortum exigua colentem ſtipe . . . . quem ſteriles herbas eligens Abdolonymus repurgabat.* Plutarch ſays (11), he was poor, ſupported by others, and was found in a garden, watering the beds; πένητα καὶ ἄδοξον ἄνθρωπον ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ παρημελημένῳ διατριφόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον οἱ πεμφθέντες ἦκον, εὑρέθη δὲ πρασιαῖς ὕδωρ ἐπάντλων. Juſtin ſays (12), he lived miſerably, and worked in drawing water for gardens.

(9) Lib. xvii.

(10) Lib. iv.

(11) *De Fortuna Alex.* pag. 340.

(12) Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

☞ABDON is, according to ſeveral authors, the name of that Man of God or Prophet, who went to Bethel to reprove Jeroboam, for offering incenſe to the Calves he had ſet up at that place. The Prophet *cried againſt the Altar, and ſaid, O Altar, Altar, thus ſaith the Lord; behold a child ſhall be born unto the houſe of David, Joſiah by name, and upon thee ſhall he offer the Prieſts of the high places that burn incenſe upon thee, and men's bones ſhall be burnt upon thee* (a) [A]. This prophecy exaſperated the King to ſuch a degree, that he ſtretched out his hand againſt the Prophet, and ordered him to be ſeiz'd; but he was ſoon puniſhed for his raſhneſs; *his hand dried up ſo that he could not pull it in again to him* (b); and in the mean time there happened another miracle, which the Man of God had foretold to confirm the truth of his prophecy [B]; *the Altar was rent, and the aſhes poured out from the Altar* (c). Jeroboam aſtoniſhed at this, altered his mind, appeas'd his anger, and deſired the Prophet to pray for him, that his hand might be reſtored. The King's requeſt was granted, his hand was healed as he had deſired. Upon this he invited the Prophet to his palace, to refreſh himſelf, and offered to give him a reward. But the Man of God would not accept the King's invitation, and refuſed to receive any preſent from him; and he ſaid, the Lord ordered him *not to eat bread, nor to drink water*, in that place; *nor to return home by the ſame way that he came* (d); *ſo he went another way.* There was an old Prophet, who happened at that time to live at Bethel, and having been told by his ſons what the Man of God had done that day, he went after him, and finding him ſitting under an oak, he invited him to come to his houſe to eat a bit of bread: Abdon refuſed it, becauſe God had ſtrictly forbidden him to return to Bethel, or to eat or drink any thing there. But the other making freſh inſtances, ſaid he was alſo a Prophet, and that an Angel had ſpoken to him, and commanded him in the word of the Lord to bring Abdon home with him, that he might take ſome refreſhment (e), *but he lied unto him.* Abdon not ſuſpecting the fraud, and being tired with his journey, was prevailed upon to go to the Prophet's houſe, where he did eat bread and drank water; but whilſt *they ſat at the table the word of the Lord came unto the Prophet that brought him back, who cried to him, thus ſaith the Lord, Foraſmuch as thou haſt diſobeyed the mouth of the Lord, and haſt not kept the commandment which the Lord thy God commanded thee,—thy carcaſe ſhall not come unto the ſepulchre* [C] *of thy Fathers* (f). Accordingly when Abdon was gone away upon an aſs,

(a) 1 *Kings*, xiii. 2.

(b) Ibid. ver. 4.

(c) Ibid. ver. 5.

(d) Ibid. ver. 9.

(e) Ibid. ver. 8.

(f) Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

[A] *Burnt upon thee.*] This is one of the plaineſt prophecies, that is in the whole Bible. The King, who was to perform the thing foretold, is expreſly named, and the fact (1) is related with the clearneſs of hiſtory, without being hid under any allegory or metaphorical way of ſpeaking, though it was not to be fulfilled till above three hundred and fifty years after (2). It is true *the Books of Kings* were written after the captivity of Babylon; this the learned are agreed in (3), and unbelievers might ſuſpect that the prophecies were written after the event; but it muſt be obſerved, that the materials of theſe books were taken from ancient records, written long before the captivity, as appears from ſeveral paſſages, and eſpecially by what is ſaid 1 Kings viii. 8, that the Ark *was unto this day* in the place, where Solomon ordered it to be plac'd: this could not be ſaid but by an author, who lived before the temple was deſtroyed. See alſo ch. ix. 21. and xii. 19. Some writers pretend, that Jeremiah is the author of the books of Kings; others think they were written by Ezra; but all this, ſays Mr. le Clerc (4), is mere conjecture, which has no ſolid foundation.

(1) See 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 15.

(2) Clericus, in 1 *Reg.* xiii. 2.

(3) Id. *Diſſert. de Auctor. Lib. Hiſtor.* ſect. 6.

(4) Loc. cit.

[B] *To confirm the truth of his prophecy.*] To foretell an event long before it happens, is undoubtedly a very good proof that a man is ſent by God; but then it can be a proof only when the thing foretold is come to paſs. In the caſe before us, the prediction of Abdon could be no argument to Jeroboam of his being divinely inſpired, becauſe the prophecy could not then be compared with the event, which was to happen three hundred and fifty years after. Therefore it was proper this prophecy ſhould be confirmed by a miracle, that no body might doubt of the truth of it. God indeed had forewarned the Iſraelites, not to hearken to every Prophet, though he ſhould work miracles (5); but then it was only with regard to ſuch Prophets as ſhould endeavour to intice them to idolatry; whereas Abdon would diſſuade them from ſerving the falſe Gods, and bring them back to the worſhip of the Lord; the miracle therefore which attended his prophecy, was an unqueſtionable argument, that the prophecy would really be accompliſhed.

(5) *Deuter.* xiii. 1, 2, &c.

[C] *Unto the ſepulchre of thy Fathers.*] Every family uſed anciently to have their own burying place, which was often within the houſe; as appears with regard to the Greeks, by theſe words of Plato (6). Οἱ δὲ ἔξω ἐκείνων πρότεροι τὸν ἐθαπτον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ποιοῦμεν. *The ancient* (Greeks) *buried the dead in their houſes, but we do not do the ſame.* And with regard to the Romans, Servius (7) ſays, *Apud majores omnes in domibus ſepeliebantur, unde ortum eſt ut Lares colerentur in domibus.* i. e. " In the time of our fore-fathers the " dead were buried within the houſe, whence it came

(6) *In Minoe.*

(7) Ad ſextum Æneid. v. 152.

aſs the Prophet had lent him, *a lion met him by* … *was caſt in the way, and the aſs and lion ſtood b*… ing heard of this, went to take the corps, and … his ſons, that when he died, they ſhould put h… ſaid he, *The ſayings which he cried by the word* … *againſt all the houſes of the high places, which are* … *to paſs* (g). The Scriptures mention ſome othe… *Locis Hebr.*

" that the *Lares* or Family-Gods were worſhipp'd at " home." To this purpoſe every family had its ſepulchre, in which no ſtranger was permitted to be buried. Ἔθαψε τούτους, ſays Demoſthenes (8), εἰς τὰ πατρῷα μνήματα ὧν ὅσοι πέρ εἰσι τοῦ γένους κοινωνοῦσι. That is, *He buried them in the family-ſepulchre, which belongs to all that are of the ſame family*: nor were ſtrangers permitted to be buried in thoſe ſepulchres, τὶς ἂν ἐφῖ, ὅστις εἰς τὰ πατρῷα μνήματα τοὺς μηδὲν ἐν γένει τεθέντας ἐάσαι (9); *who would permit that a ſtranger be buried in his family-ſepulchre?* It ſeems that the love of the children for their parents induced them at firſt to keep their dead bodies (uſually embalm'd) at home, the ſame fondneſs made them deſire to be buried near thoſe to whom they ow'd their birth; and it was looked upon as a great misfortune, nay as very diſhonourable, to be buried in a ſtrange place: therefore if any perſon happened to die abroad, his corps was anointed with honey, or waxed over, that it might not corrupt till it could be brought home (10). Since therefore the Jews did alſo think it a great misfortune not to be buried in their anceſtors ſepulchre, God, to keep them in awe, uſed to threaten them, that if they diſobeyed him, they ſhould not be laid in the ſepulchre of their fathers. But in the caſe of Abdon, this threatning implied a heavier puniſhment, as appeared by the event, namely, that the Prophet ſhould be killed before he was come to the place of his abode (11).

(8) *In Eubol.* n. 38.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) See *Roſini Antiq. Rom.* lib. 5. c. 39. p. 448.

(11) Cler. in 1 *Reg.* 13. 22.

[*D*] *A lion——ſlew him.*] It may appear very ſtrange that Abdon ſhould be thus ſuddenly and ſeverely puniſhed, for a crime he committed, it ſeems, out of ignorance, and to which he was inticed by the artful lye of another Prophet, and that the Scripture ſhould not ſo much as hint, that the liar ſhould be puniſhed for his impoſture. Abdon out of a ſenſe of his duty to God could not be prevailed upon to enter the King's palace, nor to receive any thing from him; but when a Prophet like himſelf, entreated him to take ſome refreſhment, and did it in the name of the Lord, it ſeems Abdon might think God was ſatisfied with his readineſs to obey, and would not require of him a greater ſelf-denial; it may ſeem at leaſt that his crime was not very odious. But the Prophet that tempted Abdon, pretending the Lord had ſent an Angel to him, who commanded him to bring Abdon back to Bethel, was guilty of a double crime; the enſnaring of his Brother-Prophet, and employing the holy name of God to give credit to a lie. But we muſt not paſs a raſh judgment, eſpecially when the queſtion is about the ways of the Almighty. Abdon could not but know what ſtrict orders he had received from God; and he was not to depart from them, without a revelation full as clear as the firſt; the bare word of another Prophet was not ſufficient to excuſe his diſobedience; he ſhould have ſuſpected, that the idolatrous Prieſt

ABEL, ſecond ſon of Adam and Eve, wa… the firſtlings of his flock, at the ſame time that … God was pleaſed with Abel's oblation, but diſſa… latter, that *he roſe up againſt his brother, and k*… Moſes relates of him (*a*); but were we to take … rioſity has given birth to on this occaſion, the … this is not our deſign; nor ſhall we venture ou… at the time he was killed. 'Tis impoſſible to … we don't know how long the ſtate of innocenc…

[*A*] *How long the ſtate of innocence laſted.*] Authors differ very much on this head. Some think Adam ſinn'd the very day he was created, and did not continue in paradiſe above ſix, ſeven, or ten hours (1); others affirm he was ſix, eight, or ten days there, and others thirty four years. Moſt of theſe ground their conjectures, on the relation or

(1) Pererius in *Geneſim*, lib. 6. Quæſt. 1.

ion met him by the way and ſlew him [D], *and his carcaſe nd lion ſtood by the carcaſe* [E]. The old Prophet hav-ıe corps, and buried it in his own grave, and ordered ſhould put his bones beſide thoſe of Abdon, becauſe, *l by the word of the Lord againſt the altar in Bethel, and ces, which are in the cities of Samaria, ſhall ſurely come* ion ſome other perſons called Abdon [F]. Hieron. *de* (g) Ibid. ver. 32.

worſhipp'd at y had its ſe-nitted to be ies (8), εἰς τὰ εἰς κοινωνοῦσι. *lchre, which* ; nor were e ſepulchres, τοῦς μηδὲν ἐν *rmit that a* ? It ſeems ents induced (uſually em-them deſire ow'd their t misfortune, in a ſtrange o die abroad, waxed over, be brought id alſo think n their anceſ-we, uſed to , they ſhould ners. But in led a heavier namely, that vas come to

appear very denly and ſe-ted, it ſeems, as inticed by hat the Scrip-he liar ſhould out of a ſenſe iled upon to ny thing from entreated him e name of the d was ſatisfied ot require of leaſt that his Prophet that d ſent an An-g Abdon back the enſnaring he holy name uſt not paſs a tion is about not but know m God; and t a revelation rd of another diſobedience; latrous Prieſt

might have bribed a man to inſnare him, and to make him act againſt what he himſelf had told the King, to the end that the people, looking upon him as a falſe Prophet, ſhould not be affected by his reproof, and might perſevere in their idolatry. If we conſider Abdon's crime in this view, it will appear of a very dangerous conſequence, being capable to render ineffectual the meſſage which he delivered to Jeroboam in the name of the Lord. As to the Prophet who deceived Abdon, we are not to ſuppoſe that he eſcaped unpuniſhed, though the Scripture is ſilent about it: the ſacred hiſtorians often relate the moſt evil actions of men, without any mark of diſlike, or cenſure; but it does not follow from thence that they approve thoſe actions, or propoſe them as an example to be imitated by us. We may obſerve, by the way, that ſome Prophets, though inſpired by God to foretell future events, were not always very honeſt men, as appears particularly by what our Saviour ſays, ſpeaking of the laſt day, *Many will ſay to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not* propheſied *in thy name? and in thy name have caſt out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profeſs unto them, I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity* (12).

(12) *Matt.* vii. 22, 23.

[E] *The aſs and lion ſtood by the carcaſe.*] One would think it ſtrange, that ſuch a fierce animal as a lion is, ſhould ſtand quietly by the aſs and the dead corps, without devouring them; but as Mr. Le Clerc obſerves upon this paſſage, it appears by this, that the lion was ſent providentially by God himſelf, to puniſh the Prophet, that every body might know, his untimely death did not happen by chance, but was occaſioned by the crime he committed in diſobeying God's command.

[F] *Some other perſons call'd Abdon.*] We find in the Scripture three other perſons of that name. The firſt is Abdon the ſon of Hillel, a Pirathonite, who ſucceeded Elon, and judged Iſrael eight years (13). In his time, as Joſephus tells us (14), the Jews enjoyed ſuch a happy peace, that Abdon had no opportunity to acquire a reputation by warlike expeditions. The only thing that rendered him famous, was his having forty ſons and thirty grandſons, that rode on threeſcore and ten aſs-colts. He died, according to Joſephus (15), in a good old age, and was buried in a very magnificent manner at Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites (16). The ſecond Abdon mentioned in the Scripture was the ſon of Jehiel and Maachah (17); but that is all we know of him. The third Abdon was the ſon of Micah; he was ſent by Joſiah with four other perſons to Haldah the Propheteſs to ask her advice about the book of the law, that had lately been found in the temple (14).

(13) *Judges* xii. 12, 13, 14.
(14) *Ant.* lib. 5. c. 7.
(15) Ibid.
(16) *Judg.* xii. 15.
(17) 1 *Chron.* viii. 29. & ix. 36.
(18) 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 20.

and Eve, was a ſhepherd. He offered to God ſome of ame time that his brother Cain offered fruits of the earth. tion, but diſſatisfied with Cain's, which ſo exaſperated the *brother, and killed him.* Theſe are the only circumſtances ere we to take notice of the ſeveral particulars which cu-occaſion, they would run to a very great length. But ve venture our own conjectures, with regard to Abel's age impoſſible to come to any certainty on this head, ſince e of innocence laſted [A]; how much Abel was younger than

(a) *Gen.* iv.

laſted.] Au-Some think ated, and did ſeven, or ten eight, or ten rs. Moſt of e relation or

ſimilitude they ſuppoſe between Adam and Chriſt: as for inſtance, ſuch as ſay Adam was forty days, or thirty four years, in the terreſtrial paradiſe; ſuppoſe this to be a type of the forty days Chriſt continued without ſuſtenance, or the thirty four years he lived upon earth (2). 'Twere needleſs to inform perſons of ſenſe, that ſuch kind of reaſons are no proof. Pretty

(2) Cornel. à Lapide *in Geneſim*, cap. 3. ver. 23.

about religion; and others that they quarrelled [*E*] about a woman [*F*]. Authors are as much divided on the manner in which this horrid murther was committed [*G*], but don't differ so much, as to the manner, whereby they knew God preferred Abel's sacrifice. The most general opinion is, that fire came down from heaven on Abel's victim [*H*], and that nothing of this kind fell on Cain's offering. But as men are but too fond of starting a numberless multitude of hypotheses, purely to shew the marvellous in every thing, some affirm (*b*), that the figure of a lion appeared in the midst of the fire, which fell on Abel's sacrifice; and this, they tell us, was a type of the lion of the tribe of Judah, whose coming had been promised. I have collected in the Remarks a pretty

(*b*) *Apud Salianum*, tom. 1. p. 190. & *apud Bisselium, Ruinar. Illustr.* decade 1. p. 221, 273.

Priest and a Martyr; for which three qualities, it has been said that the church began in him. These fine qualities are ascribed to him by another author (21). But were Eutychius's tradition, which we shall relate hereafter, true, it would then be certain, that Abel never knew woman, since that tradition declares, that he died before the marriage of the two brothers.

(21) *Autor. Mirab. Sacræ Script. apud August.* tom. 3. lib. 1. cap. 3. *citante Saliano, Annalium.* tom. 1. p. 184.

[*E*] *His anger arose from a dispute about religion.*] 'Tis related in the *Targum* of Jerusalem, that Cain and Abel being together in the fields, the former maintained there would be no judgment, no judge, no eternal life, no reward for the good, nor punishment for the wicked; and that the world was neither created, nor governed, by God's mercy; *Since*, says he to his brother, *your offering was accepted, and mine was not.* Abel answered him in his own words, except that he said yes for the other's no: and as to Cain's principal grievance, he replied, that his offering was grateful and his brother's was not so, because his works were better than those of Cain. The dispute growing warmer, Cain fell upon his brother and slew him (22). This was a fatal beginning of religious disputes, and a melancholy omen of the dreadful calamities they would afterwards occasion. It is likewise an instance of man's ridiculous vanity, who is always most inclined to doubt a Providence, when matters don't succeed to his wishes, but do they favour him, his doubts vanish; the reason of which is, he imagines himself so considerable in the scale of Beings, that an equitable and judicious dispenser of blessings and evils cannot contemn him. *Estis io superi, ait Statius, cum convaluisset à periculoso morbo, vir eximiæ probitatis Rutilius Gallicus. At contra, ubi quid contigerat contra quam æquum esse censerent, Deos aut nullos esse, aut crudeles, aut injustos esse dicebant..... Itaque in morte Tibulli Ovidius,*

Cum rapiant mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso,
Sollicitor nullos esse putare Deos.

That is,

" Statius cried, after Rutilius Gallicus, a man of
" distinguished probity, was recovered from a dan-
" gerous sickness, there certainly are Gods. But on
" the contrary, when any thing befel them which
" they thought unjust, they would say, there were
" no Gods; or they were unjust and cruel..... Thus
" Ovid on the death of Tibullus.
" Pardon—but when the good are snatch'd from
" earth,
" I'm tempted to conclude, there are no Gods.

(22) *Paraph. Hierosolym. apud Fagium, citante Saliano*, tom. 1. p. 188. See the several rhetorical flourishes of John Bisselius, a German Jesuit, on this subject. *Illustr. Ruinar.* decad. 1. p. 228 & seq.

Thus says one of the most celebrated orators of the sixteenth Century (23).

(23) Muretus, Orat. 3. vol. 2.

[*F*] *They quarrell'd about a woman.*] Eutychius Patriarch of Alexandria, relates in his Annals (24), that Eve brought forth a daughter called Azrun, with Cain; and Owain, another daughter, at the same birth with Abel. That the time for marrying the two sons being come, Adam designed Owain for Cain, and Azrun for Abel; but Cain insisting he would marry his twin-sister, she being the handsomest, his father used him ill. Eutychius adds, that while the two brothers were going to present their offerings on a mountain by Adam's command, who would oblige them to perform this religious act before their marriage, declaring that the success of their sacrifice shou'd determine their dispute, Satan secretly prompted Cain to kill Abel, for the love of Azrun; and as this made his oblation unacceptable to God, it so exasperated Cain against his brother, that the moment they were come down from the mountain he flung a stone at Abel's head, which killed him. The beautiful Azrun, whom Cain married after this murther (25), and carried with him into banishment, was therefore the cause of his guilt. She indeed was the innocent cause of it; however, this verifies what a Latin Poet has observed, with regard to the antiquity of the wars raised upon the account of women;

(24) Eutychii *Annales*. I follow Pocock's translation. The Printer of *Historia Patriarch. Heidegg.* tom. 1. p. 192, writes *Præcipius.*

(25) Eutychius. Vide Hottinger. *Historiam Orient.* p. 27.

Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa.

That is,

" For long e'er Helen's time a thousand dy'd,
" Ten thousand fought to get a beauteous bride.
Creech.

(26) *Horat.* Satyr. 3. lib. 1. v. 107.

The Archonticks (27) and Cabbalists (28) agree with this tradition of Eutychius. Father Mersenne says in his Commentary on Genesis, p. 1415 and 1431, that some Rabbis relate, Abel had two twin-sisters, and that Cain would marry both, which, they say, occasioned the contest; at this rate a fondness for Polygamy must have been very antient. To conclude, according to the *Targum* and this Alexandrian Patriarch, Abel was killed a little after God had approv'd his sacrifice. This chronology is infinitely more probable than the vulgar, according to which Cain killed his brother thirty years after they had made their offerings.

(27) Heretics mention'd by St. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XL.

(28) In Heidegger *Historia Orient.* p. 191. See also Selden *de Jure Nat. & Gent.* lib. 3. cap. 2. who cites Rabbi Eliezer, *in Pirke*, cap. 21.

[*G*] *The manner in which this horrid murther was committed.*] We before observed, that some declare it was with a stone. Others, that Cain tore Abel to pieces with his teeth, *Hebræorum nonnulli tradunt eum fuisse morsibus à Cain dilaceratum* (29). Others, that he fell'd him with the jaw-bone of an ass, and thus Painters have represented this catastrophe. Others, that he murthered him with a pitchfork. St. Chrysostom declares 'twas a sword; St. Irenæus a scythe, and Prudentius a kind of hedging bill.

(29) Perer. *in Genes.* lib. 7. ad ver. 8 & 9. cap. 4.

Frater probatæ sanctitatis æmulus
Germana curvo colla frangit sarculo (30).

Thus English'd,

" Envious of sanctity approv'd, a brother,
" His brother murthers with a crooked bill.

(30) Prudent. *in Hamartig.* præf. 15.

See Salian's *Annals*, vol. 1. p. 189. and Bisselius p. 234 and 257, vol. 1. of *Illustrium ruinarum. However 'tis certain*, says a writer (31), *Abel was neither drowned nor strangled, since the Scripture says, his blood was spilt.* Some think, Abel at first defended himself bravely, and got the better of his brother; that he threw him, and did not hurt him, but that Cain rose up and killed him. Father Mersenne relates this chimera in the 1431st page of his *Commentary on Genesis.*

(31) Perer. *in Genes.* cap. 4. v. 8, 9.

[*H*] *That fire came from heaven.*] St. Jerom relates this tradition (32), and confirms it from Theodotion, who follows it in his version of the Scriptures. *Nisi illa interpretatio vera esset, quam Theodotion posuit, & inflammavit Dominus super Abel, & super sacrificium ejus; supra Cain verò & sacrificium ejus non inflammavit* (33). i. e. " Unless Theo-
" dotion's interpretation were true; and God sent
" down fire on Abel and on his sacrifice; but not on
" Cain, nor on his sacrifice." Most Fathers of the church approve this version. What makes the supposition probable, is, that fire has often come down from heaven, to shew that a sacrifice was agreeable to the Almighty. This mark of the Divine approbation was exhibited at Aaron's consecration (34), and was also indulged at some of the sacrifices of Gideon, David, and Solomon, to whom some add Nehemiah (35). Cornelius à Lapide, tells us, that Calvin and Luther ridiculed this descent of the heavenly fire on Abel's victim, as being a Jewish fiction (36); but Heidegger quotes a passage from Luther, which evidently proves the contrary. *Etsi Moses illud signum, quo Deus ostendit sibi Abel munera grata esse, non ostendit; tamen veri-simile est fuisse ignem cælo demissum, quo oblatio hausta & consumpta in oculis omnium* (37). i. e. " Though
" Moses does not mention the sign, by which God disco-
" vered,

(32) Hieron. *Tradition. Hebraic.*

(33) Hieron. *Quæst. Hebraic.*

(34) *Levit.* ix.

(35) See chap. 6. of the *Book of Judges*, the *first Book of Kings*, chap. 18. the *first Book of Chronicles*, chap. 21. the *second Book of Chronicles*, chap. 7. the *second Book of the Maccabees*, chap. 1.

(36) Cornel. à Lapide *in Genes.* cap. 4. ver. 4. p. 97.

(37) Lutherus *ad Genes.* cap. 4. ver. 3. *apud Heideg. Hist. Patriarch.* tom. 1. p. 184.

pretty large number of different opinions, relating to Abel, moſt of theſe are falſities and errors; but as this Dictionary was compiled chiefly in that view, the reader muſt not form a judgment on this rhapſody, without calling to mind that circumſtance. This is mentioned once for all.

" vered, that he approved of Abel's ſacrifice; it is " yet probable, it was fire from heaven which con- " ſumed the offering before the people." A multitude of Proteſtant Divines have given into this opinion (38), and ſome of them confirm it from a paſſage of the *Pſalms* (39), which Clement Marot tranſlates as follows.

De tes offertes & ſervices
Se veuille ſouvenir
Et faire tous tes ſacrifices
En cendre devenir.

That is,

" May the Almighty
" Thy offerings and thy ſervices remember,
" And bid his fire thy ſacrifice conſume.

The heathens boaſted their being favoured in ſome places with theſe extraordinary marks of the celeſtial approbation, as we ſhall ſhew in the article EGNATIA. 'Tis well known the Devil apes the true God.

(38) See Seldeni *Otia Theol.* p. 337.
(39) 'Tis the 20th.

☞ABEL the ſon of Adam. Mr. Bayle ſuppoſes, with moſt Commentators, that God ſent a fire from heaven to manifeſt his acceptance of Abel's offering; but a very learned and judicious Divine was of another opinion. It's true, *ſays he* (*a*), that there are in the ſacred hiſtory ſeveral inſtances of ſacrifices burnt by a miraculous fire, but when that happened, the Scripture mentions it in expreſs terms; whereas in the inſtance before us, there is no mention made of any ſuch fire, and we are not to ſuppoſe miracles where there is no occaſion for them. We may alſo think that Cain, impious as he was, would not much care whether his offering was conſumed by fire or not; it is therefore proper to look for another token of God's approbation and regard, a token capable of affecting Cain's heart and provoking his reſentment. Moſes indeed ſpeaks of God's regard to Abel's offering, and of his diſregard to that of Cain, immediately after he has related, that they offered; but it muſt not be infer'd from thence, that the marks of approbation inſtantly followed their offerings; it is very probable that in time only [*A*] they came to know, Abel that he was regarded, Cain that he was not. Abel proſpered, his flock increaſed; Cain on the contrary did not proſper, the earth did not yield him a plentiful harveſt; theſe were the means by which God manifeſted his approbation of Abel's offering, and his diſregard for that of Cain; this it was that imbitter'd the covetous Cain againſt his brother; ſeeing him bleſſed in a particular manner, far beyond what he was himſelf, he reſolved at laſt to kill him. According to this hypotheſis, it is eaſy to underſtand, why God *had a reſpect* for the offering of Abel, and not for that of Cain, viz. becauſe Abel was virtuous and made his offering with a ſenſe of religion [*B*], according to what is ſaid of him, that *through faith he offered unto God a more excellent ſacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witneſs that he was righteous* (*b*); whereas Cain being vicious, the ceremonial part of his religion could not be acceptable to God (*c*). It is ſaid in the Scripture that *Abel brought of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof* (*d*). Commentators are not agreed about the meaning of theſe words. Some think that Abel killed and made a burnt-offering of the firſtlings of his flock. Others maintain that he only offered milk or cream; we ſhall inſert in the notes the grounds and reaſons of both theſe opinions [*C*]. It is remarkable

(*a*) This is taken from a manuſcript, written by a late Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Leyden in Holland.
(*b*) *Heb.* xi. 4.
(*c*) All this is from the ſame manuſcript.
(*d*) *Gen.* iv. 4.

[*A*] *That in time only they came to know, &c.*] There is no reaſon to believe that Abel was killed the very firſt year he poſſeſſed a flock of his own; the manner in which this hiſtory is related hints to us, that Abel and Cain lived ſeveral years, the firſt a ſhepherd, the other a husband-man; and we may ſuppoſe, without ſtraining the text, that the firſt time they reaped any profit from their employment, they offered the fruits of it to God, and that they continued to do it for ſeveral years together. Abel ſays, the ſacred *Writer was a keeper of ſheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground, and* in proceſs of time *it came to paſs, &c.* Theſe words *in proceſs of time*, in Hebrew מקץ ימים [*mikketz jamim*] ſignify ſometimes *after ſeveral or ſome years*, as may be ſeen in Deuteronomy ch. xiv. verſ. 28. *at the end of three years*, where the word *three* determines the number of years; but no number being put in the place before us, it may be rendered, as it is in our tranſlation, *in proceſs of time*, or, *after ſome years*.

(1) *Antiq.* lib. 1. c. 2. Havere.

[*B*] *With a ſenſe of religion.*] This is hinted by Joſephus (1), "Αβελος δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖτο, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις πάρειναι τὸν Θεὸν νομίζων ἀρετῆς προενόει. That is, " Abel was righteous, and " being perſuaded that God was preſent to all his ac- " tions, he ſtudied to practiſe virtue." But the Jewiſh hiſtorian gives another reaſon why God was better pleaſed with Abel's oblation than with that of Cain, viz. that God is honoured with what grows naturally and in a ſpontaneous manner, and not with what the covetouſneſs of men forces the earth to produce. Θεὸς τοῖς αὐτομάτοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γιγνομένοις τιμώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου κατὰ βίαν πεφυκόσιν (2). This is no good reaſon, for ſince the earth had been curſed, and man was doom'd to till the ground, how could God, a good and benevolent Being, be diſpleaſed at Cain's oblation, who offered the firſt-fruits of his labour, and as it were the very ſweat of his brows?

(2) *Joſeph.* ibid.

[*C*] *The grounds and reaſons of both theſe opinions.*] Thoſe, who maintain the firſt opinion, ſay, firſt that God himſelf inſtituted ſacrifices at firſt; he entered into a covenant with Adam immediately after the fall, and promiſed him a Redeemer; now all covenants were ratified by burnt offerings. Secondly, In thoſe times men were clothed with skins; this God himſelf taught them (3), and there is no reaſon to believe, that they uſed the skins of ſuch animals only as died a natural death, or that they killed them on purpoſe to have their skin; and as they did not eat then the fleſh of any living creature, it follows that they offered them up a ſacrifice or burnt-offering, and kept the skin for their clothing. It is objected againſt this opinion, that the flocks being at that time very ſmall, it is not to be ſuppoſed God would require of men to leſſen them, by offering part of them; but it appears that all ſorts of animals had already had time enough to multiply, ſince Abel and Cain were pretty much advanced in years, when they made their firſt offering. The Jewiſh Rabbis are of opinion that theſe offerings were burnt offerings; they pretend theſe were the only ſacrifices in uſe before the law of Moſes, that they were permitted to every private perſon, and that the Jews allowed the heathens to offer them in the temple of Jeruſalem. But ſeveral authors, and among them the celebrated Grotius, are of another

(3) *Gen.* iii. 21.

remarkable that the Greek churches, who celebrate the feaſt of every Patriarch and Prophet, have not done the ſame honour to Abel; his name is not to be found in any catalogue of Saints or Martyrs before the tenth Century, nor even in the new Roman Martyrology. However he is prayed to, with ſome other Saints in ſeveral Roman Litanies, which are ſaid for perſons that lye at the point of death.

opinion; they maintain, that Abel's offering was only of the milk of his flock, or of cream. They obſerve, that nothing was offered to God but what ſerved for food to men; and as men did not feed upon fleſh before the flood, ſo they did not ſacrifice any living creature; and to ſupport what we mentioned before, viz. That cattle was not very numerous in the firſt world, they quote theſe ancient laws of Triptolemus, Ζῶα μὴ σίτεσθαι, *Animals muſt not be hurt*, Θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, *The Gods muſt be honoured with fruit offerings* (4). Draco made afterwards the ſame law, as may be ſeen in the author quoted in the margin (5). It was a capital crime amongſt Athenians and Lacedæmonians to kill a bull (6). But all theſe quotations are to no purpoſe, becauſe the queſtion is about the number of animals before and not after the flood; though we muſt confeſs the firſt reaſon is very ſtrong, if it be certain that men did not then feed upon fleſh. It is ſaid in our tranſlation that *Abel brought of the* firſtlings *of his flock and of the* fat *thereof*. Grotius and Mr. Le Clerc obſerve, that by the *firſtlings* is meant the beſt, and that the word בכור [*behor*] often ſignifies any thing that excels in its kind. They further obſerve that the word חלב [*khalab*], which is rendered *fat*, ſignifies alſo *milk*, or the *fat of milk*, that is, *cream*, and that is often thus tranſlated by the Septuagint, and eſpecially in Gen. xviii. 8. where our Engliſh tranſlation has alſo *milk*. Laſtly, Mr. Le Clerc obſerves, that the ancient Egyptians offered milk to their Gods, and he quotes Diodorus Siculus, who ſays (7), that the inhabitants of the Iſle Meroe, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιας χοὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γάλακτος ἐπλήρουν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὰ τῶν Θεῶν ὀνόματα, "uſed to "fill every day three hundred and ſixty veſſels with "milk, calling upon the names of the Gods. Thus we have laid before the reader the reaſons on both ſides; but on which ſide the truth is, we ſhall not determine; and by what we have ſaid, it will perhaps be thought, that neither of the opinions, we have mentioned, can be proved to the ſatisfaction of an impartial judge.

(4) Clericus *in Gen.* cap. iv. 4.
(5) Porphyr. *de Abſtin.* lib. 4. ſect. 22.
(6) Varro *de Re Ruſt.* lib. 2 cap. 5. See alſo Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 5. c. 14.
(7) Lib. 1. p. 19.

The queſtion concerning the original of ſacrifices, and whether they were of Divine or human inſtitution, with ſeveral other points, which are connected with it, has been the ſubject of various diſputes amongſt Chriſtians. The moſt eminent writers of the Arminians maintain, that as the religion of nature, or that ſyſtem of duties, which reſults from our ſeveral relations in the world, was the primitive religion; ſo all the external acts of worſhip, and particularly ſacrifices, were only expreſſions of that reverence, which the light of nature ſhews to be due to the Deity. They attempt to evince this from the caſe of Abel, who by faith alone, without any poſitive precept of God, that is, by the dictates of reaſon only, diſcovered that God was to be worſhipp'd with the moſt valuable of our poſſeſſions; and in conſequence of that principle, *brought the firſtlings of his flocks, and the fat thereof*. Whereas Cain only offered the meaneſt of the fruits of the earth, and therefore his offering was rejected by God as unworthy of him, who deſerves a ſupreme regard from his creatures, and ought to be worſhipp'd with the nobleſt of their poſſeſſions.

And in order to prove further their opinion, that the primitive religion was the religion of nature, they obſerve that the manner, in which God addreſſes himſelf to Cain, ſhews that he did not give him a new law upon that occaſion, but only directed him to attend to the dictates of his reaſon, which would prompt him to reſtrain the exorbitance of his paſſion, and calm his reſentments againſt his brother. *If thou doſt well*, ſays God, *ſhalt thou not be accepted?* that is, feel the ſatisfaction, which ariſes from the conſciouſneſs of having acted virtuouſly. *And if thou doſt not well, ſin lieth at thy door*; that is, the puniſhment of ſin, the remorſe and terror of a guilty conſcience. As if he had ſaid; Thy own reaſon ſuggeſts this to thee in the moſt convincing manner. And with regard to the words, which immediately follow, and which our tranſlation renders thus; *And unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him*; the judicious Epiſcopius (8), who defends the ſcheme abovementioned, has given a quite different turn to them; his words are theſe. Quare ad te ſit appetitus (*ſic enim lego*) ejus, *peccati ſcilicet, id eſt, ſi remedium vis, cura ut peccatum ſub tuâ poteſtate ſit*; & domineris ei, *id eſt, fac ut ei domineris*. From this paſſage it appears, that by the words, which in our verſion are rendered *his deſire*, he underſtands *ſin*; and intimates that God commanded Cain to be very watchful, leſt ſin ſhould gain the aſcendant over him.

(8) *Inſtitut. Theologic.* lib. 1. cap. 8.

Philo (9) makes the defect of Cain's ſacrifice to conſiſt in two things. 1ſt, That he did not offer it ſoon enough, but μετ' ἡμέρας, *after certain days*; and 2dly, That he did not offer of the firſt fruits of the earth, as Abel did of the firſt fruits of his ſheep, but only of the fruits. But this opinion does not ſeem the leaſt favoured by that paſſage in the epiſtle to the Hebrews (10), where the caſe of Abel is mentioned; but we have a plain intimation there, that the thing which gave the preference to Abel's ſacrifice above that of Cain's was faith, that *faith which is the ſubſtance*, or firm expectation [ὑπόστασις], *of things hoped for* (11), or a perſuaſion, that God will reward the virtuous either in this or a future ſtate of being. And agreeable to this notion is what Mr. Bayle has quoted above (12), from the *Targum* of Jeruſalem, and what Jonathan B. Uziel upon the place tells us, that *Cain denied a future judgment, or rewards for the juſt; while Abel maintained that there would be a future recompence for the righteous.*

(9) *De Sacrif. Cain & Abel.* p. 107.
(10) c. xi. ver. 4.
(11) v. 1.
(12) Note [*A*].

ABELARD (Peter) in Latin Abælardus, one of the moſt famous Doctors of the twelfth Century, was born in the village of Palais [*A*], four leagues from Nantz in Britany; and having a very acute and penetrating genius, he made greater advances in Logic

[*A*] *He was born in the village of Palais.*] His father, after making a little progreſs in his ſtudies, embraced a military life, and took great care to have all his children well educated, particularly his eldeſt ſon. It is not well known whether this was Abelard, he ſpeaking of it in ſuch a manner as has occaſioned two different opinions. Theſe are his words: *Primogenitum ſuum quanto chariorem habebat, tanto diligentiùs erudire curavit. Ego verò, quanto ampliùs in ſtudio literarum profeci, tanto ardentiùs in eis inhæſi, & in tanto earum amore illectus ſum, ut militaris gloriæ pompam cum hæreditate & prærogativa primogenitorum meorum fratribus derelinquens, Martis curiæ penitus abdicarem ut Minervæ gremio educarer.* That is, "He had a great tenderneſs for his "eldeſt ſon, and therefore took the utmoſt care of "his education. As to my ſelf, the greater progreſs "I made in my ſtudies, the more pains I took, and "at laſt I lov'd them ſo much, that I left the glory "which is acquired in the field, and the patrimony, "and prerogatives (*primogenitorum meorum*) to my "brothers, purpoſely to devote my ſelf to the Muſes." Pâquier is perſuaded from theſe words, that he was the eldeſt (1), but others declare expreſly, he was a younger ſon. Natalis Alexander is of this opinion, *Militaris gloriæ pompam cum hæreditate primogenitis fratribus derelinquens.* That is, "Reſigning the glories of "the field, and my inheritance to my elder brothers", ſays he, (2) ſpeaking of Abelard; while others again make him the youngeſt of all (3). In my opinion, the laſt explication is not ſo good as the firſt. We are not to doubt but Abelard was ſirnamed Palatinus, from the Latin word Palatium, the name of his village. He was ſo well known by the name Peripateticus Palatinus, that John of Salisbury never calls him by any other (4). Some think he was called Palatinus, from a magnificent palace in which he read his lectures (5); but they are miſtaken.

(1) Pâquier, *Recherches de la France*, book 6. chap. 17.
(2) *Natal. Alexander, Sæcul.* XI & XII, part 3. p. 2.
(3) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* vol. 9. p. 108.
(4) See his *Policraticus*, p. 111. and his *Metalogicus*, p. 745, 802, 814, &c. edition of Leyden in 8°, printed 1639.
(5) Jac. Thomaſius, *in Vita Abælardi.* See the 13th citation hereunder.

Logic than in any other ſtudy. He travelled into ſeveral Provinces, purpoſely to exerciſe himſelf in that ſcience; diſputing wherever he came; darting his ſyllogiſms on all ſides; and ſeeking ſo eagerly to ſignalize himſelf in diſputation, that no knight-errant ever ſought more induſtriouſly for opportunities to break a lance in honour of the Ladies. Abelard made Paris the end of his excurſions, having met with a celebrated profeſſor of Philoſophy, William des Champeaux in that city (*a*). He was at firſt his favourite diſciple, but did not continue ſo long; for the Profeſſor had a prodigious hard taſk to anſwer his pupil's ſubtle objections, and therefore grew very uneaſy and began to hate him. This ſoon gave birth to factions. The oldeſt pupils ſeconded their maſter's averſion, merely out of envy to Abelard; but this only heightened the latter's preſumption; who tho' very young, thought himſelf compleatly qualified to inſtruct others. Upon this, he reſolved to fix on a place, where he might diſplay his talents to advantage; and for that purpoſe made Melun [*B*], where the French court then reſided, the ſcene of his inſtructions. Champeaux ſet every engine at work, to prevent the ſetting up of this ſchool; but as ſome perſons in great power were his enemies, this oppoſition was the chief cauſe of his rival's ſucceſs (*b*). The fame of our new logical profeſſor ſpread wonderfully, and eclipſed that of Champeaux, which puffed up Abelard ſo much, that he removed his ſchool to Corbeil, that he might perplex his enemy by frequent diſputations; but his intenſe application to his ſtudies threw him into an illneſs, which forced him to remove to his native air. He continued ſome years in Britany, and afterwards returned to Paris, where Champeaux, though he had reſigned his chair, and was entred among the Canons regular, yet taught among theſe. Abelard diſputed ſo ſtrongly with him on the nature of Univerſals, that he forced him to give up his opinion, the foundation of which was the ſame doctrine as Spinoza's, but unexplained [*C*]. This brought the Monk into ſuch contempt, and gained his adverſary ſo much applauſe, that Champeaux's logical lectures were wholly neglected; and the Profeſſor himſelf, in whoſe favour Champeaux had reſigned, deſired to be Abelard's pupil. The latter was no ſooner raiſed to this chair, but he became ſtill more obnoxious to envy; and the Canon-regular ordered matters ſo, that the Profeſſor, who had left the chair for Abelard, was diſcarded, upon pretence of his having committed crimes of a very obſcene nature, and an enemy to Abelard was appointed to ſucceed the former. Upon this Abelard left Paris, and went to Melun, intending to teach Logic there as before; however, he did not continue long in that city, for the inſtant he heard that Champeaux, and his whole community, were retired to a village, he went and poſted himſelf on mount St. Genevieve, and there raiſed his ſchool, like a kind of battery [*D*], againſt the Profeſſor who taught in Paris. Champeaux finding his creature thus

(*a*) Gvillelmus Campellenſis. He was Archdeacon of Paris.

(*b*) *Quoniam de potentibus terræ nonnullos ibidem habebat æmulos, fretus eorum auxilio voti mei compos extiti, & plurimorum mihi aſſenſum ipſius invidia manifeſta conquiſivit.* Abælardi Epiſt. p. 5.

[*B*] *Made choice of Melun .... for the ſcene of his inſtructions.*] I have collated Abelard's relation with Pâquier's epitome of it, and don't find the latter very accurate. The incidents which relate to Abelard, ſtand as follows in the epitome. Abelard ſettled at Corbeil, after his firſt leaving Paris, but returned to this city upon Champeaux's embracing a monaſtic life; he was forced to leave Paris a ſecond time, and then he withdrew to Melun, but upon hearing that Champeaux was going to reſide in his dioceſe of Chalons, he returned to Paris. Champeaux hearing Abelard was come again to that city, returned thither alſo, to traverſe Abelard's deſigns, who at laſt being forced to quit the field, went and ſtudied under Anſelm, a reader of Divinity Lectures in Paris. Abelard afterwards read the ſame kind of lectures, when a Canon deſiring him, *To give his niece an hour's inſtruction every day, he gladly accepted the propoſal, but after having taught her ſome time, Cupid inſinuated himſelf into their company.* There are ſeveral errors in this relation. Firſt, Abelard did not ſettle in Corbeil, till he had been in Melun. The ſecond time that he left Melun, Champeaux was retired to a village near Paris, and not to his dioceſe of Chalons, he being then only a Canon-regular. I am ſurpris'd that Pâquier did not conſider it was abſurd, to ſuppoſe a Biſhop would leave his dioceſe and go to Paris merely to diſpute with a teacher of Philoſophy there. 3dly, Abelard was not vanquiſhed on this occaſion, and left Paris for no other reaſon, but to viſit his mother, who was going to take the veil. 4thly, Anſelm taught Divinity in Laon, not in Paris. 5thly, The Canon did not ask Abelard to teach his niece, the latter deſiring the Canon (by a friend) to let him lodge in his houſe. 6thly, Abelard wanted to enjoy Heloiſe before he taught her. How juſtly may we ſuſpect a numberleſs multitude of books, ſince Pâquier commits ſo many miſtakes, when he might ſo eaſily have avoided them?

[*C*] *The ſame doctrine as Spinoza's, but unexplain'd.*] Let thoſe who underſtand what follows, judge whether 'tis ſo or not. *Erat in ea ſententia de communitate univerſalium; ut eamdem eſſentialiter rem totam ſimul ſingulis ſuis ineſſe aſtrueret individuis, quorum quidem nulla eſſet in eſſentia diverſitas, ſed ſola multitudine accidentium varietas* (6). That is, "Such was his opinion concerning the community "of Univerſals; that he aſſerted the ſame whole is "eſſentially inherent in its ſeveral individuals, of "which there is no diverſity as to eſſence, but only a "variety ariſing from the multitude of accidents." The Scotiſts *univerſale formale à parti rei*, or their *unitas formalis à parte rei*, are much the ſame with this opinion. Now I affirm, that Spinoziſm is only this tenet enlarged; for, according to Scotus's followers, univerſal natures are indiviſibly the ſame in each of their individuals; Peter's human nature is indiviſibly the ſame with that of Paul ... They ground their aſſertion on this, that the ſame attribute of man, which agrees with Peter, agrees alſo with Paul, which is directly the error of Spinoza's followers. *The attribute*, ſay they, *does not differ from the ſubſtance to which it agrees; therefore, wherever the ſame attribute is, the ſame ſubſtance muſt be found; and conſequently ſince the ſame attribute is in all ſubſtances, they are but one ſubſtance.* There is then but one ſubſtance in the univerſe, and all the diverſity we ſee, is only different modifications of the ſame ſubſtance. Abelard's antagoniſts could not have found any good arguments againſt this; and I can't perceive what anſwer Fraſſen the Franciſcan Friar (7), who notwithſtanding the great light which Philoſophy has diffus'd over this age, adheres ſtrictly to the doctrine of Scotus, could make Spinoza. However, the reſt of the ſchoolmen might deſtroy this falſe ſyſtem entirely, by only diſtinguiſhing between *idem numero*, and *idem ſpecie*, or *ſimilitudine*. Peter and Paul have not the ſame nature, nor the ſame attribute; if by the word *ſame*, we mean a different thing from *like*.

(6) Abælardi Epiſt. 1. p. 5.

(7) See Caſimire de Toulouſe the Capuchin, *in Atom. Peripatet.* tom. 5. p. 130.

[*D*] *By way of battery.*] We muſt give his own words *Sed quia ... locum noſtrum ab æmulo noſtro fecerat occupari, extra civitatem in monte S. Genovefæ, Scholarum noſtrarum caſtra poſui, quaſi eum obſeſſurus qui locum occupaverat noſtrum. Quo audito magiſter noſter ſtatim ad urbem impudenter rediens, Scholas quas tunc*

thus beſieged, as it were, in his ſchool, brought back the Canons-regular to their convent, but inſtead of diſengaging his friend, he was the occaſion that all his pupils forſook him; a little after which this poor Philoſopher embraced a monaſtic life. And now Abelard and Champeaux were the only combatants; they alone diſputed the ground, but the eldeſt had not the advantage. The ſkirmiſhes were not ended when Abelard was obliged to viſit his mother, who, after her huſband's example, would retire to a cloiſter. At his return to Paris, he found his rival had been made Biſhop of Châlons, ſo that as he could now throw up his ſchool, without its being ſuſpected that he had run from the field, he reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to Divinity, and for that purpoſe went to Laon [*E*], where * Anſelm read Theological Lectures with great applauſe. Abelard however did not think he had much capacity [*F*], and therefore inſtead of hearing his lectures, reſolved to read Divinity to his fellow-pupils. He did ſo, and explained Ezekiel's prophecies to ſo much advantage, that he ſoon had a crouded audience. This preſently rais'd Anſelm's jealouſy, ſo that he ordered Abelard to diſcontinue his lectures, who obeying, returned to Paris, and there interpreted Ezekiel in public, with ſo much ſucceſs, that, in a little time, he was as famous for Divinity as for Philoſophy, and got a great deal of money. Abelard, to make life more agreeable, thought a miſtreſs neceſſary, and therefore fixed his choice on Heloiſe, a Canon's niece, preferable to an hundred other maidens or married women, into whoſe favour he might eaſily have inſinuated himſelf [*G*]. This Canon, whoſe name was Fulbert, loved money,

* The original has it, *l'écolâtre Anſelme*; *écolâtre* is properly a Canon who holds a Prebend in a Cathedral, by which he is obliged to teach Philoſophy and the *Belles Lettres* to his brethren, and the poor children of the dioceſe; and to keep a ſchool for that purpoſe.

Abelard did, whoſe character will appear better from his own words. *Acceſſi ad hunc ſenem, cui magis longævus uſus quàm ingenium vel memoria nomen comparaverat; ad quem ſi quis de aliqua quæſtione pulſandum accederet incertus, redibat incertior. Mirabilis quidem erat in oculis auſcultantium, ſed nullus in conſpectu quæſtionantium. Verborum uſum habebat mirabilem, ſed ſenſu contemptibilem & ratione vacuum. Cùm ignem accenderet, domum ſuam fumo implebat, non luce illuſtrabat. Arbor ejus tota in foliis aſpicientibus à longè conſpicua videbatur, ſed propinquantibus & diligentius intuentibus infructuoſa reperiebatur. Ad hanc itaque cum acceſſiſſem, ut fructum inde colligerem, deprehendi illam eſſe ficulneam cui maledixit dominus, ſeu illam veterem quercum cui Pompeium Lucanus comparat dicens, Abelærdi Opera, p. 7.*

——*Stat magni nominis umbra*
Qualis frugifero quercus ſublimis in agro.

That is,

" I went to this old man, to whom long cuſtom, ra-
" ther than genius or memory, had given reputation.
" Any one who conſulted him on a difficulty, was
" ſure to go away more dubious and perplexed than
" he came. He appeared wonderful in the eyes of his
" auditors, but made a deſpicable figure when a que-
" ſtion was put to him. He had a wonderful flow
" of words, which form'd a ſilly and contemptible
" ſenſe. Whenever he attempted to kindle a fire, he ne-
" ver enlightened his houſe, but clouded it with ſmoak.
" His tree, which conſiſted wholly of leaves, looked
" beautiful at a diſtance; but thoſe who ſurveyed it
" carefully near at hand, found it unfruitful. When
" I went up to pluck off its fruit, it appeared as the
" fig-tree which the Lord curſed, or that old oak to
" which Lucan compares Pompey thus,

" Still ſeem'd he to poſſeſs, and fill his place;
" But ſtood the ſhadow of what once he was.
" So in the field with Ceres' bounty ſpread,
" Uprears ſome ancient oak his rev'rend head *.

* Rowe's *Lucan*, book 1. ver. 256, &c.

This paſſage deſerved to be tranſcribed, as it ſhews the turn of Abelard's genius, and is a picture of great numbers of people.

[*G*] *Into whoſe favour he might eaſily have inſinuated himſelf.*] Abelard was naturally vain; then, being handſome, in the bloom of life, having a genius for poetry, and a great reputation, and being flush of money; it is no wonder he flattered himſelf, every woman he addreſt would receive him favourably. *Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, & juventutis & formæ gratiâ præminebam, ut quamcumque fæminarum noſtro dignarer amore nullam vererer repulſam* (16). As Abelard was a Philoſopher who had never frequented the Fair (17), he argued pertinently enough, in imagining he could more eaſily make a conqueſt of Heloiſe's heart than that of another woman; as her learning would give them an opportunity of correſponding regularly by letter, in which lovers expreſs themſelves with greater freedom than in converſation. *Tanto facilius hanc mihi puellam conſenſuram credidi, quanto amplius eam literarum ſcientiam & habere & diligere*

(16) Abælardi *Opera*, p. 10.

(17) *Fræna libidini cæpi laxare, qui antèa vixeram, continentiſſimè*; i. e. " I, " who till now " had liv'd chaſtly, began to " give a looſe to " incontinence. Abælardi *Opera*, p. 9.

(8) Abælardi *Epiſt.* p. 6.

(9) He was ſon of James Thomaſius, Profeſſor in Leipſic, author of this *Life of Abelard*, printed at Hall in 1693. See the 13th citation hereafter.

(10) Jo. Sarisber. *Metalog.* lib. 11. cap. 8. p. 802.

(11) That is, Abelard, as the author himſelf explains it, p. 814. *In hac opinione*, ſays he, *deprehenſus eſt peripateticus Palatinus Abelardus noſter*. That is, " Our Abelard " was found to " be of that o- " pinion.

tunc habere poterat, & conventiculum fratrum ad priſtinum reduxit monaſterium, quaſi militem ſuum, quem deſeruerat ab obſidione noſtra liberaturus (8). I find one particular in Thomaſius's (9) *Life of Abelard* publiſhed in Germany, which neither Andrew du Chene, Francis d'Amboiſe, nor perhaps all who mention Abelard, ever heard of, viz. that in the midſt of his turmoils and perſecutions, after he had ſettled Heloiſe in the Paraclete, he returned to mount S. Genevieve, and there read public lectures, of which John of Salisbury, his pupil in that place, leaves no room to doubt. *Cum primum*, ſays he, (10), *adoleſcens admodum, ſtudiorum cauſâ migraſſem in Gallias anno altero poſtquam illuſtris Rex Anglorum Henricus, Leo Juſtitiæ, rebus exceſſit humanis, contuli me ad Peripateticum Palatinum* (11), *qui tunc in monte Sanctæ Genovefæ clarus doctor & admirabilis omnibus præſidebat. Ibi ad pedes ejus prima artis hujus rudimenta accepi, & pro modulo ingenioli mei quicquid excidebat ab ore ejus tota mentis aviditate excipiebam. Deinde poſt diſceſſum ejus, qui mihi præproperus viſus eſt, adhæſi magiſtro Alberico, qui inter cæteros* opinatiſſimus *dialecticus enitebat, & erat re vera* Nominalis ſectæ *acerrimus impugnator*. That is, " Going to France, when but a youth, for " the ſake of my ſtudies, the year after the death of " Henry of England (the Lion of Juſtice) I immedi- " ately applied my ſelf to Palatinus the Peripatetic, a " moſt celebrated Doctor, excelling in all things, " who then taught on mount St. Genevieve. Under " him I learnt the rudiments of this art, and ſtrongly " imbibed, ſo far as I was capable, his inſtructions. " After his departure, much too ſoon for me, I devo- " ted my ſelf to Alberic a moſt poſitive Logician, who " ſtrongly oppoſed the Nominaliſts." This is manifeſtly the year 1136. Abelard therefore returned to Paris, long after the council of Soiſſons, and left it a few years before that of Sens.

[*E*] *Went to Laon.*] Otho Friſingenſis is miſtaken, in ſaying, that Abelard ſtudied firſt under Rozelinus, and afterwards under Anſelm of Laon, and William des Champeaux, Biſhop of Châlons (12). The order of time is not obſerved here; nor was this William a Biſhop, when he taught Abelard. I juſt now caſt my eye on a book (13), whoſe author conjectures, that Abelard ſucceeded this William as Profeſſor of Divinity in 1119. But firſt, we don't find that this ſuppoſed predeceſſor ever taught Theology. Farther, 'tis very certain that Abelard read Divinity lectures in Paris before 1119; ſince 'tis impoſſible ſo many things as occurred to him from his firſt lectures to the council of Soiſſons, could have happened in two years; now we have very good proofs that this council was called in 1121; to which add, that William des Champeaux was made Biſhop of Châlons in 1113 (14); and that, as after this promotion he had no buſineſs with the ſchools of Paris, Abelard removed to Laon and ſtudied Divinity there. I can't tell why ſome aſſert, that it was to Châlons that he went to ſtudy it (15).

[*F*] *Did not think he had much capacity.*] Anſelm was advanced in years, and had very little genius, ſo that he was ſoon foil'd, when put out of his road. He always made the moſt trifling and frothy anſwers, to thoſe who puſhed him home, as the ſubtle caviller

(12) Otho Friſing. *de Geſtis Frider.* I. lib. 1. cap. 47.

(13) *Hiſtoria Sapientiæ & Stultitiæ, collecta à Chriſtiano Thomaſio*, tom. 1. p. 81. We there have the abovemention'd *Life of Abelard*, viz. that written by Jacobus Thomaſius.

(14) See Du Chene's *Notes on Abelard's Relation*, p. 1147.

(15) Du Pin, *Bibliath* tom. 9. p 109. Dutch edition.

money, and ardently wiſhed to ſee Heloiſe make a figure in the Sciences. Abelard made theſe two paſſions ſubſervient to his deſign, and addreſt Fulbert in theſe words. *Let me*, ſays he, *board with you, and ſet your own price.* The unſuſpecting uncle thinking his niece would now have an able preceptor, who ſo far from being gratified for his trouble, would pay very largely for his board, fell blindly into the ſnare (*c*), and thereupon deſired Abelard to inſtruct her both day and night, and to uſe compulſion if ſhe were negligent. Our ſham preceptor did no ways anſwer Fulbert's expectations, for he ſoon made love to his ſcholar, and employed much more time in kiſſing and toying with her [*H*], than in explaining authors. Having never taſted ſuch joys before, they abandoned themſelves to them with the leſs reſerve, inſomuch that Abelard now performed his publick functions very careleſly, and wrote nothing but amorous verſes [*I*]. His pupils ſoon obſerved, that his lectures were much changed for the worſe, and preſently gueſs'd the cauſe; but the blinded Fulbert, at whoſe houſe the farce was acting, was the laſt perſon that heard of the intrigue. He would not believe it for ſome time, but at laſt his eyes being opened, he made his boarder quit the houſe. Some time after his niece finding her ſelf with child, wrote word of it to her gallant, who adviſed her to leave Fulbert. Heloiſe did ſo, and Abelard ſent her to a ſiſter of his in Britany, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon (*d*); and to ſoften the Canon's reſentments, he offered to marry Heloiſe privately. Fulbert was much better pleaſed with the propoſal than his niece, who, from a ſingular exceſs of paſſion, choſe to be his miſtreſs rather than his wife, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter (*e*). However, ſhe at laſt conſented, and was married privately, but would, upon occaſion, proteſt with an oath that ſhe was ſtill ſingle. Fulbert being more deſirous of publiſhing their marriage, to wipe away the ſcandal which had been brought upon the family, than to keep his promiſe with Abelard, never to divulge it, would often uſe his niece ill, whenever ſhe obſtinately denied her being Abelard's wife. Upon this the latter ſent her to the monaſtery of Argenteuil, where, at his requeſt, ſhe put on a religious habit, but did not take the veil. Heloiſe's relations conſidering this

(*c*) *Eam totam noſtro magiſterio committens, ut quoties mihi à ſcholis reverſo vacaret, tam in die quam in nocte ei docendæ operam darem, & eam ſi negligentem ſentirem vehementer conſtringerem.* Abælardi Epiſt. p. 11.

(*d*) His name was *Aſtrolabius.*

(*e*) In the article HELOISE.

(18) Abælardi *Opera*, p. 10. *diligere noveram, noſque etiam abſentes ſcriptis internuntiis invicem liceret præſentare, & pleraque audaciùs ſcribere, quàm colloqui* (18). Love letters and verſes writ in a tender ſtrain, are far from being weak incentives, eſpecially when the poet has a good voice, and ſings his own paſſionate ſongs. Abelard ſo inchanted Heloiſe's heart, and his admirable pen and fine voice blew up ſo fierce a flame in this fond creature's boſom, that ſhe could never after extinguiſh it. *Duo*, ſays ſhe to him, *fateor, tibi ſpecialiter inerant, quibus feminarum quarumlibet animos ſtatim allicere poteras,* (19) Ibid. p. 46. *dictandi videlicet & cantandi gratia* (19). See the Note [*F*] of the article Heloiſe, where more of this paſſage being quoted, ſhews how great an aſcendant thoſe things have over the ſoft ſex.

[*H*] *In kiſſing and toying with her.*] The better to hide their amorous intercourſe from Heloiſe's uncle, Abelard ſometimes pretended to uſe the liberty allowed him of chaſtiſing her. He declares, that love, and not magiſterial anger, prompted him now and then to whip Heloiſe, but that no ſtrokes were ever more gentle. Here follows his method of teaching his fair pupil. *Sub occaſione diſciplinæ amori penitùs vacabamus, & ſecretos receſſus, quos amor optabat, ſtudium lectionis offerebat. Apertis itaque libris plura de amore quàm de lectione verba ſe ingerebant, plura erant oſcula quàm ſententiæ. Sæpiùs ad ſinus quam ad libros reducebantur manus; crebriùs oculos amor in ſe reflectabat, quàm lectio in ſcripturam dirigebat. Quoque minus ſuſpicionis haberemus, verbera quandoque dabat amor non furor, gratia non ira, quæ omnium unguentorum ſuavitatem tranſcenderent.* That is, "Under "the pretence of learning we devoted ourſelves wholly "to love, and our ſtudies afforded us the privacy which "our paſſion panted after. We then would open our "books, but talked more of love than of learning; "exchanged more kiſſes, than we explained maxims; "I put my hand oftner to her boſom, than to the "volume; we gazed more frequently on one an-"other than on the leſſon; and that we might be "leſs ſuſpected, I ſometimes ſtruck her, not out of an-"ger but love; and the ſtripes were ſweeter than the (20) Ibid. p. 11. "moſt fragrant ointments" (20). But on ſome occaſions he was for whipping her in earneſt, as when ſhe was not in humour, or was aw'd by the ſolemnity of ſome feſtival. See the note [*E*] on the article HELOISE. We muſt not omit the reflection Abelard made on the Canon's ſimplicity. *Quanta ejus ſimplicitas eſſet vehementer admiratus, non minus apud me obſtupui quàm ſi agnam teneram famelico lupo committeret. Qui cùm eam mihi non ſolum docendam, verùm etiam vehementer conſtringendam traderet, quid aliud agebat quàm ut votis meis licentiam penitùs daret, & occaſionem etiamſi nollemus offerret, ut quam videlicet blanditiis non poſſem, minis & verberibus facilius flecterem.* That is, "I was greatly ſurprized at his ſim-"plicity, and at his delivering up, as it were, a tender "lamb to a famiſhed wolf. And as he did not only "deſire me to teach her, but to uſe the ſtrongeſt "compulſion, what was this but abandoning her "entirely to my wiſhes, and giving us an opportunity "whether we would or no; ſince he impowered me "to employ menaces and ſtripes, if gentleneſs fail'd? As he quotes the ancient poets pretty often, I am ſurprized *his young lamb given up to a famiſh'd wolf*, did not make him recollect theſe lines of Virgil,

Eheu, quid volui miſero mihi? floribus auſtrum
Perditus, & liquidis immiſi fontibus apros (21).

(21) Virgil, Eclog. 2: v. 58. Vide *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, p. 41.

Engliſhed,

"The boar amidſt my cryſtal ſtreams I bring;
"And ſouthern winds to blaſt my flow'ry ſpring.
Dryden.

[*I*] *Wrote nothing but verſes.*] After he had taſted the ſweets of enjoyment, he took no pleaſure in his lectures, but diſmiſs'd his pupils as ſoon as he could. He never ſtudied in the night (22), but employed thoſe hours of ſilence to a very different purpoſe, and therefore would willingly have ſpent the whole day in ſtudy. Hence the ſchool was very diſtaſteful, which made him only repeat his former lectures, and if ever he ſtruck out a thought, it always turned on love, and not on an abſtruſe point in Philoſophy; and theſe thoughts he worked up into ſongs, which were ſung for many years in ſeveral Provinces. *Ita negligentem & tepidum lectio tunc habebat, ut jam nihil ex ingenio, ſed ex uſu cuncta proferrem, nec jam niſi recitator priſtinorum eſſem inventorum; & ſi qua invenire liceret carmina eſſent amatoria, non philoſophiæ ſecreta. Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, ſicut & ipſe noſti, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus, ab his maximè quos vita ſimilis oblectat* (23). Hence it is manifeſt that he had a poetical vein; but I cannot believe he wrote the celebrated *Romance of the Roſe*, and there drew his Heloiſe, under the name of *Beauty*, as is aſſerted in a little book reprinted in Holland (24). Methinks the (25) author who took ſo much pains to collect and collate Abelard's manuſcripts, is more worthy of credit than the writer of that little piece. Now the former declares poſitively, that the *Romance of the Roſe*, the concluſion excepted, which is John de Meun's, was writ by William de Loris; and in this ſeveral authors, who have very good authority for what they ſay, agree. The hiſtory of Abelard and Heloiſe is inſerted in this romance.

(22) *Tædioſum mihi vehementer erat ad ſcholas procedere, vel in eis morari pariter & laborioſum, cum nocturnas amori vigilias & diurnas ſtudio conſecrarem.* Abælardi Opera, p. 12.

(23) Ibid.

(24) *Hiſt. of Eloiſa and Abelard* in 12°, printed in 1693.

(25) François D'Amboiſe. See his *Apologetical Preface* to Abelard's Works, printed at Paris in 1616, 4°.

as a ſecond piece of treachery in Abelard, were ſo exaſperated, that they hired ruffians, who forcing into his chamber in the dead of night, cut off what had been chiefly inſtrumental in diſhonouring the Canon's family. This infamous treatment made Abelard fly to the gloom of a cloyſter, there to conceal his confuſion. Shame, not devotion, prompted him to aſſume the monaſtic habit in the abbey of St. Denis (*f*); but the diſorders of that houſe, whoſe Abbot exceeded his Monks in laſciviouſneſs as much as in dignity, ſoon drove Abelard from thence; for he daring to cenſure them, grew thereby ſo obnoxious, that his brethren were overjoyed to get rid of him. He then withdrew to the territories of the Count of Champagne [*K*], and there ſet up ſchool, where his fame drew ſo great a crowd of auditors to him [*L*], that the other maſters, whoſe pupils forſook them and went to Abelard, were enflamed with envy and began to moleſt him. Abelard had two formidable enemies in Laon (*g*), who perceiving his great reputation was prejudicial to their ſchools in Rheims, ſought an occaſion to ruin him, and found one in the Treatiſe he dictated on the myſtery of the Trinity [*M*], wherein they pretended to diſcover a moſt dreadful hereſy, and thereupon prevailed with their Archbiſhop to aſſemble a council in Soiſſons about the year 1121 [*N*]. This

(*f*) *In tàm miſera me contritione poſitum confuſio, fatcor, pudoris potius quam devotio converſionis ad monaſticorum latibula clauſtrorum compulit.* Abælardi Epiſt. p. 18.

(*g*) Alberitus Remenſis & Lotulphus Lombardus; Otho of Friſingen calls the latter Leutaldus Novarienſis.

[*K*] *To the territories of the Count of Champagne.*] This we find by comparing two paſſages, the firſt whereof is as follows. *Ad cellam quandam receſſi, ſcholis more ſolito vacaturus* (26). The ſecond runs thus: *Noctu latenter aufugi, atque ad terram Comitis Theobaldi proximam, ubi antea in cella moratus fueram, abſceſſi* (27). i. e. "I fled privately in the "night, and retired to the neighbouring territories "of the Count of Champagne, where I had before taken "ſanctuary." Pâquier did not underſtand the former ſince he tranſlates it; *Retiring to a remote corner of the monaſtery, he read lectures alternately in Philoſophy and Divinity* (28). But Abelard did not raiſe a ſchool within the abbey of St. Denis, ſince, there, he would have been as troubleſome as ever to the Monks, whoſe diſorderly lives he reproved, which was the only reaſon they wanted to get rid of him. Mr. du Cange explains with his uſual erudition the meaning of the word *Cella*. See the note [*A*] of the article PARACLET, where the courſe of Abelard's ſeveral journies are mentioned.

(26) Abælardi Opera, p. 19.

(27) Ibid. p. 26.

(28) Pâquier, *Recherches de la France*, lib. 6. chap. 17.

[*L*] *So great a number of auditors to him.*] With regard to the multitude of his pupils, ſee the note [*A*] of the article FULCO Prior of Deuil.

[*M*] *On the myſtery of the Trinity.*] The occaſion of Abelard's writing on this ſubject, was, his ſcholars required him to demonſtrate it philoſophically. Theſe, not ſatisfied with mere words, would have ideas; and declared publickly, that it was impoſſible any man could believe what he did not underſtand, and an impoſition to preach on a ſubject, unintelligible both to the orator and the auditors. *Humanas & philoſophicas rationes requirebant, & plus quæ intelligi, quàm quæ dici poſſent, efflagitabant; dicentes quidem verborum ſuperfluam eſſe prolationem quam intelligentia non ſequeretur, nec credi poſſe aliquid niſi primitùs intellectum; & ridiculoſum eſſe aliquem aliis prædicare, quod nec ipſi nec illi quos doceret intellectu capere poſſent, * Domino ipſo arguente quod cæci eſſent duces cæcorum* (29). Upon this, he began to explain to them the unity of God, by compariſons drawn from human things. Pâquier accuſes Abelard of maintaining, *That no one ought to believe, what he cannot give a reaſon for*; *which*, ſays he, *to ſpeak plain, was expreſly deſtroying the general foundation of our faith* (30). I ſhan't ask Pâquier where he heard, that a profeſſor approves all the whims and chimeras of his pupils, when he has the indulgence to prevent, ſo far as in him lies, their pernicious conſequences; for 'tis probable, Abelard thought the abovementioned maxims of his auditors juſt and rational enough: however, we muſt not ground this probability on the paſſage mentioned by Pâquier, but rather on the following words of St. *Bernard*. *Quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quicquid non poſſis ratione attingere? Denique exponere volens* (Abælardus) *illud ſapientis, qui credit cito, levis eſt corde; cito credere eſt, inquit, adhibere fidem ante rationem* (31). That is, "What can be more repugnant to faith, than to re- "fuſe our aſſent to what is above reaſon? Abelard "expounding the following words of Solomon, *He "who believeth ſuddenly is light of heart*, ſays, that "man believes lightly, who believes before he has a "reaſon for ſo doing." The work Abelard wrote on this ſubject was highly applauded by all, thoſe of his own trade excepted; I mean profeſſors of divinity. Exaſperated that another had ſtruck out lights and expoſitions they could never have found, they cried out, heretick! and raiſed ſuch an outcry, that Abelard very narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned. *Duo illi prædicti æmuli noſtri ità me in clero & populo diffamaverunt, ut penè me populus paucoſque qui advenerant ex diſcipulis noſtris prima die noſtri adventus lapidarent, dicentes me tres Deos prædicare & ſcripſiſſe, ſicut ipſis perſuaſum fuerat* (32). Theſe, by their all-powerful faction, extorted from the Pope's Legate (33) the ſentence inſerted in the text of this article. They had unjuſtly inſinuated a perſuaſion, that Abelard admitted three Gods, though 'tis certain he was truly orthodox with regard to the myſtery of the Trinity; and that all their proſecutions on that head, were ſo many unjuſt cavils, the effect of malice or ignorance. The compariſon he drew from Logic, in which he excell'd, tends rather to make the Divine Perſons one, than to multiply the eſſence of God to three; and yet he is not accuſed of Sabellianiſm (34), but of Tritheiſm. This is his compariſon, as the three propoſitions of a ſyllogiſm are but one and the ſame truth; ſo the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, are one and the ſame eſſence. *Sicut eadem oratio eſt propoſitio, aſſumptio, & concluſio; ita eadem eſſentia eſt Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus* (35). The difficulties which may ariſe from ſuch a parallel, are not ſo great, at leaſt not greater, than thoſe reſulting from the compariſon of the three dimenſions of a ſolid. Since therefore the orthodoxy of the famous Dr. Wallis, though he laid ſuch great ſtreſs on the parallel of the three dimenſions, was never queſtioned; ſhall Abelard be ſaid to maintain hetorodox principles, becauſe he compared the Trinity to a ſyllogiſm? Be this as it will, it is certain, if the compariſon of the Trinity held good with the ſyllogiſm and the three dimenſions, it muſt be very different from what it is repreſented. We are to obſerve, that a * French Miniſter employed the compariſon of the three dimenſions in 1685, as appears from the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July article 3, for Auguſt article 10, and September article 12; but he was refuted by another Miniſter in 1694. See Saurin's *Examen de la Théologie de Mr. Jurieu, p.* 831.

(32) Abælardi Opera, p. 10.

(33) Conan, Biſhop of Præneſte. He preſided in this council of Soiſſons.

(34) Otho Friſingenſ. *de Geſt. Frederic.* lib. 1. cap. 47. ſays however, *that he was accus'd of Sabellianiſm in the council of Soiſſons.*

(35) Abælardi Opera, p. 10.

* M. Jurieu, Miniſter at Rotterdam.

[*N*] *About the year* 1121.] Natalis Alexander (36) proves this very ſtrongly, both againſt John Picard, Canon of S. Victor, who fixed this council to 1116, and John Binius, who is for 1136. The chronological errors of Binius, and ſome other writers, had been cenſured before in the Preface to Abelard's works. Some had aſſerted, that Platina placed the ſynod which paſt ſentence on Abelard, under Pope Lucius the Second; that Binius copied this error of Platina, and had himſelf committed another, in fixing the councils of Soiſſons and Sens to 1140; and that Genebrand declares, theſe councils met within a year of one another. To prove theſe were errors, it was ſaid that the Pontificate of this Lucius, which did not continue quite a year, fell under 1145, and that there was an interval of twenty years between the councils of Soiſſons and Sens. It is declared, that the Biſhop of Preneſte who preſided in the former council in quality of the Pope's Legate, left France about 1120, and returned thither no more. The critics might have obſerved above one error in the following words of Platina. *Qui* (*Abælardus*) *præſente etiam Lodovico Rege,*

(36) Nat. Alexander. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* 11 & 12. part 3. p. 43 & ſeq.

* "The Lord "himſelf declaring, that "they were "blind leaders of "the blind.

(29) Abælardi Opera, p. 20.

(30) Pâquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. 6. chap. 17.

(31) Bernard. Epiſt. 190.

This council did not permit Abelard to make his defence, but ſentenced him to throw his book into the flames, and confine himſelf in the cloyſter of St. Medard. A little after, he was ordered to return to the monaſtery of St. Denis, whoſe Abbot and Monks hated him, becauſe he had ſo freely cenſured their corrupt lives. Happening to ſay inadvertently, that he did not believe their St. Denis was Dionyſius the Areopagite mentioned in Scripture, his words were immediately catched up, and repeated to the Abbot, who was overjoyed, becauſe it gave him an opportunity of blending ſtate crimes with a charge of falſe doctrine [*O*] ; a circumſtance theſe Gentlemen never forget, to make their vengeance ſure. The Abbot immediately called a chapter, and declared, that he was going to deliver up to the juſtice of their Sovereign, a man who had audaciouſly trampled on the glory and diadem of the kingdom. Abelard believing theſe menaces might be fatal, fled by night into Champagne, but after the Abbot's death, got leave to retire whitherſoever he pleaſed, provided he led a monaſtic life. The political reaſons which conſpired to this are curious enough [*P*]. Leave being thus granted him, he withdrew to a ſolitude in the dioceſe of Troies, where he built an oratory, and called it the *Paraclet* (*b*). There a multitude of pupils reſorted to him, which again revived the envy that had ſo often perſecuted him; but on this occaſion he could not poſſibly have fallen into more dangerous hands, he being expoſed to the fury of two that call'd themſelves reſtorers of the ancient diſcipline; zealots, whom the vulgar rever'd

(*b*) We ſhall relate in the article PARACLET, why he call'd his oratory by this name, and the troubles he met with on that account.

Rege, rationibus victus, non modo ſententiam mutavit, ſed etiam monaſticam vitam & religionem induit, ac deinceps unà cum diſcipulis quibuſdam in loco deſerto ſanctiſſimè vixit. That is, "Abelard, in preſence of "King Lewis, being overcome by arguments, not "only changed his opinion but embraced the mo- "naſtic profeſſion, and afterwards lived very piouſly "in a deſart place with ſome of his Diſciples. Firſt, 'tis certain, that Abelard turned Monk before any council was held againſt him. Secondly, It was at the council of Sens that Lewis the VIIth aſſiſted, to hear how matters would go in the proſecution of this heretick. Now it is falſe to ſay, that Abelard yielded to the arguments of his adverſaries, and abjured his opinions in this council; he appealing to the Pope the moment he came into it. Thirdly, It is as falſe to affirm, that he lived after this in a deſart place with ſome pupils, he ſpending the remainder of his days with the Monks of Clugni. It is plain that Platina has blended together the ſeveral incidents relating to the two councils which met againſt Abelard. Moſt of theſe miſtakes are objected to Belleforet in the Preface abovementioned, where, by the way, he is likewiſe juſtly cenſured for inſinuating that the extravagant encomiums we read in Abelard's epitaph, prove his imprudence and inſupportable pride; when it is certain that the Abbot of Clugni writ this epitaph after Abelard's death. Several hiſtorians have not juſtly diſtinguiſhed the two councils which aſſembled to judge this great man. PaulusÆmilius ſays that his cauſe was firſt heard in the council of Sens (37), which *du Haillan* alſo aſſerts with many other falſities (38); as that Abelard was afraid to appear; that all his writings were condemned to the flames; and that the ſecond time he was ſummoned, the Prelates held long diſputes before they paſt ſentence on him. Philippus Bergamenſis declares, that the heretick (39) having been brought over in the King's preſence by the powerful arguments of thoſe learned Catholick Prelates, abjured his falſe doctrines, turned Monk, and paſt very piouſly the reſt of his days in a deſart with ſome of his pupils: a thouſand chroniclers have tranſcribed the ſame falſities from one another. The writer of a little book (40) already cited, makes Heloiſe ſay, *What did not thoſe two falſe prophets (St. Bernard and St. Norbert) advance, who declaimed ſo ſtrongly againſt you in the council of Rheims?* Now Heloiſe does not ſay they exclaimed in any council, at leaſt, it was not in that of Rheims.

(37) Pauli Æmilii *Hiſt. Franc. in Ludovico* VII.

(38) Du Haillan *Hiſt. de France ſous Louis* VII.

(39) He calls him *Baliardus, in Supplem. Chron. ad an.* 1135.

(40) *Hiſt. of Eloiſe and Abelard*, with the paſſionate letter ſhe wrote to him. Printed at the Hague in 12°, 1693.

[*O*] *Of blending ſtate-crimes, with his charge of falſe doctrine.*] This artifice has been ſo often uſed ſince the Jews employed it againſt our Saviour (41), that it is ſurprizing people dare practiſe it in theſe times; for ſhould not thoſe perſons be afraid, that ſo baſe, ſo threadbare a ſtratagem would take no longer? To this I anſwer, there is no reaſon they ſhould entertain ſuch fears, mankind being ſo ungovernable, as never to be warned by the weakneſs of paſt times. Every age acts as though it were the firſt; and as perſecution and revenge have hitherto endeavoured to engage ſovereign powers in their particular feuds, they will continue this practice to the end of the world. We may therefore juſtly apply Solomon's words on this occaſion; *The thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be; and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done* (42). Poſterity will ſay, as we do,

(41) Luke xxiii. 2.

Qui mepriſe Cotin n'eſtime point ſon roi,
Et n'a, ſelon Cotin, ni Dieu, ni foi, ni loi (43).

Thus imitated,

"Who Cotin mocks, he calls a traiterous clod;
"And ſwears he has no faith, nor owns a God.

(42) *Eccleſ.* i. 9.

(43) Boileau, Satyr. 9. ver. 305, 306.

[*P*] *Are curious enough.*] As the Abbot of St. Denis would not ſuffer Abelard to leave his monaſtery, the latter had recourſe to politicks. He was ſenſible, the more diſſolute thoſe Monks were, the greater authority the court would have over, and draw larger profits from them. He therefore inſinuated to the King and Council, that it was not for his Majeſty's intereſt to ſuffer a Monk of his character, who was ever cenſuring the deprav'd lives of his brethren, to continue long among them. The court immediately took the hint, and ordered a perſon of great quality (the chief butler) to enquire of the Abbot and his confidents, why they forcibly detained a Monk, whoſe conduct and behaviour differed ſo widely from theirs, and conſequently could be of no ſervice, but might eaſily bring them to ſhame. The reſult was, Abelard quitted the monaſtery. To this purpoſe I remember, that asking a perſon who told me numberleſs profligate actions of the Venetian Clergy, what could prompt the Senate to wink at them, when they reflected ſo much diſhonour both on religion and government? he anſwered, that it was neceſſary thoſe things ſhould be connived at for the publick good; and to explain the ænigma, he added, that the Senate were never better pleas'd than when the common people had the Prieſts and Friars in the utmoſt contempt, ſince thoſe were then leſs able to ſpirit them up to rebellion. *One of the reaſons*, ſays he, *why the government of Venice does not care for the Jeſuits, is, becauſe thoſe Fathers obſerve a better decorum; and as the vulgar venerates them, becauſe of their apparent ſanctity, they therefore have a greater opportunity of raiſing ſeditions.* I can hardly believe ſo horrid a circumſtance is true. At what a wretched paſs would things be, was the ſupreme authority forced to ſupport itſelf by ſuch expedients; or did a virtuous behaviour render the Clergy more formidable, than diſſoluteneſs? Such an enormity would be infinitely more deplorable than that mentioned by Tacitus, who ſays, under a wicked adminiſtration it is as dangerous to have a great reputation as a bad one. *Intravit animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus ſiniſtra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex malâ* (44). That is, "There ſeiz'd his ſoul a paſſion for military glory, "a ſpirit diſguſtful to the times, when of men ſig- "nally eminent a malignant opinion was entertain'd, "and when as much peril aroſe from a great character "as from a bad." Gordon's *Tacitus*, vol. 2. p. 356. But let us hear Abelard. *Intervenientibus amicis quibuſdam noſtris regem & conſilium ejus ſuper hoc compellavi, & ſic quod volebam impetravi. Stephanus quippe regis tunc dapifer, vocato in partem abbate & familiaribus ejus, quæſivit ab eis cur invitum retinere vellent, ex quo incurrere faciliùs ſcandalum poſſent, & nullam utilitatem habere; cùm nullatenus vita mea & ipſorum convenire poſſent. Sciebam autem in hoc regii conſilii ſententiam eſſe, ut quo minus regularis abbatia illa eſſet, magis regi eſſet ſubjecta atque utilis, quantum videlicet*

(44) Tacitus, *in Vita Agricolæ*, cap. 5.

rever'd like new Apoſtles [Q]. Theſe ſlandered him to ſuch degree that he loſt the favour of his principal friends; thoſe who ſtill had a love for him, were afraid to ſhew it, ſo that life was now a burthen, and he was going to fly to ſome country where Chriſtianity was not profeſs'd (*i*); but fate would not indulge him ſuch an aſylum, and placed him again among Chriſtians and Monks, who were worſe than infidels (*k*). The Monks of the abbey of Ruis in the dioceſe of Vannes, elected him their Superior [R], when he hoped he was got into a quiet harbour, but found he had only changed one evil for another. The incorrigible behaviour of the Monks, and the oppreſſion of a Nobleman who deprived them of the greateſt part of their revenues, ſo that they were obliged to maintain their concubines and children (*l*) at their own expence, filled him with perpetual anxiety, and expoſed him to the greateſt perils [S]. During this, the Abbot of St. Denis expelled the Nuns from Argenteuil, upon which Abelard, in pity to Heloiſe their Prioreſs, gave her the Oratory of the Paraclet where ſhe ſettled with ſome of her ſiſter Nuns. After this he went frequently from Britany into Champagne upon Heloiſe's affairs, and to divert the uneaſineſs he met with in his abbey; for the unhappy Abelard, notwithſtanding his mutilation [T], was ſtill the object of their malice. Thus far he himſelf writes the hiſtory of his own life, in a letter which is ſtill extant; but for the remaining part of it, relating chiefly to his being again try'd for hereſy before the Archbiſhop of Sens, we muſt have recourſe to other authors. On this occaſion, he deſired liberty to juſtify his doctrine in a publick aſſembly, which was granted, and a council was ſummoned at Sens in 1140. King Lewis the Seventh reſolved to aſſiſt at it in perſon, and St. Bernard was ſummoned to appear as accuſer. The firſt things read in the aſſembly, were ſeveral propoſitions extracted from Abelard's works, which terrified him ſo much that he appealed to the Pope. The council however condemned the propoſitions (*m*), but did not paſs ſentence with regard to his perſon, and ſent Pope Innocent II. an account of the whole proceedings, praying him to ratify their decree. This the Pope did (*n*), and ordered Abelard to be impriſon'd, his books burnt, and forbid him ever to teach again. However, his Holineſs was ſoften'd ſome time after, at the ſolicitation of Peter the Venerable, who had not only received this Heretic with the utmoſt humanity in his abbey of Clugni, but reconcil'd him to S. Bernard (*o*), who promoted the oppreſſion [U] under which his

(*i*) See the Note [E] of the remark ALCIAT (JOHN PAUL.)

(*k*) *Incidi in Chriſtianos atque Monachos, gentibus longè fæviores atque pejores.* Abælardi Epiſt. p. 32.

(*l*) *Unuſquiſque de propriis olim marſupiis ſe & concubinas ſuas cum filiis & filiabus ſuſtentaret.* Abælardi Epiſt. p. 33.

(*m*) See St. Bernard's *Life*, by Geoffroi Monk of Clairvaux, book 3. chap. 5. and St. Bernard's 189th epiſtle. 'Tis inſerted in Abelard's Works, p. 272.

(*n*) See St. Bernard's 194th Epiſtle, and Abelard's Works, p. 301.

(*o*) Vide this Abbot's Letter to Innocent II, in Abelard's Works, p. 335.

videlicet ad lucra temporalia. Unde me facile regis & ſuorum aſſenſum conſequi credideram, ſicque actum eſt (45). Some pages after, Abelard tells us, that a Nobleman of Britany made the licentiouſneſs of the Monks of Ruis, a handle to ſeize on their eſtates (46). To deprive perſons, whoſe piety has gain'd them the veneration of the people, of the poſſeſſions which good Chriſtians had bequeathed them, is a bold attempt; but few think it criminal to plunder thoſe, whoſe ill lives are a publick ſcandal.

(45) Abælardi Opera, p. 27.

(46) *Ex inordinatione ſcilicet ipſius monaſterii nactus occaſionem.* Abælardi Opera, p. 33.

[Q] *And theſe, ... as tho' they had been like new Apoſtles.*] Read what follows, *Quoſdam adverſum me novos Apoſtolos quibus mundus plurimum credebat excitaverant. Quorum alter* (S. Norbert) *regularium canonicorum vitam: alter* (S. Bernard) *monachorum ſe reſuſcitaſſe gloriabatur* (47). That is, "They ſpirited "up againſt me two new Apoſtles, who were in "mighty vogue with the people; one of whom "(*St. Norbert*) boaſted he had reſtored the diſcipline "of the Canons regular; the other, (*St. Bernard*) "that of the Monks." Heloiſe, pag. 42. calls them falſe Apoſtles. See the cloſe of the remark [N] above, where the author of the little hiſtory of Heloiſe and Abelard is refuted.

(47) Abælardi Opera, p. 31.

[R] *The Monks of the abbey of Ruis... elected him their Superior.*] The Benedictine who wrote ſo much on the antiquities of Paris, cenſures Belleforet unjuſtly, for ſaying that Abelard had an abbey in Britany. *It is falſe to aſſert, that he was an Abbot in Britany, for upon his leaving the Paraclet, he withdrew to Cluny, and continued in that community till his death* (48). This author was greatly miſinformed, not to know that Abelard poſſeſs'd an abbey in Britany, before and after he reſigned the Paraclet. Had he perus'd attentively the letter (49), ſome paſſages of which he quotes, he would have found this proved indiſputably.

(48) Du Breuil, *Antiquitez de Paris*, p. 388. in 4°. printed 1639.

(49) That of Abelard, where he writes his own Life.

[S] *And even expoſed him to the greateſt perils.*] The Monks attempted ſeveral times to poiſon him, but not being able to effect that by his ordinary food, for he was aware of them, they tried to poiſon him with the ſacramental bread and wine. One day he abſtained from a diſh which was prepared for him; but his companion who eat of it, died preſently after. Abelard excommunicated the moſt rebellious of his Monks, but to no purpoſe, ſo that at laſt he was more afraid of a dagger than of poiſon, and compared himſelf to the man, whom the Sicilian tyrant obliged to ſit at table with him under a drawn ſword, which hung only by a thread (50).

(50) Abælardi Opera, p. 39 & 40.

[T] *Notwithſtanding his mutilation.*] This unhappy man was ſtill calumniated with ſo much virulence, that though his enemies knew he was incapable of ſatisfying a woman, they yet affirmed, that ſome remains of ſenſual delight ſtill bound him to his beloved Heloiſe. *Quod me facere ſincera charitas compellabat, ſolita derogantium pravitas impudentiſſimè accuſabat, dicens me adhuc quadam carnalis concupiſcentiæ oblectatione teneri, qui priſtinæ dilectæ ſubſtinere abſentiam vix aut nunquam paterer.* Thus he complains, in p. 35. of the account he gives of his misfortunes. However, he comforted himſelf with the example of St. Jerom, whoſe friendſhip for Paula afforded an ample field for detraction; and thought he refuted unanſwerably the calumny of his enemies, by obſerving that the moſt jealous husbands commit their wives to the guard of eunuchs; but Father Theophilus Raynaud laughs at this reaſon, for he had read of ſeveral men, who tho' mutilated, did yet engage in an impure commerce with women. *Ex quibus omnibus liquet quam frigida fuerit Petri Abelardi apologia, cum redargutus de nimia familiaritate cum amicâ quadem ſuâ Heloiſa, & aliis monialibus Paracletenſibus repoſuit, eunuchos, qualis ipſe factus erat, tuto & abſque omni periculo poſſe verſari cum fœminis* (51). That is, "From all which it ap- "pears, how trifling an apology Abelard made, when "being accuſed of too much familiarity with Heloiſe, "a miſtreſs of his, and other Nuns of the Paraclet, he "anſwered, that eunuchs, like himſelf, might fre- "quent the Fair without the leaſt danger." I ſhall take ſome notice of this in the article COMBABUS. Heloiſe had ſo violent a paſſion for Abelard, altho' he was emaſculated; that his virtue would have been expoſed to great danger in her company. See our remarks on Heloiſe's article. The following words of Virgil,

(51) Th. Raynaud *de Eunuchis*, p. 148.

Notumque furens quid fœmina poſſit
Triſte per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt (52).

(52) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 5. ver. 6.

In Engliſh,

"He knew the ſtormy ſouls of woman-kind:
"What ſecret ſprings their eager paſſions move, &c.
Dryden's Virgil.

repreſent in ſome meaſure the conduct of thoſe, who ſhould be afraid, that Heloiſe's paſſion had too powerful an aſcendant over Abelard's chaſtity.

[U] *Who had promoted the oppreſſion.*] We ſhall ſpeak of this in the article BERENGER of Poitiers.

his innocence labour'd in that council. This ſanctuary of Clugni was the laſt that Abelard wanted. Here he was indulg'd in all the tender offices of charity; here he read lectures to the Monks, and was equally humble and laborious. At laſt, infirmities coming upon him, and being incommoded with the itch (*p*), and ſeveral other diſeaſes, he was ſent to the Priory of S. Marcellus, a very agreeable place, on the Saone, near *Châlons*, where he died the 21ſt of April 1142 [*X*], aged ſixty three years. His corpſe was ſent to Heloiſe [*Y*], who bury'd it in the Paraclet (*q*). We ſhall ſpeak of his writings in the article † FRANCIS D'AMBOISE; and as to his erroneous tenets and the proſecutions he ſuffer'd from councils, ſome mention will be made of them in the article BERENGER DE POITIERS. 'Tis remarkable, that tho' he was an Eccleſiaſtic, and enjoy'd a canonry (*r*), his marriage did not raiſe the leaſt ſcruple in his mind. I am ſurpriz'd he never ſpeaks of his maſter (*ſ*) Roſcelin [*Z*], who in that age paſt for a very ſubtle Logician, and is look'd upon as the founder of the Nominaliſts. Abelard himſelf was inclin'd to the principles of this ſect, conſidering them as adapted *to the vivacity of his penetrating, acute, and inventive genius* (*t*). *By this ſcience he terrify'd people, and ſo fulminated his numberleſs cavils and ſyllogiſms, as not only aſtoniſh'd, but confounded them.* I don't think he ever explain'd the civil law [*AA*], as ſome aſſert. In the laſt note, we ſhall give a liſt

† See AMBOISE (FRANCIS D')

(*p*) *Plus ſolito ſcabie & quibuſdam corporis incommoditatibus gravabatur.* Abælardi Opera, p. 341.

(*q*) See Peter the Venerable's Letter to Heloiſe, in Abelard's Works, p. 337.

(*r*) *Quid te Clericum atque Canonicum facere oportet.* Abælardi Epiſt. 1. p. 16.

(*ſ*) Otho Friſing. *de Geſt. Frederi.* lib. 1. cap. 47. Aventini *Annales Bojorum*, lib. 6.

(*t*) Naudé, *Additions à l'Hiſt. de Louis* XI. p. 160.

[*X*] *The 21ſt of Ap.* 1142.] This ſhews that Abelard was not living in 1170, as is aſſerted by the author of a little book printed at the Hague, in 1693; in which, beſides *The Compendious Hiſtory of Eloiſa and Abelard*, three other ſmall pieces are inſerted.

[*Y*] *His body was ſent to Heloiſe.*] Pâquier aſſures, *that Abelard deſired by his laſt will, to be buried in the monaſtery of the Paraclet* (53). Francis d'Amboiſe ſays the ſame (54), but merely on Pâquier's teſtimony. However, this I can't believe, becauſe Peter the Venerable does not mention any thing like it in his letter to Heloiſe, concerning Abelard's laſt moments (55). Beſides, it is declared in Abelard's abſolution, that his body was ſent to the Paraclet purely to gratify Heloiſe, which manifeſtly ſhews that ſhe had requeſted it as a favour. Now how could the Abbot of Clugni make that a favour, which was the effect of a perſon's laſt will? All this is ſtrongly confirmed by the calendar of the abbey of the Paraclet, which ſays as follows. *VIII. Kal. Januar. obiit Petrus Cluniacenſis abbas, cujus conceſſu habet eccleſia noſtra corpus magiſtri noſtri Petri* (56). That is, "The eighth "of the calends of * January died Peter, Abbot of "Clugni, by whoſe grant, our church poſſeſſes "the body of our maſter Peter." Andrew du Cheſne's ſilence, in his Notes on Abelard's epiſtolary relation of his misfortunes, appears to me a ſtrong argument againſt Pâquier. Some writers, without mentioning the laſt will, relate, that Abelard's body was ſent to Heloiſe, as he had deſired in his letters (57); but they neither quote the letters, nor the perſons who cited them. However, I found this paſſage, in pag. 53. of his works; (he was then at the abbey of Ruis, and was perpetually afraid of being aſſaſſinated.) *Quod ſi me dominus in manibus inimicorum tradiderit* (ſays he to Heloiſe) *ſcilicet ut ipſi prævalentes me interficiant, aut quocunque caſu viam univerſæ carnis abſens à vobis ingrediar; cadaver obſecro noſtrum ubicunque vel ſepultum, vel expoſitum jacuerit, ad cimiterium veſtrum deferri faciatis, ubi filiæ noſtræ, imò in Chriſto ſorores, ſepulchrum noſtrum ſæpius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino fundendas ampliùs invitentur.* That is, "If heaven ſhould think fit to "deliver me up to my enemies, and they ſhould ſo "far prevail as to kill me; in a word, what kind of "death, or in what place ſoever I may die, (abſent "from you) it is my requeſt, that you would get "my corps (whether buried or expos'd) removed to "your church-yard, in order that our daughters, "or rather ſiſters in Chriſt, by the frequent ſight "of my monument, may be more ſtrongly induced, "to offer up their prayers to God for me." Here follows Abelard's abſolution, that was to be engraved on his tomb, for which purpoſe Heloiſe had deſired it of Peter the Venerable (58). *Ego Petrus, Cluniacenſis abbas, qui Petrum Abælardum in monachum Cluniacenſem recepi, & corpus ejus furtim delatum Heloiſſæ Abbatiſſæ, & monialibus Paracleti conceſſi, authoritate omnipotentis Dei & omnium ſanctorum abſolvo eum pro officio ab omnibus peccatis ſuis* (59). That is, "I Peter Abbot of Clugni (who received "Peter Abelard among my Religious, and permit-"ted his corps to be privately conveyed to He-"loiſe Abbeſs of the Paraclet and to her Nuns;) by "the authority of Almighty God and all his Saints, "abſolve the ſaid Abelard from all his ſins." Belleforêt advanced an arrant falſhood, in ſaying that Abelard's bones were dug up and burnt (60); which F. d'Amboiſe refutes invincibly in his prefatory apology.

(53) Paſquier, *Recherches de la France*, book 6. chap. 17.

(54) *Præfat. Apologet. Opera Abælardi.*

(55) In Operibus Abælardi, p. 337.

(56) *Apud Andr. Quercetanum (ſive du Cheſne) in Notis ad Hiſtor. calamit. Abælardi, in ejus operibus.*

* That is the 25th of December preceeding.

(57) Cave, *Hiſt. Liter. Script. Eccleſ.* p. 652.

(58) See Abelard's Works, p. 343.

(59) In Operibus Abælardi, p. 345.

(60) Belleforeſt's *Chroniq. de France.*

[*Z*] *His maſter Roſcelin.*] Salabert, Prieſt of * Agen, in his diſſertation on the ſect of the Nominaliſts (61), very much queſtions whether Roſcelin was Abelard's maſter. We ſhall examine his reaſons in the article ROSCELIN.

* A city of Guienne in France.

(61) 'Tis entitled, *Philoſophia Nominalium vindicata*, in 8°. printed at Paris, 1651.

[*AA*] *To expound the civil law.*] I believe Francis d'Amboiſe is miſtaken, in thinking that Accurſius ſpeaks of our Abelard, in his illuſtrations of the law, *Quinque pedum præſcriptione.* Accurſius's words are theſe: *Sed Petrus Bailardus, qui ſe jactavit quod ex qualibet quantumcunque difficili litera traheret ſanum intellectum, hic dixit neſcio* (62). That is, "Peter Bailardus, who "boaſted he could find the meaning of any difficult "word, here own'd himſelf nonplus'd." Alciat applauds the modeſty of this Peter Bailard, for ſo ingenuouſly owning his ignorance in that matter. *Magnus ille Andreas Alciatus in illo quem de quinque pedum præſcriptione ſcripſit tractatu, poſtquam Petrum Bailardum celebrem ſua tempeſtate profeſſorem laudavit, quod ingenuè faſſus eſſet eam legem à ſe non intelligi &c.* That is, "The celebrated Andrew Alciat in his work where he "treats *de quinque pedum præſcriptione*, after he "had applauded Peter Bailard, a celebrated pro-"feſſor in his age, becauſe he confeſt ingenu-"ouſly that he did not underſtand that law, &c. (63)." Theſe are Francis d'Amboiſe's words, which alone are ſufficient to refute him; for we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, to make Alciat reaſon juſtly, that the celebrated Profeſſor he applauds, was a law-profeſſor. Now what wonder would it be, ſhould a profeſſor of Logic own, he did not underſtand a difficult paſſage in the Code? And indeed we find this Bailard is mentioned as a law-profeſſor by Petrus Crinitus, who calls him Joannes Bajalardus. We may therefore conclude, that our Abelard is not meant here, and that when Pâquier applies Accurſius's words to him, as thinking this an eſſential remark (64), he had better have ſaid nothing; at leaſt he ſhould have obſerved, that it is Petrus Baylardus in Accurſius, and not Petrus Abellardus, as he aſſerts. But had this Gloſſographer really ſpoke of our Abelard, we ſhould, methinks, conclude, that he miſtook, ſince there is no reaſon to believe that Abelard ever profeſs'd the law. Theſe are Crinitus's words: *Quæſitum eſt ſuperiore ætate à viris doctioribus quidnam in jure noſtro civili præſcriptio quinque pedum ſignaret, qualiſque foret in ea intellectus. Quam rem Laurentius Valla & alii complures cùm non ſatis perciperent hac una ſe ratione defendebant, quod Joannes Bajalardus, inter eos qui jus civile profitentur vir conſultiſſimus ingenuè affirmavit, ſe illud ignorare* (65). That is, "There was, in the laſt age, a queſtion "among the learned, what was ſignified (in the "civil law) by the law *Præſcriptio quinque pedum*, "and how it was to be underſtood: this, Lau-"rentius Valla and many others not being able "to explain, they defended themſelves only with "this reaſon, that Joannes Bajalardus, a very skilful "profeſſor of the civil law, frankly owned, that he "did not know what to make of it." Thomaſius ſhould not have concluded from this paſſage, that Peter Abelard was ſometimes called Baialard (66).

(62) *Apud Francis d'Amboiſe Præf. Apol. Operum Abælardi.*

(63) Alciatus's words are, *Adeò autem exiſtimata eſt difficilis, ut Petrus Baylardus, non incelebris tempeſtate ſua profeſſor, ingenuè faſſus ſit eam a ſe non intelligi.* That is, "'Twas thought "ſo difficult, "that Peter "Baylardus, a "celebrated pro-"feſſor in that "age, confeſt "ingenuouſly he "did not under-"ſtand it.

(64) Pâquier, *Recherches de la France*, lib. 6. cap. 17.

(65) Crinitus *de Honeſtâ diſciplinâ*. lib. 25. cap. 4.

(66) Jacob. Thomaſ. *in Vita Petri Abælardi*, num. 3.

Here follows an obſervation Mr. de la Monnoie ſent me, after reading my remark [*AA*]. I am certain the reader will be better able to form a judgment on this matter, after he has compared that Gentleman's

(u) 'Tis entitled, *De Claris Scriptoribus Cabilonenſibus*, p. 142.

liſt of Moreri's errors [*BB*]. In a work written by father Jacob (*u*), we meet with a long catalogue of authors, who mention Abelard.

reflections with mine, and therefore am perſuaded he will not take it amiſs if I quote his words. *I am perſuaded*, ſays he, that *Accurſius hints at Abelard on the law* quinque pedum. *Abelard was not a civilian by profeſſion, but then he paſt for an univerſal ſcholar, and as one who was reſolved no branch of ſcience ſhould eſcape his reſearches*; qui totum ſcibile ſciebat, *as is ſaid in his epitaph. Accurſius conſiders him as ſuch in the abovecited paſſage; and thoſe who from the Gloſſographer's words imagined that Petrus Baylardus, or Bailardus, was a celebrated law-profeſſor, were miſtaken, for there never was any of that name. Bailardus is the ſame with Abelard, his name having been writ ten or twelve different ways. The Italians, who frequently contract words, writ* Bailardus *for* Abailardus, *as* Ragona *for* Aragona; Naldo *for* Arnaldo; Berto *for* Alberto, *or* Lamberto; *at leaſt it will not be denied, that Jacobus Philippus Bergamenſis, an Auſtin Friar, called our Abelard, Baliardus* (67). So far Mr. de la Monnoie... I ſhall now make an obſervation, which did not occur to me in the firſt edition of this Dictionary, which is, that Abelard, or I am miſtaken, was dead, before the ſtudy of the Roman or Civil Law was known in France. It had been revived in Italy ſome years before (68); and we may preſume, that the infancy of its revival laſted ſome years, conſequently it is not probable that our French Logician ſhould be deſired to explain a private law, which was inexpreſſibly difficult, and of very little uſe. People ſeldom amuſe themſelves with clearing up ſuch points, till they think they have illuſtrated the moſt neceſſary and important; or when they attempt to improve on the firſt interpreters; now it is ſome years before they get thus far. Were it allowed to employ Menage's rules, it would, perhaps, be ſaid, that the Bailardus of Accurſius, is a corruption of Bulgarus, Balgarus, Bailgarus, Bailgardus, Bailardus. Thoſe who copy proper names erroneouſly, or pronounce them wrong, may inſenſibly diſguiſe them very much. Poſſibly thoſe particulars had been ſpoke of Bulgarus the lawyer, which Accurſius, miſled by the corruption of that name, aſcribed to Petrus Bailardus.

(67) See the citation above (39.)

(68) See the article IRNERIUS.

[*BB*] *Moreri's ſeveral miſtakes.*] 1. Abelard never taught Divinity in Corbeil or Melun. 2dly, To ſay that all authors own, Heloiſe was Fulbert the Canon's niece, is no proof againſt Papirius Maſſo, who declares that ſhe was a Canon's natural daughter; for Fulbert might have had a ſiſter who did not behave ſo well as ſhe ought to have done; a ſiſter, I ſay, he being Heloiſe's uncle by the mother's ſide, *Avunculus*. I am ſurpriz'd that Andrew du Chêne (69) ſhould fancy he could refute Papirius Maſſo, by the ſame proof as Moreri made uſe of. 3. It does not appear, that Abelard introduced himſelf at the Canon's, upon pretence of inſtructing Heloiſe in divinity: Why then ſhould writers deſcend to particulars, when the authors they ought to follow expreſs themſelves only in generals.

(69) *Notæ ad Hiſt. Calamit. Abælardi.*

Erat cupidus ille valdè, atque erga neptim ſuam ut ampliùs ſemper in doctrinam profi ceret literatoriam plurimùm ſtudioſus (70). That is, "He was very covetous, "and vaſtly deſirous his niece ſhould improve daily in "learning;" Theſe words don't hint at Divinity more than any other ſcience. 4thly, We don't find that Heloiſe had much eſteem for Abelard, till they liv'd together. 5thly, 'Tis falſe to ſay, that Abelard convey'd her into Britany, when ſhe elop'd from her uncle's; he indeed ſent her into that province, but he himſelf continu'd in Paris, (guarding as well as he could againſt Fulbert's machinations) till the promiſe he made to marry his niece, had ſoften'd the old man's reſentments; and 'twas then he went to her in Britany, as is plain from the relation of his misfortunes. *The compendious Hiſtory of Eloiſa and Abelard*, is not very accurate on this head (71). 'Tis there ſuppos'd, that Abelard went from Paris, when he quitted the Canon's houſe; and upon hearing that his pupil was with child, return'd thither; *and carry'd her off in the night, with a deſign of marrying her, firſt clandeſtinely, and afterwards publickly, when her relations ſhould conſent to it.* But Abelard had no thoughts of making Heloiſe his wife, when he carry'd her off, nor intended ever to publiſh their nuptials. 6thly, *Heloiſe does not ingenuouſly tell him, that ſhe did not deſign by their marriage to deprive the church of a Divine, who, ſhe hop'd, would ſoon be an illuſtrious Prelate.* Nothing like this is found in the long train of arguments which Abelard ſays Heloiſe us'd to diſſuade him from marrying her (72). See the article HELOISE. 7thly, He does not declare that he marry'd her, *to diſburthen his conſcience.* How could Moreri know the motives which induc'd them to tie the nuptial knot better than Abelard himſelf? 8thly, The ſame date ſhould not have been fix'd to their marriage, and her going to the convent of Argenteuil, ſeveral incidents being intermediate to theſe. The only reaſon why Heloiſe was ſent to this convent, was, becauſe her uncle us'd her ill, exaſperated at her denying their marriage. 9thly, 'Tis therefore a ſtrange falſity to aſſert, that their *wedding, tho' kept very ſecret, came to Fulbert's ear*; he being in the church when the nuptial bleſſing was pronounc'd. *Poſt paucos dies, nocte ſecretis orationum vigiliis in quadam eccleſia celebratis, ibidem ſummo mane avunculo ejus atque quibuſdam noſtris vel ipſius amicis aſſiſtentibus, nuptiali benedictione confœderamur* (73). That is, "A few days "after, prayers being ſaid privately in a certain church, "in the night; her uncle, and ſeveral of our "friends came thither very early the next morning, "when the nuptial benediction was pronounc'd over "us." 10thly, Abelard did not read lectures to a great number of pupils in Champagne, after the diſſolute lives of the Monks of Ruis had forc'd him to return to that province; and when Abbot Suger expell'd the Nuns from the convent of Argenteuil. Father l'Enfant copy'd ſome of theſe errors (74).

(70) Abælardi Opera, p. 11.

(71) At the Hague, in 12°, anno 1693.

(72) The remark [*X*].

(73) Abælardi Opera, p. 16.

(74) L'Enfant, (a religious Dominican) *Hiſt. generale de tous les Siecles*, to the 21ſt of April, in 6 volumes in 12°, divided according to the days of the year, and printed in Paris, 1684.

ABELIANS, or ABELONIANS, a ſect of heretics, took its riſe in the plains near Hippo, and was extinct in St. Auſtin's time. Some of its principles were very extraordinary, and no ways calculated to make the ſect laſting [*A*]. Theſe ordain'd, that every male ſhould have his female; and did not think it fitting, nor would allow man to be alone, who was appointed by its ſtatutes to have an aſſiſtant or ſupport like to himſelf; but was not ſuffer'd to lean upon this ſupport, or in other words, to unite corporally

[*A*] *Not at all calculated to make it laſting.*] Such a ſtate of continence which a man and a woman were obliged to live in, who had every thing in common, and whoſe ſociety was conſidered as a real marriage, was too ſevere to be long liv'd, *nullum violentum durabile.* i. e. "Nothing violent is laſting." The Abelians, were a leſs ſevere ſort of Encratitæ and Novatians; for the two laſt abſolutely condemn'd marriage, but the firſt applauded, and obſerved the inſtitution. However, it was ſcarce otherwiſe than nominally; *they had the form, but denied the power thereof*, 2 Tim. iii. 5. *Hi nomen quidem conjugii & nuptiarum retinuerunt, vim autem & effectum earum prorſus ſuſtulerunt* (1). Had theſe hereticks conſidered marriage as a ſacrament, their opinion on this article would have been like that of the Zuinglians with regard to the Euchariſt; they would have admitted of the figure, but not of the reality, which muſt have contributed to the extinction of their ſect. We find in Furetiere's Dictionary (2), that

(1) Danæus in Libr. Auguſtini *de Hæreſ.* cap. 87.

(2) Furetiere, under the word *Marriage.*

Boire & manger, coucher enſemble,
C'eſt mariage, ce me ſemble.
Thus Engliſhed,
"Meat, drink and bed in concert taken,
"Is marriage, or I'm much miſtaken.

This is the natural idea we form to our ſelves of that ſtate, purſuant to which, the laſt of the three attributes is looked upon as the principal and ſpecific difference. 'Tis that which, in marriage, is called conſummation, and without it, the moſt ſolemn contract, betrothings, and the nuptial bleſſing, are conſidered

coporally with his wife; ſhe being to him as the tree of knowledge of good and evil, whoſe fruit was forbidden him on the ſevereſt penalties. Theſe ſectariſts copy'd their marriage from that of Adam and Eve in the terreſtrial paradiſe, who were united by no other tye than that of the heart; or rather, they imitated Abel, whom, they declar'd, was marry'd, but dy'd without knowing woman. This ſect receiv'd its name from Abel (*a*). After a man and a woman had engag'd in this kind of ſociety, they adopted two children, a boy and a girl, who inherited their poſſeſſions, and afterwards marry'd on the ſame conditions, viz. not to procreate, but adopt two children of different ſexes. The poor in their neighbourhood ſupply'd them with children enough for that purpoſe. So far St. Auſtin (*b*); and as he is almoſt the only writer who mentions this ſect, we may preſume it neither ſpread far, nor was long-liv'd. 'Tis thought it began under the Emperor Arcadius, and ended in the reign of Theodoſius the younger. The whole ſect was at laſt reduc'd to the inhabitants of a ſingle village, who all return'd to the Catholic Church.

(*a*) See Bochart. *Geograph. Sacr.* lib. 2. cap. 16. who thinks theſe Heretics had their name from the fiction of Adam's living in a ſtate of continence a hundred and thirty years after Abel's death.

(*b*) Auguſtin. de *Hær.* cap. 87. Vide ibi *Lambert. Danæum.*

only as ſo many preliminaries, from which the parties may eaſily be diſengaged. It is this that ties the knot, and renders it indiſſoluble; it is the end, the aim and crown of the work; it is the *ne plus ultra*. 'Twas not therefore very likely that many perſons, even after the novelty of the tenet ſhould be over, would join in wedlock; be called husband and wife, and deprive themſelves of the high regard which was then paid to celibacy, without taſting the delights of conjugal ſociety. When I therefore obſerved, that the principles of this ſect were not calculated to make it laſt, it was not neceſſary I ſhould allude to the ſmart ſaying aſcribed to Sixtus Quintus; *Non ſi chiava in queſta religione, non durara* (3). i. e. "There is no "embracing (ſocially) in this religion; it cannot laſt." For adoption was to them inſtead of generation; conſequently, what Florus obſerves of the firſt inhabitants of Rome, *Res erat unius ætatis populus virorum.* (4), i. e. "The people conſiſting wholly of men, this "ſtate could laſt but one generation," could not be applied to the Abelians, who, had not other cauſes interfer'd, might have exiſted for ever. *Per ſæculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna eſt in qua nemo naſcitur.* That is, "It is incredible, that there ſhould be a people "who have exiſted for thouſands of ages, though no "one was ever born among them." Pliny ſays this of the Eſſenes or Eſſeans (5), and the ſame obſervation is daily made of the Monks.

(3) Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy, book 1. chap. 1.

(4) Florus, lib. 1. cap. 1.

(5) Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 17.

ABELLI (Anthony) Doctor of Divinity, a Jacobin or Dominican, Abbot of Nôtre-Dame de Livri, in l'Aulnoi; firſt, Preacher to the Queen-mother, and afterwards her confeſſor; publiſh'd at Paris in 1582, his *Sermons on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.* This is copy'd from *La Croix du Maine, & du Verdier Vau-Privas*; and if I cannot correct their miſtakes, I however will propoſe my doubts [*A*]. Had Moreri done thus, we poſſibly ſhould by this time have known the truth; for nothing is a greater inducement to the curious to publiſh their hints and illuſtrations, than when authors confeſs their ignorance in certain matters; and therefore I ſhall often propoſe my doubts. Moreri had ſo many opportunities which I have not, of conſulting perſons, who could have rectified ſuch particulars, that he ought to have done more than barely tranſcribe from la Croix du Maine.

[*A*] *I however will propoſe my doubts.*] It is methinks a little ſtrange, that a Jacobin ſhould poſſeſs an abbey, and have his title from it. I never heard of a part of France called l'Aulnoi. If le Laonois was meant, it is a different thing, but then I don't meet with an abbey of Livri in the dioceſe of Laon (1); for the abbey ſo named is in the dioceſe of Paris. Laſtly, In the inſtrument containing the oath of fidelity which the univerſity of Paris took to Henry IV. the 22d of April 1594; among others who ſign'd it, is one Francis Abely, Abbot of Livri, Preacher and Almoner to the King (2). Let thoſe who have an eaſy opportunity of enquiring, ſee whether many particulars have not been aſcribed to one perſon, which relate to ſeveral (3). The doubts I propoſed, procured me the valuable remark following from Mr. de la Monnoie.

"L'Aunoi or l'Aulnoi is very right. It is the "abbey of Notre-Dame de Livri in l'Aunoi, in Al-"neto (4), of St. Auſtin's order, in the Deanry of "Chelles within the dioceſe of Paris. We muſt "ſuppoſe, that before Anthony Abelli could poſſeſs "this abbey, he was obliged to leave the Dominicans, "and enter among the Auſtin Friars, which he might "eaſily do, it being practis'd daily. I believe that "Francis Abely, who in all probability ſucceeded "Anthony, ſhould not have been entitled Abbot of "Ivri, but of Livri, there being no abbey in France "called Ivri." Abbé Baudrand informs me, *That the abbey of Livri is three leagues from Paris in the way to Meaux, in a little diſtrict called l'Aulnoy, conſiſting of ten or twelve villages, the confines whereof are now unknown.* Theſe two illuſtrations ſufficiently clear up my difficulties.

(1) Vide *l'Etat de la France*, printed in 1680, vol. 2. p. 311, 312.

(2) See Launoi, *Hiſt. du College de Navarre*, p. 372.

(3) This is too often the fault of many Biographers.

(4) Claud. Robertus, *in Nomenclatura Abbatiarum Galliæ.*

ABELLY (Lewis) Biſhop and Count of Rhodez, who dy'd the 4th of Oct. 1691, aged fourſcore and eight years (*a*), was born in Paris, and Rector of Joſſe in that city. He compos'd ſeveral works, and among the reſt a treatiſe of Divinity, entitled *Medulla Theologica* (*b*), *Theological Marrow*, (whence Boileau call'd him the **Marrowy Abelly* [*A*], the

(*a*) *Mercure Gallant* for Oct. 1691.

(*b*) 'Twas firſt printed at Paris, in 1651; and the ſixth edition of it is in 2 vol. 12°, in the ſame city, anno 1659.

* Or as we might ſay, *the Pithy Abelly.*

[*A*] *Call'd him the Marrowy Abelly.*] I ſhall not ſcruple to trace matters farther back, by quoting the following paſſage, the length of which I am perſuaded will not diſpleaſe; not to mention that it will ſerve to corroborate what I ſhall ſay in the following remark.

Alain touſſe & ſe leve, Alain (1), *ce ſavant homme,*
Qui de Bauni vingt fois a lu toute la ſomme,
Qui poſſede Abelli, qui ſait tout Raconis,
Et même entend, dit-on, le Latin d'A Kempis.
N'en doutez point, leur dit ce ſavant canoniſte,
Ce coup part, j'en ſuis ſur, d'une main Janſeniſte:
Mes yeux en ſont temoins: j'ai vu moi-même hier.
Entrer chez le prélat le chapelain Garnier.
Arnaud, cet hérétique ardent à nous détruire,
Par ce miniſtre adroit tente de le ſéduire.
Sans doute il aura lu dans ſon Saint Auguſtin
Qu'autrefois Saint Louis érigea ce Lutrin.
Il va nous inonder des torrens de ſa plume,
Il faut, pour lui répondre, ouvrir plus d'un volume.
Conſultons ſur ce point quelque autheur ſignalé:
Voions, ſi des Lutrins Bauni n'a point parlé.
Etudions enfin, il en eſt temps encore,
Et, pour ce grand projet, tantôt, dès que l'Aurore
Rallumera le jour dans l'onde enſéveli,
Que chacun prenne en main le Moelleux Abeli (2).

Imitated

(1) The perſon here hinted at, is l'Abbé Auberi, Canon of the holy Chapel, and a famous Moliniſt, brother to Mr. Auberi, author of *The Hiſtory of Cardinal Mazarine.* *Suite de Menagiana*, Dutch edition, p. 8.

(2) *Oeuvres de Deſpreaux*; *Lutrin*, chant. 4. ver. 169, &c.

the maxims of which differ widely from thoſe of the Janſeniſts [*B*]. He alſo writ * *The Life of Vincent de Paul*, founder, and firſt Superior-General of the congregation of the miſſion; a book on *the Principles of Chriſtian Morality*; one on *Hereſies*, and another on *the Tradition of the Church, with regard to the worſhip of the Bleſſed Virgin, &c.* This work, the ſecond edition whereof was printed at Paris in 1675, gave great pleaſure to the Proteſtants, becauſe it furniſh'd them with weapons againſt theſe convert-makers, who would perſuade them, that if any thing was overſtrain'd in this kind of worſhip, it aroſe wholly from the thoughts and reflections of Monks, or from certain abuſes which the Biſhops were daily reforming. The Proteſtants alſo employ'd this work againſt that of the Biſhop of Condom (*c*); and indeed Mr. Abelly became the protector, as it were, of the moſt extravagant notions, relating to the devotion of the Virgin Mary; by which he quite defeated the effort of the other Biſhop, and the views of thoſe who publiſh'd or approv'd *The Bleſſed Virgin's ſalutary Advice to her indiſcreet Devotees.* Mr. Abelly was a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris; made Biſhop of Rhodez when Mr. de Péréfixe, the King's preceptor, was rais'd to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Paris; and reſign'd his biſhoprick, when his advanc'd age no longer permitted him to exerciſe the paſtoral functions, and

* The French titles of theſe ſeveral works are as follow: *La Vie de Vincent de Paul*; *Principes ſur la Morale Chrétienne*; *Tradition de l'Egliſe touchant le culte de la Sainte Vierge.*

(*c*) Entitled, *Expoſition de la doctrine de l'Egliſe Catholique.*

† *Avis Salutaires de la Ste Vierge à ſes devots indiſcrets.*

Imitated.

" Then Allen roſe, collected and prepar'd,
" He regularly hemm'd, then ſtroak'd his beard,
" And claim'd, as prolocutor, to be heard.
" The learned ſeer attention might demand;
" The only ſcholar in this reverend band!
" For copious Baxter he had often read,
" And with old Bunyan cramm'd his muddy head.
" Yes, great A Kempis he could conſtrue too,
" And all his knotty paſſages undo.
" Whence cou'd this ſtroke, ſaid he, but from the
" Womb,
" Some younger ſprig of old Socinus, come?
" It muſt be ſo, We're in the Prelate's ſnare;
" Theſe eyes ſaw Deiſt Toland viſit there;
" Satan endeavours, by that ſubtle fiend,
" The Prelate to his purpoſes to bend.
" Sirs, he moſt certainly has ſomewhere heard,
" That this litigious desk St. Lewis rear'd;
" Thus, grown polemical, he'll proudly think
" To drown us all with deluges of ink;
" Vaſt ſubſidies of paper-force he'll raiſe,
" And make his partizans find means and ways.
" Now 'tis our duty timely to prepare,
" And ſtand a reſolute defenſive war;
" Conſult antiquity, the ſcholiaſts ſcan,
" Let every text be bolted to the bran:
" Conſider; Does Aquinas nothing ſay
" Of desks? None of the Fathers lean that way?
" I find this argument will waſte much oil,
" Cloſe reading, indefatigable toil.
" Then when Aurora kindles up the day,
" And lights her lamp extinguiſh'd in the ſea;
" Let every man by lots his portion take,
" And what our learned doctors dictate, ſpeak."

OZELL, &c.

Had theſe verſes related only this junction of Bauni and Abelli, they would ſufficiently ſhew the Anti-Janſeniſm of the latter; but they include ſeveral other ſatyrical darts, which all fly to the ſame mark, and ſtrike home. The Poet has explain'd the epithet *Marrowy* in a marginal note, for which he is to be commended. When I reflect on the conjectures which the critics would ſtart, in caſe the French tongue ſhould have the ſame fate with the Latin, and Boileau's works ſhould ſurvive in diſtant ages, a thouſand whimſical notions occur to me. For ſuppoſe Abelli's *Medulla Theologica* were loſt; that ſcarce one author who had mention'd it ſhould then be extant; and there was no note on the word *Moelleux* (*Marrowy*) in the Lutrin: how would the Critics toil and ſweat to find out the meaning of this epithet, and what a multitude of falſities would they advance (3)? Methinks one of theſe, little ſatisfy'd with the conjectures of all his predeceſſors in criticiſm, would at laſt declare, that Abelli had been diſtinguiſh'd by the epithet *Marrowy*, in alluſion to Abel's offerings, which were not dry like thoſe of Cain, but a real ſacrifice of beaſts: to which purpoſe he would cite the words *Sacrum pingue dabo, nec macrum ſacrificabo:* That is, " I will offer up a fat, and not a lean ſacrifice". He would declare, that ſome parts of victims were more efficacious than others; and that the fat, under which the marrow muſt be included, was of a very ſingular uſe. The deeper his learning, the greater whimſies, the more frantic chimæra's he would raiſe; and on this occaſion, as on ſeveral others, the hope would be verify'd which Boileau mentions in his 9th Satyr.

* *Et déjà vous croiez dans vos rimes obſcures,*
Aux Saumaiſes futurs preparer des tortures.

Thus Engliſhed,

" Ev'n now you think in your myſterious rhymes,
" To torture critiques in ſucceeding times.

Boileau's Works.

* Theſe lines are not juſtly tranſlated in the Engliſh Boileau; they running thus,
" For future
" Rhymers
" crabbed work
" prepare,
" And raiſe another Boyle
" and Bentley
" war."

A perſon hinted, that we wanted a commentary on the Satyrs of this poet (4). It is certain that a great many particulars, in pieces of this kind, ſoon become obſcure, of which the *Catholicon d'Eſpagne*, and the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, are a proof. The publick is greatly indebted to the author, who publiſhed Notes on the latter of thoſe Satyrs in 1693, and on the former in 1696: He has an inquiſitive penetrating genius, and is very equal to the performance.

(4) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Oct. 1684. artic. 5. [Since Mr. Bayle's death, Mr. Broſſette, a friend of Boileau, has publiſhed a commentary on all his works.]

[*B*] *The maxims of which differ widely from thoſe of the Janſeniſts.*] One of theſe made heavy complaints againſt Mr. de la Berchere, Archbiſhop of Aix, for ordering the Director of his Seminary, to *follow Abelly*, and quite lay aſide the *moral Theology* (5) of Grenoble. The perſon abovementioned declares, that there are three pernicious principles in Abelly's *Medulla Theologica*; the firſt, whereof *takes away the moſt certain mark of a good conſcience, acknowledged by the very heathens, who did not think it lawful to do a thing, when one is in doubt whether it be juſt or unjuſt.* The ſecond, *deſtroys the greateſt of the commandments, viz. that which enjoins us to love God above all things.* The third, *claſhes directly with Cardinal Grimaldi's care, in cauſing St. Charles's* * *inſtitutions in the ſacrament of penance to be obſerved, by pointing out a great number of caſes, in which confeſſors ought to refuſe or delay abſolution.* Mr. Abelly is therefore accuſed of teaching, 1ſt, *That it is lawful to follow a leſs probable and leſs ſafe opinion, in committing what is conſidered as ſin according to the contrary opinion, which appears to us more probable.* 2dly, *That we are not ſure, the precept of loving God above all things is ever binding in itſelf, but only ſo by accident.* 3dly, *That the Clergy may always abſolve, without the leaſt ſcruple, perſons, whoſe lives have been a perpetual viciſſitude of confeſſions and crimes*, See *Advice to the Jeſuits of Aix in Provence*, with regard to a piece entitled, *Ballet danſé à la reception de Monſeigneur l'Archeveque d'Aix.* That is, *The maſque or interlude danced at the reception of the Archbiſhop of Aix.* This advice was publiſhed in 12°, anno 1687. It is plain Abelly's work is hinted at in the following paſſage of the *Menagiana*, " Mention being made of A's .... marrow, Abbé le " Camus, now a Cardinal, ſaid, *The moon was in the* " *wane when he writ that piece*" (6). A freſh inſtance of the contempt which the Janſeniſts have for that work.

(5) Written by Mr. Genet, whom Cardinal Grimaldi, Mr. Berchere's predeceſſor, plac'd in his ſeminary, purpoſely that he might teach his ſyſtem of morality there. Genet was afterwards made Biſhop of Vaiſon.

(6) *Menagiana*, p. 65. 1ſt Dutch Edit.

* Borromeo.

(3) Compare this with what Bouhours ſays, in dialogue IV, of his *La Maniere de bien penſer*, &c. p. 399, on the following words of Boileau, *Profès dans l'ordre des Coteaux.* * This name *Coteaux* was given to ſome Gentlemen who refin'd on good cheer. Mr. St. *Evremond* was one of them. See his *Life* by Mr. Des Maizeaux.

and retir'd to the Houſe of S. Lazare. A ſecret he diſclos'd in the life of Vincent gave great ſatisfaction to multitudes of people [C].

[C] *A ſecret .... gave great ſatisfaction to multitudes of people.*] He informed the publick, that Vincent de Paul was reſolved to break off all correſpondence with the Abbot of St. Cyran, upon hearing him declare, that the council of Trent was a mere *cabal, and an aſſembly of Schoolmen and the Pope* (7). No man who believed this, could be a Roman Catholick.

(7) Abelly's *Life of Vincent de Paul*, book 2. chap. 12. of *Prejugés legitimes contre le Janſeniſme*,. That is, "Juſt (or "well-grounded) "Prejudices a-"gainſt Janſeniſm, p. 134.

ABERDEEN, or ABERDON an epiſcopal city in Scotland, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with an univerſity. It may be conſidered as divided into two parts, viz. Aberdeen at the mouth of the Done, and Aberdeen at that of the Dee. The former is called Old, and the latter, New-Aberdeen, both which are not above a mile one from the other. Old Aberdeen is a Biſhop's See and an Univerſity; but New-Aberdeen is richer, and has more trade. The Univerſity was founded in 1480. Aberdeen was made an Epiſcopal See in 1100, whither it was tranſlated from Murtlac, as Hector Boetius the Scotch hiſtorian informs us (*a*). This city is called indifferently by the Latin names following, *Abredonia*, *Aberdonium*, and *Aberdona*: Moreri endeavoured to refine on this article [*A*], but with no great ſucceſs.

(*a*) Apud Baudrand, *Lexicl Geograph.* p. 4.

[*A*] *Moreri endeavoured to refine on this article.*] He cenſured thoſe who tell us of a city called Aberdonne, or Aberdoen, Aberdonia, Aberdona, or Devana; and proceeds thus. *No city in Scotland goes by theſe names; but there are two cities, one of which is called Neu (New)-Aberdon, and the other Old-Aberdon; and the name Aberdon is never found but in ſome incorrect books and maps...* It would be needleſs to prove, that the diſtinction of Old and New Aberdeen, ſo far from being uſed in converſation, is ſeldom obſerved in books. For what author ever ſaid, the *Biſhoprick of Old-Aberdeen; the Univerſity of Old-Aberdeen?* Or what hiſtorian, who mentions that epiſcopal city, adds any epithet to Aberdeen? It is probable, Moreri did not remember his own animadverſion, when he ſays in the article of Scotland, *that there is an Univerſity in St. Andrew's, and another in Aberdeen*; for otherwiſe, according to his own diſtinction, he ſhould have ſaid Old-Aberdon.

☞ ABGARUS, or ABGAR. A name given to divers of the Kings of Edeſſa in Syria. Mr. Herbelot (*a*) truly obſerves, that the name is of Syriac extraction, and ſignifies *Bright* or *Beautiful*, and that thoſe are deceived who write it Agbar, or think it derived from the Arabic word *Akbar*, which imports *Greatneſs*. The tradition of the Orientals, as well Muſulmans as Chriſtians, is, that a King of Edeſſa of this name wrote a letter to Jeſus Chriſt [*A*], and that Jeſus return'd him an anſwer thereto, and at the ſame time ſent him a hand-

(*a*) Herbelot, p. 11.

[*A*] *That a King of Edeſſa of this name wrote a letter to Jeſus Chriſt.*] Abgarus made Thaddæus Biſhop of Edeſſa, which he was twelve years and more; but that Abgarus's ſon and ſucceſſor being an idolater, Thaddæus was by him put to death. Aſſemanus in his third tome, pag. 212. ſays, That in the reign of this Abgarus the Scriptures were firſt tranſlated into Syriac, and cites two hundred and eighty ſix divers authors touching the life of this Abgarus. See alſo tome 1. p. 514, 515. where divers authorities are cited and examined touching the genuineneſs and authority of theſe epiſtles. And the ſame thing is alſo conſidered by Dr. Grabe in his Notes on the firſt tome of the *Spicilegium* abovementioned. Beſides which we have the cenſure of the tranſlator of Euſebius both of the letters and the holy face, who ſays, That though Euſebius and St. Jerom thought thoſe letters genuine, yet Iſidore and Gelatius Biſhop of Rome, about anno 494. together with ſeventy other Biſhops decreed, that the church ſhould receive them for no other than Apocrypha; and then he deſires the reader to obſerve, that late writers, as Damaſcenus, and that known fabulous hiſtoriographer Nicephorus have added divers fabulous particulars to the ſtory, viz. How Abgarus at the ſame time he ſent his letter, ſent alſo a painter to Jeſus in order to view him well, and to take his picture after the life; but that the painter was hindred of his purpoſe by the glorious brightneſs that appeared in the countenance of Jeſus, whereupon Jeſus himſelf taking a handkerchief impreſſes it on his face, and on his taking it thence, there appeared imprinted on the handkerchief the expreſs repreſentation of his divine countenance, which he ſent to Abgarus. To this account Nicephorus hath alſo added other fables; for he ſays, The King of Perſia ſent a painter to Jeſus, who brought him back the pictures both of Jeſus and his mother Mary. Alſo, That the Edeſſæans in the time of Juſtinian the Emperor, being beſieged and reduced to great extremity, ſo that there remained no hopes of deliverance, but a preſent deſtruction was expected; they in the midſt of their deſpair happened to bethink themſelves of the picture, and ran to it for a refuge, from whence it is ſaid they received a ſafe deliverance, and ſure protection. But certainly Euſebius, had ſuch an incident happened, would have inſerted it in his hiſtory. The firſt that mentions any thing like it was one who lived above a hundred years after Euſebius. Indeed Procopius (9) tells a ſtory to this effect; that Choſroes King of Perſia had a deſire to take Edeſſa, becauſe there was a confident tradition that this city could never be taken, being protected by the Holy Face. Our Abgarus, whom he names Augar, being then King and one of the wiſeſt men of that time, and deſirous to be one of the Roman confederates, went to Rome, where conferring with Auguſtus, he ſo amazed him with his wiſdom and charmed him with his converſation, that Auguſtus would not part with him, though he earneſtly deſired to return home; whereupon Abgarus one day took occaſion to go a hunting near Rome, and having taken divers wild beaſts alive, he alſo took a quantity of the earth of the ſeveral places where the beaſts were taken, and carried all back to Rome, where Auguſtus then was ſitting in the Circus. Abgarus goes to him, and ſhews him the beaſts and the ſeveral parcels of earth, and what earth belonged to each beaſt, and then cauſed the earth to be laid in ſeveral heaps in ſeveral parts of the Circus, and the beaſts to be let into the Circus from one place, when every beaſt ran directly to that parcel of earth which belonged to the place where he had been bred. Auguſtus beheld this with wonder, to ſee nature untaught inſtruct even beaſts, to deſire their native earth, whereupon Abgarus proſtrating himſelf ſaid, *Oh! Sir! What ſtrong deſires do you think I muſt have, who have a wife and children, and a kingdom, though a ſmall one, to return to my native country?* Auguſtus being moved with the ſpectacle, and Abgarus's intreaties, unwillingly permitted him to depart, and bid him ask ſomething that might evidence his eſteem for him. Whereupon Abgarus deſired him to build a Circus at Edeſſa, which being granted, he took his leave, and being returned to Edeſſa, his ſubjects asked him, *What good he had brought them from the Emperor?* he anſwers, *I have brought you a grief without damage, and a joy without gain*; meaning the folly of ſhews and plays. After this, ſays Procopius, Abgarus growing old, was tortured with

(9) *Hiſtory of the Perſian Wars*, book 2. chap. 9.

a handkerchief, whereon was impreſs'd the figure of his divine face. This ſtory we have in Euſebius (*b*), which he relates thus: "The fame of Chriſt's miracles in "curing diſeaſes had drawn to Judæa vaſt numbers of people from far diſtant coun- "tries, to be cured of their diſtempers: and Abgarus, a certain King that then reign'd "beyond the Euphrates, labouring under a diſtemper in the feet, hearing of Jeſus's "miraculous cures, requeſted him by letters to come and cure him. Jeſus, tho' not "then yielding to his requeſt, yet wrote him an anſwer; wherein he promis'd, That "he would ſhortly ſend him one of his diſciples, who ſhould not only cure his diſ- "temper, but alſo the diſeaſes of all thoſe that belong'd to him: which promiſe he "perform'd after his aſcenſion; when Thomas the apoſtle, mov'd by a divine im- "pulſe, ſent his brother Thaddæus (whom ſome name Addæus) one of the ſeventy "diſciples, to the city Edeſſa to preach the goſpel, *&c.* There is, ſays Euſebius, "an evident teſtimony of theſe things, taken from the records of the city Edeſſa, "made in the time of that King's reign; wherein are regiſter'd, not only the "acts of former times, but alſo thoſe of King Abgarus, and which are preſerv'd to this "day: therefore, ſays he, I think it fit here to inſert the letters themſelves [*B*), copy'd "from their Syriac annals," viz. *Abgarus Prince of Edeſſa to Jeſus the holy Saviour who hath appear'd in the fleſh in the confines of Jeruſalem, greeting. I have heard of thee, and*

(*b*) Euſeb. *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.* lib. 1. c. 13.

with a violent gout, and having in vain tried the art of phyſicians, and hearing at length of the fame of Jeſus and his miracles, he wrote to him; and Jeſus anſwered his letter, &c. as above. They alſo maintain, ſays Procopius, that Jeſus added a poſtſcript to his letter, *That the City Edeſſa ſhould never be conquered or taken by the Barbarians*; which poſtſcript the writers of the hiſtory of thoſe times knew nothing of. But the Edeſſens afterwards affirm'd it to be found in the epiſtle, and therefore hung up the whole engraven in a table over their gates, eſteeming it as a preſervative and defence to their city; and yet it came not long afterwards under the power of the Perſians, but, ſay they, not conquered; for Abgarus, after his receiving Chriſt's letter, believed and grew well: but dying ſome time after, his ſon who was a very impious man, ſucceeded, and grievouſly oppreſſed his ſubjects; for which, fearing the chaſtiſement of the Romans, he revolted to the Perſians, and received a garriſon from them. But ſome conſiderable time afterwards the Edeſſens deſtroyed that garriſon, and again yielded their city to the Romans, &c. After which Procopius mentions a remarkable conceit, which he, and perhaps ſome other perſons of thoſe times, had, viz.; That if our Saviour did not write that poſtſcript, yet ſeeing men entertained that opinion, he was willing they ſhould believe he would thereby keep the city from being taken, that ſo he might give them no excuſe for wavering in their faith; which is in other words, *That Jeſus Chriſt was willing they ſhould believe a lye, that thereby he might confirm their faith.*

[*B*] *The letters themſelves.*] It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that theſe letters, which by the candid writers of the church of Rome are acknowledged to be ſpurious, ſhould be maintained as genuine by Proteſtant authors; this nevertheleſs is matter of fact. Father Simon (1), and Mr. Du Pin (2) don't ſcruple to own, that theſe epiſtles are forged, whilſt Dr. Parker (3), Dr. Cave (4), and Dr. Grabe (5) pretend *they ought not to be rejected*; the laſt mentioned author indeed does not ſeem ſo poſitive. *I don't own*, ſays he, *that they are undoubtedly genuine* (6); but he urges ſeveral arguments for the epiſtle of Chriſt, and propoſes to anſwer all that is ſaid againſt it. We will propoſe candidly the arguments on both ſides, and leave the reader to form a judgment. Dr. Grabe, who maintains theſe letters are genuine, quotes the teſtimony of Ephraim Syrus, and that of Procopius (7); the former lived in the latter end of the fourth Century, the latter wrote about the year of Chriſt 530. See the paſſage of Procopius in the Note [*A*]. The teſtimony of Procopius, ſays Dr. Grabe, is ſo much the more to be credited, that he was not addicted to ſuperſtition or idle ſtories; that he was no party-writer, and that he declares in his Prefaces that he is acted upon by nothing but the love of truth; this appears throughout his whole work; and in this very hiſtory of Abgarus he has made uſe of the judgment that becomes an hiſtorian, ſince he doubts of the pretended promiſe of Chriſt, that the city of Edeſſa ſhould never be taken, and knows very well how to diſtinguiſh this addition from the reſt of the epiſtles. That there was in Syria a King of Edeſſa, called Abgarus, is manifeſt by the concurrent teſtimony of all hiſtorians; that the fame of Chriſt's miracles was ſpread abroad, even as far as Syria, appears by the expreſs words of St. Matthew (ch. iv. ver. 24.) Why then could not Abgarus, labouring under a great infirmity, have recourſe by letters to the help of our Saviour (8)? The authority of Euſebius is another argument, and indeed the chief, which is brought to maintain the genuineneſs of the letters of Chriſt and Abgarus. Euſebius was a very careful and exact hiſtorian; he ſearched ancient records and conſulted originals; he is a very ancient author, and he poſitively aſſerts, *That he himſelf received theſe letters out of the Archives of Edeſſa.* Τῶν ἐπιſολῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν (9). Theſe are, as much as we could find, the moſt ſubſtantial arguments, that are brought to maintain that theſe letters are genuine; let us hear now thoſe that pretend they are ſpurious; but we ſhall alledge theſe arguments only, that are the leaſt exceptionable, or if any material objection is raiſed againſt them, we ſhall mention that alſo.

1. It is always preſumed that Euſebius was at Edeſſa, and there tranſcribed thoſe letters, and that he tranſlated them out of Syriac into Greek; but that does not evidently appear; they who believe it, have been led into the miſtake, by following the Latin tranſlation of Valeſius, without paying due regard to the original of Euſebius (10). Euſebius ſays, Οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον κἀ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιſολῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, κἀ τόνδε αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῶν Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν τὸν τρόπον. Valeſius tranſlates, *Opera pretium igitur fuerit, ipſas epiſtolas audire, quas ex Archivis depromptas, e Syrorum lingua fideliter tranſtulimus in hunc modum.* That is, "It is worth while "to hear the epiſtles themſelves, which being taken "out of the Archives, *we have faithfully tranſlated* "*them* out of Syriac after this manner." Whereas the ſenſe of the Greek words is, *which being taken or received out of the Archives are tranſlated out of Syriac.* That which is moſt probable is, that Euſebius himſelf never was at Edeſſa, becauſe he does not aſſert it, which he would very probably have done, had he really been there (11).

2. The epiſtles and hiſtory of our Saviour and Abgarus, are not referred to, or mentioned either in the new received goſpels, or by any writer or writers of the three firſt Centuries after Chriſt. It is true indeed, there were many tranſactions in the life of Chriſt, not mentioned in our preſent Goſpels; nor was it the intention of the authors to publiſh every thing he ſaid and did; but it is on the other hand as diſagreeable to their deſign to omit a hiſtory ſo very remarkable as this; nay, there was the moſt urgent neceſſity for the Apoſtles to have publiſhed it, becauſe a controverſy aroſe not only between them and the believing Jews, but even between themſelves, whether the goſpel was to be preached to the Gentiles at all, or whether it was to be confined only to the Jews. Now if this hiſtory were true and known to the Apoſtles, as there could not have been any foundation for this controverſy, ſo if it had aroſe, this epiſtle of Chriſt muſt ſoon have ended it, ſeeing he there expreſly appoints the preaching of the goſpel to this Gentile King and his city (12). I don't find that

(8) All this from Dr. Grabe's Preface quoted above.

(9) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. c. 13. p. 37. Ed. Reading.

(10) Mr. Jones, *ubi ſupra*, vol. 2. p. 13.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Id. ibid See alſo *Clerici Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Sæc. 1. Ann. xxix §. 13. p. 332.

(1) *Crit. Hiſt. of the N. T.* p. 1. c. 3.

(2) *Hiſt of the Canon.* vol. 2. c. 6. §. 1.

(3) *Demonſtr. of the Law of Nature and the Chriſt. Rel.* Pref. p. 34, &c. and Part II. p. 135, &c.

(4) *Hiſt. Liter. in Chriſt.* vol. 1. p. 2, 3.

(5) *Spicileg. Patr.* t. 1. p. 4. and in notis p. 319.

(6) Ibid.

(7) See Grabe *ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2. and the Rev. Mr. Jeremiah Jones's *New Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament*, vol. 2. p. 7, 8.

and of the cures thou haſt wrought without medicines or herbs. For 'tis reported, thou makeſt the blind to ſee, the lame to walk, lepers to be clean, Devils and unclean Spirits to be expell'd, ſuch as have been long diſeas'd to be heal'd, and the dead to be rais'd; all which when I heard concerning thee, I concluded with myſelf, That either thou waſt a God come down from heaven, or the Son of God ſent to do theſe things. I have therefore written to thee, beſeeching thee to vouchſafe to come unto me and cure my diſeaſe. For I have alſo heard, that the Jews uſe thee ill, and lay ſnares to deſtroy thee. I have here a little city, pleaſantly ſituated, and ſufficient for us both. Abgarus (*d*). To this Letter, 'tis ſaid, Jeſus return'd an anſwer by Ananias (*e*) the courier, thus: *Bleſſed art thou, O Abgarus! who haſt believ'd in me whom thou haſt not ſeen; for the Scriptures ſay of me, They who have ſeen me have not believ'd in me, that they who have not ſeen, may, by believing, have life. But whereas thou writeſt to have me come to thee, 'tis of neceſſity that I muſt fulfill all things here for which I am ſent; and having finiſhed them, to return to him that ſent me: but when I am return'd to him, I will then ſend one of my diſciples to thee, who ſhall cure thy malady, and give Life to thee and thine.* Jeſus [*C*]. The ſtory (which they ſay was recorded in the Edeſſin archives) goes on thus: "After Jeſus was "aſcended, Judas, who is alſo nam'd Thomas, ſent to Abgarus, Thaddæus, or Ad-"dæus, one of the ſeventy, who on his arrival went and lodged with Toby the ſon of "Tobias, and when the fame of his arrival and the miracles he wrought became pub-"lick, it was told Abgarus, that the Apoſtle was come which Jeſus had promiſed by "his letters; and Abgarus hearing of the miracles he wrought, and that he cured diſ-"eaſes in the name and power of Jeſus, preſently concluded he was the perſon whom Jeſus "had promiſed in his letters, and therefore ſent for Toby, Thaddæus's hoſt, who on "inquiry informed him, *&c.* In ſhort, next day Toby conducts Thaddæus to court, "and on his entrance Abgarus ſpies him, and ſeeing a great light or glory in his coun-"tenance, made him a profound reverence which amaz'd all preſent, who had never "ſeen any thing like it. Then Abgarus queſtion'd him thus, *Art thou indeed a diſciple of "Jeſus the Son of God, who made me this promiſe; I will ſend one of my diſciples to thee?* "*&c.*

(*d*) See Dr. Grabe's *Spicilegium Patrum*, tom. 1. p. 6. *ευτήρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι.*

(*e*) Euſebius ſays, 'twas by the ſame meſſenger that brought Agbar's Letter.

that the latter part of this argument has ever been anſwered by any of thoſe authors, who maintain the letters are genuine. Mr. Le Clerc is the firſt, as far I know, that made uſe of that argument, and his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* was printed after the ſecond edition of Dr. Grabe's *Spicilegium* (13). But to the firſt part of the argument, viz. The ſilence of all the writers of the three firſt Centuries, Dr. Grabe anſwers, That Chriſt's epiſtle was not mention'd, becauſe it did not relate either to the doctrine or precepts of the Chriſtian religion; and beſides, the original of that letter being kept in the Archives of Edeſſa, the Chriſtians could not eaſily have a ſight of it; nor could it be known whether it was written in our Saviour's own hand, becauſe there were few people left, if any, that knew his hand writing (14). Mr. Reading, who has publiſh'd a new and beautiful edition of Euſebius, with Valeſius's tranſlation and notes, and ſome additional remarks, ſays, that the Greek fathers did not ſpeak of theſe letters, becauſe they did not underſtand the Syriac language (15), but he does not mention Mr. Le Clerc's objection, though one would think he could not be ignorant of it.

(13) This ſecond edition was printed 1714, and Mr. Le Clerc's Hiſtory in 1716.

(14) Grabe *Spicilegium*, vol. 1. in notis, p. 321.

(15) Ad Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 13. *in notis varior.* not. 6. col. 2.

3. The epiſtle under the name of Chriſt, makes him defer the curing of Abgarus, till after his aſcenſion one of his Apoſtles ſhould come and perform it; but Chriſt always cured thoſe who made applications (with belief) here to him, as Abgarus is ſaid to do; and would it be much ſatisfaction to him, to be told of a cure, to be wrought in an uncertain time to come? This muſt ſhock the faith he is ſuppoſed to have, and Chriſt would not write after this manner, when he could with one word ſpeaking have performed the cure (16). To this Dr. Grabe anſwers, The œconomy of Chriſt's office was ſuch, that he was ſent only to *the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael* (17), which is the reaſon why before his reſurrection he always expreſly charged his Apoſtles *not to go into the way of the Gentiles* (18). But one might inſiſt, that as he cured the daughter of the Cananean, or Syrophœnician woman (19), he could alſo cure the King of Edeſſa.

(16) Mr. Jones, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17. See alſo Natal. Alexander *in Hiſt. Sæculi* 1.

(17) Matth. xv. 24.

(18) Ibid. ver. 28.

(19) Ibid. x. 5.

4. It is highly improbable that a heathen Prince ſhould ſo readily acknowledge the Divinity of our Saviour, as Abgarus is made to do in his letter. The Greek words, Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς,—ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, do not ſeem to proceed from a heathen, the article ὁ ſhews that by ὁ Θεὸς is here meant the Father by way of eminence; this way of ſpeaking is peculiar to them that acknowledge but one God; a heathen would have ſaid Θεὸς τὶς, *Deus quiſpiam*, that is, *If you are a God, or the Son of a God* (20).

(20) Clericus, *ubi ſupra*, and Jerem. Jones, loc. cit. p. 20.

5. We ſhall offer but one argument more, which will be an anſwer to what is ſaid above in behalf of Euſebius. Whatever opinion ſome people may entertain of him, judicious criticks look upon him as an author who is very credulous and careleſs, and not much to be depended upon. *No one*, ſays Scaliger, *has contributed more to the Chriſtian hiſtory, and no one is guilty of more miſtakes* (21). And in another place (22), *If a perſon's learning is to be judged of by his reading, no body can deny Euſebius the character of a learned man; but if he is to be eſteemed learned, who has ſhewn judgment together with reading, Euſebius is not ſuch.* It is certain, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid in his favour, there are too many inſtances in his works, both of partiality and credulity, to ſay no worſe, beſides that he frequently truſts too much to his memory (23). It appears by this, how much he may be credited, in what he relates concerning Jeſus Chriſt, and Abgarus. But after all, the author (24) from whom we have borrowed moſt of theſe remarks, thinks this hiſtory is interpolated. It could eaſily be done, ſays he, becauſe it was the end of the book; and what renders this ſuppoſition very probable, is, according to the ſame author, that when Euſebius is relating in the next book, ch. i. what happened to, and was done by the Apoſtles, after our Saviour's aſcenſion, he relates this hiſtory very ſuccinctly, but without ſo much as one of thoſe circumſtances, by which we have proved the hiſtory to be ſpurious and ſuppoſititious. It is true indeed, he is made to refer to the former place; but it was neceſſary this ſhould be interpolated, upon the ſuppoſition of the former being ſo.

(21) Elench. Trihæreſ. c. 29. apud Jeremiah Jones, loc. cit. p. 25.

(22) In Chron. Euſeb. p. 8. apud eund. ibid.

(23) Jerem. Jones, loc. cit.

(24) Jeremiah Jones, loc. cit.

[*C*] *And give life to thee and thine. JESUS*] Cedrenus and ſome others have not only repreſented this letter, as ſigned with the name Jeſus, but have alſo given us an inſcription of the ſeal, wherewith it was ſealed, which they ſay was in Hebrew characters, and bore in Greek this interpretation, Θεοῦ Θαυμαστὸν Θαῦμα Θεῖον. That is, *A wonderful and divine ſight of God.* Alſo Lambecius lib. 5. N° II. referring to the Greek Code, p. 207. has given us the figure of the ſeal to Chriſt's letter, but with a different inſcription. But as neither Euſebius nor any of the ancients mention any thing of this particular, we may well conclude thoſe forgeries to be of later invention. Nor can I ſee any good ground to believe either of the two letters to have been genuine, notwithſtanding the elaborate arguments of Dr. Cave in his *Hiſtoria Literaria*, and others to ſupport them, eſpecially that of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe writings would juſtly have been held of more Divine authority than thoſe of an Apoſtle or Evangeliſt, and conſequently have been at leaſt mentioned, if not recorded by the penmen of the New Teſtament.

(12) See Grabe's *Spicilegium*, vol. 1. p. 326.

" &c. Whereto Thaddæus anſwer'd; *Becauſe thou haſt had great faith in the Lord*
" *Jeſus who ſent me, therefore I am ſent to thee: and if thou wilt yet believe more, thou*
" *ſhalt obtain all thou deſireſt, according to the meaſure of thy faith.* Abgarus replies; *I*
" *have had ſo great faith in him, that I would have made war on the Jews who crucify'd*
" *him, and would have utterly deſtroy'd them, had not the fear of the Roman Empire re-*
" *ſtrain'd my purpoſe.* Then ſays Thaddæus, *Our Lord and God Jeſus Chriſt fulfill'd*
" *all that had been commanded him by his Father, and then aſcended to his Father.*
" Abgarus anſwers; *I have believ'd in him and in his Father.* Then ſays Thaddæus,
" *In the name of our Lord Jeſus I lay my hands upon thee:* which when he had done,
" Abgarus was preſently cur'd of his diſtemper; but the manner of the cure ſur-
" priz'd him, for Thaddæus, as well as Jeſus, cur'd without drugs or plaiſ-
" ters. And not only Abgarus, but alſo Abdus the ſon of Abdus was cur'd by him
" of the gout in the ſame manner. After which Abgarus prays him to expound
" unto him the coming of Jeſus, his being made Man, &c. To which Thad-
" dæus replies, *Though I am expreſsly ſent to preach theſe things to thee, I will be*
" *ſilent now; but to-morrow call all thy people and citizens together, and then I will*
" *deliver to them the meſſage of God, the Word of Life; and teach the manner of his*
" *coming; how he was made Man, and of his meſſage, and to what end he came; and*
" *alſo of his miracles, parables, and power over diſeaſes* [*Devils*]; *how baſe and mean he*
" *appear'd; how he humbled himſelf, and dy'd, and diveſted himſelf of his Divinity; what he*
" *ſuffer'd,* &c. *and how he deſcended into hell, and rent aſunder that veil and midwall*
" *never disjoin'd before; and rais'd the dead that had long time ſlept; how he deſcended alone*
" *into the regions of death, but aſcended to the Father accompany'd with many; how he ſits in*
" *glory at the right hand of the Father; and how he ſhall come again with glory and power to*
" *judge both the quick and the dead,* &c. Theſe things were done, ſays Euſebius,
" Anno Chriſti 43; which we, ſays he, have tranſlated word for word out of the
" Syriac, *&c.*

ABGILLUS (JOHN) ſon to a King of the Friſii, led ſo exemplary a life, that he was ſirnamed the Prieſt. He accompanied Charlemagne in his expedition to Paleſtine, and inſtead of returning to Europe as that Monarch did after the taking of Jeruſalem; he advanced as far as the Indies, where he gained mighty conqueſts and founded the Empire of the Abyſſines, which, from his name, was called the Empire of Preſter-John. He wrote two hiſtories, the one of Charlemagne's journey into the Holy-Land; and the other of his own expedition into the Indies, the latter whereof deſcribes the country, and the various nations who inhabit it. If Suffridus Petri (*a*) had the weakneſs to believe, that theſe hiſtories ought not to be ranked among the trifling romances written in the ages of ignorance, in which Charlemagne was boldly introduced with all the air of an imaginary hero, ſuch as Palmerin d'Olive, Hugh of Bourdeaux, Geoffry *à la grand' dent*, or great Grinders? if Suffridus Petri, I ſay, was ſilly enough to give credit to all this, he very juſtly deſerves the ſatyrical laſhes which Voſſius gives him (*b*); for nothing can be more fabulous, than Charlemagne's conqueſt of Jeruſalem.

(*a*) He mentions this author and his two works, in his treatiſe *de Scriptor. Friſiæ.*

(*b*) *O hominem valdè ſimplicem, ac propè dixerim inſipientem, qui vanis adeo ac ſtultis commentis habuerit fidem!* Voſſius de Hiſtor. Latin. p. 300. That is, " What " a ſimple, and " I had almoſt " ſaid, fooliſh " man, was he, " (Suffridus Pe- " tri) to give " credit to ſuch " idle, witleſs " fictions?

☞ABIATHAR, High-prieſt of the Jews, was ſon to Ahimelech, who had borne the ſame office, and received David in his houſe [*A*]. This ſo enraged Saul who hated David, that he put to death Ahimelech and eighty five Prieſts; Abiathar only eſcaping this dreadful maſſacre. He afterwards was High-prieſt, as was before obſerved, and often gave King David teſtimonies of his fidelity, particularly during Abſalom's conſpiracy, at which time, Abiathar followed David and bore away the ark. But after this, Abiathar conſpiring with Adonijah in order to raiſe him to the throne of King David his father; this ſo exaſperated Solomon againſt Abiathar, that he diveſted him of the Prieſthood, and baniſhed him A. M. 3021, 1014 years before Chriſt. Thus was fulfilled in his perſon, what God had foretold to Eli, viz. That his poſterity ſhould be deſtroyed, becauſe of the crimes of his two ſons, 1 Sam. xxii. 1 Kings. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 7 and 8. Uſſer. Annal.

☞ABIGAIL

[*A*] *Son to Ahimelech, who received David in his houſe.*] Father Berruyer (1) the Jeſuit, relates this incident, between David and Ahimelech, as follows. " You don't know, ſays David to Ahimelech, that the " King's order for my departure was ſo ſudden, that " neither my ſelf, nor my few companions, had time " to take a morſel; and I am bound to ſuch inviolable " ſecrecy, that I cannot appear before any perſon " but you. If you therefore have got any thing " ready, were it only five or ſix loaves; in a word, " whatever you have at hand, be ſo good as to in- " dulge it me; in order to ſatisfy my appetite. I " would do it with all my heart, replied Ahimelech, " but I have none of the common bread which the " Laity is allowed to eat of, having nothing but holy " bread to offer you; and beſides, it is requiſite that " you and your companions ſhould have purified your " ſelves, and above all, that none of you ſhould have " had the leaſt commerce with women. Don't trou- " ble your ſelf about that, ſays David immediately to " the High-prieſt, if the commerce with women be " the only obſtacle, you may ſafely do us the good " office we require at your hands; for we have not " come near one ſince our firſt ſetting out, which is " three days. I anſwer for my companions in this " particular, and you may depend upon my word; " beſides, all the baggage they have brought with " them is pure, according to the law. Poſſibly they " may have contracted ſome legal pollution in the " journey, but they ſhall all purify themſelves to day, " and I'll take upon my ſelf to ſee that every thing " be done in a proper manner. Ahimelech, upon " David's making this promiſe, having no other " loaves but the bread, which had been taken from " before the face of the Lord, or from before the " ark, thought a diſpenſation might be allowed " on ſo ſingular an occaſion, and thereupon gave, " without the leaſt ſcruple, the hallowed bread to " David." Thus this interview which is related in Scripture with the utmoſt ſimplicity, is told by our reverend Father with all the eaſe and vivacity of modern dialogue.

(1) *Hiſtoire du Peuple de Dieu*, tom. 4. Paris, chez Caillcau, &c. 1728, 4°.

☞ ABIGAIL was the wife of Nabal [*A*], an avaritious, churliſh, miſchievous man, who inhabited the deſart or wilderneſs of Maon, and whoſe poſſeſſions were in Carmel. David, when purſued by Saul, had always been very careful not to injure any thing belonging to Nabal. Happening once to be in great diſtreſs, he ſent very courteouſly to Nabal [*B*], deſiring he would favour him and his attendants with proviſions. The latter returned a very rude anſwer [*C*], which ſo exaſperated David, that to revenge the inſult, he formed a reſolution to extirpate him and all his houſe, but Abigail advancing to meet him with proviſions calmed his juſt reſentments. David was charmed with Abigail [*D*], and ſoon gave her a proof of his being ſo; for Nabal dying ten days after, David ſent her word that he intended to make her his wife. Abigail declared at firſt that ſhe did not deſerve ſo great an honour; however, ſhe afterwards went and met David, who married her the year Samuel died, viz. A. M. 2975 and 1060 before Chriſt. 1 Sam. xxv. There was alſo another Abigail, daughter of Nahaſh, ſiſter to Zeruiah, and mother of Joab, 2 Sam. xvii. 25.

[*A*] *Abigail was the wife of Nabal.*] Father Berruyer the Jeſuit has been an excellent painter on this occaſion. "Nabal's riches, ſays he, conſiſted "in vines and corn, but eſpecially in paſture grounds, "in which a thouſand goats and three thouſand ſheep "graz'd. However, theſe large poſſeſſions were no- "thing in compariſon of the treaſure he poſſeſs'd in "the chaſte Abigail his wife, the moſt accompliſhed "woman of her tribe, with reſpect to all thoſe qua- "lities both of body and mind which form the "amiable woman. Nabal, unhappily for Abigail, "was not worthy of poſſeſſing her, and never couple "were worſe matched. The wife was beautiful, "well-ſhap'd, careful, prudent, a good houſewife, "vaſtly good-natur'd, and indefatigably vigilant; but "as for the husband, he was diſſolute, capricious, "head-ſtrong, contemptuous; always exaſperated at "good advice, and never failing to make a bad uſe of "it; in a word, a man whoſe riotous intemperance "the virtuous Abigail was perpetually obliged to "bear with, to atone for his extravagant ſallies, or "diſſemble his follies; beſides, he was an infidel "and as deprav'd an Iſraelite as his wife was regular "and fervent (1).

(1) *Hiſtoire du Peuple de Dieu*, vol. 4. p. 202, 203.

[*B*] *David ſent very courteouſly to Nabal.*] Mr. Henry explains the meſſage in the modern way thus (2). "Tell Nabal, I ſent you to preſent my ſervice to "him, and to enquire how he does and his family." But this author afterwards cenſures David for his too great, as he thinks, condeſcenſion. "David, ſays he, "methinks paſt too high a compliment upon Nabal, "when he call'd him the *man that liveth*; David "knew better things, that *in God's favour is life*, "not in the world's ſmiles. And by Nabal's rough "anſwer he was well enough ſerved, for the too "ſmooth addreſs to ſuch a muck-worm.

(2) *An Expoſition of the Books of the Old Teſtament*, by Matt. Henry, Vol. 2. on 1 Sam. xxv. London Folio 1728.

[*C*] *Nabal returned a very rude anſwer.*] It appears from the foregoing verſes of the chapter whence theſe particulars are extracted, that David had ſent a very courteous meſſage to Nabal; having ordered his ſervants to *greet him in his name, to wiſh peace to himſelf, his houſe and all things belonging to him.* But what a queſtion did Nabal ask? This contemptuous one, *Who is David? and who is the ſon of Jeſſe?* However, he made a worſe compliment to the meſſengers; *There be many ſervants now a-days that break away every man from his maſter* (3). Or in other words, that they were a pack of runaways, who, like ſo many drones, were come to prey upon his ſubſtance. But David reſented the affront, and ordering four hundred of his men to gird on their ſwords; he ſet out at the head of them, and vowed *he would not leave of all that pertained to Nabal, by the morning light, any that piſſeth againſt the wall* (4). However, Abigail coming to meet David unknown to her husband, her beauty, wit and great obſequiouſneſs ſoon won David's heart.

(3) Idem ibid.

(4) 1 Sam. xxv. 10.

When beauty in diſtreſs appears
An irreſiſtleſs charm it wears.
Horace tranſlated by ſeveral hands.

[*D*] *David was charmed with Abigail.*] The above-mentioned author of the *Hiſtory of the people of God*, relates the riſing affection which David had for Abigail, and the progreſs of it as follows. "David, during "the little time he had ſtayed with Abigail, had ob- "ſerved that ſhe was very beautiful, but ſtill more "conſpicuous for her modeſty; that ſhe was very "mild, vaſtly prudent, and above all informed with "the deepeſt ſenſe of religion. He pitied her when "he reflected that ſo perfect a woman was married "to ſo wicked a man, but then he could only pity "her. He did more when he heard of Nabal's death; "he thought the widow deſerved better; he wiſhed "to engage her love; and believed her merit was "ſuch, that he might offer himſelf to her as a huſ- "band, though God had deſtin'd him to be her ſo- "vereign. He already had two wives ... but as the "law allowed of a plurality, he thought he could "not uſe this privilege more *à propos* than on this "occaſion. He let ſome time, for decorum ſake, "paſs, before he made freſh propoſals to Abigail; "but at the end of it, he ſent ſome of his officers, "to offer her, in his perſon, a husband worthy of "her, whoſe tenderneſs ſhould make her forget the "injurious treatment ſhe had met with from Nabal. "This treaty of marriage was carried on by David's "deputies on mount Carmel. We come, ſaid they "to Abigail, from a hero who is not unknown to "you, to aſſure you that his heart is at your devo- "tion, and that he deſires to make you his wife; "David will be Abigail's husband; you are to con- "ſider whether it will be proper for you to reject "this offer. Conſult your religion, your wiſdom, "your intereſt, and give us a direct anſwer as ſoon as "poſſible. How I! replied Abigail, proſtrating her "ſelf humbly to the ground; I! become the ſpouſe "of David my Lord and my King? Tell your maſter "that I am the humbleſt of his ſervants; that I pre- "tend to no other honour than that of waſhing the "feet of his ſervants, and ſhall think my ſelf too "happy, if he will let that be my employment. This "was ſaying enough, and though a modeſt, was not "an equivocal anſwer. The deputies took her mean- "ing, and overjoyed at the ſucceſs of their commiſ- "ſion, they ſet out, in order to carry the agreable "news to their maſter; but firſt made Abigail pro- "miſe that ſhe would follow them immediately, and "not delay the ſolemnizing of a marriage, concluded "in heaven before it was thought of upon earth. "Abigail prepared her ſelf for it with all the diligence "which the diſpoſition of Providence required from "her. She cauſed five maidens who had been long "in her ſervice to attend upon her; then mounting "her aſs, ſhe arrived ſoon after David's Envoys into "the deſert of Paran. The nuptials were there ce- "lebrated with leſs magnificence than ſuited the dig- "nity of the husband, but with an abundance of "celeſtial bleſſings, infinitely preferable to the tran- "ſient pomp of kingly marriages (5).

(5) *Hiſtoire du Peuple de Dieu*, vol. 4. p. 213, 214, 215.

☞ ABIHU, was brother to Nadab, and ſon to Aaron. The two former had the happineſs to aſcend Mount Sinai with their father, and there to behold the glory of God, which is deſcribed in a very ſublime manner in Scripture (*a*) [*A*]: but afterwards, putting ſtrange fire

(*a*) Exod. xxiv.

[*A*] *And there beheld the glory of God.*] The deſcription which the Scripture gives us of this, is very auguſt. *And they ſaw the glory of God; and there was under his feet, as it were .... the body of heaven in his clearneſs.*

fire into their cenſers, inſtead of the ſacred fire which the Lord had commanded to be employ'd on thoſe occaſions, they were ſoon puniſh'd for their diſobedience; for fire ruſhing upon them, ſeiz'd on their faces and breaſts, ſo that they were kill'd before any ſuccour could be brought them. This happen'd in the tabernacle near Mount Sinai, Anno Mundi 2545, and before Chriſt 1490 (*b*). Moſes caus'd their bodies to be carry'd out of the camp, in order that they might be honourably interr'd. But tho' all the people bewail'd this ſurprizing cataſtrophe, Moſes forbid Aaron and his two ſons Eleazar and Ithamar to join in the lamentation, to evince, that as they were honour'd with the dignity of the Prieſthood, they were more ſenſible of the glory of God, than of their own private affliction. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 3. c. 9.

(*b*) Levitic. x.

neſs.... and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it ſix days: and the ſeventh day he called unto Moſes out of the midſt of the cloud. And the ſight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire, on the top of the mount (1). Our inſpired Milton always preſents us with the moſt ſublime images on theſe occaſions.

(1) Exod. xxiv.

About him all the ſanctities of heav'n
Stood thick as ſtars, and from his ſight receiv'd
Beatitude paſt utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory ſat,
His only Son (2).

(2) *Paradiſe loſt*, B. 3. ver. 60. & ſeq.

The Father infinite,
By whom in bliſs emboſom'd ſat the Son
Amidſt, as from a flaming mount, whoſe top,
Brightneſs had made inviſible (3).

(3) Ibid. B. 5. ver. 595, & ſeq.

The ſolemnity of theſe images raiſes the ſoul above every thing terreſtrial, and bears it on the wings of rapture to heaven. There are a great number of places in Scripture, which are infinitely more auguſt than any thing in Milton. "The excellent ſong of "Moſes (Exod. xv.) ſays the learned and ingenious "Mr. Rollin (4), may very juſtly be conſidered as one "of the moſt eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn "of it is great, the thoughts noble, the ſtyle ſublime "and magnificent, the expreſſions ſtrong, and the "figures bold: the whole abounds with particulars "which ſtrike the mind and ſeize the imagination. "This piece, which ſome think was written by Moſes "in Hebrew verſe, excells all that the antients have "in this kind; and Virgil and Horace, the moſt per"fect models of profane eloquence, have nothing "comparable to it. No one, ſays Mr. Rollin, has a "greater eſteem for thoſe two celebrated writers "than I have, and I ſtudied them with the moſt in"tenſe application, and the greateſt pleaſure for ſeve"ral years. Nevertheleſs, when I read Virgil's com"pliment to Auguſtus in the third book of the "Georgicks (5), and at the concluſion of the eighth "Æneid (6); and the lines which Evander the "Prieſt ſpeaks in honour of Hercules (7) in the ſame "book; though they are all very fine, they yet ap"pear to me groveling, when compared to the ſong "of Moſes. Virgil methinks is all ice, and Moſes "all fire. The ſame may be affirmed of Ode 14 and "15 of book 4, and of the laſt of the Epodes of "Horace.... A circumſtance which ſeems to favour "theſe two poets and the profane writers, is, that "they boaſt a harmony and elegance of ſtyle which "is not found in the Scriptures: but then it muſt be "conſidered, that we generally read the ſacred books "in a tranſlation; and it is well known that the "beſt French tranſlations of Cicero, Virgil and Ho"race diſfigure thoſe authors very much. Now the "original language of the Scriptures muſt be vaſtly "eloquent, ſince there is more eloquence in the co"pies of it, than in all the Latin pieces of antient "Rome, or the Greek works of Athens. The elo"quence of the Scriptures is cloſe, conciſe, devoid "of foreign ornaments, which would only deaden its "impetuoſity and fire; an enemy to long perambula"tions, it goes to its mark by the ſhorteſt path. It "loves to include a great many thoughts in a few "words;.... and to make ſuch objects ſenſible as "are fartheſt removed from the ſenſes, by the lively "and natural images it forms of them. In a word, "it is great, ſtrong, energetic, and boaſts a majeſtic "ſimplicity which raiſes it above heathen eloquence. "Any one need only compare the abovecited paſ"ſages of Virgil and Horace, with *the Song of "Moſes*, to be convinced of the truth of what "is here aſſerted." Another ingenious author (8) ſpeaks in the nobleſt manner of the ſtyle and language of the Scriptures. "We have no inſtance, ſays he, "to produce of any writers, that riſe at all to the "majeſty and dignity of the Divine attributes, except "the ſacred pen-men. No leſs than Divine inſpiration "could enable men to write worthily of God, and "none but the Spirit of God knew how to expreſs "his greatneſs, and diſplay his glory: in compariſon "of theſe divine writers, the greateſt genius's and "nobleſt wits of the heathen world are low and dull. "The ſublime majeſty and royal magnificence of the "Scripture poems are above the reach, and beyond "the power of all mortal wit. Take the beſt and "livelieſt poems of antiquity, and read them as we "do the Scriptures in a proſe tranſlation, and they "are flat and poor. Horace, Virgil and Homer loſe "their ſpirit and ſtrength in the tranſuſion to that "degree, that we have hardly patience to read "them (9). But the ſacred writings, even in our "tranſlation, preſerve their majeſty and their glory, "and very far ſurpaſs the brighteſt and nobleſt com"poſitions of Greece and Rome.

(4) *De la Maniere d'enſeigner & d'etudier les belles Lettres*, &c. tom 2. in Paris 1730. 3 Edit. p. 608. 12°.

(5) Ver. 16. 39.
(6) Ver. 675. 728.
(7) Ver. 287.

(8) *A Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics and forming a juſt ſtyle*, p. 127. London printed for J. Bowyer 1713. 12°.

(9) Here the learned writer ſeems to go a little too far.

ABIMELECH, King of Gerar, a country of the Philiſtines, was cotemporary with Abraham. This Patriarch and his family being there, his wife Sarah, though fourſcore and ten years of age (*a*), was not ſafe in it, for Abimelech carried her off, and was ſo ſmit with her beauty, that he reſolved to marry her. Abraham might have prevented this unlucky accident, had he declared himſelf Sarah's huſband; but as he was afraid of being murthered, he thought proper to give out that ſhe was his ſiſter, and intreated her to ſay he was her brother (*b*). He had once before employed this expedient (*c*), which certainly does not merit the elogiums St. Chryſoſtom beſtows upon it [*A*]. It is thought the King of the Philiſtines was afflicted with a diſeaſe which rendered

(*a*) See the laſt remarks of the article SARAH.

(*b*) *Geneſis* xx.

(*c*) *Geneſis* xii.

[*A*] *Is far from meriting the elogiums which St. Chryſoſtom beſtows upon it.*] We ſhall take notice, on another occaſion (1), how far Abraham's diſſimulation merited cenſure. Every one may form what judgment he pleaſes, on his relapſing into this fault. As Sarah's honour had been expoſed to ſo much danger once before, Abraham's repetition of the lie ſeems, at firſt ſight, leſs venial; but on the other ſide, does not a perſon ſeem more excuſable who employs an expedient which has ſucceeded, than when he firſt attempts it? And is it not certain, that Abraham's firſt attempt had a wiſh'd for ſucceſs? For not only his life was ſpared, but rich preſents were made him, and his wife was reſtored un-injured, which, perhaps, he did not expect. I uſe the word *perhaps*, not daring to write what St. Chryſoſtom preached. *You are ſenſible*, ſays he to his auditors, *that nothing exaſperates a husband more, than for his wife to be ſuſpected of having been in the power of another; and yet this juſt man does his utmoſt to have the act of adultery compleated* (2). It was natural, after this, to ſuppoſe the preacher would cenſure the Patriarch; but ſo far from it, he beſtows the higheſt encomiums

(1) In the remarks of the article SARAH.

(2) Ὁ μὲν τοι δίκαιος καὶ σπουδάζει καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, ὥστε εἰς ἔργον τὴν μοιχείαν ἐκβῆναι. Chryſoſt. Homil. 33. in Geneſ.

rendered him impotent [*B*] : but however this be, it is certain that providence would not ſuffer him to ſatiate his paſſion for Sarah, he being admoniſhed in a dream, that ſhe was married to a Prophet, and that he ſhould die, in caſe he did not reſtore her to Abraham. The King then gave her back to him, but at the ſame time reproached them with their falſe aſſeverations. Abraham made his excuſes, and among other reaſons told him, that Sarah indeed was his ſiſter, but by a different mother; this we are told in Scripture. Moreri ſubſtitutes very improperly, inſtead of the ſacred text, the words of Joſephus, who falſely ſuppoſes, that Abraham declared Sarah was his brother's daughter (*d*). He has followed the ſame author in a circumſtance which is not once mentioned in Scripture, viz. That Abimelech and Abraham made a covenant when Sarah was reſtored to her husband: for the Scripture ſays no more, than that Abimelech made this Patriarch very conſiderable preſents, and permitted him to reſide in any part of his dominions. 'Tis true indeed, that a covenant (that of Beer-ſheba) was made between them; but

(*d*) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 11.

eomiums on his courage and prudence; on his courage, for its having ſo far ſuppreſs'd all emotions of jealouſy as made him cool enough to give the advice he did; and on his prudence, for its ſuggeſting an expedient, ſo happily calculated to extricate him from the troubles and perils which then ſurrounded him. St. Chryſoſtom did not forget to diſplay, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the dreadful force of jealouſy, the better to manifeſt the prodigious courage of him who had triumph'd over it; but on the other ſide, he heightned the merit of Abraham's prudence, by obſerving, that when this Patriarch conſidered that Sarah was too beautiful to eſcape the laſcivious Egyptians, whether ſhe paſſed for his wife or ſiſter, he reſolved ſhe ſhould go under the latter character, becauſe he hoped to ſave his own life by this artifice. *Behold*, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, *with what prudence this juſt man finds out an expedient, which ſecures him from all the ſnares of the Egyptians?* He then makes the following excuſe, for his having conſented to his wife's adultery, viz. that as Death was not yet diſpoſſeſſed of his tyranny, he filled the mind with great terror. Ὅτι ὕπω ἦν καταλυθεῖσα τοῦ θανάτου ἡ τυραννὶς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ μοιχείᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς αἱρεῖται κοινωνῆσαι ὁ δίκαιος, καὶ μονονυχὶ ὑπηρετήσασθαι τῷ μοιχῷ εἰς τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὕβριν ἵνα τὸν θάνατον διαφύγῃ (3). *Quia nondum mortis erat ſoluta tyrannis propterea in adulterium uxoris conſentit juſtus, & quaſi ſervit adulterio in mulieris contumeliam ut mortem effugiat.* Having thus applauded the husband, he proceeds to praiſe the wife, who, he tells us, accepted the propoſal very chearfully, and topp'd her part in this farce (4); and then exhorting all women to imitate Sarah, he breaks into the following exclamation. *Who would not admire this ready obedience? What man could enough applaud Sarah's conduct, who after living ſo chaſtly, and though in ſo advanced an age, did yet venture being made an adultereſs, and delivered up her body to barbarians, purely to ſave her husband's life* (5). I don't believe any preacher in this age would dare treat ſo delicate a ſubject as this is after St. Chryſoſtom's manner; for it would infallibly expoſe him to the raillery of the profane; and I very much queſtion whether the inhabitants of Antioch, who were naturally inclined to ſlander, could forbear making malicious reflections, on hearing ſuch a ſermon. St. Ambroſe is as laviſh of his applauſe on Sarah's tenderneſs for her husband (6); and we ſhall ſhew, in the article ACINDYNUS (Septimius) that St. Auſtin was, very near, as much miſtaken. It is ſurprizing, that theſe great luminaries of the church, ſo fam'd for their virtue and zeal, ſhould not know that it is unlawful for a man to commit a crime to ſave his own or another's life.

(3) Chryſoſt. Homil. 32. in *Geneſ.*

(4) Πάντα ποιῆ ὥστε τὸ δρᾶμα λαθεῖν. *Omnia facit ita ut fabula & fictio illa lateant.* "She did "every thing "that was ne- "ceſſary, to keep "the farce ſe- "cret. Id. ib.

(5) Τίς κατ' ἀξίαν ταύτην ἐπαινέσειεν, ἥτις μετὰ τοσαύτην, σωφροσύνην καὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοιαύτῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δίκαιον διασῶσαι, ἔσον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν γνώμην καὶ εἰς μοιχείαν ἑαυτὴν ἐξέδωκεν, καὶ συνουσίας ἠνέσχετο βαρβαρικῆς. Id. ibid.

(6) Ambr *de Abram.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

[*B*] *Which rendered him impotent.*] God, to extinguiſh his concupiſcence, afflicted him with a grievous diſtemper, which eluded the skill of his phyſicians, and admoniſhed him in a dream, not to touch the ſtranger's wife. Abimelech being a little recovered ſome time after, told his friends the cauſe of his diſtemper, and reſtored Sarah to Abraham. Thus Joſephus relates this incident (7), not regarding, as is uſual with him, how far he diſagreed with Moſes's relation, or rather, bold enough to contradict him. For does not Moſes tell us, that Abimelech, after his dream, roſe up early, and called all his ſervants about him, purpoſely to acquaint them with what had been revealed to him in his ſleep (8)? But how could he have done this, had the phyſicians given him over? Joſephus was ſenſible of the difficulty, and to remove it, boldly ſuppoſes, in oppoſition to the Scriptures, that this King did not reveal his dream to his friends, till he was a little recovered from his illneſs, which was ſome time after the dream. Some writers are of opinion, that Abimelech's wives, and not himſelf, were afflicted (9); and that where mention is made in Scripture of God's healing him, it means only that God had taken off the ſeals which he had put on the wombs of all the women in Abimelech's palace (10). I could almoſt approve of this expoſition, for I don't ſee the leaſt grounds, throughout the whole 20th chap. of Geneſis, to ſuppoſe that Abimelech was diſeaſed, except in the 17th verſe, where it is ſaid, *God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-ſervants, and they bare children*; but as the following verſe ſpeaks only of the indiſpoſition of thoſe women; it is probable enough, that God afflicted Abimelech with no other evil. I ſhall anſwer elſewhere (11), the queſtion which may be put to me, viz. *Why this King, if he was well, did not ſatisfy the paſſion which prompted him to carry off Sarah?* I am not ſurprized, that the Jews have publiſhed ſo many chimeras on this occaſion, and ſhould be much more ſo, had they not invented an hundred wild whims, concerning our Abimelech. They relate, that all the conduits of the ſeveral animated bodies, in his houſe, not only thoſe of all the men and women, but of the beaſts both male and female, were ſtopt in ſuch a manner, that nothing could paſs in or out (12). They could neither eat nor drink; nor would any thing go through their bellies, &c. Beſides, the men were ſeized with ſo exceſſive a chill, that Abimelech was unable to exerciſe his maſculine faculties, either with Sarah or any other woman. A famous Proteſtant Divine (13) thinks the latter part of this tradition genuine, but rejects the reſt as ridiculous or ſuperfluous. He ſays, *That as the Devil ſometimes employs ligatures or charms* (14) *to prevent married perſons from performing their conjugal duties, it is not altogether improbable, but that God might afflict Abimelech's family in that manner, in a good and holy view, viz. to preſerve Sarah's chaſtity, and to manifeſt undeniably, that ſhe had not received the leaſt injury in his houſe.* He therefore is of opinion, that all Abimelech's male domeſticks were ſtruck with impotency, like that which is occaſioned by witchcraft; and that the *gates of life* were either ſhut, or ſo contracted, in all his women ſervants, that it was impoſſible for them to conceive. *This*, will it be ſaid, was too much by half; ſince, had the men only been bewitched, it would have ſufficiently anſwered the purpoſes of God; but it muſt be replied, that as Moſes expreſly mentions the cloſing of the female parts, we cannot look upon it as ſuperfluous. Here follow two explications of this affair, which, however, don't wholly remove all difficulties. Some think Moſes underſtood by theſe words, that Abimelech's wives and maid-ſervants could not be delivered when their time was up; they indeed had violent pangs and throws, but it was with them, as with thoſe mentioned by Eſaiah the Prophet, *Venerunt filii uſque ad os matricis & vis non eſt ad partum* (15). That is, "The "children are come to the birth, and there is not "ſtrength to bring forth." Others ſay, he meant it of their ceaſing to bear children. The firſt explication cannot agree with Geneſis, unleſs we take it for granted, that all Abimelech's women were big with child, when Sarah was carried off (16), which is not probable. The ſecond would ſuppoſe that Sarah continued longer in that King's houſe than ſhe really did; for a conſiderable time muſt paſs before it can be known that a great number of women will not conceive any more. The difficulty of this paſſage, obli-

(7) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 11.

(8) *Gen.* xx. 8.

(9) Sallus. *Annales*, tom. 1. p. 469.

(10) *Gen.* xx. 18.

(11) In the remark [*C*] of the article SARAH.

(12) *Apud Mercerum.* Vide Riveti *Exercit. in Geneſ. Operum*, tom. 1. p. 395.

(13) *Rivet*, loc. cit. Heidegger follows him cloſe. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 2. p. 165.

(14) This is vulgarly call'd *Nouër l'éguilette*; that is, "To bewitch "the pudenda, ſo "as to prevent "conſummation.

(15) *Iſa.* xxxvii. 3. *For the Lord had faſt cloſed up all the wombs of the houſe of Abimelech.*

(16) *Gen.* xx. 18.

ged

(e) Gen. xxi. 31, 32.

but this was ſome years after (*e*). Joſephus, as though he had better materials than Moſes [*C*], preſumes to make this covenant prior to Iſaac's birth; whereas the Scriptures fix it after Iſhmael's being caſt out, which was not till after Iſaac was weaned. Moreri tranſcribed from the ſame writer, when he tells us, that the abovementioned Abimelech *ſhewed great favour to Iſaac*, who was come into the country of Gerar. It is not impoſſible that this might have been the ſame Abimelech; but it is very likely he was ſucceſſor to him who carried off Sarah [*D*]. The truth is, that a famine happening to rage, Iſaac withdrew into Gerar which was then governed by a King called Abimelech. Here Rebekah's beauty forced her huſband to employ Abraham's artifice; ged a very learned interpreter to declare, that the puniſhment which God inflicted on Abimelech's family, was known in ſuch a manner as is unknown to us (17). To conclude, the Rabbins tell us, that the diſeaſe with which Abimelech was perſonally afflicted, was very near the ſame with that of Sarah's firſt raviſher (18); for theſe ſay, he had the diſeaſe called *Ratan*, which is the moſt troubleſome ſpecies of ulcers, and the greateſt enemy to amorous toils (19). Solomon Jarchi is of opinion, that the plague of this King of Egypt was a head-ach, cauſed by a worm which bred in his brain: *Morbus perturbati cerebri ob innatum ipſi vermiculum, quo qui laborant iis concubitus gravis fit, & liberi gignuntur ulceroſi* (20). That is, "That the "ſocial embrace is grievous to thoſe afflicted with it, "and they beget ſcabby children." Some think theſe laſt words ſpoil all; imagining, it was neceſſary for Sarah's honour, that Pharoah's plague ſhould have reduced him to abſolute impotency. See our remarks on the article of this holy woman.

(17) *Mercerus apud Rivetum Oper.* tom. 1. p. 395.

(18) Pharoah King of Egypt.

(19) *Apud Mercerum, in Riveti Oper.* tom. 1. p. 395.

(20) *Apud Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 2. p. 154.

[*C*] *Furniſhed with better materials than Moſes.*] I have long had Joſephus, and thoſe who ſpare him on this head, in great indignation. A man who publickly profeſſed the Jewiſh religion, and whoſe faith was founded on the Divinity of the Scriptures, preſumes to deſcribe things otherwiſe than they are related in Geneſis; he changes, he adds, he ſuppreſſes circumſtances; in a word, he claſhes ſo much with Moſes, that one of them muſt have advanced falſities. But is this to be ſuffered? And muſt we not conclude from thence, that he either did not value how much he offended his own nation; or was perſuaded his own private opinion with regard to the fallibility of Moſes, (and conſequently that he was not inſpired) prevailed univerſally with the Jews? He therefore juſtly deſerved to be treated in the following manner by Beza: *Hoc ego ſemel pronuncio, quod tu nunquam falſum eſſe oſtendes, ſi verus eſt multis locis Joſephus, mentitum eſſe multis locis Moſem & ſacros omnes Scriptores. Sed nos potiùs iſtos pro veris ipſius Dei interpretibus, illum vero pro ſacerdote rerum ſacrarum valde imperito, atque etiam negligente & prophano Scriptore habebimus* (21). That is, "I declare this "once for all, which you can never prove to be "falſe, viz. That if Joſephus be true in a great many "places, then Moſes and all the ſacred writers have "told a conſiderable number of untruths. But let "us rather eſteem theſe as the true interpreters of "God himſelf; and Joſephus, not only as a Prieſt "very ignorant in religious matters, but even as a "negligent and profane writer." I believe that all the ancient hiſtorians made as free with the old memoirs which they conſulted: they tack'd ſupplements to them, and the ſeveral incidents not being illuſtrated and embelliſhed to their fancies, they enlarged, and gave them what dreſs they thought proper; and this is what we now call hiſtory.

(21) Th. Beza. *Reſp. ad Balduinum, Oper.* tom. 2. p. 220.

[*D*] *Was ſucceſſor to him who carried off Sarah.*] I don't ground my opinion on the great age to which we muſt ſuppoſe Abimelech had attained, in caſe he were living when Iſaac went into Gerar, for he journeyed thither after Jacob had purchas'd his brother's birth-right. We may therefore preſume that Iſaac was then fourſcore, he being ſixty, when Eſau and Jacob were born; and the former was a mighty hunter before he ſold his birth-right. On the other ſide, the Abimelech who carried off Sarah, was both a King and married, before Iſaac's birth; conſequently he muſt have been an hundred years old, at leaſt, when Iſaac went to Gerar. But what difficulty can there be in this, ſince mankind, in thoſe times, lived to upwards of 150 years (22)? It was hardly credible, that ſome perſons of abilities (23) ſhould have objected to this argument the following words of Eccleſiaſticus, *Omnis potentatus vita brevis* (24); as though (admitting this book to be canonical) the affirming that a King had reign'd upwards of an hundred years, contradicts the word of God. Is it not plain, that ſhould this text be taken in ſuch a ſignification, we then muſt look upon all thoſe hiſtorians as publiſhing falſities, who tell us, that ſome Monarchs reigned upwards of fifty or threeſcore years? Now the reaſon which induces us to think, that Abimelech who carried off Sarah, is not the ſame with him who made the covenant with Iſaac, is this. The latter Abimelech was credulous enough to believe, on Iſaac's bare aſſeveration, that Rebekah was no more than his ſiſter; and after he knew otherwiſe, (not by Iſaac's words but by his actions) he only gave him a gentle reprimand, but did not cry out to him; *You're a chip of the old block; your father Abraham had already played me the ſame trick.* Now is it probable, that had Abraham impoſed upon him, he would have been catched a ſecond time? Or ſuppoſing this, that he would not then have reproached Iſaac in the ſevereſt terms, both for his father's lies and his own likewiſe? Thoſe of Abraham, eſpecially, could not have ſlipt his memory, ſince he had ſuffered ſo much by them. St. Chryſoſtom thought this ſo probable, that he aſſerted boldly from the pulpit, that Abimelech reproached Iſaac for his father's fraud. *Rex adhuc habens recentem memoriam eorum quæ tempore Patriarchæ rapta Sara tulerat, increpabat eum reumque arguens dicebat, cur hoc feciſti? Hanc deceptionem & olim ſuſtinuimus à patre tuo* (25). That is, "The King having freſh in his "mind the ſufferings he had undergone in the time "of the Patriarch, after he had carried off his wife "Sarah; finding Iſaac guilty, he reproved him, ſay-"ing; Why did you do this? juſt ſo your father im-"poſed upon me." But all this has no other foundation than the licenſes of rhetoric, which are ſometimes extended very near as far as thoſe of poets and painters,

(25) Chryſoſt. Homil. 51 & 52.

Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas (26).
In Engliſh,
"Poets and painters equally may dare;
"In bold attempts they claim an equal ſhare,
"And may do any thing. Creech.

(26) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* v. 9.

Two things ſeem to favour the opinion which Moreri followed. 1ſt, The King of Gerar, in Abraham's time, is called by the ſame name as in that of Iſaac; and there was one Phichol, a General, when both father and ſon were in that country. 2dly, Rebekah, though ſo great a beauty, was not carried off as Sarah had been; and this, becauſe Abimelech was in a very advanced age, and remember'd the ill conſequences of his carrying off Sarah. To theſe I anſwer, Firſt, That ſince ſome names have been common to all the Kings of a country, as that of Pharoah to thoſe of Egypt, why may not that of Abimelech have been ſo with reſpect to the Kings of Gerar? and as for Phichol, it poſſibly might have been the name of an employment or poſt; or, perhaps, this employment had devolved from a Phichol, to his ſon of the ſame name. Secondly, I anſwer, That Iſaac's Abimelech might probably not be young at that time, though he were different from the King who carried off Sarah. Now, my real opinion is, that he was a good harmleſs old man, ſince he was not captivated by Rebekah's charms, though he thought her unmarried; nor told Iſaac, that ſhe had been expos'd to any danger from him, but only from his ſubjects. And as theſe had ſo furious a paſſion for women, that the virtue of every beautiful female ſtranger, who had no husband, was put to a very great trial; methinks we cannot better account for Abimelech's continence with regard to Rebekah, than to ſuppoſe him old. The gay, libertine part of youth have this ſaying; *The time will come when we ſhall live but too regularly.*

(22) Abraham liv'd an hundred and ſeventy five years, and Iſaac an hundred and eighty.

(23) Pererius in *Gen.* xxvi. *Præf. Saliani Annal.* tom. 1. p. 520.

(24) The Geneva Verſion has it thus: *Toute tyrannie eſt de petite durée*: i. e. "All tyranny is "of ſhort dura-"ration. chap xl. ver. 11.

artifice; for Iſaac fearing he ſhould be murthered, if it were known that the beautiful Rebekah was his wife, made her paſs for his ſiſter. Abimelech diſcovering by a certain ſport [E], at which he ſpied them both, as he was looking through his window, that they were nearer related; he ſent for Iſaac, and ſaid thus to him: *Behold, of a ſurety, ſhe is thy wife; and how ſaidſt thou, ſhe is my ſiſter? ... What is this thou haſt done unto us? One of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife* [F], *and thou ſhouldeſt have brought guiltineſs upon us* (*f*); at the ſame time he forbid all his ſubjects, upon pain of death, to do the leaſt injury to Iſaac or Rebekah. Such a remonſtrance and injunction, muſt neceſſarily have proceeded from good nature, and therefore the moderns ſhould not have made ſo free with Abimelech's character (*g*). Iſaac's proſperity loſt him the King's friendſhip, and this Patriarch growing vaſtly rich, he was deſired, without the leaſt ceremony, to go from among them. He obeyed; and his affairs ſtill flouriſhing, though the Philiſtines moleſted him in ſeveral places, on occaſion of the wells his people were digging; Abimelech again deſired to enter into a covenant with Iſaac, to which he conſented [*b*].

(*f*) *Gen.* xxvi. 9, 10.

(*g*) Turſellin: in his *Epitome of Hiſtory*, p. 10. edit. of Franeker, anno 1692, is very much miſtaken in the following words: *Iſaacus Geraras annonæ cauſa profectus, Dei numine conjugis pudicitiam ab Abimelechi regis libidine intactam ſervat.* That is, "Iſaac being arriv'd in Gerar "to get corn, "preſerves, by "the aſſiſtance "of Heaven, "his wife's "chaſtity from "King Abimelech's luſt.

(*b*) Taken from *Gen.* xxvi.

[E] *By a certain ſport.*] Some fancy, that under the word *ſporting*, which is uſed in Scripture, the conjugal duty is modeſtly ſhadowed, in which Iſaac and Rebekah were by chance employed, when Abimelech ſpied them, as he happened to look accidentally through his window, *Putant quidam honeſtè ſignificari eo vocabulo copulam carnalem. Sed non fit veriſimile Iſaac prudentiſſimum & ſanctiſſimum virum tam incautè rem habuiſſe cum uxore, ut id per feneſtram proſpicere, ut ſcriptura inquit, Rex poſſet Abimeleth. Credibilius igitur eſt eo vocabulo ſignificatos eſſe tales jocos & blanditias in amplexando & oſculando, quales inter conjuges agitari turpe non eſt; extra conjugium verò nefas eſt* (27). That is, "Some think, by theſe "words the conjugal embrace is modeſtly ſignified: "but it is not probable that a perſon of Iſaac's great "wiſdom and piety would have dallied ſo heedleſly "with his wife, that King Abimelech could ſee them "from his window, as the Scripture tells us. It is "therefore more probable, that by this word is meant, "that they were kiſſing and toying in ſuch a manner as "married perſons are allowed to do, tho' it is a crime in "ſuch as are ſingle." Others won't allow any ſuch interpretation, but aſſert, that Iſaac was more prudent, and a greater friend to decorum, than to expoſe himſelf ſo; and that on theſe occaſions, he was never in any place, where his neighbours could overſee him. *We muſt therefore*, ſay they, *underſtand by the word* ſporting, *certain paſtimes, which though not the laſt act of the play, are yet of too wanton a nature for perſons who are not man and wife to exerciſe themſelves in, how nearly ſoever they may otherwiſe be related.* Theſe paſtimes muſt ſignify ſomething more than tatling, joking or laughing together; ſince a brother and ſiſter may do all this very innocently, without its being concluded that they are married, as Abimelech ſuppoſed Iſaac and Rebekah to be. This interpretation, methinks, is infinitely more natural than the former: and yet we muſt own, that conjugal fondneſs made Iſaac, on ſome occaſions, a little more unguarded than our rigid moraliſts would allow a Patriarch to be; for it cannot be denied, but that as Abimelech looked through his window, he ſpy'd him and Rebekah at a certain ſport, whence he might very juſtly conclude, they were husband and wife. It is to be particularly remembered, that they had been married forty years; Iſaac therefore was fourſcore. St. Auſtin, in his books againſt Fauſtus the Manichee, who was for ever inveighing againſt the Patriarchs, apologizes for Iſaac, in a juſt and ſolid manner (28); and to ſay the truth, thoſe are too ſevere who won't allow a married Patriarch or Prelate, to take ſome little recreation with his wife, till he has firſt made all the window-ſhutters faſt; for we ought to ſuppoſe, that perſons of this character, whenever nature prompts them (after toying with one another) to indulge the utmoſt of their wiſhes, have preſence of mind enough, in this ſlippery way, to order matters ſo as not to be overſeen by any of their neighbours. Cornelius à Lapide makes a random refutation, when he inveighs ſo much againſt the authors of the firſt explication. *Judæi impuri*, ſays he (29), *jocum hunc intelligunt copulam conjugalem: ſed apage hos cynicos. Quis credat Iſaac publicè, & ſpectante rege, tam inverecundum, lubricum, & cynicum fuiſſe?* That is, "The impure Jews, by this "ſport, underſtand the conjugal embrace. But away "with thoſe Cynicks! for who can believe that Iſaac "would have been ſo ſhameleſs, diſſolute and cynical, "publickly and in the King's ſight?" But this is not the affair; no one pretends to ſay, that Iſaac was then in the middle of the ſtreet: He was in his chamber, and had not ſhut the window cloſe; that's all; and if this action be found blame-worthy, we then muſt be obliged to condemn the Patriarch, and act the Cato towards him. It is well known, that Cato the Cenſor expell'd one Manlius (who probably would have been choſe Conſul next election) the Senate, for having given his wife a kiſs, his daughter being preſent, in the day-time (30). Some writers ſearch for ſuch allegorical myſteries (31) in Iſaac and Rebekah's ſporting, as, I am perſuaded, neither they, nor the ſacred hiſtorian ever dreamt on. I don't include this kind of errors among thoſe I am in queſt of, for that would be endleſs. It would be happy, had moſt of theſe myſtical chimeras been concealed from the world.

(27) Pererius *in Gen.* xxvi.

(28) *Auguſt. contra Fauſt.* lib. 22. cap. 46. Thiers cites part of this paſſage, in his *Traité des Jeux & des Divertiſſement.* p. 4.

(29) Cornel. à Lapide *in Gen.* xxvi. 8.

(30) Plutarch. *in Cato. Majore*, p. 346.

(31) See Pererius *in Gen.* xxvi.

[F] *One of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife.*] Theſe Philiſtines muſt have been furious myrmidons in love matters, ſince Abimelech their King wonders that no one had enjoyed Rebekah, ſince ſhe paſt only for Iſaac's ſiſter. This ſhews however that the people in queſtion had a veneration for marriage; but as for the maidens, they were almoſt thought the tranſient property of any man ſhould addreſs them, of which Dinah, Jacob's daughter, is a proof; for as this girl was taking the air, love was immediately whiſpered; ſhe liſtened to the flatterer, was enjoyed, and then marriage was propoſed to her (32).

(32) *Gen.* xxxiv.

☞ABIMELECH, the natural ſon of Gideon [A], by (*a*) Druma his concubine. His father being dead, he went to Shechem the place of his mother's birth. Abimelech's relations,

(*a*) Joſephus B. v. ch. 9. of Antiq. gives us this name, but the Scripture is ſilent as to that particular.

[A] *The natural ſon of Gideon.*] The plain and unaffected Mr. Matthew Henry (1) ſays, "Abimelech "was *baſe* ſon to Gideon; ſo we muſt call him, "and not more modiſhly, his *natural ſon*, he was ſo "unlike him." Our author afterwards adds this curious political reflection, "Of this meteor, this *ignis* "*fatuus* of a Prince (Abimelech) that was not a pro"tector, but plague to his country, we may ſay, as "once was ſaid of a great Tyrant, that he came in "like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a "dog (2)." The reader may perhaps be not diſpleaſed to hear ſome farther reflections of this witty and judicious Divine on our Abimelech. "We are here "told (Judges ix.) by what arts Abimelech *got into* "*the* ſaddle and made himſelf great.... None would "have dreamed of making ſuch a *fellow* as he King, "if he had not dreamed of it himſelf. And ſee how "here he *wheedled* them into the choice.... How "unfit was he to reign over Iſrael, becauſe unlikely "to defend them, who inſtead of reſtraining and "puniſhing idolatry thus early, made himſelf a *penſioner* to an idol? What ſoldiers did he enliſt? he "hired into his ſervice vain and light perſons, the "*ſcum and ſcoundrels of the country*, men of broken "fortunes, giddy heads and profligate lives; none "but ſuch would own him, and they were fitteſt to "ſerve his purpoſe. Like leaders, like followers.... "(3) Jotham's ſpeech which is here (Judg. ix.) re-

(1) *An Expoſition of the Hiſtorical Books of the Old Teſtament*, vol. 2. on *Judges* the 9th. London 1708. Folio.

(2) Idem ibid.

(3) Idem ibid.

relations, that he might be enabled to aſcend the throne, gave him a ſum of money, with which he hired a band of wicked [*B*] men, and heading them, returned to his father's houſe, and there ſlew ſeventy of Gideon's legitimate ſons, whom ſeveral wives had brought him. However Jotham, Gideon's youngeſt ſon, hid himſelf and eſcaped. Immediately after this Abimelech uſurped the ſovereign power, when he exerciſed every kind of tyranny; but a few days after, Jotham hearing that the men of Shechem were aſſembled near mount Gerizim, he went on the top of it, and thence reproached them for their ingratitude; employing for that purpoſe the parable of the trees, which being deſirous to elect themſelves a King, addreſſed the olive-tree, the fig-tree and the vine, for that purpoſe; but all theſe refuſing, they ſpoke to the bramble [*C*], which accepting the offer, promiſed to cover them with its ſhade. He concluded his ſpeech, which the Shechemites heard with a deep ſilence, with wiſhing, that if God did not approve their choice, a fire might then go out from them and devour Abimelech; and from Abimelech, a fire which might devour the inhabitants of Shechem, and the houſe of Millo (*b*). The Lord heard his prayers, for three years after the men of Shechem, being reſolved to ſubmit no longer to Abimelech's cruelties, and repenting that they had murthered Gideon's ſons, they drove him from their city, and thought to be ſecure from his reſentments, by putting themſelves under the protection of a Prince called Gaal. However, Abimelech came unawares upon Gaal, and putting his army to flight, ſlew all the inhabitants of Shechem with the ſword, and razing it, ſowed the ground on which it had ſtood with ſalt. This being done, Abimelech burnt the tower of the Shechemites, and the houſe or temple of their God Berith, in which upwards of a thouſand perſons of both ſexes were conſumed. He afterwards beſieged a city called Thebez or Thebes, when going to ſet fire to a tower of it, to which a multitude of people had fled for refuge, a woman caſt a piece of a mill-ſtone at him, which broke his ſkull [*D*]. Abimelech judging the wound mortal, and being unwilling that it ſhould be ſaid he had fallen by a woman, he commanded his armour-bearer to put an end to his life, who accordingly thruſt his ſword through him, when he died A. M. 2081, before Chriſt 1234. Judges ix. Joſeph. Antiq. B. V. ch. 9.

(*b*) Joſephus relates the Wiſh otherwiſe. B. V. ch. 9.

" corded, ſhews him to be a man of ſuch great inge-
" nuity and wiſdom, and really ſuch *an accompliſhed*
" *Gentleman*, that we cannot but the more lament the
" fall of Gideon's ſons....

[*B*] *Hired a band of wicked men.*] A ſett of Divines in their commentary on the Scriptures (4), thus illuſtrate theſe words. " A deſperate, *beggarly*, and " *raſcally* crew, ſons of Belial, who had no fear of " God.

(4) *Annotat. upon all the Books of the Old and New Teſtament*, Vol. I. on *Judges* 9. London 1651. Fol.

[*C*] *They ſpoke to the bramble.*] Mr. Henry's reflections on the bramble are ſomething peculiar. " The bramble, ſays he, a worthleſs plant, not to be " numbered among the trees, uſeleſs and fruitleſs, nay " hurtful and vexatious, *ſcratching and tearing*, and " doing miſchief; it began with the curſe, and its " end is to be burned; ſuch a one was Abimelech, " and yet choſen to the government by the trees, by " all the trees.... The bramble being choſen to the " government, he takes no time to conſider whether " he ſhould accept it or no, but preſently, as if he " had been born and bred to dominion, *hectors*, and " aſſures them they ſhould find him as he found them. " See what great ſwelling words of vanity he ſpeaks, " ver. 15.? what promiſes he makes to his faithful " ſubjects, *let them come and truſt in his ſhadow?* a " goodly ſhadow to truſt in!.... more likely to be " ſcratched if they came near him.... If ye be not " faithful, let fire come out of the bramble (a very " unlikely thing to ſpit fire) and devour the cedars of " Lebanon, more likely to catch fire and be itſelf de- " voured..... The Sechemites that ſet Abimelech " up, were the firſt that deſerted him, and endeavour- " ed to *kick him off*." Mr. Henry afterwards goes on thus. " The Sechemites did eat and drink and curſed " Abimelech; not only ſaid all the ill they could of " him in their table-talk, and the ſongs of their " drunkards, but wiſhed all the ill they could of " him.... *They drank healths to his confuſion*, and " with as loud huzzas as ever they had drank them " to his proſperity..... Well, Gaal's intereſt in " Shechem is ſoon at an end, and he that had talked " of removing Abimelech, is himſelf removed, nor " do we ever hear of him any more; Exit Gaal (5)." How farcical is all this!

(5) Henry's *Expoſition of the Hiſtorical Books*, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Caſt a piece of a mill-ſtone which broke his ſkull.*] " Three circumſtances, ſays Mr. Matthew " Henry (6), are obſervable in the death of Abime- " lech. 1ſt, That he was ſlain with a ſtone, as he " had ſlain his brethren, *all upon one ſtone.* 2dly, " That he had his skull broke; vengeance aimed at " that guilty head which had worne the uſurped " crown. 3dly, That the ſtone was caſt upon him " by a woman, verſ. 53. See firſt his fooliſh pride " in laying ſo much to heart this little circumſtance " of his diſgrace! (his being killed by a woman.) " There was no care taken about his precious ſoul, no " prayer to God for his mercy, but very ſollicitous " he is to *patch up his ſhatter'd credit, when there is* " *no patching his ſhatter'd ſkull.*

(6) Idem ibid.

☞ABIRAM, a ſeditious Levite, rebell'd in concert with Korah and Dathan, againſt Moſes and Aaron. Theſe wanted to ſhare in the government of the People; but God puniſh'd them for their pride and murmuring: for Moſes bidding them come before the altar with their cenſers, in order to know whether God would make choice of them; the earth open'd on a ſudden under their feet, and ſwallow'd them, their houſes, and all their goods [*A*]; and at the ſame time fire came from heaven, and conſum'd two hundred and fifty of their followers. This happen'd in the Wilderneſs, at the ſtation of Kadeſh-Barnea, Anno Mundi 2546, before Chriſt 1489. *Num.* xvi. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 4. c. 2.

[*A*] *The earth opened.... and ſwallowed them, &c.*] Joſephus deſcribes this terrible cataſtrophe as follows. " The earth trembled horribly on a ſudden, " and the ſurface of it being covered with water, " like as the ſea toſt about by the winds, all the people " were terrified; and a dreadful ſound iſſuing from " that part whither the rebellious were going, the " ground ſunk in, and ſwallowed them all that in- " ſtant. The prophane being thus devoured, the " earth immediately cloſed in ſuch a manner, that not " the leaſt mark of the chaſm appeared (1).

(1) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 4. c. 2.

☞ ABISARES [*A*], King of that part of India beyond the river Hydaſpes [*B*]. When Alexander the Great was carrying on his expedition into India, Abiſares had determin'd to join his forces with thoſe of Porus [*C*] his ally, in order to oppoſe Alexander; but Porus engaging the latter ſingly, and being defeated, Abiſares ſent his brother, and other [*D*] Embaſſadors, to the Grecian Monarch, with money (*a*) and forty elephants, who, in Abiſares's name, offer'd his perſon and dominions to Alexander. The Conqueror commanded Abiſares to come immediately to him, threatning, in caſe of a refuſal, to ſet out againſt him with a great army. Abiſares ſeems to have ſent another deputation, conſiſting of Arſaces his brother, and other friends, to Alexander. Theſe declar'd, that Abiſares was ill in bed, and therefore could not wait upon him; which being confirm'd by the Embaſſadors whom Alexander had ſent to the Indian King, the Grecian was ſatisfy'd with the excuſe, and not only left him in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, but enlarg'd them (*b*). Quintus Curtius relates a noble anſwer of this Monarch to Alexander [*E*]. Abiſares afterwards dy'd of ſickneſs. The expedition abovemention'd happen'd about the ſecond year of the 113th Olympiad, and three hundred and twenty ſeven years before Chriſt.

(*a*) So Arrian tells us, B. v. p. 115. but p. 122, he mentions only 30 elephants, ſo that perhaps this was another embaſſy. ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ &c. Henric. Steph. Anno 1575. Folio.

(*b*) *Poſtero die legati Abiſaræ adiere regem, omnia ditioni ejus; ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant; fœdaque invicem fide remittuntur ad regem.* Quint. Curt lib. 8. cap. 13. *Delphis &c.* Edit. Snakenburg 1724, 4°. That is, "The "next day the "Embaſſadors of "Abiſares came "to Alexander, "and gave up to "him the domi-"nions of their "Sovereign; and "after they had "mutually "plighted their "faith, they "were ſent back.

[*A*] *Abiſares.*] He is called by Diodorus Siculus, Embiſarus; by Arrian and Quintus Curtius, Abiſares; and by Strabo, Abiſarus.

[*B*] *King of part of India beyond the Hydaſpes.*] "In the mountains of this country, ſays Strabo (1), "is a prodigious multitude (κερκοπιθήκων) of apes "or monkies with tails; ſo that when the Macedo-"nians (the forces of Alexander the Great) ſaw many "of theſe on open hills, ſtanding in battle array (for "theſe animals as well as elephants have ſome under-"ſtanding) they took them for an army, and marched "quick towards them, as tho' they had been ſo many "enemies. However, Taxillus who was then with A-"lexander undeceived his ſoldiers. Thoſe apes are ta-"ken two ways: Firſt, as they imitate whatever they "ſee, and climb up trees; whenever the hunters ſpy "them ſitting on branches, they bring a diſh full of "water, and laying it in their ſight, rub their eyes "with this water. The men then lay glue in the "diſh inſtead of water, and hide themſelves at ſome "diſtance, when the apes coming down from the "trees, ſmear themſelves with glue, which faſtning "their eye-lids together, they by that means are ta-"ken alive. This is one way. The other is, men "put on little kind of ſacks made in the ſhape of a "rug or mantle, and leaving others that are hairy "within and daubed with glue, they go away, when "the apes cloathing themſelves with theſe mantles, "are by that means eaſily taken.... "Though ſome of the antients are not over famous for their veracity in things of this kind, yet the pranks which ſuch monkies as are brought over into Europe play, and the whimſical account which travellers of great credit give of them, makes the above relation of Strabo not ſo improbable. Among the pleaſant ſtories which are told us of theſe animals, father Labat has the following. "An ape "in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, whoſe dam was "ſhot, by which means he was taken, had been "brought up by father Cabaſſon, The little creature "was ſo fond of his venerable maſter, that he would "never leave him, ſo that whenever the father went "to church, he was obliged to confine him cloſe, he "having no chain. However, the ape happened to "eſcape one day, and hiding himſelf over the pulpit, "did not appear till his maſter aſcended it. He then "got upon the top of it, and obſerving the preach-"er's geſtures, he inſtantly mimicked them (height-"ening the whole with poſtures and grimaces) ſo "that all the congregation fell a laughing. Father "Cabaſſon not being able to account for this inde-"cency, firſt gave them a gentle reprimand, but "finding them laugh louder, he was ſeized with a "holy rage, and began to cenſure them very ſeverely, "for paying ſo little regard to the word of God. "The ape obſerving the unuſual violent motions of "his maſter, made much ſtronger grimaces, which "made all the people laugh much louder. At laſt, "ſome perſon deſired the father to look over his "head. The preacher no ſooner ſaw the ape's mi-"mickry, but he himſelf fell a laughing alſo; and as "there was no poſſibility of taking him, he choſe "rather to diſcontinue his diſcourſe, as he was not "in a humour to continue, nor his congregation to "hear it.

(1) ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ &c. Amſtelædami apud Joannem Walters 1707. fol. lib. 15. pag. 1023.
(2) *Nouveau Voyage aux Iles de l'Amerique.* Tom. II. p. 184. *a la Haye, Chez P. Goſſe,* &c. 1724. 4°.

[*C*] *Abiſares had determined to join his forces with thoſe of King Porus.*] According to Diodorus Siculus (3), "Alexander having ſtruck a terror into Abi-"ſares, who was come too late to join his forces with "thoſe of Porus, the conqueror forced Abiſares to "ſubmit to his obedience, and to comply with what-"ever he ſhould enjoin.

(3) Book xvii. cap. 20.

[*D*] *But Porus ... being defeated ... ſent his brother and other embaſſadors.*] According to Quintus Curtius (4), Abiſares ſent Embaſſadors to Alexander before the latter engaged Porus; *Abiſares, qui prius quam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miſerat.*

(4) Lib. 9. cap. 1. Edit. ut ſupra.

[*E*] *Quintus Curtius relates a noble anſwer of this Monarch to Alexander.*] *Rurſus alios* (legatos) * *miſit, pollicentes omnia facturum quæ imperaſſet, modo nè cogeretur corpus ſuum dedere; neque enim aut ſine regio imperio victurum: aut regnaturum eſſe captivum. Cui Alexander nuntiari juſſit; ſi graveretur ad ſe venire, ipſum ad eum eſſe venturum* (5). That is, "Abi-"ſares again ſent Embaſſadors to Alexander, promiſ-"ing that he would obey whatever he ſhould com-"mand, provided he ſhould not be obliged to ſurren-"der up his perſon; for that he could not live with-"out reigning, and could not reign if he were in "captivity. Alexander anſwered, That in caſe Abi-"ſares did not care to come, he would go to him." Alexander indeed had very juſt reaſon to invade the dominions of this Monarch, who had never done him the leaſt injury. But what was the pretence? To civilize mankind: as laudable a motive, as that religious one of murthering people for the good of their ſouls. What havock did not the Spaniards make among the inoffenſive Americans!

* Abiſarea.

(5) Idem ibid

☞ ABISHAG, a young Shunamite virgin of great beauty, was choſen to attend upon and warm, or, as the Scripture ſays, to heat David [*A*] in his old age. She ſlept

[*A*] *Abiſhag .... was choſen to .... heat David.*] Joſephus relates this incident thus. "This King "being oppreſſed with the weight of years, his body "was ſo benum'd, that though ever ſo many bed-"clothes were laid upon him he could not get any "warmth. Upon which the phyſicians being con-"ſulted, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that the "moſt beautiful virgin in all the country ſhould be "ſought for, and put into the King's bed; that ſhe "ſhould cheriſh him, and thereby drive away his "coldneſs. Now there was found in the city one "Abiſhag, the moſt lovely woman of the age, who "being put to bed to the King, ſhe only warmed "him (1)." The elegant father Berruyer deſcribes this as follows. "The King (David) though he had "been ſo robuſt in his youth, ſeemed to decay daily, "and it was believed he could not live much longer. "His afflictions, his labours, his fatigues, his ſick-"neſſes, his perpetual wars, had exhauſted him "ſo much, that entering now his ſeventieth year, "his

(1) Joſeph. *Antiq.* B. 7. c. 11.

ſlept by the King's ſide, who did not attempt to violate her chaſtity (*a*). Afterwards, Adonijah, one of David's ſons, deſir'd Bathſheba the mother of Solomon, to intercede with her ſon, that he might be permitted to marry Abiſhag, ſhe being ſtill a virgin. But Solomon, knowing Adonijah's intent in making this requeſt, was only to get an opportunity of uſurping the crown, put him to death, A. M. 3021, before Chriſt 1014 years. 1 *Kings*, i. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 8. & 9.

(*a*) Joſeph. B. 8. c. 1. of his *Antiq.* ſays, that *David was too old to attempt any thing injurious to her modeſty.*

" his natural heat ſeemed upon the point of being ex-
" tinguiſhed; and though the utmoſt endeavours were
" uſed, it was impoſſible to adminiſter any warmth to
" him. However, his mind was as vigorous as
" ever, and he ſtill governed with ſo much wiſdom
" and authority, as made his life precious. His
" phyſicians, in order to prolong it, hit upon an
" expedient which ſucceeded, at leaſt for ſome time.
" We muſt, ſaid they to him, Sir, ſeek for the King
" our Lord, a beautiful, well-ſhap'd virgin, who en-
" joys a ſtrong fluſh of health. Such an one ſhall be
" employed in ſerving the King, ſhe ſhall lie with
" him, ſhe ſhall warm him; and the vigour of her
" youth ſhall contribute to reſtore his decayed facul-
" ties. The King conſented to the propoſal, firſt ob-
" ſerving the ſeveral precautions which his prudence
" and religion ſuggeſted. All Iſrael was ſought thro'
" in order to find out a proper perſon, and the choice
" fell on a Shunamite, Abiſhag by name, a young,
" beautiful, virtuous woman. He made her his wife,
" and ſhe was with him both night and day; but
" though he had married her, they always lived to-
" gether in a ſtate of continence. Thus aſſiſted, the
" infirm Monarch continued to live, but was not ca-
" pable to act in perſon, nor ever went out of the
" palace (2)." Mr. Matt. Henry cenſures the phyſi-
cians for preſcribing as they did. " They ordered
" him (David) ſays this author, a young bed-fellow.
" A fooliſh project it was, to preſcribe nuptials to one
" that ſhould have been preparing for his funeral;
" but they knew what would gratify their own cor-
" ruptions, and perhaps were too willing to gratify
" his, under colour of conſulting his health; his Pro-
" phets ſhould have been conſulted as well as his Phy-
" ſicians in an affair of this nature. However, this
" might be excuſed them, when even good men ig-
" norantly allowed themſelves in the having ſo many
" wives.

(2) *Hiſt. du Peuple de Dieu.* Tom. 4. p. 508. Paris &c. 1728. 4°.

☞ ABISHAI, ſon of Zeruiah and brother to Joab, is ranked among the celebrated warriors who flouriſh'd in the reign of King David. The Scripture acquaints us, that Abiſhai himſelf ſlew three hundred men with his ſpear. He always continu'd firm to David's intereſt, and would have puniſh'd Shimei for his injurious treatment of that Monarch, and have kill'd Saul [*A*]. He was preſent in the combat which was fought againſt the adherents of Iſhboſheth, and ſignaliz'd himſelf greatly in it. Abiſhai afterwards kill'd eighteen thouſand Idumeans in battle, and oblig'd them to become tributary. In a battle fought againſt the Philiſtines, he ſlew a giant call'd Iſhbi-benob, deſcended from Rapha, the iron of whoſe ſpear weigh'd three hundred ſhekels, and who was girded with a new ſword, with which he intended to kill King David. 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 2 *Sam.* xxiii. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 7. c. 1, 7 & 10.

[*A*] *And would have killed Saul.*] This incident is thus deſcribed by the author of the *Hiſtory of the People of God* (1). " The couragious David, hearing
" that Saul was in the camp, and being ſuddenly
" inſpired by God, he took his reſolution, and com-
" manding two of his braveſt ſoldiers to follow him,
" there being ſtill light enough to perceive objects,
" he advanced ſecretly by covered ways to Saul's
" camp. He there viewed the royal tent at leiſure,
" where the King was ſleeping, with Abner ſon of
" Ner by him. He ſaw the ſoldiers lying round
" the tent, oppreſſed with wearineſs, and diſſolv-
" ved in ſleep. He took notice, that from the place
" where he ſtood to the center of the camp, there
" was not any advanced guard, nor watchful centinel.
" Whilſt he was attentively examining theſe things,
" the day fell, and there remained only light enough
" to ſee one's way. Well! ſays David gaily to his
" two officers Ahimelech and Abiſhai; which of you
" has a mind to follow me to Saul's camp? Both
" would have done it with equal ardour, though they
" had thereby expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dan-
" gers, but Ahimelech yielded the glory to Abiſhai,
" David's nephew, who inſtantly anſwered; I, if you
" pleaſe, will have the honour of accompanying you."
The following deſcription is a fine one. " David attend-
" ed only by Abiſhai, pierced, in the night-time, into
" the midſt of the enemy's camp: He went as far as
" Saul's tent, and ſtealing ſoftly into it, he gaz'd at-
" tentively on the King who was buried in a deep
" ſleep, his lance fixed on the ground lying near his
" head, and Abner at a little diſtance from him, in a
" ſound ſleep. The reſt of the ſoldiers were alſo
" ſleeping, and not a ſoul was awake, ſo little did
" they diſtruſt David or his band. This, ſaid Abiſhai,
" is a very propitious opportunity; and I am of opi-
" nion, that you will hardly let it ſlip: The Lord
" himſelf delivers up Saul into your hands, will you
" therefore ſuffer him to eſcape, and won't you, at
" laſt, conclude that you abuſe imprudently the mer-
" cies of heaven, if you ſtill liſten to your delicacies
" and ſcruples? Permit me only to act, and I anſwer
" that every thing ſhall go right. With one thruſt
" I'll drive the lance through his body, and I'll rivet
" him to the earth: be perſuaded, I ſhall have no
" occaſion to give a ſecond thruſt, and he won't have
" time to call for help. What's that you ſay, Abi-
" ſhai? cries David (trembling when he conſidered
" the danger his enemy was in) God keep you from
" attempting any ſuch action. What man ſhall dare
" to ſtretch forth his hand on the Lord's anointed,
" and not be a ſacrilegious wretch? As the Lord liveth,
" continued he, if the Lord himſelf does not ſtrike
" Saul, if he does not die a natural death or in battle,
" he ſhall not die; at leaſt his blood ſhall not be ſhed
" by me; and I again call the Lord to witneſs, that, in
" contempt of the ſacred unction, I have not attempt-
" ed any thing againſt the life of my Sovereign. Let
" us dare an action that may be more generous and
" more worthy of us: Do you only take away the
" lance that ſtands at the King's head, and the veſſel
" of water which was left by him; leave the reſt to
" me, and you ſhall ſee the work of God.... Abiſhai
" could ſcarce be prevailed with to give his conſent,
" and ſtill continued to exclaim againſt David's im-
" prudence. However, the hero put an end to the
" diſpute, by taking away the veſſel and the lance,
" and immediately bid his nephew follow him. They
" then returned back, unperceived by any of the
" officers or ſoldiers who never waked, ſo that no
" one had the leaſt ſuſpicion of what had been done
" in the King's tent. Every one was faſt aſleep, and
" this kind of lethargy in three thouſand ſoldiers ap-
" peared ſo ſingular and uncommon to Abiſhai, that
" he truly judged the finger of the Lord was there.

(1) Tom. 4. p. 218, &c.

ABLANCOURT. NICHOLAS PERROT, SIEUR D') See PERROT.

☞ ABLAVIUS (*a*) or ABLABIUS, whom ſome declare, but without foundation, to have been an Egyptian [*A*], was *Præfectus Prætorio* under Conſtantine the Great [*B*],

(*a*) Fleury calls him Ablavius or Elaphius. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Tom. 3. p. 37. Bruſſels 1723.

[*A*] *Whom ſome declare, but without foundation, to have been an Egyptian.*] " Eunapius is the only writer who

Great [*B*], from A. D. 326 to 337 [*C*]. Ablavius was in great credit at that Emperor's court, and got rid of Sopater his competitor. He poſſeſs'd ſome employments (*b*) in Africa ſo early as the year 314, in caſe Conſtantine's letter, by which the African Biſhops were ordered to come and aſſiſt at the council of Arles, was addreſs'd to Ablavius; but in the manuſcript of it we find the name Ælaphius (*c*), by which it is more probable that Ælianus, at that time Proconſul of Africa, was meant; than Ablavius, who was Conſul in 331, and had a magnificent houſe in Conſtantinople, which afterwards was the palace of Placidia, daughter to Theodoſius the Great. Conſtantine on his death-bed declared him one of Conſtance's council, but the latter diſpoſſeſs'd him immediately of his employment, upon pretence that he was forced to it by the ſoldiery. Ablavius being thus turned out, withdrew to a country ſeat of his in Bithynia, but was not long quiet there; for Conſtance diſpatched ſome affairs of the army to Ablavius who gave him a letter, by which he ſeemed to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the Empire; at leaſt Ablavius imagining this to be the purport of it, enquired for the *inſignia* of the Empire, which he ſuppoſed was ſent him, when immediately ſome other officers ruſhed in, and killed him [*D*].

(*b*) He was deputy or lieutenant of Africa. Ibid. *Hiſtoire de Conſtantin*, p. 148.

(*c*) His name was Ablavius, according to Tillemont. Fleury.

" who treats pretty much at large of Ablavius, and " all that we can gather from him is, that he was " not born in Egypt; for he gives us a long and ſilly " ſtory of his birth in a city where an Egyptian, who " had left his country, was then in an inn (1).

(1) Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, Vol. 9. p. 608. 1709. 12°.

[*B*] *Ablavius .... was Præfectus Prætorio under Conſtantine the Great*.] Father Varenne (2) gives the following account of Ablavius. " He was, ſays this " author, ſo obſcurely born, that his country is ſtill " unknown. He was raiſed to the dignity of Grand " Maſter of the Empire, but whether for his merit, " or meerly by good fortune, I cannot ſay. He was " a Chriſtian if it is to him, as no one doubts, that " Conſtantine wrote concerning the council of Arles " with reſpect to the Donatiſts. Nevertheleſs he is " accuſed of avarice and cruelty; and the too great " humanity of the Emperor is reproached with be- " ing the cauſe of theſe crimes, as well as of Ablavi- " us's riſe; but was not this owing to the jealouſy " of courtiers who envied his fortune? What is cer- " tain is, that Eunapius and Zozimus, both Heathens, " are his only accuſers. Theſe exclaim againſt him " as having been the occaſion of Sopater's death, " which they aſcribe to Ablavius's jealouſy at that " Philoſopher's having ſuch great credit with Con- " ſtantine. But is it ſurprizing that after they had " ſo often ſlandered the reputation of their So- " vereign, they ſhould defame that of his favourite! " The exalted pitch of grandeur to which Ablavius " was riſen, and above all the religion he profeſs'd, " to which he chiefly owed his good fortune; theſe " were his real crimes in the eyes of thoſe whom envy " and the illuſion of Paganiſm prejudiced againſt his " memory. He indeed loſt his life under Conſtance; " but what can be inferred from thence? only this, " that the too great favour which that Emperor in- " dulged him, and not that of Conſtantine the Great, " ſwelled him with a pride which proved fatal; and " as he was an ambitious man, made him at laſt fall " a victim to the public hatred.

(2) Idem, p. 332.

[*C*] *From 326 to 337*.] Tillemont (3) gives this account of his employments, " He poſſeſs'd ſome " poſt in Africa in 314, he likewiſe enjoyed an em- " ployment in Italy the year after, and was Conſul " in 331. It appears from the Code, that he was " Præfectus Prætorio in 326, and the following years " till 337. He was not even diſpoſſeſs'd of it till " 337 by Conſtance.

(3) *Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, tom. 9. p. 347. Bruxelles 1709, 12°.

[*D*] *Some other officers ruſhed in and killed him*.] Eunapius (4) gives us the following account of his death. " Conſtance ſent ſeveral officers of the army " from Conſtantinople to him, the firſt of whom " were commanded to preſent him letters in his " name, with the ſame reſpect and ceremony as was " uſed to Emperors. Ablavius being firmly per- " ſuaded that he ſhould be raiſed to the Empire, re- " ceived the letters with an air of ſuch haughtineſs " and diſdain as diſguſted every one; and asked with " no leſs pride for the *inſignia* of the Empire, which " he ſuppoſed were ſent him. The officers anſwer- " ed, that letters only had been given them, but that " ſome other officers, who were at the door, were " entruſted with the other part of the commiſſion. " Ablavius thinking all was ſafe, gave orders for their " being admitted; but theſe coming in, inſtead of " cloathing him with purple, fell upon him and tore " him to pieces.

(4) Cap. 4. p. 40.

☞ ABLE or ABEL (Thomas) was admitted Batchelor of Arts at Oxford, July 4, 1513 (*a*), and took his degree of Maſter of Arts, June 27, 1516 (*b*): to what degrees of Divinity he was advanc'd is unknown. He was afterwards (*c*) chaplain to Queen Katharine, conſort of King Henry VIII, and is ſaid by a certain author (*d*) to be, *Vir longe doctiſſimus, qui reginæ aliquando in muſicarum tactu & linguis operam ſuam navaret.* That is, " One of the moſt learned men, who uſed ſometimes to teach the Queen " muſic and the languages." In 1529 and 30, he ſhew'd himſelf a zealous advocate againſt the divorce [*A*] of the Queen, and a paſſionate enemy againſt the unlawful proceedings

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. 1. p. 19.

(*b*) Id. ibid. p. 24.

(*c*) Heylin's *Hiſtor. of the Reform.*

(*d*) Tho. Bouchier, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. de Martyr. Fratr. ord. min. Divi Franciſci.* Ingolſ. 1583. 12°. p. 2. fol. 42. b.

[*A*] *A zealous advocate againſt the divorce*.] He was made Chaplain to the Queen; and we don't queſtion but Able was perſuaded in his conſcience of the unlawfulneſs of the divorce. But whether he was in the right, and whether the circumſtances the King was then in, did not juſtify the diſſolving of his marriage, is another queſtion, not eaſily to be ſolved. It ſeems indeed that a divorce is not allowed to Chriſtians in any caſe, but that of adultery. If this was a moral precept, grounded on the nature of things, there could be no diſpute; but that it is not ſo, appears by the permiſſion God gave to the Jews, of diſmiſſing their wives and marrying again (1); for no diſpenſation can be granted for breaking a moral duty. Since therefore the law againſt divorce is but a poſitive law, it muſt, like all other poſitive laws, give way to moral duties, when there is a conflict between them. The queſtion then will be, whether or not King Henry was in ſuch circumſtances, that he could not but break ſome moral duty without being divorced from his Queen: The lawfulneſs of his divorce has been maintained by ſeveral eminent perſons, whoſe opinions are ſo fully related in Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, and in ſeveral other books, that we need not inſiſt upon it. But ſince we have an occaſion here to ſpeak of divorce, the reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to find a curious paſſage from a very ingenious author. " Divorce, ſays he, permitted " among the Heathens, was forbid the Chriſtians: " This alteration, which at firſt ſeemed of very little " moment, has been ſince attended with terrible " conſequences: it did not only deſtroy all the ſweets " of wedlock, but did alſo affect the very end of it: " what was intended to make the tie ſtronger, did only " looſen it; and the hearts, inſtead of being cloſer " united, were thereby ſeparated for ever. No re- " gard was had for the diſtaſte which married people " often have againſt one another, nor for their ill " humours, or inſociable tempers: love, the moſt un- " controlable and inconſtant paſſion, was to be un-

(1) *Deut.* xxiv. 1, &c.

proceedings of the King. At that time he wrote *Tract. de non dissolvendo Henrici & Catharinæ matrimonio.* That is, "A Treatise to shew that the marriage of Henry and Ka- "tharine ought not to be dissolv'd." In the year 1534 he was attainted of misprision, (by the name of Tho. Able) for taking part and being active in the affair of Elisabeth Barton (*e*) the holy maid of Kent. Afterwards denying the King's supremacy over the Church [*B*], he was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd in Smithfield, July 30, 1540, having before, as it is thought, written other things, but they are lost. While in prison, he was kept so closely, that on May 27, 32 Hen. VIII, the keeper of Newgate was sent to the Marshalsea, for giving liberty to Dr. Powell and Dr. Able his prisoners, to go under bail (*f*). I find another Tho. Able, who has written against the *Gangranæ* of Tho. Edwards; but he being a hundred years later than the former, (for he liv'd in 1646) he cannot be the same person. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. 1. p. 54.

(*e*) See the article of that Holy Maid.

(*f*) See Stow's *Annals*, in an. 1534.

" alterably settled; and like the antient tyrants, they " caused men to be fasten'd alive to dead bodies; thus " two persons, often ill matched, and weary of one an- " other, were joined irretrievably and for ever. Nothing " did formerly more effectually contribute to the " mutual affection of man and wife, than the liberty " they had to leave one another when they pleased; " this made them patiently undergo all the domestick " toils and uneasinesses. It is not so with Christians; " their present sorrows make them desperate when they " consider they will never cease; hence mutual aver- " sion, domestick broils, and constant scorn. Posterity " suffers by all this; scarce is the honey-moon past, " but the most essential part of marriage is neglected, " and man and wife live twenty or thirty years in a " domestick divorce, which is as pernicious, if not " more, than a publick separation. Of two persons " joined in wedlock, if one, either by an ill consti- " tution or by old age be not proper for the design " of nature, the other is in a manner buried with " him, and made equally useless for the propagation " of mankind. It is not easy to say what induced " Christians to abolish divorce. Among all the nati- " ons of the world marriage is a contract, that admits " of all possible conditions, and those only should be " disallowed that are inconsistent with the end of it: " Christians don't consider it in this view; but then " they are at a loss to say what it is. According to " them it does not consist in sensual pleasures, so far " from it, one would think, they endeavour to banish " them from the marriage state as much as they can; " but it is a type, a figure, and something mysterious, " which I don't understand (2)." The author of these observations pretends, that the abolishing divorce is one of the reasons, why Europe is much less peopled at present, than it was formerly. But that ingenious Gentleman, though he pleads for allowing married people the liberty of divorcing, would not, I am sure, admit of all the reasons, for which some Jews pretend a man may send away his wife. Rabbi Hillel maintained, that if a wife let the meat be too much roasted, it was a sufficient reason for a husband to divorce her. Akiba went farther still; he said, that if a man found a woman more beautiful, or of a more easy temper than his wife, he might leave this to take the former (3).

(2) *Lettres Persanes*, tom. 2. let. 102. p. 169, &c.

(3) Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, t. 3. liv. 5. c. 20.

[*B*] *Denying the King's supremacy over the Church.*] It is no wonder that a man, educated in all the prejudices of the Church of Rome, should deny the King's supremacy in Church-affairs; and if he follow'd the dictates of his conscience in so doing, his fate was very hard, and to be pity'd: but if he did it out of a spirit of faction and party, as might be suspected from his being very active in the matter of the holy Maid of Kent, he fully deserv'd the punishment he suffer'd. For notwithstanding the opinion of those crafty Clergymen, who would have the Church to be independent from the State, all learned politicians maintain, that the Civil Power must be supreme over all affairs ecclesiastical as well as civil. *Nulla in re*, says Grotius (4), *magis eluceſcit vis ſummi imperii, quam quod in ejus arbitrio eſt, quænam religio publicè exerceatur, idque præcipuum inter majeſtatis jura ponant omnes, qui politica ſcripſerunt.* That is, "The "power of the supreme magistrate appears in nothing "more than this, that they have the authority to "appoint what religion shall be publickly professed; "and this, all Civilians agree, is one of the principal "prerogatives of the Sovereign." If you ask, why the religion of England was the Romish under Queen Mary, and the Protestant under Queen Elisabeth; the answer is, because this was the will and pleasure of these Queens, or of the Queens and Parliament (5). It appears, that when the Emperors turn'd Christians, they order'd and regulated all Church-affairs, Ἀφ' ὧν Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο (οἱ Βασιλεῖς) τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ὥρισαν (6): which is but reasonable; for, as Optatus says (7), the State is not in the Church, but the Church in the State: *Non enim Reſpublica eſt in Eccleſia, ſed Eccleſia in Republica.* Accordingly our Articles declare, that *the prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould rule all eſtates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or civil, belong to the King's Majeſty* (8). The most material objection that can be made against the supremacy of the Sovereign in matters of Religion and Church-affairs, is, that the state of Religion will be uncertain, and depend upon the will and pleasure of those that govern. This is true indeed, and relates not only to Religion, but to all state-affairs in general. But must the Sovereign be depriv'd of his right, because he can make a wrong use of it? And is not the same danger to be fear'd, tho' the power of ordering religious affairs be in other hands than those of the Civil Magistrate? Has not the Religion of the Jews been alter'd several times, and restor'd by their Kings? And for all that, has the right of these Kings been ever call'd in question (9)? The Sovereign must then certainly have the power of establishing what Religion he thinks best; but then it seems Reason, as well as Christianity teaches us also, that every private person should be allow'd to follow the dictates of his conscience; and that nonconformity to an established Religion, should never deprive them of any natural or civil right; except we will maintain with Hobbes, that the State being a *Person* by itself, the Religion and Worship of the State must be uniform; because whatever a man does according to his own private reason, cannot be the action, nor consequently the worship of the civil society. For whatever is done by the civil society is understood to be done by him or those that govern, and therefore by the consent of all the subjects together, that is, *uniformity. Totis* (10) *civitatibus, quarum unaquæque eſt perſona, ratio naturalis imperat* Cultus publici uniformitatem; *nam quæ actiones fiunt a ſingulis, ſecundum privatas rationes, eæ civitatis actiones non ſunt, neque ergo civitatis cultus; quod autem fit a civitate, fieri intelligitur ejus, vel eorum qui ſummum habent imperium, ideoque conſenſu civium ſimul omnium, id eſt uniformiter.* According to this system, private persons would not be answerable for whatever they do, to conform to the establish'd Religion, and to obey the Civil Magistrate in matters of public worship.

(4) *De imperio ſummarum poteſtatum circa ſacra.* cap. 8. §. 2. p. 120.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Socr. *H. E.* lib. 5. in Proem.

(7) Optatus Milevetanus, lib. 3. ap. Grotium, *De Imp. Sum. Pot.* cap. 1. §. 7. p. 8.

(8) *Artic. of Rel.* art. 57.

(9) All this is borrow'd from Grotius, *De Imp. Sum. Poteſt.* cap. 8. §. 2. but the paſſage is too long to be here inſerted.

(10) Hobbes, *De Cive*, cap. 15. §. 15. *verſus finem*, p. 275.

ABNER, the son of Ner, father-in-law to Saul, and General of his armies, serv'd him on all occasions with the greatest fidelity and courage. After the death of that Prince, Abner set Ishbosheth, King Saul's son, on the throne. This King reign'd peaceably two years over Israel; but at the end of that time, a war breaking out between Israel and the tribe of Judah, who had elected David King,

Abner march'd againſt that Prince with the flower of his troops; but was defeated. Abner's valour and prudence were Iſhboſheth's chief reſſource; but the former being diſguſted [*A*], went over to David, whoſe wife Michal he caus'd to be reſtor'd to him. After this, Abner aſſembled the Chiefs of the army [*B*] and the Elders of Iſrael, to whom he repreſented, that ſince God had caus'd David to be anointed King, it would be in vain to reſiſt his will; and by that means diſpos'd them to declare for the latter: and Abner going immediately to David, was receiv'd by him with the utmoſt teſtimonies of affection. Joab, fearing that his merit would be eclipſed by that of Abner [*C*], who by that means would diſpoſſeſs him of the command of the army, follow'd him as he was returning to aſſemble the people of Iſrael, in order that they might elect David King; and Joab drawing Abner aſide, upon pretence of ſpeaking privately to him, he kill'd him treacherouſly, the year of the world 2987, and before Chriſt 1048. David was extremely griev'd when news was brought him of this horrid action, and proteſted aloud before the Almighty, that he had no hand in it [*D*]: and vented imprecations againſt Joab and his houſe [*E*]. He then order'd that Abner ſhould be publickly interr'd, which was perform'd in a very ſolemn manner, David himſelf following the corpſe. This King afterwards erected to his memory in Hebron a ſplendid monument, on which an epitaph was engrav'd, compos'd by David in his praiſe. Some authors even think that the 139th Pſalm, *O Lord, thou haſt ſearch'd me and known me*, &c. was written by David on this occaſion, as a teſtimony before God and men, that the barbarous deed abovemention'd had not been perpetrated by his command. 2 *Sam.* iii. *Joſeph. Antiq.* lib. 7. ch. 1.

[*A*] *Abner being diſguſted.*] The occaſion of this quarrel with Iſhboſheth was this: "Iſhboſheth ſuppos'd Abner had debauch'd one of his father Saul's "concubines; *Wherefore*, ſays he, *haſt thou gone in "unto my father's concubine?* (2 Sam. iii. 7.) that is, "haſt lain with and defiled her; with which fault "he charges him, either becauſe it was ſo reported "to him by others, or, out of his own groundleſs "ſuſpicion and jealouſy, ſeeing it appeareth not whether it was ſo or no; Abner, in his anſwer, neither confeſſing or denying it. But however it "were, true or falſe, it ſeemeth that Iſhboſheth's "diſcontent did ariſe, not only from this, that he had "diſhonour'd his father, who was his King and Sovereign, in lying with his concubine, being his "ſubject; but chiefly by obſerving into what great "ſtrength he was grown, being General of the army, and in great favour with the people, he ſuſpected that out of his ambition he aſpir'd to the "kingdom, and made way thereto, by making uſe "of the King's concubine, who had two ſons, which "might give ſome colour to his claim, when Iſhboſheth was taken out of the way (1)." Some perhaps would imagine, that Iſhboſheth himſelf had a paſſion for this concubine, and therefore could not bear to have Abner for a rival. 'Tis well known that moſt princes in all ages have aſſumed liberties, particularly in their amours, above the reſt of mankind: they fancy that their birth gives them a right to indulge every wiſh, which is no wonder when we conſider their education.

(1) *Annotat. on the books of the Old and New Teſtament*, Vol. 1. on 2 Sam. iii. 7. London 1651. folio.

[*B*] *Abner aſſembled the Chiefs of the army, &c.*] It is plain that Abner was no bad politician. Being diſguſted at Iſhboſheth's treatment, he reſolves to abandon him, and go over to his enemy. Abner very poſſibly was glad of this opportunity, when he found that Iſhboſheth was not likely to proſper, and that David's affairs flouriſhed more and more every day. This ſhews that Abner had the true ſpirit of a courtier, who is always for veering about to the fortunate ſide. To ingratiate himſelf the more with David, Abner gets this King's wife Michal reſtored to him, judiciouſly conſidering that ſhe might very much influence that Monarch in his favour; not to mention that his obliging David in ſuch a requeſt, muſt naturally pave the way to his future advancement. It is indeed obſerved by ſome, that Abner did no more than his duty in abandoning Iſhboſheth, knowing that the crown was not his but David's; but then the manner in which Abner left him does not ſeem to argue in his favour. Iſhboſheth ſhould not have put the affront upon him as he did, but then Abner ought not to have carried his reſentments ſo far. But true courtiers are fond of any handle, and where a proper one does not preſent itſelf, are glad to make one themſelves. His only hopes now lay in a revolution, and therefore he was reſolved to uſe all his endeavours to bring it about. For this purpoſe he firſt ſounds the tribes, and finding all things ſafe from that quarter, he gets a private (in all probability) interview with David, who, as was very natural, gave him the kindeſt reception; and Abner finding every thing ſafe alſo on that ſide, reſolved, now matters were ripe for a revolt, to throw off the mask and declare himſelf, but was prevented by Joab.

[*C*] *Joab fearing that his merit would be eclipſed by that of Abner.*] Here we have another courtier. Joab concluding that Abner's military glory would throw a ſhade over his, was reſolved to take him off. Ambitious men ſtop at nothing, but will wade thro' ſeas of blood to gratify their darling paſſions, but Joab ſatisfies his in the baſeſt and moſt ungenerous manner. Had he been a truly brave man he would have engaged his future rival openly and more generouſly; but his ſoul was incapable of any thing heroic, and therefore he reſolves to aſſaſſinate him in the moſt cowardly manner. Abner's politicks failed him on this occaſion, but Joab in all probability employed the moſt ſoothing, inſidious words, (which are but too apt to take men of the greateſt ſenſe off their guard) and under the ſpecious veil of complacency and friendſhip murthers him in cold blood.

[*D*] *David proteſted . . . . . that he had no hand in it.*] David himſelf ſeems to have acted the politician on this occaſion. As he was King, he ought undoubtedly to have brought Joab immediately to juſtice; but he was not firmly ſettled on the throne, and Joab was powerful; for which reaſon David did not dare to proceed againſt him. Mr. Henry ſays on this occaſion, "Who would be fond of power, when a man "may have the name of it, and muſt be accountable for "it, and yet be hamper'd in the uſe of it (2)?"

(2) *An Hiſtor. Expoſit. of the Books of the Old Teſtament*, Vol. 2. on 2 Sam. iii. London 1708. folio.

[*E*] *And vented imprecations againſt Joab and his houſe.*] *I and my kingdom*, ſaid David, *are guiltleſs before the Lord for ever, from the blood of Abner the ſon of Ner. Let it reſt on the head of Joab, and on all his father's houſe, and let there not fail from the houſe of Joab one that hath an iſſue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a ſtaff, or that falleth on the ſword, or that lacketh bread* (3). Surely David was not after God's own heart when he made theſe imprecations. But he was a mere man; and tho' ſo good a man, he yet was obnoxious to frailty. *Humanum eſt errare.*

(3) 2 *Sam.* iii. 28, 29.

ABRABANEL (*a*) (ISAAC) a famous Rabbi, was born in Liſbon [*A*], anno 1437, of

(*a*) He is alſo call'd Abrabaniel, Abarbanel, Abarbinel, Abravanel, Auravanel, Abarbenel.

[*A*] *Born in Lisbon.*] His anceſtors were of Caſtile, *E majoribus* Caſtellam *Hiſpaniæ, ex parentibus* Olyſſiponem *Luſitaniæ agnovit patriam* *, as the Leipſic Journal informs us (1). Nicholas Antonio relates, that Abrabanel's family lived for ſeveral Centuries in Seville (2); a circumſtance he had from Bartolocci

(1) *Acta Lipſienſ. Menſ. Nov.* 1686. p. 529.

(2) (3) N. Ant. Bibl. Hiſp. tom. 1. p. 627. & tom. 2. p. 686.

* That is, "He "declar'd Caſtile "to be the coun- "try of his an- "ceſtors, and "Lisbon that of "his parents.

of a family which boaſted its deſcent from King David [*B*]. He advanced himſelf very conſiderably in the court of Alphonſo the Vth King of Portugal, where he was honoured with the higheſt employments, and enjoyed them till that Prince's death, but met with a ſtrange reverſe of fortune under the new King. Abrabanel was forty five years of age [*C*], when John the ſecond ſucceeded his father Alphonſo. Then all thoſe who had had any ſhare in the adminiſtration under the preceding Monarch, were turned out; and if our Rabbi may be believed, their death was ſecretly reſolved, upon pretence that they deſigned to deliver up Portugal to the King of Spain. Abrabanel knew nothing of all this, when, in compliance with the orders ſent him to attend his Majeſty, he was haſting to Liſbon; but hearing by the way, what was plotting againſt his life, he fled immediately into the King of Caſtile's dominions. Upon the return of the ſoldiers who were commanded to bring him dead or alive, all his poſſeſſions were confiſcated; on which occaſion he loſt not only all his books, but the beginning of *A Commentary on the book of Deuteronomy*, which he very much regretted. Some Chriſtian writers [*D*] declare, that the cauſe of his diſgrace was more juſtly founded on his miſconduct than he pretends it to have been; and think the ſame of the other troubles in which he was involved [*E*]: but be this as it will, upon his ſettling in Caſtile, he began to teach and write. In 1484, he drew up *his Commentary on the books of Joſhua, Judges, and Samuel*; and being afterwards ſent for to the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella, employments were given him there, which he enjoyed eight years, that is, till 1492, when the Jews were drove out of the Catholic King's dominions. He endeavoured by his wailings and intreaties [*F*] to divert this dreadful ſtorm, but to no purpoſe; ſo that himſelf, his wife and children, were forced to quit the kingdom with the reſt of the Jews. He then withdrew to Naples, and there wrote his *Commentary on the books of the Kings* in 1493. Being a courtier, the knowledge he had of the courts of Portugal and Arragon gave Abrabanel an opportunity of inſinuating himſelf into the favour of Ferdinand King of Naples, and afterwards into that of Alphonſo. He followed the fortune of the latter, when Charles the VIIIth King of France drove him from Naples, for he went with him into Sicily [*G*]. Alphonſo being dead, he retired to the iſland

tolocci (3); and he quotes Rabbi Solomon ben Virga, who ſays much to the ſame purpoſe in his *Hiſtory of the Jews* (4), tranſlated into Latin by Gentius and cited hereunder.

(4) *Schevetb Jebuda.*

[*B*] *Which boaſted its deſcent from King David.*] Abrabanel ſays ſomewhere (5), that when the firſt temple was deſtroyed, two families which ſprung from David went into Spain, the one whereof ſettled in Lucena, and the other in Seville, and there left poſterity. He elſewhere (6) gives an account of that migration. Rabbi Solomon ben Virga introduces one Thomas, relating the migration abovementioned at length to Alphonſo King of Spain; and telling him, that the Abrabanel family boaſted its deſcent from the Kings of Judah. Alphonſo on the other ſide, won't believe a word he ſays, and raiſes unanſwerable difficulties againſt theſe genealogies (7). The Jews, to remove them, ſuppoſe that Abrabanel loſt his genealogical books, in the hurry and confuſion of his ſeveral removals (8). According to Huetius (9), Manaſſeh ben Iſrael aſſerts in his *Conciliator*, that theſe two families which ſprung from David, withdrew into Spain, after the deſtruction of the ſecond temple; but this Rabbi has a particular view in publiſhing this ridiculous ſtory, his wife being of the Abrabanel family (10). By the way, it is not eaſy to find who this Alphonſo is, that diſcourſed ſo long with Thomas in Solomon ben Virga's book. Some give him the title of King of Portugal (11); and as theſe declare that the Abrabanel, whoſe hiſtory Thomas relates, is our Rabbi; 'tis not to be doubted but they ſuppoſe that Monarch to be Alphonſo the fifth. According to Nicholas Antonio, a very different Abrabanel is there ſpoken of; and this Alphonſo is the laſt King of Caſtile of that name (12). So far Nicholas may be right; but he is wrong to ſuppoſe almoſt two hundred years, between this King and our Rabbi; the latter being born in 1437, and the former dying in 1350, aged thirty eight years.

(5) (6) *Comment. in Zachar.* cap. 11. fol. 293. & in 2 *Reg.* cap. 25. fol. 305. apud *Acta Lipſ. Nov.* 1686. p. 528.

(7) In *Schevetb Jebuda*, f. 11 & ſeq. apud *Acta Lipſ. Nov.* 1686. p. 528.

(8) *Acta Lipſ. Nov.* 1686. p. 529.

(9) Huetii *Demonſt. Evangel.* p. 708. Edit. Lipſ. an. 1694. in 4°.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) *Acta Lipſ.* 1686. p. 529.

(12) Nichol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 627.

[*C*] *Forty five years of age.*] Nicholas Antonio inſerted in his *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica*, the particulars which father Bartolocci told him concerning Iſaac Abrabanel, whereby he corrected ſome miſtakes that had already been printed in the article of this Rabbi; but methinks he does not expreſs himſelf accurately, in ſaying, *Juvenis adhuc, ſed benè doctus in Caſtellæ regnum tranſiit, cùm Joanni II. Portugalliæ Regi, parum eſſet gratus* (13). i. e. "Being then young, "but a good ſcholar, he withdrew into the king- "dom of Caſtile, when he found himſelf not very "acceptable to John II. of Portugal." Few perſons at the age there hinted, have made a conſiderable progreſs in learning, but it is otherwiſe with men of five and forty. Conſequently the author of the *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica*, ſuppoſed our Rabbi much younger when he fled to Caſtile, and therefore was miſtaken.

(13) Idem, tom. 2. p. 686.

[*D*] *Some Chriſtian writers &c.*] According to theſe Abrabanel juſtly merited the treatment he met with, and would have been uſed with greater ſeverity, after his miſchievous diſpoſition was known, had not King John, out of his great clemency, contented himſelf with baniſhing him. They relate farther, that remorſe of conſcience prompted this Rabbi to leave Portugal, and fly in the night with all imaginable ſpeed, into Caſtile (14).

[*E*] *Think the ſame of the troubles in which he was involved.*] They ſay, that by negotiating bills of exchange (which buſineſs he followed in Caſtile) he got acceſs to the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella; that he amaſs'd prodigious ſums, by artfully practiſing the ſeveral frauds of the Jewiſh people; and that he alſo tyranniz'd over the poor, whilſt his uſury made every thing its prey; that he had the vanity to aſpire to the moſt illuſtrious titles, and ſuch as belong'd only to the nobleſt houſes of Spain; and that being a ſworn enemy to the Chriſtian religion, he contributed more than any other to the ſtorm which afterwards oppreſs'd himſelf, and the reſt of the Jews (15).

(14) Ex *Actis Lipſienſ.* Nov. 1686. p. 529. See alſo Father Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 874.

(15) *Act. Lipſ.* Nov. 1686. p. 530. Bartolocci *Biblioth. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 874.

[*F*] *By his wailings and entreaties.*] He tells us in one of his books (16), what he did on this occaſion. Solomon ben Virga relates the particulars of it in his hiſtory of the Jews (17), with the dreadful calamities which befel the three hundred thouſand Jews who were forced to leave the Catholic King's dominions in one day.

(16) *Comment. in libros Regum*, init. apud Nicol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 627.

(17) Apud Nicol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 627.

[*G*] *He went with him into Sicily.*] Nicholas Antonio correcting his article of Abrabanel, from the hints which father Bartolocci gave him in converſation, ſays, that our Rabbi followed King Ferdinand into Sicily, when the French had dethroned that Monarch, and that Abrabanel withdrew to * Corfou (18) after his death. Ferdinand is certainly miſtaken for Alphonſo, Abrabanel having attended the latter (19), and not Ferdinand, as father Bartolocci obſerves (20). Abrabanel continued in Meſſina till Alphonſo's death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1495, and then retired to Corfou (21), where he began his *Commentary on Eſaiah*, anno 1495. If he did not go into that iſland till after Ferdinand's death, we may ſafely aſſert, he could not poſſibly be here in 1495; ſo that there wants an Appendix to correct that of Nicholas Antonio.

* The Corcyra of the ancients.

(18) Nicol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 2. p. 689.

(19) The ſecond of that name. He ſucceeded Ferdinand *the Baſtard*; and Ferdinand the ſecond reign'd after him.

(20) Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 875.

(21) Idem. ibid.

iſland of Corfou, and there began his *Commentary on Eſaiah* in 1495, when he had the ſatisfaction to recover, but how I know not, what he had written on the book of Deuteronomy. The next year he returned to Italy, and went to Monopoli in Apulia (*b*), where purſuing his ſtudies very cloſe, he wrote ſeveral books. Abrabanel compleated his *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, and drew up his *Sevach Peſach* (*c*), and his *Nachalath Avoth* (*d*) in 1496. The year following, he compoſed his *Majene Hajeſchua* (*e*), and in 1498, his *Maſchmia Jeſchua* (*f*), and his *Commentary on Iſaiah*. Some time after he went to Venice, to ſettle the diſputes between the Venetians and Portugueze, concerning the Spice-trade; and diſcovered ſo much prudence and capacity on this occaſion, that he gain'd the favour and eſteem of thoſe powers. He compoſed his *Commentary on Jeremiah* in Venice, anno 1504; and, according to ſome writers, his *Commentary on Ezekiel and the twelve minor Prophets*. In 1506, he wrote a *Commentary on Exodus*, and died at Venice anno 1508 [*H*], aged threeſcore and eleven years, leaving three ſons, Judah, Joſeph and Samuel [*I*]. The eldeſt was a phyſician and a great poet, and compoſed ſeveral poetical pieces in honour of his father. It is ſaid that Samuel turned Chriſtian in Ferrara, and was called Alphonſo, after the Duke's name. Abrabanel compoſed ſeveral other books [*K*], the dates of which we cannot ſettle, and ſome are ſtill in manuſcript. Several noble Venetians and the Chiefs among the Jews, ſolemniz'd his funeral with conſiderable pomp. His body was interr'd at Padua, in a burying place without the city; and a little after, Rabbi Judah Menz, who had been principal of the univerſity, was buried there; but in the ſiege of that city, in 1509, ſuch havock was made in the places adjacent to it, that there are no footſteps of this burying-ground now remaining. Abrabanel poſſeſſed ſuch great talents, that he is conſidered in the ſame light with the celebrated Maimonides, and by ſome in a greater. The Jews aſſert, that he has entirely deſtroyed all the arguments and objections of the Chriſtians; but the latter, juſtly deſpiſing whatever he has writ on our controverſies

(*b*) He liv'd there about ſeven years. Bartolocci *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 875.

(*c*) That is, *The ſacrifice of the paſſover.*

(*d*) i. e. *The inheritance of the fathers.*

(*e*) That is, *The fountain of ſalvation.*

(*f*) i. e. *The preacher of ſalvation.*

[*H*] *Anno* 1508.] Father Bartolocci rectified the error of Don Nicholas Antonio, who had before declared in print, that our Rabbi was Hebrew Profeſſor in Padua about the year 1510. This plainly proves Moreri's negligence; ſince, though he had the *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica* by him, he yet would not take the pains to conſult the appendixes, which not only form a very conſiderable part of the work, but illuſtrate and correct ſeveral paſſages in it. Hence he inſerted the miſtake relating to Abrabanel's being profeſſor at Padua, not knowing that Don Nicholas Antonio had himſelf corrected it at the end of the book, and apologized for it, by ſaying he had followed *Buxtorf. Venetias inde profectus memoratur, ex qua urbe in Germaniam aut in profeſſionem Patavinam Hebraicæ linguæ, quod Buxtorfium & alios ſequuti nos literis in Bibliothecâ noſtrâ mandavimus potuit conferre ſe. Conſtat autem Venetiis eum ſeptuaginta* (22) *annos natum ſuperioris ſæculi anno octavo diem ſuum obiiſſe. Quocum non bene convenit quod circa annum decimum profeſſorem, ut ibidem diximus Patavinum egerit* (23). That is, "It is related that he went from thence to "Venice, from which city, as we had declared, after "Buxtorf and others, in our Bibliotheque, he might "go to Germany or to his profeſſorſhip in Padua. "It is certain he died at Venice aged ſeventy years "(71) in 1508, and conſequently could not be a "profeſſor in Padua anno 1510, as we had obſerved "there. Theſe are Nicholas Antonio's words. He does not abſolutely deny that our Jew was profeſſor at Padua, but only ſays he had not fixed the date of it exactly, Moreri therefore ſhould not declare, that *Abrabanel taught the Hebrew tongue at Padua* in 1510.

(22) It ſhould be 71.

(23) Nicol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 2. p. 686.

[*I*] *Leaving three ſons behind him, Judah, Joſeph, and Samuel.*] One would at firſt ſight conclude he had left four, as ſuppoſing Nicholas Antonio's aſſertion to be true, viz. that Leo, who wrote the *Dialogues of Love*, was Abrabanel's ſon. But we muſt obſerve, that the author of theſe Dialogues might be the ſame with Judah, Abrabanel's eldeſt ſon. This Judah was commonly called Meſſer Leone (25). His book on love is very well known, and was tranſlated into French by *Denis Sauvage* and *Pontus de Tiard*. The author is generally quoted by the name Leo Hebræus; and in the Spaniſh tranſlation printed at Venice anno 1568, in 4°, he is called Meſtre Leon Abarbanel Medico Hebreo.

(24) N. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 2. p. 630.

(25) Bartolocci *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 880.

Judah Abrabanel left his father, when the French conquered the kingdom of Naples, and withdrew to Genoa to practiſe phyſick in that city (26). Samuel Abrabanel was living in the pontificate of Julius the IIId, as appears by the petition he preſented to Cardinal Sirlet protector of the neophytes or new converts (27). He went from Naples in 1540, and carried thence the value of two hundred thouſand crowns (28). His father dedicated to him his *Commentary* in *Pirke Avoth*, written anno 1496 (29).

(26) Ibid. p. 881.

(27) Idem. ibid. 28.

(28) Id. ibid. p. 688. ex *R. Davide Ganzo.*

(29) Idem. ibid. p. 881.

[*K*] *Abrabanel wrote ſeveral other books.*] The two following are mentioned in the Leipſic Journal (30) viz. *Commentaries on Geneſis, Leviticus and Numbers*; *Raſeh Amana* (31); *Sepher Jeſchuoth Meſchicho*, a work on the traditions concerning the Meſſiah; *Zedek Olammim*, relating to the rewards and puniſhments in the life to come; *Sepher Jemoth Olam*, which is a hiſtory from Adam; *Maamar Machaſe Schaddai*, viz. a treatiſe on prophecy, and the viſion of Ezekiel, againſt Rabbi Maimonides; *Sepher Atereth Sekenim*; *Mipbaloth Elohim* (32); *Sepher Schamaim Chadaſchim*; *Labakath Nebbiim*. Theophilus Spizelius tells us, that John Buxtorf junior, ſhewed him a great number of diſſertations taken from Abrabanel's works, which the latter had tranſlated into Latin (33); but they muſt be like thoſe of the ſame Rabbi, which the abovementioned Buxtorf tranſlated and publiſhed with the book *Coſri*. He likewiſe ſhewed him other verſions which he had made of ſome works of that Rabbi. The *Commentary on Haggai* was tranſlated into Latin by Adam Scherzerus, and inſerted in the *Trifolium Orientale*, publiſhed at Leipſic in 1663. In the ſame city was publiſhed anno 1686, in folio, the *Commentary on Joſhua, Judges and Samuel*. See the account which is given of that edition in the Leipſic Journal, whence this article is extracted. In the ſame year, viz. 1686, was printed at Leyden, the *Commentary on Hoſea, with a preface on the twelve minor Prophets*, the whole tranſlated into French, and illuſtrated with Notes, by Francis ab Huſen. Mr. de Veil a converted Jew, publiſhed at London in 1683, Abrabanel's *Preface to Leviticus*. See the Leipſic Journal for January 1684. Nicholas Antonio gives the titles of ſome other works of this Rabbi, and ſometimes mentions from Plantavit's *Bibliotheque Rabinique*, the time when, and place where they were printed. Moreri ſhould not have declared, that Abrabanel wrote a *Commentary on the Talmud*, he having written only that part of the Talmud, entitled, *Pirke Avoth*. Nicholas Antonio, to whom only Moreri had recourſe, ſets this in ſo clear a light, that he ought not to have made ſuch a miſtake. Father Simon who relates many curious particulars concerning Abrabanel's works, obſerves, that the book which this Rabbi wrote, *entitled*, Nahalat Avoth, Confeſſion of the Fathers, *is a Commentary on the Pirke Avoth; and that both were printed at Venice in quarto, anno* 1545; *that this author wrote a very learned Preface to his work, entitled*, Nahalat Avoth, *in which he explains the ſucceſſion or hiſtory of tradition* (*a very confuſed ſubject*) (34) *among the Jews.*

(30) *Acta Lipſ.* Nov. 1686. p. 531.

(31) That is, *Caput Fidei.* It was tranſlated into Latin by Gulielmus Vorſtius, and with his Notes printed in Amſterdam, anno 1638. Nicol. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 629.

(32) i. e. *Works of God. He there treats in a learned manner of the creation of the world; and enquires whence Moſes borrow'd the ſeveral incidents which are related in Geneſis.* Simon, Crit. on the Old Teſtament, p. 537.

(33) Spizelii *Specimen Bibl. Univerſal.*

(34) *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.* p. 637.

with the Jews, ſet a high value on his other expoſitions, and declare him a penetrating genius, clear, learned and ſincere. He does not idolize the opinions of his ſuperiors, but cenſures their miſtakes, and literary theſts with pretty great freedom. Abrabanel's great fault was his being too ſtrongly affected with the perſecutions of the Jews, under which he himſelf had been a very great ſufferer. The remembrance of this, made the Chriſtians ſo odious to him, that he inveighed againſt them in the bitterest terms. In moſt of his books we meet with ſome reflections, which prove his indignation, and his violent thirſt after revenge; and let the ſubject be what it would on which he was writing, he never failed to force in, by one means or other, the diſtreſſed condition of the Jews. He thereby hoped to reinvigorate the expiring ſynagogue (*g*), and it is my opinion this was a great eaſe to him; and that had he not breathed his reſentments upon paper, he probably had burſt; but he would not have been the only man who had found a remedy in this. We know ſome who wanted it very much, although acquainted with the precepts of the goſpel, which Abrabanel was not. I don't find that he was profeſſor in Padua [*L*], or travelled into the Eaſt (Levant) [*M*]; Moreri has been groſly miſtaken in theſe particulars, among which his journey into Germany may be included [*N*]. Abrabanel was indefatigable in his ſtudies, in which he would ſpend whole nights, and would faſt many hours together. He had a great facility in writing; and though he diſcovered an implacable hatred to the Chriſtians in his compoſitions [*O*]; he yet treated them perſonally with civility and mildneſs, and would be very facetious and agreeable in their converſation (*b*).

(*g*) Ex *Actis eruditor. Leipſ.* Menſ. Novem. 1686. p. 528 & ſeq.

(*b*) Bartol. *Bibl. Rabb.* tom. 2. p. 875.

[*L*] *I don't find he had a profeſſorſhip in Padua.*] See the remark [*H*] above. The learned Gentlemen who obliged the publick (35) with an hiſtorical epitome of Abrabanel's life, and who traced it almoſt from year to year, from the time of his leaving Spain to his death, would not have omitted ſo conſiderable a circumſtance: I therefore conclude, that ſince theſe writers are ſilent on this head, the author himſelf did not mention it. Now ſince Abrabanel related ſo many particulars, which are not ſo much to his honour as a profeſſorſhip in Padua would have been, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe he would have forgot to ſpeak of this employment, had he really poſſeſs'd it. And had others aſſerted it with any foundation, I believe it would not have eſcaped the knowledge of the authors of the Leipſic Journal, nor have been omitted by them; conſequently this matter is a little dubious, to ſay no worſe of it; not to mention father Bartolocci, who has given an exact ſeries of whatever relates to this Rabbi, takes no notice of any ſuch.

(35) In the *Acta Leipſienſ.* Nov. 1686. p. 528 & ſeq.

[*M*] ... *Or that he travelled into the Eaſt.*] I look upon this as a miſtake, for the reaſon abovementioned, viz. the ſilence of thoſe writers; but had Abrabanel really taken ſuch a journey, Moreri would yet have told a great untruth; for firſt, he ſuppoſes Abrabanel taught the Hebrew tongue at Padua in 1510; and ſecondly, that the deſire he had to vent publickly his hatred againſt the Chriſtians, *made him travel into the Eaſt, in order to reſide among thoſe of his own religion, and that he then writ the great number of volumes which are extant.* We have ſhewn that he died in 1508, whence we may conclude, that what is aſſerted above is mere fiction.

[*N*] .... *Moreri has been groſly miſtaken in theſe particulars, among which his journey into Germany may be included.*] I did not dare to pronounce this a falſity, ſo long as I was perſuaded Don Nicholas Antonio had cited Buxtorf faithfully; for this being ſuppoſed, we muſt preſume that Abrabanel mentions his journey into Germany, in his Commentary on *Pirke Avoth. Profugus ergo in Germaniam venit, quod ipſe ait in* Commentariis ad librum Talmudicum Pirke Avoth ... *Buxtorfio teſte in tractatu* de Abbreviaturis Hebræorum, pag. 100, (36). I therefore went ſo far only in this ſuppoſition, as to declare, that it was at leaſt certain Abrabanel did not go into Germany, immediately after he was baniſhed out of Spain; ſince he then ſet out for Naples, where he arrived ſome time after. I conſequently found Moreri again in an error, he ſaying, that Abarbinel *was one of thoſe who were ſent into baniſhment. He withdrew into Germany and afterwards into Italy*; and what made me the more ſurprized at this miſtake, was, my knowing that Don Antonio had corrected it, after father Bartolocci had informed him better; but having conſulted the above cited book, I found that the author does not in any manner ſay, that Abrabanel mentions his journey into Germany. Theſe are Buxtorf's words: *Hic titulus* (Morenu, id eſt, Doctor noſter) *novus eſt, infra ducentos annos natus, in Germaniâ, inde in Italiam traductus, quòd valdè miratus fuit Don Iſaac Abarbinel ex Hiſpania in has terras veniens, ut ipſemet ſcribit in commentario* Pirke Abhoth. That is, "This title (Morenu or "our Doctor) is of late date, being firſt uſed in Ger- "many within theſe two hundred years, and from "thence carried into Italy, at which Don Iſaac Abar- "banel wondered very much, upon his coming into "this country from Spain, as he himſelf declares in "his commentary *Pirke Avoth* (37)." I now no longer doubt, but that Don Antonio miſunderſtood Buxtorf; and he has not retracted this error in the place where he relates the particulars which father Bartolocci told him concerning Abrabanel. I am not to omit, that this father proves undeniably, that there was no ſuch journey into Germany, which, ſays he (38), ſome writers mention, citing Buxtorf for that purpoſe. I don't doubt but what is here ſaid will ſtop the currency of this falſe citation.

(36) Nic. Anton. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 628.

(37) Buxtorf. *de Abbreviat. Hebræor.* p. 115. edit. ſecundæ.

(38) Bartolocc. *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 688.

[*O*] *An implacable hatred to the Chriſtians in his compoſitions.*] His commentaries on the Scriptures, particularly thoſe on the Prophets, are filled with ſo much rancour againſt Chriſt, the Church, the Pope, the Cardinals, the whole Clergy, and all Chriſtians in general, but more particularly againſt the Roman Catholicks, that father Bartolocci would have had the Jews prohibited the peruſal of them (39); and indeed he tells us, they are not allowed to read, or keep in their houſes Abrabanel's commentaries on the latter Prophets. *In his etiam pluribus in locis canino dente Chriſtianam religionem mordet & lacerat, ideoque meritò illorum lectio & retentio Judæis interdicta eſt, nec eos apud ſe retinere audent, publicè ſaltem & palam, propter metum Chriſtianorum* (40).

(39) Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 876, 879.

(40) Idem. ibid. p. 878.

☞ABRADATES King of Suſa in the Perſian Empire. His wife Panthea [*A*] being taken priſoner by Cyrus the Great in a battle fought againſt the Aſſyrians, was deſigned by thoſe who took her for the embraces of Cyrus; but this Monarch, tho' ſhe was exquiſitely beautiful, did not once offer to violate her chaſtity, but on the contrary

[*A*] *His wife Panthea.*] She was taken priſoner by Cyrus, and the deſcription which (1) Xenophon gives of her beauty and diſtreſs is very fine. "Cyrus, "ſays Xenophon, commanded Araſpes to keep the "woman (Panthea) and the fineſt tent for him: now "this woman was wife to Abradates King of Suſa, "whoſe husband was not then in the field..... "Cyrus therefore commanded Araſpes to ſecure her, "till he ſhould take her to himſelf. Araſpes upon "receiving this order, ſaid to Cyrus, have you ſeen "this woman whom you command me to ſecure? I "have not, replied Cyrus. But I ſaw her, ſaid "Araſpes,

(1) Ξενοφῶντος Κύρου Παιδείας. Thom. Hutchinſon. lib. 5. p. 314 to 317 incl. 4°. Oxonii 1727.

contrary, gave her the moſt honourable treatment. This charmed Panthea ſo much, that ſhe prevailed with her huſband to come over with his troops to Cyrus. Abradates aſking his conſort, what return he ſhould make Cyrus for his great humanity and kindneſs to her, ſhe replied, only endeavour to behave as generouſly towards him, as he has done towards you. Abradates after this being admitted into Cyrus's preſence, offered his ſervice to that Monarch, who accepted of it. Panthea then equipped her huſband for the fight [*B*], exhorted him to behave courageouſly [*C*], and took a moſt tender farewel [*D*]. Abradates upon this went and joined Cyrus, and coming to an engagement, he fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, but preſſing the Egyptian ſquadrons very cloſe, Abradates was thrown out of his chariot, and being afterwards deſerted by his friends, he periſhed in the field. Panthea his wife found his corps, and laying it into her own ſedan, ſhe brought it to the river Pactolus. Her eunuchs and ſlaves dug a grave for the deceaſed Abradates upon a little hillock, whilſt ſhe herſelf was ſitting on the ground, and with his head in her lap, dreſſed him with all the ornaments ſhe had about her. Cyrus hearing this ſad news, came to the place where Panthea was ſitting by the corps, and the mournful ſpectacle drew tears from his eyes. Afterwards ſpeaking in the moſt tender terms, he took hold of Abradates's hand, which came off into his, it having been cut through with an Egyptian ſpear. This greatly increaſed the grief of Cyrus; but as for Panthea ſhe was inconſolable, and taking the hand from Cyrus, kiſſed it, and fixed it on again as well as ſhe could, crying out; *The reſt, O Cyrus! is as this.* Panthea continued her tender wailings (*E*], and Cyrus having wept ſilently for ſome time, endeavoured to conſole her by declaring that due honours ſhould be paid him at his funeral, and that ſhe her ſelf ſhould be conveyed whitherſoever ſhe pleaſed. Panthea deſired Cyrus not to give himſelf any pain about the latter, ſaying, that he ſhould certainly know whom ſhe intended to go to. The King then leaving her, ſhe commanded her eunuchs to withdraw, in order that ſhe might give way to her tears, and reſolving to die, bid the only attendant ſhe would ſuffer to ſtay with her, to cover her, after ſhe was dead, and her huſband with the ſame cloth. The woman begged her not to think of laying violent hands on her ſelf; but Panthea was inexorable, and taking out a Perſian ſcymitar ſhe had provided for that purpoſe, plung'd it into her ſide, and reclining her head on her huſband's breaſt, expired; upon which her three eunuchs ſtabbed themſelves alſo. Cyrus hearing the mournful news came running

" Araſpes, when I choſe her for you; and indeed " we did not know her, upon our firſt going into " her tent, ſhe being ſeated on the ground, with all " her female attendants round her, and cloathed in " the very ſame kind of habit as they were. But " after we had ſurveyed them all, in order to diſcover " which was the miſtreſs, ſhe immediately ſeem'd to " excel all the reſt, though ſhe was ſitting veil'd, " and her eyes fixed on the ground. When we bid " them riſe, all her waiting women roſe up with her, " but then it was evident how much ſhe excelled " them all, in ſtature, in ſtrength, in grace and " beauty, although meanly attired. Then her tears " were ſeen to trickle down, ſome on her clothes, " and ſome down to her feet. Upon this the eldeſt " of our company ſaid to her; Woman be not de- " jected, for though we have heard that you have an " excellent husband, we yet have now deſigned you " another, who is not inferior to Abradates, in per- " ſon, underſtanding or power; and this is Cyrus, " whom we declare, (if any man living) is worthy of " admiration, and he ſhall poſſeſs you. The moment " Panthea heard this, ſhe tore her upper garment, " and began to bewail her ſelf, and her attendants " made no leſs moan. And then it was that moſt of " her face, her neck and her hands were ſeen; and " know, Cyrus, ſays Araſpes, that my ſelf and all " who ſaw her were of opinion, that there never " was known or born of mortals ſo beautiful a wo- " man in all Aſia." Araſpes was very urgent with Cyrus to go and ſee her, which he refuſed to do, fearing her charms would have ſo ſtrong an influence over him, as to retard the progreſs of his glory.

[*B*] *Panthea then equipp'd her husband for the fight.*] " As Abradates was going to put on a linen " breaſt-plate, after the faſhion of his country, Panthea " brought him a golden helmet, gauntlets, a ſcarlet " coat that reached down to his feet, the extremities " of it hanging in folds, and a purple coloured creſt. " Theſe ſhe cauſed to be made privately, according " to the ſize and proportion of his other armour. " Abradates was very much affected at the ſight, and " hereupon ſaid to Panthea, did you, my dear wife, " cut up your perſonal ornaments, in order to make " them into armour for me? Panthea replied, not " thoſe ornaments which I value moſt; for if you " appear as lovely in the eyes of others as you do in " mine, you will be my greateſt ornament. Saying " this, ſhe cloathed him with his armour, the tears " ſtealing down her cheeks, though ſhe did her utmoſt " to ſuppreſs them (2).

(2) Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 463, 464.

[*C*] *Exhorted him to behave courageouſly.*] " Abradates being cloathed in his armour, Panthea, " after deſiring all who were preſent to withdraw, " my Abradates, ſays ſhe, if ever any woman valued " her husband more than her own ſoul, I believe you " will own I am one of them. What need I deſcend " to particulars? For I believe the actions I have " done for you, will find more credit with you, than " the words I now ſpeak. But though I love you " thus paſſionately, as you are ſenſible I do, I yet " ſwear by your love and mine, that I had rather be " buried with you in caſe you behave with magnani- " mity, than to lead a life of infamy with you; ſo " much regard have I both to your own honour and " mine, &c. (3)." What a noble ſtruggle is here " between love and honour?

(3) Ibid. lib. 6. p. 464, 465.

[*D*] *Panthea took a moſt tender farewel.*] We have ſeen in the Remark C. how ſtrongly ſhe exhorted her husband to fight couragiouſly; after which Xenophon tells us, " Abradates being wonderfully delighted " with theſe words, touching his head, and turning " up his eyes to heaven, cried, Grant, O Jupiter! " that I may ſhew my ſelf a worthy husband to " Panthea, and a worthy friend to Cyrus, who has " treated us thus honourably. Saying theſe words, " he went up into his chariot, ... and when the " coachman had ſhut the ſeat, Panthea having no " other way to embrace him, ſhe kiſs'd the ſeat. " But now the chariot drove on, and ſhe followed " it privately, till Abradates looking back and ſeeing " her, cry'd, Be cheer'd, my Panthea, and go your " ways (4).

(4) Ibid. lib. 6, p. 466.

[*E*] *Panthea continued her tender wailings.*] " Alas! " cried ſhe to Cyrus, I am ſenſible that I am the chief " cauſe of this cataſtrophe, and yet, Cyrus, it is per- " haps as much owing to you. For I was ſilly enough " to exhort him ſtrenuouſly to perform ſome action, " by which he might prove how much he was your " friend; and I know but too well, that he did not " value what might befal him, provided he could " but gratify you by ſome ſignal ſervice. So now he " is dead, without leaving the leaſt ſtain of diſhonour " behind him, whilſt I who excited him to theſe " attempts, ſit here alive (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 506, 507.

running in a great fright in order to ſuccour her, but it was too late. This Monarch afterwards erected a very ſtately Mauſolæum to their memory, on that ſpot which was the ſcene of this ſad cataſtrophe. This happened the firſt year of the 68th Olympiad, 548 before Chriſt. Xenophon *Cyropæd.* lib. 5, 6 and 7.

(a) Herbelot, p. 92. Khondemir. Hoſein Waëz.

☞ ABRAHAH, was called likewiſe (*a*) Abû Yacſûm, ſurnam'd Al Aſhram, (which ſignifies in Arabic, *one who is cut or ſlaſht in the face*) and Dhû 'l Fil, i. e. *the maſter of the elephant*. He was Governor or Prince of Yaman, i. e. *Arabia Felix*, under the Neguſhi or Najâſhi, Emperor of the Abyſſins in the time of Abd al Motalleb, grandfather of Mahomet. In the 105th chapter of the *Koran*, entitled *Sûrat alfil*, i. e. *the chapter of the elephant*, mention is made of the puniſhment of this Prince, who having many elephants in his army, preſum'd to lay ſiege to the city of Mecca [*A*]; the hiſtory of which expedition, as related by the beſt interpreters of that chapter, was thus: Abrahah, who commanded in Sanaa the capital of Yaman, obſerving that at a certain ſeaſon of the year, great numbers of the Arabians took a journey to the province of al Hejaz, which joins to Arabia Deſerta, to viſit the Cába, or *Square Houſe*, in the temple at Mecca; he imagin'd it neceſſary to make his ſubjects leave a devotion which he eſteem'd ſuperſtitious, by ſubſtituting another houſe and place of worſhip, which ſhould attract both the curioſity and devotion of the people. In purſuance of this thought, he erected in the city Sanaa a temple, the ſtructure and ornaments of which ſurpaſſed by far that at Mecca. This temple was a magnificent Chriſtian Church, (for the Abyſſins then, as at this time, profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, which they had extended throughout all that neighbourhood in Arabia.) But notwithſtanding this, Abrahah could not ſucceed in his deſign, without employing force, becauſe that ſuch Arabians as had not embraced the Chriſtian Religion, had a ſtrong propenſion to idolatry, and found even in the ſtones of the territory, as well as temple at Mecca, ſubjects to increaſe their ſuperſtition. However, Abrahah by various methods prevail'd inſenſibly on many to turn Chriſtians. On the other ſide, the tribe of Koraiſh, who had the cuſtody and ſuperintendance of the temple at Mecca, obſerving that the concourſe and devotion of the people was not ſo great, and conſequently that the profits and advantages of their office leſſen'd, defam'd as much

[*A*] *Laid ſiege to . . . Mecca.*] We have a brief detail of this ſtory of Abrahah in Marracci's Notes on the 105th chapter of the *Koran*; as alſo in the ſecond part of the learned Gagnier's Introduction to the *Life of Mahomet*, p. 69, 70. where he alſo remarks from the 105th chapter of the ſame book, that this accident happened the very year of Mahomet's birth, i. e. according to common computation Anno Chriſti 569, as though he were ſent by God to effect ſuch a miraculous deliverance for his holy temple. Mr. Gagnier obſerves farther, That the Abyſſins had before this time poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the ſouthern part of Arabia, having expelled or ſubjected the Hemyarites, after they had vanquiſhed Dhu-Nowâs the laſt of their Kings about ſeventy years before Mahomet's birth; for that unhappy Prince having embraced the Jewiſh religion, exerciſed ſuch barbarous cruelty on the Chriſtians, as to cauſe them to be thrown alive into a deep trench filled with fire, where they periſhed miſerably in the flames (1). This barbarity induced the then Chriſtian King of the Abyſſins to ſend a powerful army againſt him, when being defeated, Dhu-Nowâs was ſo far preſſed, that in deſpair he forced his horſe into the ſea and was drowned. Some time after this, our Abrahah was made Viceroy or Governor of Arabia for the Ethiopian King. But Mr. Gagnier (2) has given us the following circumſtances omitted by Herbelot, viz. When Abrahah was arrived at Tâyeſ, about a day's journey from Mecca, he ſent one of his officers named Al Aſwad the ſon of Makſûd to ſeize on the cattle and effects of its inhabitants, and gave him a letter containing theſe words. *I have no deſign to make war, but come only to deſtroy the temple of the Cába.* To which Abd al Motalleb, Mahomet's grandfather and Prince of the Koraiſh, returned this anſwer. *As for us, God never gave us leave, and ſo we can't conſent to the deſtruction of his houſe, we will leave its defence to God the owner, ſo that therefore the whole diſpute is between God and your King, for as to us, we are not able to oppoſe you*; and thereupon he went with the meſſenger to Abrahah's camp, who received him very reſpectfully by deſcending from his throne; and after ſeating him near himſelf, he inquired the cauſe of his coming. Abd al Motalleb told him, it was to demand reſtitution of the cattle and goods, which had been taken away; and the King replying, *I thought you were come to intreat me not to deſtroy the Cába, being the place of your religious worſhip. Sir*, ſays Abd al Motalleb, *the cattle and goods belong to me, and therefore I demand them, but as to the houſe of God he is the owner, and is able to defend it.* Whereupon the King reſtored the cattle, &c. and Abd al Motalleb returned back. From ſome circumſtances in the original ſtory of Abrahah and chronology, he ſeems to be the ſame with him whom Procopius in his *Hiſtory of the Perſian war* (3) calls Abramus, and there informs us, that during the war with Perſia, Helliſthæus a devout Chriſtian King of Æthiopia, or Abyſſins, hearing how the Homerites, called by Mr. Gagnier Hemyarites of the oppoſite continent in Arabia, were many of them Jews and many Heathens, and that they laid exceſſive burthens on the Chriſtians in that country, ſent out a navy and army againſt them, and engaging with them ſlew their King, and a great number of the people; and making Eſimiphæus a Homerite and a Chriſtian, King there, impoſed a tribute on them and returned home. However, there were many diſorderly perſons in the Ethiopian army who would not return back with the King, but ſtaid and aſſociated with the Homerites, being invited by the beauty of the country, the ſoil of which is very good. But ſome time after the people impriſoned Eſimiphæus, and made one Abramus, who alſo was a (4) Chriſtian, King. This man had been a ſlave to a Roman merchant, who reſided for the ſake of traffick at Adulis an Ethiopian city. Helliſthæus, in order to puniſh Abramus and his accomplices for the injury done to Eſimiphæus, ſent three thouſand men againſt him under the command of his kinſman. But thoſe ſoldiers deſiring alſo to remain in that delightful country, held a ſecret correſpondence with Abramus, and thereupon killed their own commander in the battle, and joined with the enemies. Helliſthæus exaſperated at this, ſent afterwards another army, which engaging, returned with much loſs, and being then afraid to attack Abramus any more, he forbore all hoſtilities. But that Prince dying, Abramus conſented to pay a tribute to his ſucceſſor the Neguſhi, and thereby confirmed himſelf in his government, as Viceroy. However, theſe things, ſays Procopius, happened afterwards, that is, as I take it, after Juſtinian's death, who died aged eighty three, in the year of Chriſt 565, which was but four years before Mahomet's birth. Thus chronology concurs to make Abramus and Abrahah one and the ſame perſon, as either King or Viceroy of the Homerites or Hemyarites, who were Arabian Chriſtians at that time.

(1) This fact is hinted at in the 85th chapter of the *Koran*.

(2) Ib. p. 70.

(3) Lib. 1. c. 16.

(4) Note, the Chriſtians at this time were very numerous in Arabia; and it appears that many of 'em join'd with Mahomet.

much as poſſible the temple at Saná, and at laſt practiſed a notorious piece of villany in order to extinguiſh the zeal of the Arabians for this new temple. To this end they ſent one of the tribe or family of Kenâna to Saná, who by his artifices getting admittance into an (*b*) office about that temple, took occaſion one night preceding a very ſacred and ſolemn feſtival, when all things in the church ought to have appeared in purity and ſplendor, abominably to defile both the church and its ornaments with human excrements, and having done ſo, fled, and publiſhed, wherever he came, the news of this profanation. Abrahah being informed of what had paſſed vowed revenge againſt the Koraiſh for this ſcandalous abuſe, and reſolved to beſiege Mecca, and demoliſh their Temple and Cába. For this purpoſe he marched his army (the greateſt ſtrength of which conſiſted in the elephants) (*c*) towards the province of Hejaz, himſelf conducting it, being mounted on one of thoſe animals, named Mahmûd. This elephant being the moſt remarkable, both for its ſize and whiteneſs, had acquired the title of chief or captain of the reſt. The Koraiſh being informed of the march of this Prince, and that he brought againſt them theſe terrible beaſts, which, they ſay, had never been ſeen in Arabia till that time, they utterly deſpaired of being able to defend their city and territory, and reſolved to abandon it, and retire with their moſt valuable effects to the neighbouring mountains. Abrahah met with no oppoſition in his march, plundering and ravaging all places till he came in view of the city of Mecca, when the (*d*) elephant on which he rode no ſooner beheld the city walls, but he ſuddenly turned his head and ran furiouſly back, and all the reſt of thoſe animals following him as their leader, it put the whole army into a general diſorder, and all fled. The Koraiſh, who were entrenched on the tops of the mountains ſaw this confuſion with aſtoniſhment, not knowing the cauſe of it, when on a ſudden they beheld a prodigious flight of (*e*) birds, ariſing like a cloud from the ſea-coaſts, come and hover over Abrahah's army. Their feathers were green and beaks green, and they were followed by another flight, whoſe feathers were black but their beaks yellow. Every one of theſe birds carried three ſtones (*f*), viz. one in its beak, and two in its claws, and on every ſtone was written the name of him it was to ſtrike; all which ſtones they threw down with ſo great a force on the heads of the Abyſſins, that they killed them all on the ſpot, Abrahah excepted, who only was left alive to carry the news of this terrible defeat into Ethiopia. Abrahah having ſeen his whole army deſtroyed by this ſtrange accident immediately repaſſed the Red-Sea, and went to inform the Najâſhi of his diſaſter. However, ſay the hiſtorians, Divine Juſtice which had determined to leave to poſterity a memorable example of the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould dare to attempt the ruin of that holy-houſe built by Abraham, would not permit that unhappy Prince to eſcape unpuniſhed. And accordingly one of thoſe executioners of heaven's vengeance followed him from place to place with a ſtone in its beak till he came before the Abyſſin Emperor, and had told him the ſtory of this lamentable adventure, when the Emperor aſking him what kind of birds they were? Abrahah pointed to that which then hovered over his head, the bird inſtantly flung down his ſtone, which ſtriking Abrahah he fell dead at the foot of the Imperial throne.

(*b*) I don't know whence d'Herbelot had the circumſtance of this fellow's *getting into an office*. He ſeems only to have ſlipped in by ſtealth, and hid himſelf in the church.

(*c*) Authors doubt whether he had any more than one elephant, viz. that named Mahmûd, tho' ſome ſay he had thirteen.

(*d*) This elephant whenever he was directed towards Mecca, knelt down, and would not ſtir, though he got up and went on briskly if he was directed towards *Yaman*, or to any other quarter than Mecca. I don't find any author mentions Mahmûd's putting the other elephants and the army into diſorder. We muſt allow Mr. d'Herbelot to embroider a little.

(*e*) It muſt be obſerved, that the Orientals ſay theſe ſtones were not quite ſo big as vetches; tho' they fell with ſuch force, as to pierce the man's helmet, head and whole body (ſome ſay the elephant's alſo) and ſo falling to the ground.

(*f*) Theſe ſtones did not kill all on the ſpot, but only all they ſtruck; ſeveral eſcaped thence, and fled with Abrahah, towards Yaman; though they all died by the way, Abrahah excepted. Abulfeda (and the other writers I have ſeen) do not ſay that Abrahah was killed by a ſtone, nor that he went into Ethiopia; but on the contrary, that he was ſtruck with a ſort of plague or putrefaction, ſo that his limbs rotted off piecemeal, and he died at Saná his capital. The only perſon who eſcaped into Ethiopia they ſay, was one Abu Yackſum; and they tell us the ſame ſtory of his being killed by a ſtone in the Abyſſin Emperor's preſence, as d'Herbelot tells us of Abrahah. The occaſion of the miſtake ſeems to be, that Abrahah was alſo ſurnamed Abu-Yackſum, and ſo two different perſons were taken for one and the ſame.

ABRAHAM, the Father and Stock whence the Faithful ſprung, was ſon to Terah. He was deſcended from Noah by Shem, being nine degrees diſtant from the latter. The opinion which fixes his birth to the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah (*a*), appears to me more probable, than that which ſettles it in the ſeventieth year of his ſaid father. There is great reaſon to believe that Abraham was born in the city of Ur in Chaldea, which the Scriptures inform us he left, when he went into the land of Canaan (*b*). Abraham quitted that city with his father, and went to Haran, where they reſided till Terah's death, after which Abraham reſum'd his firſt deſign of going into Paleſtine. The Scriptures relate the ſeveral places he ſtopt at in the land of Canaan, and his journey into Egypt, where Sarah his wife, who was his ſiſter by the father's ſide (*c*), was taken from him; his journey into Gerar, where Sarah was again carried off, and reſtored to him, as before; his victory over the four Kings who had plundered Sodom; his complaiſance with regard to his wife, who would oblige him to make uſe of their maid Hagar, in order to get children (*d*); the covenant which God made with him, ſealed with the ſign of circumciſion; his compliance with the decree of God, who commanded him to ſacrifice his eldeſt ſon, and the manner how this was prevented; his marriage with Keturah; his death, at the age of an hundred threeſcore and fifteen; and his being interr'd near the body of Sarah his firſt wife in the cave of Machpelah. It would be needleſs to expatiate on theſe particulars, ſince the Proteſtants have them by heart, they learning them from the Scriptures in their infant years; and the Roman Catholicks need not be told of them here, father Simon and Moreri having treated of them ſufficiently in their Dictionaries. It would be more ſuitable to the genius of the preſent work, to examine the falſities and doubtful traditions relating to Abraham; but theſe are ſo numerous, that the moſt indefatigable writer would ſcarce have courage to ſet about ſuch a taſk; for, have not the moſt ſtrange particulars been told concerning the motives of his converſion [*A*]? and are not the moſt odd circumſtances related of his exploits

(*a*) This, according to the Hebrews, is the 352d after the deluge, and the 2008th from the creation.

(*b*) *Gen.* xi. 31.

(*c*) See the article SARAH.

(*d*) See the article HAGAR.

[*A*] *Concerning the motives of Abraham's converſion.*] It is a pretty general opinion, that Abraham ſuck'd in the poiſon of idolatry with his milk; and that Terah his father made ſtatues, and taught that they were to be worſhipped as Gods (1). Some Jews relate, that Abraham followed, for a conſiderable time, the ſame

(1) Suidas in Σαρούχ.

exploits againſt idolatry [*B*], both in Chaldea and the city of Haran [*C*]? How many

ſame trade as Terah (2) viz. that he made and ſold idols. Others declare, that Abraham was a long time immers'd in the impiety which prevailed in that country, viz. the worſhip of the ſun and ſtars. *Ipſum longo tempore Chaldæorum delirio de aſtrorum divinitate innutritum fuiſſe.* (3) Maimonides relates as fact, that Abraham was educated in the religion of the Sabæans, who acknowledged no other God but the ſtars (4). His reflections on the nature of the planets, diſcovered to him the erroneouſneſs of that worſhip, and prevailed with him to abandon it. He admired their motions, their beauty and order; but at the ſame time, he diſcovered ſeveral imperfections in them, whence he concluded, that there muſt be a Being, ſuperior to the whole machine of the univerſe; a Being who created and governed it. Suidas indeed cites Philo, to prove that Abraham, by theſe reflections, raiſed his ideas to the knowledge of God; but as he relates, on the credit of the abovementioned author, that Abraham had attained to this exalted degree of underſtanding, when but fourteen years old; and had the courage to ſay to Terah, *Leave this pernicious trade of idolatry, by which you impoſe on the world*; this accuſation, viz. Abraham's long continuance in idolatry, is not very conſiſtent. It is certain that Joſephus, though he does not own that the mind of this Patriarch was for ſome time infected with idolatry, aſſerts, that he attained to a knowledge of the unity of God, and a providence, merely by the ſtrength of his genius, and his contemplation of the univerſe, and was the firſt who dared to combat vulgar error on that head (5), but met with ſuch ſtrong oppoſition, that he reſolved to leave his native country. This, perhaps, is the firſt inſtance of a man's going a voluntary exile for the ſake of religion. Abraham, conſidered in this light, would be, with regard to this kind of puniſhment under the law of nature, what St. Stephen was, with reſpect to capital puniſhment under the law of grace; he would be as much the Patriarch of the Refugees, as the Father of the Faithful. I don't ſee how it can be denied that his father was an idolater, ſince the Scripture mentions him expreſly as ſuch (6); but all that could be inferred from this, would be, that Abraham embraced his father's religion, before he was capable of making uſe of his reaſon. It is the unavoidable lot of children, to adhere ſtrictly to the religious principles of thoſe under whom they are educated. Suidas relates, that at fourteen years of age Abraham was able to judge for himſelf: he was ſenſible of the abyſs into which his father was plunged, and he drew him out of it, inſomuch, that when God commanded him to leave his country, Terah reſolved to go along with him. S. Epiphanius relates, that idolatry having taken its riſe under Serug, great grandfather to the Patriarch Abraham, idols were repreſented only in painting, but that Terah was the firſt who made them in clay (7).

[*B*] *The moſt odd account related of his exploits with regard to idolatry*] I would not accuſe Philo of contradicting himſelf, though we juſt now found, that he relates in one of his works, how Abraham, for many years, gave into the extravagant notions of the Chaldeans (8); and from Suidas's Lexicon, that Abraham, at the age of fourteen, knew all the abſurdities of idolatry; for how can we rely, with regard to the numerical accounts and citations, on an author, ſo maimed and corrupted as Suidas now is? Poſſibly he did not write fourteen, but fifty years, that being the age of Abraham when he abandoned the errors of Paganiſm, according to an old tradition. 'Tis related that (9) his father being gone on a journey, left the buſineſs of ſelling ſtatues to him, when it happened that a man who pretended to be a purchaſer, asked him *how old he was?* Abraham anſwered, *fifty* .... *Wretch that thou art*, ſays the other, *for adoring at that age a Being who is but one day old!* which words quite confounded Abraham. Some time after a woman brought ſome flour to him, in order that he might preſent it by way of offering to the ſtatues; but Abraham, inſtead of doing ſo, took up an ax or hatchet, and broke them all to pieces, and after this he put the ax into the hand of the largeſt ſtatue. Terah being returned home, asked the meaning of this havock? Abraham replied, that all the ſtatues had quarrelled about who ſhould firſt eat of the oblation which a woman had brought; *upon which*, ſays he, *the God you ſee there, being larger than the reſt, broke them to pieces with that ax.* Terah told him, he bantered, ſince thoſe idols had not the ſenſe to do that. Say you ſo, ſays Abraham? and thereupon immediately retorted thoſe words of his father upon him, to ſhew the abſurdity in this worſhip of the falſe Gods. However, Terah could not take a jeſt, but delivered up his ſon into the hands of the inquiſition. Nimrod the chief inquiſitor and conqueror of the country, immediately exhorted Abraham to worſhip the fire; and after ſome queſtions and anſwers had paſt between them, he commanded him to be thrown into the midſt of the flames, ſaying theſe words at the ſame time, *Now let your God come and take you out.* Haran, Abraham's brother, obſerving the whole ſcene with the deepeſt attention, firmly reſolved to declare for the victorious party; that is, to be of Nimrod's religion in caſe the fire conſumed Abraham; and of the religion of Abraham if he came out unhurt. Abraham came ſafe and ſound out of the midſt of the flames, when Nimrod asking Haran *who he believed in?* he anſwered, *in the God of Abraham*; upon which the Monarch commanded him to be thrown into a furnace, where he was ſo ſeverely ſcorch'd, that he expired a little after in his father's preſence (10). The reaſon why the fire had ſo much power over him, was, becauſe his faith was not ſo lively as that of Abraham, and that Haran was not, like his brother, predeſtinated to great matters (11). This tradition is not of modern date, ſince it is told by St. Jerom (12), who ſeems to look upon that circumſtance of it as genuine, which relates to Abraham's miraculous preſervation in the midſt of the flames; but he does not ſay that Terah was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly cruel, as to act the part of an informer of the inquiſition againſt his own ſon. St. Epiphanius, who alſo is ſilent on this article, aſſerts on the contrary that Terah ſurvived his ſon Haran, as a puniſhment upon him for his boldneſs in making Gods of clay; and that he was the firſt father who ever ſaw his children die a natural death (13). Perhaps the antiquity of the word *Ur* (14) might have given occaſion to theſe fictions. Such as lay ſtreſs on the following words which God ſays to Abraham, *I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Caldees* (15), imagine that he ſaved him from a great perſecution, ſince he employed the very ſame words in the beginning of the decalogue, to denote the deliverance from Egypt (16); but this is ſearching for myſteries without any manner of cauſe: for we don't find the leaſt mention of any ſuch perſecution in Scripture; ſo that we may juſtly, in a proportional degree, conſider likewiſe as mere chimeras, the fire which did not hurt Abraham; as alſo the ſtory which Maimonides borrowed from a certain work (17), on the husbandry of the Egyptians. In this it was related, that Abraham, after having maintained in a publick diſputation againſt the idolaters, that fire was not worthy of divine honours, he thereupon was thrown into priſon; all his poſſeſſions were confiſcated, and himſelf was ſentenced to baniſhment. The King was afraid that his great authority and eloquence would prevail on the people to abandon the worſhip of fire. According to Cedrenus, Haran died for a very bad cauſe, for that he, by endeavouring to ſnatch Terah's idols out of the fire into which Abraham had thrown them, was himſelf caught by the flames, and burnt to death.

[*C*] *Or in the city of Haran.*] It is pretended that Abraham ſet up for a convert-maker; that whilſt he was endeavouring to gain over male proſelytes, Sarah acted in the ſame character, with regard to the women (18), and that it is in this ſenſe we are to underſtand the following words of Geneſis; *Abraham departed out of Haran ... took Sarah his wife; Lot his brother's ſon; all their ſubſtance that they had gathered, and the ſouls they had gotten* (19). Theſe writers will not have the laſt mentioned words allude to an increaſe of children, but to the propagation of the faith; and confirm (20) this explication by the metaphor which the Apoſtle St. Paul employs in the 19th verſe of the ivth chapter of his Epiſtle to the Galatians: *My little children of whom I travel in birth again, until Chriſt be formed in you.* Now it is more probable,

(2) Apud Genebrard. *in Chron.*

(3) Philo apud *Salian.* tom. 1. p. 387.

(4) Maimonides, *More Nevoch.* cap. 29. p. 3.

(5) Joſeph. *Antiquit* lib. 1. cap. 7. See alſo *Recognit. Clement.* lib. 1.

(6) *Your fathers dwelt on the other ſide of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor; and they ſerved other Gods.* Joſhua xxiv. 2.

(7) Epiph. *adverſ. Hæreſ.* lib. 1. p. 7, 8.

(8) Χαλδαίους μακρόν τινα χρόνον. *Per longum tempus Chaldaico imbutus delirio.* Philo, de Abrahamo, p. 361.

(9) R. Moſes Haddarſchan in *Beriſchit Rabba apud* Heidegger. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 2. p. 36.

(10) They ground this circumſtance on *Geneſis* xi. 28.

(11) *Judæi apud* Lyranum & Toſtatum, *citante* Saliano *Annal.* tom. 1. p. 402.

(12) Hierom. *Tradit. Hebraic. in Geneſin.*

(13) Epiph. *de Hæreſ.* lib. 1. p. 8.

(14) 'Tis the proper name of a city, and it alſo ſignified fire. The Latin verſion, *Eſdras*, chap. ix. has it thus: *Qui elegiſti eum de igne Chaldæorum.*

(15) *Geneſis* xv. 7.

(16) Paulus Burgenſis, *in Addit. ad Poſtillam Lyrani in Geneſ.* cap. xi.

(17) Apud Paulum Burgenſ. *in Addit. ad Lyrani Poſtill. in Geneſ.* cap. xi. See his *Moreh Nevochim*, Part 3. cap. 29.

(18) See *Onkelos* the Chaldee paraphraſt, and *Fagius* his tranſlator.

(19) Chap. xii. ver. 5.

(20) See *Salian. Annal.* tom. 1. 406.

many ſciences [*D*] is he ſaid to have been verſed in, and what a number of books [*E*] are we told he writ? The Jews aſcribe to him the prerogative of being born circumciſed (*e*); and declare, that Adam and he were informed with the ſame ſoul (*f*). Theſe believe, that this ſoul animated David, and will hereafter animate the Meſſiah, as Bartolocci has obſerved in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, or *Rabbinical Library*. The Mahometans have likewiſe related ſeveral fictions concerning this Patriarch, as appears from the Alcoran, and from Keſſæus, one of their moſt conſiderable authors. Theſe declare, that he tooke a journey to Mecca, and began to build the temple in that city [*F*].

(*e*) Apud Hottingeri *Hiſtoriam Oriental.* lib. 1. cap. 6.

(*f*) This is to be underſtood of ſuch Jews as believ'd tranſmigration.

Conſult

probable, that thoſe ſouls Abraham had gotten were ſlaves purchaſed by him, and the children born from them; though we are not to doubt but that his zeal and wiſdom prompted him to inſtruct the Heathens to the utmoſt of his power; and that in caſe he won over any of them during his ſtay in Haran, they followed him into the land of Canaan. Some think that his father did not ſerve the falſe Gods till he came to Haran (21); but this ſeems an abſurdity; for as it is very probable (22) that this family left Chaldæa purely to ſhun the perſecution they ſo juſtly dreaded, becauſe of their abhorrence of idolatry; it would be very ſurprizing, that the religious principles of the chief of the family, ſhould be corrupted in that very country, whither he fled for refuge. But it might have happened that Terah, although Abraham had convinced him of the folly of worſhipping idols before they abandoned their country, might nevertheleſs be weak enough to relapſe again into it: for in thoſe ages of ignorance, few people had ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſuppreſs at all times their natural propenſion to idolatry. Some even are of opinion, that Nahor, the third ſon of Terah, was never a true convert; and that he yet quitted his native country, to go to his father in Haran (23). Probably it was he who revived in the mind of that old man, the ideas of the idolatrous worſhip which Abraham had ſuppreſt. It is certain that Laban, Nahor's grandſon, worſhipped idols. Some fathers of the church think that Terah was not faithful either in his life-time or at his death: ſee the 31ſt and 37th Homilies of St. Chryſoſtom; but how could they prove this, or how could it be diſproved? there are an hundred circumſtances in Abraham's life, all which are ſo confus'd and perplexed, that both thoſe who argue for, and thoſe who oppoſe them, give reaſons for their aſſertions: however, father Bolduc (a poor writer) who fancied that our Patriarch founded ſome monaſteries in Haran, and brought only ſuch Monks with him into Paleſtine, as were the greateſt novices (24), is not to be ranked among the authors who can give reaſons for what they advance.

(21) Toſtat. apud Perrerium in *Geneſ.* chap. xi.

(22) This is founded on the teſtimony of Joſephus, and the book of *Judith*, chap. 5. St. Auſtin affirms it, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. 16. cap. 13.

(23) See St. *Auſtin, ibid.*

(24) See Heidegger *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 2. p. 88.

[*D*] *How many ſciences.*] We are told that he was verſed in Aſtronomy, and this Beroſus declared, tho' he does not name him, if Joſephus is to be credited (25). Some alſo relate, that he inſtructed the Egyptians in Arithmetic and Geometry. Joſephus ſays this expreſsly (26), which would alſo be confirmed by Nicholas Damaſcenus, if he related that Abraham taught Arithmetic and Geometry to the Egyptians; but he does not mention any ſuch circumſtance. Heidegger, page 144 of his ſecond volume, cites the fourth book of Nicholas Damaſcenus's hiſtories, as though it were to be met with there; but he miſtook the words of Joſephus for thoſe of Nicholas, in the 16th chapter of the 9th book of Euſebius's *Evangelical Preparation*. This Patriarch, according to Eupolemus and Artapan (27), inſtructed the Phœnicians and Egyptians in Aſtronomy; but after all, theſe are not articles of faith. The authors who aſcribe theſe particulars to Abraham leſſen the credit of their teſtimony by the falſities they interweave with them. One of theſe tells us that Abraham reigned in Damaſcus (28); another, that he lived twenty years in Egypt with his whole family, at the court of King Pharethon (29); another writer is ſo unjuſt to his memory, as to declare that one of the motives which prompted him to go into Egypt, was a deſire of being acquainted with the tenets of the Egyptians with regard to the Deity; in order to follow them, in caſe they appeared better grounded to him than his own, or to undeceive thoſe people, in caſe their principles were erroneous (30). According to ſome moderns, he did not inſtruct the Egyptians in Mathematics (31); but the reaſon they give for it, is, in my opinion, altogether falſe; for, ſay they, Abraham's brains were ſo diſturbed with jealouſy, becauſe the King of Egypt kept Sarah from him, that he was ſcarce in a capacity to teach ſciences of ſo abſtracted a nature as theſe, which, like poetry, require the writer to be at eaſe, and undiſturbed both in body and mind.

Carmina ſeceſſum ſcribentis & otia quærunt.

"The Muſe delights in ſolitude and eaſe.

But they ſhould have obſerved that Joſephus has expreſly diſtinguiſhed the times; for he tells us, that Abraham did not confer with the Egyptian Sages, till after Sarah was reſtored to him and his mind was at eaſe; as it was entirely, when Pharaoh had loaded him with preſents, and he himſelf was perſuaded that his wife had not ſuffered in her honour.

(25) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 7.

(26) Id. ibid. c. 8.

(27) Apud Alex. Polyhiſt. citatum ab Euſebio, *Præp.* lib. 9. c. 17 & 18.

(28) Nichol. Damaſ. apud *Joſeph. Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 7. This Juſtin alſo declares, lib. 36. c. 2.

(29) Artapan. apud Euſeb. *Præp.* lib. 9. c. 18.

(30) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. c. 8.

(31) See *Salian.* tom. 1. p. 414.

[*E*] *And what a number of books.*] A work which treats of the creation has been long aſcribed to him (32); it is mentioned in the Talmud (33), and the Rabbis Chanina and Hoſchaia uſed to read it, on the eve before the Sabbath. The author of the book entitled *Cozri*, declares that this work of Abraham is abſtruſe, and wants a copious commentary; that it teaches the unity of God, that in certain reſpects the author ſeems to ſay things of a very different nature, but that in others, they all have the ſame tendency. The Jews in general have not aſcribed the work in queſtion to this great Patriarch, and ſome have aſſerted publickly, that Rabbi Akiba is, as they believe, the author of it, and not Abraham (34); and therefore they very much condemn this Rabbi, for preſuming to father it upon him. *Quis dedit poteſtatem R. Aquibæ ſcribendi librum Jezira, nomine Abrahami patris noſtri* (35). That is, "Who gave "Rabbi Aquiba authority to write the book Jezira, "under the name of Abraham our father?" We meet with a very curious article on this head, in the ſupplement to Moreri, extracted from father Simon's *Critical Hiſtory*, to which I refer the reader; it is in p. 48 and 536 of the edition of Rotterdam. In the primitive ages of Chriſtianity, the Hereticks called Sethians or Sethinians diſperſed a piece which they called *Abraham's Revelation*, as St. Epiphanius obſerves (36). Origen has cited a pretended work of this Patriarch, in which two Angels, one good and the other wicked are introduced diſputing on his ſalvation or deſtruction (37). The aſſumption of Abraham was a ſuppoſitious piece (38). We are told (39), that in the library of the monaſtery of the Holy Croſs on mount Amara in Ethiopia, are contained the ſeveral works which Abraham compoſed in the plains of Mamre; *where he taught Philoſophy to thoſe men, by whoſe aſſiſtance he defeated the five Kings* (40) *who had taken his nephew Lot priſoner*. By the way, the book on the creation which is aſcribed to Abraham, was printed at Paris 1552, tranſlated into Latin by Poſtel, and illuſtrated with notes. Rittangel, a converted Jew, and Profeſſor at Konigsberg, gave a Latin tranſlation of it with remarks in 1642 (41).

(32) See the remark [*A*] of the article AKIBA.

(33) See Heidegger *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 2. p. 143.

(34) Abraham Zachut in libro *Juchaſin*, p. 52. apud Heidegger. ibid.

(35) Præfat. 2. Zohar Mantuani, apud eund. Heidegger. ibid.

(36) Epiph. *adverſ. Hæreſ.* p. 286.

(37) Origen, *Homil.* 35, *in Lucam*, apud Heidegger. ibid.

(38) In Synopſi Athanaſii, liber, qui *Aſſumptio Abrahami* dicitur, inter rejectos numeratur. Heidegger. ibid.

(39) Kircherus, in Welch, *Treatiſe of Libraries*, p. 142. Paris edition.

(40) It ſhould be *four*.

(41) Spizelii *Specim. Bibliotb.*

[*F*] *That he began to build a temple in that city.*] Theſe relate, that Adam, after he was drove from paradiſe, beſought God to permit him to build a houſe, after the model of that which he had ſeen in heaven; a houſe, I ſay, in which he might offer up his prayers, and walk round it out of devotion. God let fall a tent, which was like the houſe ſeen by Adam, who accordingly put it to the uſes abovementioned. After Adam's death, Seth built a houſe with ſtones and mud according to the ſame model above, which the flood ruined; but it was afterwards repaired, God giving his command by Abraham and Iſhmael for that purpoſe. It has been ſucceſſively repaired by others, and laſtly, by Hejazus, in the 74th year of the Hegira, who gave it the form in which it is now ſeen, and this is the oratory or chapel of the temple of Mecca (42). See the remark [*I*] of the Article HAGAR.

(42) Ex Pocockii *Notis in Specim. Hiſt. Arab.* p. 115.

Conſult Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale*, from page 12 to page 16, in which a thouſand curious particulars are related. Were the work which Hecatæus wrote concerning Abraham (g) now extant, we poſſibly ſhould meet with a great many particulars which are not mentioned by any other author. The Chriſtians were reſolved to have their ſhare, in the idle ſtories which are related concerning Abraham; for they tell us that he planted trees, which had a very ſingular property [G]. Here follow ſome other chimeras which the Rabbis have forged. Theſe relate that the Egyptian bondage was inflicted as a puniſhment for ſome faults which Abraham had committed, he having forced the ſons of wiſdom to take up arms, and permitted perſons who were inſtructed in the law of God, to fall again into idolatry; for it is in this ſenſe that they underſtand the Scripture, where it is ſaid, that *he armed his trained ſervants born in his own houſe, three hundred and eighteen* (h), and his reſtoring (i) thoſe perſons whom the King of Sodom deſired him to give up (k). Father Bartolocci is very warm upon this article, and does not refute it in a ſolid manner [H]. The Rabbis ſay farther; firſt, that the bare ſight of a precious ſtone, which hung about Abraham's neck, cured every kind of diſeaſe; and that after Abraham's death (l), God hung this jewel on the Sun; and ſecondly, that this Patriarch taught magic to thoſe children his concubines brought him (m).

(g) Joſeph. *Antiquit.* lib. 1. cap. 7.

(h) *Gen.* xiv. 14.
(i) Idem, ver. 21.
(k) Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 529.
(l) Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* tom. 3. p. 562.
(m) Idem. Ibid. p. 394, & tom. 1. p. 703.

[G] *Which had a very ſingular virtue.*] Gretſer tells us, that he read in a Greek manuſcript belonging to the Auguſtin Library, that Abraham planted a cypreſs-tree, a pine-tree and a cedar-tree, which united into one, each of them, nevertheleſs, retaining its particular roots and branches; that this tree was fell'd, when the materials for building the temple of Solomon were preparing; but that the workmen, though they uſed their art and endeavours, could not fix it any where, which Solomon obſerving, he reſolved to have it uſed as a bench; that the ſybil being brought thither, could never be prevailed with to ſit down upon it, but propheſy'd, that the Redeemer of mankind would die triumphantly on that piece of timber; that Solomon ſurrounded it with thirty ſilver croſſes, in which form it continued till the death of Chriſt (43). This recals to my memory the oak of Mamre, under which it is aſſerted that Abraham uſed to ſit to breathe the freſh air (44). It is ſaid, that oak was ſtill flouriſhing in the time of Conſtantius (45). *Drys, id eſt, quercus Mambre juxta Hebron, in qua, uſque ad ætatem infantiæ meæ & Conſtantii regis imperium, terebynthus monſtrabatur pervetus, & annos magnitudine indicans, ſub qua habitavit Abraham. Miro autem cultu ab Ethnicis habita eſt, & velut quodam inſigni nomine conſecrata* (46). That is, "The oak of Mamre, "ſtanding near Hebron, where, in my infancy, "in the reign of Conſtantius a turpentine tree was "ſhewn, very old, as appeared by its bulk, under "which Abraham lived. The Heathens have it in "wonderful veneration, and it is conſecrated under "a very auguſt name." Some have even carried their wild fancies ſo far, as to affirm that it was ſeen within theſe three hundred years. This, ſay they, muſt be the ſame with the reed-tree (*Calamus*) of Seth, which Sir John Mandeville the traveller (a rare witneſs indeed) ſaw near the city of Hebron (47).

(43) Gretſer *de Cruce*, lib. 1.
(44) The verſion of the Septuagint, *Geneſis* xviii. favours this aſſertion.
(46) Iſidor. lib. 17. cap. 7. apud Bonifacium, *Hiſtor. Ludicr.* p. 285. He ought rather to have cited what I now quote from S. Jerom.
(46) Hierom. *in locis Hæb. Litt.* D. See the remark [G] of the article BARCOCHEBAS.

(47) See Bonifacii *Hiſt. Ludicra* p. 289. His work was printed in Venice by Baleonius, in 4°, anno 1652; and reprinted at Bruſſels in the ſame ſize by J. Mommartius, anno 1656.

[H] *And does not refute it in a ſolid manner.*] He pretends that the following words of the King of Sodom, *Give me the perſons, and take the goods to thy ſelf* (48), ſignify, according to the literal and genuine ſenſe, *ſuffer thoſe whom you have inſtructed in your faith to return to the worſhip of idols*; but that Abraham proteſted before all the people, he would not ſuffer any ſuch thing. The author cites the 22d and 23d verſes of the xivth chapter of Geneſis, and afterwards accuſes the Talmudiſts of impudence and blaſphemy, for preſuming to aſſert that our Patriarch complied with the deſires of the King of Sodom. He condemns them very juſtly, inaſmuch as they ſuppoſe that the King reclaimed perſons that were converts to the true religion; for the Patriarchs ſervants were not demanded back, but only thoſe perſons whom the four Kings had taken in the plunder of Sodom (49). But father Bartolocci is very much miſtaken, to ſuppoſe that Abraham did not reſtore them, for this appears plainly from the very paſſage in Scripture which he himſelf cites.

(48) *Geneſis* xiv. 21.

(49) 'Tis ſaid in the 16th verſe, that Abram brought all the goods, and alſo brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women alſo, and the people.

☞ABRAHAM. Though the hiſtory of this Patriarch be ſufficiently known, we yet think it proper to give a ſupplement to Mr. Bayle's account of him, ſince it will afford us an opportunity of laying before the reader ſeveral obſervations and remarks, which we hope will not diſpleaſe. Abraham being ſeventy five years old, was commanded by God, to leave his native country, and his kindred (a), and to go into a ſtrange land; at the ſame time God promiſed him great happineſs, and a numerous poſterity; adding, that he *would be a bleſſing*, and that *in him all families of the earth* (b) ſhould *be bleſſed* [A]. Abraham obeyed, and went with Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother into the land of Canaan. Having wandered ſome time up and down the country,

(a) *Gen.* xii. 1.

(b) Ibid. 2, 3.

[A] *He would be a bleſſing, and in him all families of the earth ſhould be bleſſed.*] A great many commentators underſtand this of the Meſſiah, who was to be one of Abraham's deſcendants, and bring ſalvation to all nations in the world. What induces them to explain the words in this ſenſe, is, that they are applied by St. Paul to Jeſus Chriſt (1); and what is here ſaid *in thee*, is in chapter xxii. verſe 18. *in thy ſeed*, the Apoſtle laying ſtreſs upon this expreſſion, which is in the ſingular number, argues thus (2). *To Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made. He ſays not, and to ſeeds, as of many, but as to one, and to thy ſeed, which is Chriſt.* And Biſhop Sherlock (3) endeavours to make it appear, that the words cannot admit of any other ſenſe. But if an unprejudiced reader, who never heard of St. Paul's reaſoning, was to inquire into the ſenſe of thoſe words only by the rules of criticiſm, I queſtion whether he would not think they have the ſame meaning, with thoſe ſpoken by Jacob, when he bleſſed the two ſons of Joſeph. *He bleſſed them* (4) *ſaying, in thee ſhall Iſrael bleſs, ſaying, God make thee as Ephraim, and as Manaſſeh.* According to this way of ſpeaking, *In thee, or in thy ſeed ſhall all nations be bleſſed*, ſignify no more than this. When any one ſhall wiſh well to a nation, he will ſay, *Let that nation be as happy as Abraham*, or *as Abraham's ſeed*, or *poſterity*. This ſeems to be the genuine and literal ſenſe of the words (5), and as to St Paul's applying them to Chriſt, Mr. Le Clerc obſerves (6), that this is an allegorical way of reaſoning, at that time common to the Jews; that they might uſe it amongſt the Arabians, Idumeans and Samaritans, who boaſted, they were alſo the ſeed of Abraham. The Jews might ſay, that as the promiſe mentions but *one ſeed*, it can relate only to the deſcendants of Iſaac, excluſive of the poſterity of all the other children of Abraham. But if this way of reaſoning be conſidered in it ſelf, it cannot hold good, becauſe the word זרע [*Zerah*] *Seed*, is a collective word, which ſignifies poſterity in general, whether it includes one nation, or many. Nay the learned obſerve, that the Hebrews never make uſe of that word in the plural number, but

(1) Gal. iii. 8.

(2) Ibid. ver. 16.

(3) *The uſe and ſtrument of Prophecy*, &c. Diſc. V.

(4) *Gen.* xlviii. 20.

(5) See Dr. Hammond's *Annot. upon Gal.* iii. 8.
(6) In *Gal.* iii. 16.

try, a famine obliged him to retire into Egypt; his wife, though then somewhat old *; was ſtill very beautiful; Abraham fearing leſt the Egyptians ſhould fall in love with her, and therefore kill him to enjoy her, in caſe they knew ſhe was his wife, deſired her to ſay, ſhe was only his ſiſter, *that for her ſake the Egyptians might do him good* (c) [B]. Sarah complied with his requeſt, and did not wait long for an opportunity of ſhewing her complaiſance and obedience; for no ſooner were they arrived in Egypt, but Sarah was taken into the houſe of Pharaoh, who thinking ſhe was only Abraham's ſiſter, intended to make her his wife; but being afflicted with a plague, he diſcovered the impoſition, and returned her to her huſband, upbraiding him with his diſſimulation [C]. After this Abraham returned out of Egypt, being grown *very rich in cattle, in ſilver, and in gold* (d), and went again into Canaan, where God was pleaſed to renew the promiſes he had before made him, and aſſured him that his ſeed ſhould poſſeſs the land, in which he then lived as a ſtranger. The ſame promiſe was again repeated afterwards, when Abraham ſeeming to diſtruſt it, (for *he ſaid, Lord God, whereby ſhall I know, that I ſhall inherit it* (e)? God confirmed it by a miracle [D]. All this time Abraham had no children, and no likelihood of having any, for *his wife was barren* (f), and ſhe therefore ſaid to him, *I pray thee, go unto my maid, it may be that I may obtain children by her* (g); her requeſt was granted, and Hagar brought forth a ſon, who was called Iſhmael (h). After this God entered into a new covenant with Abraham, he changed his name [E], which before was Abram, into Abraham; and as a ſeal to his covenant, he

* She was then about ſixty ſix years of age.

(c) *Gen.* xii. 12, 13.

(d) *Gen.* xiii. 2.

(e) *Gen.* xv. 8.

(f) *Gen.* xi. 30.

(g) *Gen.* xvi. 2.

(h) See the article of AGAR.

but to ſignify the ſeeds of plants; and ſince this allegorical way of reaſoning was approved of by the Jews, St. Paul might very well turn it againſt themſelves. But Chriſtianity is not grounded on ſuch allegories and accommodations, it being founded on unqueſtionable facts, ſuch as the reſurrection of Chriſt, his miracles, thoſe of his Apoſtles &c. (7). And here, we beg leave to obſerve, that "in this age of Scepticiſm, "where Chriſtianity is ſo vigorouſly attacked, and as "it were cloſely beſieged, the true way of defending "it, is not to enlarge the compaſs of its fortifications, "and make more help neceſſary to its defence, than "it can readily furniſh, but like skilful engineers, to "demoliſh its weak outworks, that ſerve only for "ſhelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to "batter it more effectually, and draw it within the "compaſs of its firm and natural entrenchments, "which will be found in the end impregnable (8).

(7) Cler. *loc. cit.*

(8) *A Defence of the Letter to Dr. Waterland.* p. 3.

[B] *That for her ſake the Egyptians might do him good.*] Fauſtus the Manichee calumniated Abraham on this occaſion, as if by making Sarah paſs for his ſiſter he intended only to get preſents from the Kings of Egypt and Gerar (9). This indeed would betray very great covetouſneſs, not to ſay worſe (10). We muſt explain the words of the Patriarch, as if he had ſaid, *That they may not do me any wrong on your account: that they may not kill me to enjoy you.* Abraham might take it as a favour, not to be hurt by the Egyptians. This is Mr. Le Clerc's obſervation, which we ſubmit to the judgment of the reader.

(9) *Gen.* xx. 2. 14.

(10) Le Clerc *in Gen.* xii. 13.

[C] *Upbraiding him with his diſſimulation.*] He told a downright falſhood, when he ſaid that Sarah was his ſiſter. For to lye is nothing but to ſpeak or act in ſuch a manner, and with a deſign to make others believe thoſe things to be falſe, that we know to be true, or that to be true, which we know to be falſe. Now to what intent did Abraham ſay that Sarah was his ſiſter? Was it not to make the Egyptians believe that ſhe was not his wife? He therefore told an untruth, though Sarah had really been his ſiſter; for it is the intent and effect of the words, and not their mere ſound that muſt be conſidered. But it was not only on this occaſion, and before Abimelech, that Abraham diſſembled, for he did it alſo in another circumſtance, which ſeems more weighty. This was when he went to ſacrifice his ſon, when leaving his two men behind him, he told them, *Abide you here with the aſs, and I and the lad will go yonder and worſhip, and come again to you* (11); though he knew, or at leaſt thought that he was going to make a burnt offering of his ſon to the Lord. Mr. Saurin (12) examines this queſtion, but leaves it at laſt undetermined. "Muſt we believe, ſays he, that Abraham "ſpoke by a prophetical inſpiration, and that it is "what St. Paul hints to us, when he ſays, that this "Patriarch *accounted that God was able to raiſe* his "ſon *even from the dead* (13)? But if he knew that "his ſon ſhould riſe from the dead, does not this "leſſen the merit of his ſacrifice? What great ſelf-dé-"nial was it to cut off the head of his ſon, if he knew, "that he would immediately come to life again? "Shall we ſuppoſe, that Abraham was reſolved to "bring back the bones of Iſaac? But is not this ra-

(11) *Gen.* xxii. 5.

(12) *Diſcours ſur la Bible.* tom. 1. Diſc. 20. Ed. in 8°. p. 307.

(13) *Heb.* xi. 19.

"ther the anſwer of an indulgent caſuiſt, who will "ſolve a puzling queſtion at any rate, and not that of "a judicious critic? And can a man, who is going "to reduce his ſon to aſhes by a burnt-offering, pre-"tend to bring back his bones? And though he in-"tended to bring them back, was there any truth in "his ſaying, *I and the lad will come again?* After all, "though Abraham were to be charged with having "told an untruth on this occaſion (which however "we don't determine) it is certain, that his fault will "appear very ſlight, if compared with his heroical "obedience." Thus far Mr. Saurin; we ſhall only obſerve here, that it is the opinion of moſt Civilians, and eſpecially of Grotius, Puffendorf and Barbeyrac, that when no kind of harm is to be the conſequence of a lye, and a great evil may be thereby prevented, or a great good procured, in ſuch caſes there is no crime in telling a lye; and this, I think, all candid readers will be perſuaded was the caſe of Abraham, in the inſtances we have mentioned. We need not obſerve, that when we ſpeak of a great evil or a great good, it muſt be underſtood comparatively; a leſſer evil being a good if compared to a greater evil, and a leſſer good being an evil, if compared to a greater good.

[D] *God confirmed it by a miracle.*] The miracle is related in Gen. xv. 17. and the reader may conſult what the ingenious Mr. Shuckford offers upon that paſſage (14). We ſhall obſerve here, that Abraham's diſtruſt cannot be blamed: this was the ſecond time that God promiſed him a numerous poſterity, and yet he had no children, his wife being barren, and they both well ſtriken in years; ſo that the Patriarch might ſuſpect that the revelations he had were only dreams and deluſions; it was therefore prudent in him to deſire that God ſhould confirm them by a miracle. Prodigies and ſtrange appearances are not indeed always a proof of a Divine intercourſe: But when what is pretended to be revealed is not inconſiſtent with morality, and with the known attributes of God, and is moreover ſupported with a miracle, right reaſon teaches man to take it for a real revelation of the Deity; otherwiſe it will be impoſſible that God ſhould reveal any thing to mankind. Mr. Le Clerc obſerves upon Abraham's queſtion, *Whereby ſhall I know &c.* that the ſenſe may be, "How ſhall "I know when the time is come, that I ſhall poſſeſs "the land of Canaan?" *Quomodo cognoſcam, tempus adeſſe, quo mihi Chanahanitis poſſidenda tradetur* (15)? To which queſtion God anſwers, that the poſterity of Abraham ſhall be afflicted in a ſtrange land during four hundred years (16), and that in the fourth generation they ſhall come again into the land of Canaan (17).

(14) *The ſacred and prophane hiſtory connected.* Vol. 1. p. 298. Note *b*.

(15) In *Gen.* xv. 8.

(16) *Gen.* xv. 13.

(17) ver. 16.

[E] *He changed his name.*] It was the cuſtom of the Orientals, not only to give their children names, which they thought portended good luck, but alſo to change their names, when any thing extraordinary happened to them. Of this ſeveral inſtances are found in the Scriptures (18), but neither Mr. Le Clerc (19), nor Mr. Saurin (20), who barely copies him, quote any paſſage from profane hiſtory.

(18) See *Gen.* xxxii. 28. *Ruth* i. 20. *Dan.* i. 7. *Matt.* xvi. 18.

(19) In *Gen.* xvii. 5.

(20) *Diſcours ſur la Bible.* tom. 1. Diſc. 15. p. 243.

he ordered that this Patriarch and all the male perſons in his family ſhould be circumciſed. It is to be obſerved, that this ceremony was not eſtabliſhed till after Abraham was returned out of Egypt; whence one may infer, that it is not from Abraham that the Egyptians received this rite: we ſhall offer in the remarks a few obſervations concerning circumciſion [*F*]. God having made this covenant with Abraham, promiſed him at the ſame time, that he ſhould have a ſon by Sarah his wife. This promiſe ſurpriſed the Patriarch, becauſe he was then near a hundred years old (*i*), and his wife about fourſcore and ten: but God having repeated his promiſe, Abraham believed it, and to ſhew his faith and obedience, he immediately circumciſed himſelf, and his ſon Iſhmael, who was then thirteen years old (*k*), *and all the men of his houſe, either born in the*

(*i*) *Gen.* xvii. 17. It is ſaid, that Abraham was then an hundred years old; but in ver. 24th, it is ſaid he was but ninety nine.

(*k*) Ibid. ver. 25.

[*F*] *We ſhall offer a few obſervations concerning circumciſion.*] The origin of circumciſion having been lately the ſubject of a warm diſpute, we hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here the arguments on both ſides fairly ſtated. This diſpute was occaſioned by the following obſervations of the author of *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation.* "Had ſuch "notions, ſays he (21), been adhered to concerning "the Divine goodneſs, as the light of nature dictates, "the Egyptians and ſome other Pagan nations could "never have thought, that *cutting off the foreskin* "(not to be performed without great pain and hazard) "could have been eſteemed a religious duty accept- "able to a good and gracious God, who makes no- "thing in vain, much leſs what requires the cutting "off, even with extream danger as well as anguiſh. "Had nature required ſuch an operation, nature be- "ing always the ſame would ſtill have required it. "This inſtitution, as is proved by Marſham (22), and "others, ſeems to be owing to the Egyptians, who "thought all to be profane who uſed it not; and it "was after Abraham had been in Egypt, that circum- "ciſion was inſtituted, in order, it is likely, to recom- "mend his poſterity to the Egyptians, on whom they "were for ſome ages to depend: and what makes this "the more probable, is, that it was not till after the "Lord had ordered Moſes into Egypt, that *the Lord* "*met him by the way in the inn and ſought to kill* "*him* (23), for not circumciſing his ſon: and upon "Joſhua's circumciſing the Iſraelites, (circumciſion "not being obſerved during their ſtay in the wilder- "neſs, when they had no communication with Egypt) "the Lord himſelf ſays, *This day have I rolled away* "*the reproach of Egypt from you* (24)". This author not having quoted his authorities, we think it proper to inſert them here. Sanchoniatho derives the origin of circumciſion from Saturn. Ὁ Ιλος, ſays he (25), ταυτ' ἐστιν ὁ Κρόνος τὰ αἰδοῖα περιτέμνεται, ταυτὸ ποιήσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ συμμάχους καταναγκάσας. *Ilus, that is, Chronus or Saturn, circumciſed his ſecret parts, and obliged his followers to do the ſame.* And Herodotus ſays, that this was antiently the cuſtom of the Egyptians, who circumciſed themſelves for the ſake of cleanlineſs. Τὰ αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος ἕνεκεν (26): And he proves, that the Ethiopians, &c. came originally from Egypt, becauſe they were circumciſed. Ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογεῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι. Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μακρώνες τούτοισιν ἀγχιτόνους ὄντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι, οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι· καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταυτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω σαφεῖ ἐπὶτέρους παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρους μαθεῖν (27). That is, "Of all men, the inhabitants "of Colchos, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians only "were circumciſed of old; for the Phœnicians and "the Syrians who live in Paleſtine confeſs that they "learned it from the Egyptians. But the Syrians "who live near the rivers Thermodontes and Par- "thenius, and their neighbours the Macrones ſay, "they received it from thoſe of Colchos. Theſe are "the only nations who are circumciſed; and in this "they follow the example of the Egyptians; but "whether the Egyptians received this cuſtom from "the Ethiopians, or theſe from the former, I cannot "tell." Joſephus obſerves upon this paſſage, that of all the inhabitants of Paleſtine, the Jews only are circumciſed, τῶν δὲ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατοικούντων μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν Ιουδαῖοι (28), but he does not object any thing againſt deriving circumciſion from Egypt. Diodorus alſo ſays, that the people of Colchos circumciſed the children born amongſt them, (being taught ſo by an antient tradition) διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις ἐκ παλαίου τὸ περιτέμνειν τοὺς γνησιωτέρους παῖδας, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετενηνεγμένον τῷ νομίμῳ (29). Theſe are the moſt material arguments, which are produced to prove, that circumciſion is originally an Egyptian rite: and it is further obſerved, that the Egyptians were extremely fond of their own ceremonies, and deſpiſed thoſe of other nations to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon themſelves as polluted, if they had converſed familiarly with ſtrangers (30), adhering ſtrictly to the inſtitutions of their anceſtors, ſays Herodotus, they admit of no others, πατρίοισι χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον ἀδόκα ἐπικτέωνται (31). Some people, ſays Mr. Le Clerc (32), cannot believe, that God Almighty ſhould have inſtituted a ceremony ſo difficult to perform, ſo indecent when practiſed on people of age, and ſo little conducive to piety and virtue. They therefore are apt to think, that Abraham having ſeen this practiſed in Egypt, and by the ſervants he had brought with him out of that country, and knowing what the Egyptians alledged to vindicate a cuſtom ſo unreaſonable in it ſelf, he thought fit to imitate them. God ſeeing this, condeſcended in his infinite goodneſs to humour Abraham's weakneſs ſo far, as to preſcribe to him this rite, which the Patriarch already approved in other people. Thus far Mr. Le Clerc, who does not however determine the queſtion, but leaves it to the reader's judgment, referring him to Spencer (33). Let us now hear the arguments of thoſe, who maintain, that circumciſion is originally a Divine inſtitution, not borrowed from any people in the world.

They anſwer, firſt to the quotation of Sanchoniatho, that in a point of ſo remote antiquity his teſtimony cannot be much depended upon; and beſides, they ſay that his Ilus is Abraham himſelf; this Mr. Shuckford has proved almoſt to a demonſtration (34). And with regard to the other paſſages quoted from heathen authors, it is ſaid in general, that they had no knowledge of hiſtory before the time of the Trojan war; and when they ſay that a thing was ἀπ' ἀρχῆς *from the beginning*, they mean only *anciently, time out of mind* (35). 2. It appears plainly from the Scriptures, that circumciſion was inſtituted by God, as a ſeal of the covenant he entred into with Abraham. Hence it is that circumciſion was to be practiſed by every deſcendant of this Patriarch upon pain of being cut off from his people (36). 3. This ceremony was alſo eſtabliſhed, that the Jews might be diſtinguiſhed from all other nations, which would have been ineffectual, if circumciſion had already been in uſe amongſt the Egyptians. 4. There is no likelihood that the Egyptians and other nations would have raſhly eſtabliſhed a ceremony that cannot be performed without the utmoſt pain; they would no doubt have abhorred ſuch a difficult and diſgraceful rite, had not ſome very weighty reaſon induced them to introduce it amongſt themſelves. But what other reaſon can be given for their receiving it, except that they had learned either from the Iſraelites or their anceſtors, that God himſelf inſtituted it (37)? 5. It cannot be conceived that God going to enter into a ſolemn covenant with Abraham, ſhould confirm it by a ceremony already uſed by the idolatrous Egyptians, eſpecially ſince Abraham having been in Egypt, could not but know, that they were circumcis'd (38). 6. Finally, if we don't admit that circumciſion owes its riſe to the precept given to Abraham, it will be difficult to find any reaſon why, of all heathen nations the following only are circumciſed; namely, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, thoſe of Colchos, the Ethiopians, the Idumeans, the Troglodytes, the Homerites, the Saracens, and the Turks. For that theſe only were circumciſed appears plainly by the teſtimonies of antient authors, quoted by Grotius.

(21) p. 90. edit. 4to.

(22) *Can. Chron.* p. 73. Ed. Franc. in 4to.

(23) *Exod.* iv. 24.

(24) *Joſhua* v. 5---9.

(25) *Euſeb. Præp. Evang.* lib. 1. p. 38. apud Marſham *Can. Chron.* p. 73.

(26) *Herodot.* l. 2. c. 37. ap. eund. p. 74.

(27) *Herodot.* lib. 2. c. 104. See alſo Strab. lib. 17. p. 824.

(28) *Contra Apion.* l. 1. c. p. 8.

(29) *Diod. Sic.* lib. 1. p. 17.

(30) Clericus *in Gen.* xvii. 10.

(31) *Herodot.* lib. 2. c. 78 & 91.

(32) Ubi ſupra.

(33) *De Legib. Hebr.* lib. 1. cap. 4. §. 4. p. 48.

(34) *The ſacred and prophane hiſtory connected.* vol. 2. p. 27.

(35) Shuckford. ibid. vol. 1. 325.

(36) Spencer *de Leg. Hebr.* l. 1. c. 4. §. 4. p. 53.

(37) Id. ibid. p. 54.

(38) Id. ibid.

the houſe or bought with money. Within a year after, Sarah was delivered of a ſon, according to the promiſe of God. But when Iſaac was come to be fifteen, or as others think, twenty five years old, God was pleaſed to *tempt* [G] Abraham, by commanding him to offer his beloved ſon for a burnt-offering. Abraham complied, and he had already ſtretched out his hand to ſlay the victim, when the Angel of the Lord called to him, and prevented his accompliſhing the ſacrifice, acquainting him, that God was ſatisfied with his readineſs to obey. This ſacrifice of Abraham, though not actually performed, has given the Infidels a plauſible pretence to cavil at the inſpiration of Moſes's hiſtory; we will examine their objections, and endeavour to anſwer them in the remarks [H]. Abraham had ſeveral other children by a woman called Keturah, but whether ſhe was really his wife, and whether he married her after Sarah's death, is not certain *. This Patriarch died in a good old age, being a hundred and ſeventy five years. The Muſulmans have a very great eſteem for Abraham, of whom they tell the following ſtory. This Patriarch, ſay they, was born in Chaldea, God having manifeſted himſelf to him, he began his prophetical functions by going to Mecca, and building there the temple that has been ſo famous in after ages, being returned home, he publickly declared that he was the Prophet of God, and notified it alſo to Nimroud, (thus they call Nimrod) King of Chaldea, who with all his ſubjects worſhipped Fire. Abraham met with Nimrod at Urga, a town in Meſopotamia, which was afterwards called Caramit,

* See the Article KETURAH.

(39) *De Verit. Relig. Chriſt.* lib. 1. §. 16. note 68. p. 89.

tius (39). But if we ſuppoſe that Abraham is the firſt who was ever circumciſed, we may eaſily find the reaſon why theſe nations only were circumciſed. For Grotius proves from unqueſtionable authorities, that all thoſe nations (the Egyptians and Phœnicians excepted) were deſcended from Abraham by Iſhmael, by the ſons of Keturah, by Eſau, and by the ten Tribes that were diſperſed (40). Thus we have laid together the moſt ſubſtantial reaſons, that are produced for and againſt the Divine original of circumciſion; and after Spencer's example, we leave the determination of this queſtion to the reader.

(40) Spencer, ubi ſupra.

[G] *God was pleaſed to tempt Abraham.*] It ſeems very ſtrange that God ſhould here (41) be ſaid to tempt man, eſpecially ſince St. James teaches us (42), that as *God cannot be tempted with evil, ſo neither tempteth he any man.* And indeed, ſince God knows not only what men will do, but alſo what they would do in all poſſible circumſtances, ſince he ſees the inmoſt receſſes of their heart, one would think he has no occaſion to try them. They who maintain that God really tempted Abraham, ſay, he did not do it properly for his own ſake, but only that other people might know how great the Patriarch's faith was; but Mr. Le Clerc obſerves very juſtly, that nothing like this is ſo much as hinted in the Scriptures. He therefore thinks, that it was only an Angel, who having a mind to know how deeply Abraham's virtue was rooted in his heart, thought fit to try him by this extraordinary command (43). But how this agrees with the hiſtory of this Patriarch, and with the praiſes St. Paul beſtows upon him for his faith, let the reader judge.

(41) *Gen.* xxii. 1.

(42) *James* i. 13. Where the Apoſtle uſes the very ſame word πειράζων, which the Septuagint employ in *Gen.* xxii. 1.

(43) Le Clerc ad hunc locum.

[H] *We will examine their objections, and endeavour to anſwer them.*] That a merciful Being, who does not delight in the miſery of his creatures, ſhould require human ſacrifices, and order a father to butcher his own ſon, is what can never be reconciled with right reaſon. And that the father of mankind ſhould delight in cruelty, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with his moral character. If the nature of things is the rule of his actions, how can it be conceiv'd that he commands an action which is ſo far from procuring the good and benefit of a man, that it cannot but make him miſerable. Mr. Chub thinks, that in the caſe of Abraham the thing commanded was morally unfit (44); and ſo we preſume every ſenſible man will think. How then could ſuch command be given by a good and benevolent Being? Or if we ſuppoſe that the thing in itſelf was not unfit, it muſt at leaſt appear ſo to Abraham, which amounts to the ſame. How could he believe, that the ſame God, who had promis'd him a ſon, who had given him one in his old age, who had aſſur'd him that by that ſon he ſhould be the father of a numerous poſterity, would now command him to offer that beloved ſon for a burnt-offering? Would not Abraham have ſuſpected that this command was a deluſion of the Devil, ſince it was inconſiſtent not only with God's promiſes, but alſo with his benevolent nature? To this may be anſwer'd, firſt, That Abraham having convers'd ſo often and ſo familiarly with God, could not be miſtaken with regard to any revelation he receiv'd from him; we muſt ſuppoſe beſides, that God being reſolv'd to require ſuch a hard task from Abraham, would do it with ſo much clearneſs and evidence, as not to leave any room for doubts or ſcruples. That God can reveal himſelf in ſuch a manner, muſt be confeſs'd by all who have a right notion of his almighty power. Suppoſing then that Abraham was thoroughly convinced the command came from God, I anſwer, ſecondly, That the unfitneſs of the thing itſelf could not be an objection to his ready obedience; it was natural for him to reaſon after this manner: "This command I receive, appears to me cruel and unjuſt, inconſiſtent with the mercy of God, and ſeems to render all his promiſes void and ineffectual. But I know my merciful Father would not permit, that I ſhould fall into an unavoidable error; the frequent intercourſes I have had with him, perſuade me this is his expreſs command; and tho' it ſeems to me cruel to kill my own ſon, God is powerful to reward him in another manner. Tho' this ſacrifice God requires of me, ſeems inconſiſtent with his former promiſes, my God is faithful; he is infinitely wiſe; he will find out ſome other way to accompliſh his promiſe, tho' to that effect he ſhould raiſe my ſon from the dead (45): I am the rather inclin'd to think ſo, that I have receiv'd that ſon from God, at a time that I and my wife were in a manner like dead bodies, with regard to the procreation of children (46). He that gave me a child in my old age, is able to raiſe that ſame child from the dead, after I have offered it up for a burnt-offering, according to the expreſs command I receive from him." Abraham reaſoning after this manner, might well be perſuaded, that God had very good reaſons for the thing he required of him, though the thing it ſelf was in its nature immoral. But how can it be conceived that God himſelf ſhould command ſuch an inhuman ſacrifice, which from his benevolent nature, we muſt ſuppoſe he abhors? To this we may anſwer in the words of the ingenious Mr. Chub (47). "That God gave the command not with an intent that it ſhould be obeyed, but that he might take an occaſion from it, to ſhew to Abraham and to all his poſterity the unfitneſs of human ſacrifices." If this ſolution does not appear ſatisfactory, we beg leave to offer a conjecture which we ſubmit entirely to the reader's judgment. It is well known that the Scripture often aſcribes to God ſome actions, as tho' he were the immediate author of them, though he only permits them providentially. It is alſo agreed that the nations amongſt whom Abraham lived were wont to ſacrifice their own children to this falſe Deity: Why then could we not ſuppoſe, that Abraham was willing to give to the true God the ſame teſtimony of love and faith which the Heathens gave to their Idols? This ſo far from derogating from the merit of his faith, ſhews it was exceeding ſtrong, ſince he confided ſo much in his God, that he reſolved to offer up his only ſon to him, notwithſtanding the promiſe, that by this ſon he ſhould become the father of a numberleſs poſterity. God was pleaſed with the motive of Abraham's reſolution, though he abhorred the ſacrifice itſelf; and to ſhew his deteſtation of it, he ſtopped Abraham before he had compleated his deſign.

(44) *Suppl. to the previous queſtion.* p. 18.

(45) *Heb.* xi. 19.

(46) *Rom.* iv. 18, 19. See Shuckford's *Connection*, vol. 2. p. 23.

(47) *Suppl. to the previous queſtion*, p. 18.

Caramit, and now Diarbekir. There was in this town a temple conſecrated to Fire; Abraham publickly intreated the King to renounce this idolatry, and to worſhip the only true God. Nimrod enraged at this conſulted the Magi, or Wiſe-men, who were the Prieſts of fire, and inquired what puniſhment was to be inflicted on ſuch a blaſphemer. Their anſwer was, that he muſt be delivered up to the flames. Hereupon the King ordered, a pile of wood to be prepared, and Abraham to be thrown upon it; but the wood could not be kindled. Nimrod aſtoniſhed at this, aſked the Prieſts, what was the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a phenomenon? They ſaid, that an Angel, flying about the pile, prevented its burning. How! ſaid the Tyrant, can we not drive away that Angel? Yes, replied the Prieſts, if ſome abominable action be committed near the pile of wood, the Angel will fly away rather than behold it. Nimrod hearing this, commanded a young man to commit inceſt with his own ſiſter before all the company: The Angel ſtill perſiſting to hinder the wood from burning, Nimrod quite tired and aſhamed baniſhed Abraham from his preſence, and out of his whole Empire (*l*). The Perſians have borrowed this from the Rabbis, who pretend that Abraham was delivered from the fire of the Chaldeans, (ſee Remark [*A*] in Mr. Bayle's article of Abraham, and the marginal note (14) there.) The Muſulmans further relate, that Nimrod made war againſt Abraham, and that it happened one day, as that Tyrant was going to fall upon the Patriarch with his whole army, he ſent a man to him, with this meſſage, *O Abraham, it is now time to fight, where is thy army?* Abraham anſwered, *it will come immediately*, and on a ſudden the air was darkened, and there came a cloud of gnats, which devoured Nimrod's ſoldiers to the very bones (*m*). See the Article IBRAHIM.

(*l*) Chardin, *Voyages en Perſe*, &c. tom. 9. p. 254.

(*m*) Id. ibid. tom. 5. p. 18. note 2.

☞ABRAHAM BEN MEIR, commonly called ABEN ESRA, a famous Rabbi was born at Toledo in Spain (*a*) according to the opinion of ſome authors, and lived in the twelfth Century (*b*). The Jews commonly call him חכם *Hhaham*, that is, *the wiſe man* [*A*]. He excelled in Philoſophy, Phyſick, Aſtronomy and Poetry; he was likewiſe a celebrated Grammarian, a Cabaliſt, and a Commentator of the holy Scripture [*B*]. He was ſkilled in ſeveral languages, particularly the Arabick. He was a man of a great genius, and ſo deſirous of improving his knowledge, that he paſſed away the greateſt part of his life in travelling. Having viſited England, France, Italy, Greece and ſeveral other countries, he died in the iſland of Rhodes in the ſeventy fifth year of his age (*c*) [*C*] A. C. 1165, according to father Simon (*d*). He wrote a great many books, among others, an *Expoſition of the Holy Scriptures*, which he explains in a very literal manner, and, according to father Simon (*e*), no Jewiſh author ever expounded them more judiciouſly; but his ſtile is ſometimes too ſhort and obſcure, which obliged ſome other Jews to write explanations upon his commentaries. We ſhall lay before the reader the rules which Aben Eſra gives for explaining the Scriptures [*D*]. He durſt not entirely reject the *Cabala*, though he knew it was not to be much depended upon, but he

(*a*) Jul. Bartolocci, *Bibl. Mag. Rabb.* p. 1. p. 36.
(*b*) Wolfius *Bibl. Hebr.* vol. 1. p. 72.

(*c*) Bartoloc. ibid
(*d*) *Catal. des Auteurs Juifs. Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 536.
(*e*) *Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 374.

[*A*] *The Jews call him* the wiſe man.] R. David Ganz (1) was of opinion, this epithet fell ſhort of Aben Eſra's abilities; he therefore calls him *ſapientem magnum & mirabilem*: that is, "a man greatly and wonderfully wiſe:" and Father Simon ſays (2) Aben Eſra was one of the moſt learned Rabbis that ever appear'd amongſt the Jews.

(1) Ad ann. 4938. apud Wolf. *Bibl. Hebr.* tom. 1. p. 72.
(2) *Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 535.

[*B*] *A celebrated commentator of the Holy Scriptures.*] Inſtead of following the common method of thoſe who went before him, he ſtudied the grammatical and literal ſenſe of the Sacred Writings, which he expounded with ſo much penetration and judgment, that the Chriſtians themſelves give him the preference of their own commentators. He pav'd the way to thoſe critics who maintain that the Iſraelites did not paſs thro' the Red Sea, but only went round the ſhore, during the interval of low water, in order to tempt Pharaoh to follow them, that he might be drown'd by the tide's coming upon him (3).

(3) Baſnage's *Hiſt. of the Jews*, tom. 9. vol. 13. book 9. cap. 10. p. 259.

[*C*] *In the ſeventy fifth year of his age.*] This appears by what he ſaid when he found death drawing near. He applied to himſelf the words ſpoke of Abraham (4): *Septuaginta quinque annorum erat Abraham cum egrederetur* מחרך Mecharan, *de Haran:* "Abraham was ſeventy and five years old when he "departed out of Haran." By altering a little the laſt ſyllable, he made it מחרון *Mecharon*, and adding אף העולם *aph hholam*, that is, *De æſtu iræ hujus ſæculi*, "the vexatious anger of this world," then the words run thus; *Abraham was ſeventy and five years old, when he went out of the vexatious anger of this world* (5). Mr. Baſnage ſays he died A. C. 1174 (6). And Father Simon (7) ſays he was at Rome in 1146, and in the iſland of Rhodes in 1156, where he died in 1165: but which of them are in the right, cannot be well aſcertain'd.

(4) *Gen.* xii. 4.

(5) Bartolocci, ubi ſupra.
(6) *Hiſt. of the Jews*, tom. 9. vol. 13. p. 258.
(7) *Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 536.

[*D*] *The Rules which Aben Eſra gives for explaining the Scriptures.*] He mentions five different methods of explaining the Scripture; the firſt relates to thoſe who enlarge very much upon every word, and are conſtantly making digreſſions, and incumbering their commentaries with every thing they know in Philoſophy, Mathematics, or any other ſcience. He gives an inſtance of a certain Rabbi call'd Iſaac, who wrote two books upon the firſt chapter of Geneſis; and he mentions ſome other Jews, who upon one ſingle word have wrote whole treatiſes of Philoſophy, Mathematics, or Cabala. Aben Eſra refutes this method, by maintaining, that to expound the Scriptures we muſt only interpret the words of the text; and that what relates to arts and ſciences muſt be explain'd in ſeparate books.

As to the ſecond method he mentions, ſee the remark [*E*].

The third method conſiſts in reducing every thing to allegories, and in finding myſteries every where, without having any regard to the literal ſenſe. Aben Eſra entirely explodes this method, it being difficult when one follows it, not to deviate from the literal ſenſe. However, he does not deny but there are ſome paſſages in the Scripture which admit of a more ſublime explication; ſuch are thoſe that relate to the *Circumciſion of the Heart*; but then that ſublime ſenſe is really the true and literal ſenſe. He alſo confeſſes there are ſome paſſages which we muſt allow to be myſterious; as that place in Geneſis (8), which mentions *the tree of knowledge of good and evil.*

(8) *Gen.* ii. 17.

The fourth method is that of the Cabaliſtical Jews, who reduce the whole ſenſe of the ſacred Writings to a vain and ridiculous playing upon words, and to myſteries founded upon the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, numbers and words broke and divided after an odd and fantaſtical manner. Aben Eſra explodes this method likewiſe, which the Jews ſeem to have borrow'd from the Platoniſts.

Finally, the fifth method of explaining the Scriptures, is to ſearch after the proper meaning of every word,

he was afraid of drawing upon himſelf the hatred and ill-will of his contemporaries, who adhered very much to it, and of the common people who looked upon the book called *Zohar*, which is full of cabaliſtical explications, as a very valuable work: Aben Eſra only declared that this way of expounding the Scriptures was not ſafe, and that if the Cabala of their fathers was to be regarded, it was not proper to add new explications to theirs, nor to abandon the holy Scriptures to the humour of mankind. This cautiouſneſs of Aben Eſra was occaſioned by a diſpute which aroſe amongſt the Jews in his time, about the method of expounding the Scripture. The Talmudiſts would hinder their pupils from ſtudying the ſciences, and oblige them to follow their principles implicitly; alledging, that the ſtudy of languages and human learning had been condemned from the time of the Emperor Titus, leſt the people being diſperſed amongſt ſtrange nations, and captivated with the politeneſs of their writings, ſhould fall into their idolatry *(f)*. This was making religion dependent upon tradition only. Aben Eſra was deeply engaged in this diſpute, calling thoſe Sadducees, who rejected tradition; but it is ſuppoſed, they were the Caraites, whom he miſtook for thoſe ancient hereticks, becauſe they were of the ſame opinion with them in this reſpect *(g)*. Yet Aben Eſra did not run the ſame length with thoſe who followed tradition; but he found fault with the Caraites *for rejecting them, deſpiſing authority, and confiding too much in their reaſon, like the Chriſtians.* Theſe words drew the cenſure of father Simon upon him [*E*], but Mr. Baſnage defends him, as the reader may ſee in the remark *E*.

(f) Baſnage's *Hiſtory of the Jews.* tom. 9. v. 13. book 9. c. 5. p. 144.
(g) Ibid. p. 2601

word, and to expound it as literally as is poſſible; which Aben Eſra follow'd in his commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures: and he tells us that Onkelos, who wrote upon the Pentateuch, is generally very exact in the tranſlation, and diſcover'd ſeveral hidden things to the other Jews. Indeed he ſometimes follows an allegorical ſenſe; but he does it deſignedly, and only where the literal ſenſe is obvious to every capacity. Hence Aben Eſra concludes, that the Scriptures may be explain'd ſeveral ways, that are not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the true or literal meaning: ſo that when we meet with two interpretations, one of which agrees with the tradition of ancient interpreters, it ought to be prefer'd to any other; and we muſt not always follow the method of the Caraites, who pretend that ſuch a tradition is to be exploded, when it is contrary to the rules of Writing and Grammar.

Theſe are the rules laid down by Aben Eſra for explaining the Scriptures; and tho' he has a great regard for the tradition of his anceſtors, yet he does not approve of the innumerable whimſies which are diſpers'd thro' all their works: and in all his Commentaries, he ever ſearches after the plaineſt and moſt literal ſenſe.

(9) Father Simon, ubi ſupra, p. 373, &c.

[*E*] *The cenſure of father Simon upon him.*] "Aben Eſra, ſays he (10), accuſes the Caraites, whom "he calls Sadducees, with conſulting their reaſon, "and deſpiſing authority; and he charges the Chriſtians with the ſame fault; this method, taken in "Aben Eſra's ſenſe, may indeed lead us into errors, "ſince religion comprehends ſeveral facts which reaſon alone cannot diſcover; but it muſt be obſerved, "that his charge againſt the Caraites and Chriſtians "is groundleſs, for they both explode thoſe traditions "only which they think not to be well founded, as "are moſt of thoſe mentioned in the Talmud; it "cannot, however, be denied, but the Caraites conſult their ſenſes and reaſon too much in points of "religion." Thus far father Simon. To this Mr. Baſnage replies (11), that this is altering the ſtate of the queſtion, and does not remove the difficulty, for no one is ſo weak as to reject what he thinks true, or to believe what appears to be evidently falſe; but the diſpute turned upon three points; firſt the Caraites would not allow that any new precepts ſhould be added to the law, though delivered under the ſpecious pretence of being a tradition tranſmitted from Moſes. Secondly, Aben Eſra and his followers objecting againſt the Caraites, the authority of their fathers, by whom tradition had been handed down to them, the Caraites would not admit that thoſe traditions were faithfully tranſmitted; this gave Aben Eſra a pretence of charging them with contemning the authority of the ancients. Thirdly, the principles of the Caraites being well connected together, they affirmed, that to underſtand the Scriptures, we ſhould conſult our own reaſon, and not follow that of others implicitly; upon this account Aben Eſra accuſes them with paying too much regard to reaſon. This Doctor's fault did not conſiſt then in charging the Caraites with opinions they did not maintain, but in oppoſing them, though they were rational and well grounded. Father Simon, who would by no means allow that the Caraites agree in this reſpect with the Proteſtants, is obliged to miſrepreſent their principles, and makes them reaſon inconſiſtently. The Chriſtians, no doubt, fell, at that time, into the ſame way of reaſoning with the Caraites, being particularly obliged to reject tradition when they entered into any diſpute with the Jews, who objected againſt their adverſaries an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Doctors, who all explained the Scriptures after a different manner from that of the Chriſtians. It was likewiſe the opinion of the primitive Chriſtians that religion ought not to be founded upon tradition or the ſucceſſion of Doctors. Thus far Mr. Baſnage; and we hope our readers will not be offended with the obſervations of that great man.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ubi ſupra.

☞ABRAHAM USQUE, a Portugueſe Jew, tranſlated the Old Teſtament out of Hebrew into Spaniſh [*A*]. This tranſlation was firſt printed at Ferrara in the year 1553 *(a)*; 'tis a verbal tranſlation, ſo that it's very difficult to underſtand it; and beſides, it is written in obſolete Spaniſh, which was uſed only in the Synagogues. The author of the preface aſſures us, that he follow'd as much as poſſible Pagninus and his Dictionary: but Father Simon is of opinion, that he declar'd this only that his tranſlation might not be miſtruſted as heretical by the Inquiſitors *(b)*. It is probable that Abraham Uſque made uſe of ancient gloſſes written by ſome Spaniſh Jews [*B*], and which renders his

(a) Simon *Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 310.
(b) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Tranſlated the old Teſtament into Spaniſh.*] This being a critical Dictionary, it is agreeable to our plan to take notice of the errors which authors may have committed. Mr. Arnauld Doctor of the Sorbonne has quoted ſeveral Bibles which are not to be found, and he ſuppoſed this tranſlation of Abraham Uſque was done by a Chriſtian. He alſo cites a French tranſlation of the Bible, as though it were done by a Roman Catholick, though Calvin is certainly the author of it (1). It appears by this how little we may depend upon moſt writers, and how neceſſary a work of this kind is, in which the errors of the moſt eminent authors are corrected, ſince ſo famous a man as Mr. Arnauld, committed ſuch egregious blunders.

(1) Simon *Bibl. Crit.* tom. 3. p. 415.

[*B*] *Written by ſome Spaniſh Jews.*] Some authors aſcribe to D. Kimhi a Spaniſh tranſlation of the Bible,

his tranſlation entirely barbarous and almoſt unintelligible (c). The compiler (for it ſeems it was only a kind of compilation) was ſo well appriz'd of the difficulties of tranſlating the Holy Scriptures, that he thought it incumbent on him to mark with ſtars or aſterisks, a great many paſſages in which the ſenſe appear'd dubious or uncertain [C]; but they who reprinted that tranſlation in 1630, with ſome improvements, left out the greateſt part of thoſe aſterisks, whereas they ſhould rather have increas'd them (d). This tranſlation can be of no uſe but to the Spaniſh Jews, unleſs we conſider it as a kind of Dictionary, which may ſerve for a literal tranſlation to the Hebrew words; it may alſo ſerve inſtead of a Grammar, the nouns and verbs in it being interpreted exactly according to the grammatical rules. Nevertheleſs, the tranſlator has not always been ſcrupulouſly accurate as he propos'd, nor in every reſpect very happy in the choice of the Rabbi's, whom he intended to follow; for there are a great many paſſages might be tranſlated more exactly than he has render'd them, either with regard to the ſenſe or to the grammar. Sometimes he follows the Chaldaical paraphraſe, ſometimes R. Kimhi, in other places Raſci, Abou Eſra, or ſome other Rabbi: but he is not very judicious in his choice; and the grammatical exactneſs, to which he keeps cloſely, does not always agree with the free ſenſe of the words [D]; and yet he has not been accurate enough, even with regard to grammar, for in ſeveral paſſages he has left out ſome particles, and thereby entirely perverted the ſenſe.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Ibid.

ABRAHAM ECCHELLENSIS, ſee ECCHELLENSIS.

which he never dreamt of; but it is true that the Jews of Spain, and eſpecially thoſe that procured the Ferrara edition had anciently ſome gloſſes or notes, written in the Spaniſh language, of which Kimhi might be the author (2), and which Abraham Uſque made uſe of in his tranſlation.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 414.

[C] *Paſſages in which the ſenſe appeared dubious and uncertain.*] The words in Geneſis i. 2. where the vulgar Latin has *ferebatur*, and our tranſlation *moved*, Abraham Uſque tranſlates it, *ſe movit, moved it ſelf*, and puts a ſtar over that word, to ſignify that it is equivocal in the Hebrew, and may be differently rendred. This, as we have obſerved, he does in a great many places, to ſhew how uncertain the Hebrew tongue is (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 415.

[D] *The grammatical exactneſs does not always agree with the true ſenſe.*] Mr. Simon (4) obſerves very juſtly, that in a Dictionary the proper meaning of every word muſt be rendered, but in a tranſlation a writer is often obliged to depart from the natural and proper ſenſe of the words, in order to make the whole ſentence coherent. This is true of all books in general in what language ſoever, but is particularly true of the Bible: and one could eaſily prove that a great part of the difficulties which occur in the Scriptures are grounded on texts that are too literally tranſlated; and ſometimes men form particular opinions on texts thus grammatically but nonſenſically rendered: for it muſt be obſerved, that as languages were not formed by Philoſophers or Grammarians, but by the Vulgar, and by uſe and cuſtom, we muſt not lay too great a ſtreſs on the conſtruction, but conſider the intention of the writer, and the whole tenor of his diſcourſe.

(4) *Hiſt. Crit. du V. T.* p. 312.

☞ABRAHAM King of Ethiopia, began to reign in 448 [A], and ſat twenty ſeven years upon the throne, viz. thirteen years with his brother Azba, and fourteen years alone, according to Marius Victorius. This Prince was very zealous for the Chriſtian religion. It is related, that he confined all the ſons of the royal family in a ſtrong hold [B]; leſt ambition ſhould prompt them to the commiſſion of ſome crimes;

[A] *In* 448.] According to Father Lobo (1), the Abyſſins aſſert to this day, that Abraham, one of their Kings, who reign'd after Lalibala, was not only a Prieſt, but that two angels always brought him the ſacramental bread and wine. Abuſelah, quoted in Lobo (2), tells us, *Ethiopiæ reges omnes ſunt ſacerdotes, Liturgiam celebrantes ſuper altaria; & quamdiu regnum obtinent, nihil quid quam manu propria occidere ſolent: ſi quis contra fecerit, amittit jus Liturgiæ*, &c. That is, "All the Kings of Ethiopia "are Prieſts, and ſolemnize the holy rites on the altar. "So long as they enjoy the crown, they are not to kill "any thing with their own hands; and if any of "them does this, he is never allow'd to ſolemnize "the myſteries any more. The King at his entrance "into the ſanctuary always takes off his crown, "which is the characteriſtic of his dignity. He then "continues ſtanding, and bare-headed, till the people "have receiv'd the ſacrament; which every one does. "And if he himſelf will receive it, he muſt do it "after all the reſt. And if he kills any thing, all "compacts or obligations which had bound his ſubjects to him are diſſolved.

(1) *Voyage Hiſtorique d'Abiſſinie.* p. 241. Paris 1728.

(2) Idem, p. 240.

[B] *That he confin'd all the ſons of the royal family in a ſtrong hold.*] We meet with the particulars of this in Father Lobo (3). "Formerly, ſays he, the "Princes were kept as priſoners on the mountain of "Guexen. Enquiry was made into the conduct and "inclinations of each, and when one of them was "appointed to reign, the Viceroy or Governor of "Tigrey (4) went, accompanied by ſome of the "chiefs and a body of troops to bring the new King. "The Governor drew up his ſoldiers at the foot of "the rock, and went, with the [illegible], to the apartment of the Sovereign elect, fixed a golden buckle "to his ear, which was the firſt characteriſtic of his "dignity; after which, all the reſt of the Princes were "ordered to come and recognize and ſalute their "King. Theſe Princes were immediately ſent back "to confinement, when the new Monarch came "down to the foot of the mountain, and ſhewed "himſelf to his troops. The principal officers being "alighted, ſaluted the King, then conducted him into "the tent which had been prepared for him. Thus "he entred on horſeback, then alighting, one of "the chiefs among the Clergy anointed him with "fragrant oil, all the Prieſts ſinging pſalms in chorus. "After this the King was cloathed with the royal "mantle, the crown was ſet on his head, a naked "ſword was put into his hand, and he was ſeated on "the throne. Then the High-Almoner went up to "an eminence, when he proclaimed to the people "and the army, that they had made ſuch an one "King. The multitude anſwered by acclamations, "beſtowing innumerable bleſſings on the King, and "wiſhing him every kind of proſperity." This author tells us afterwards (5), that this cuſtom of confining the Princes after having continued two hundred years, till the reign of Naod father of David, was aboliſhed. There were ſome particular circumſtances at the coronation of Suſney in 1609, one of which was (6), "The King being come near to the church "of Axume, alighted from his horſe, when ſeveral "little girls held a cord or line croſs the ſtreet in order to ſtop him. Theſe asked him three times who "he was, upon which the King drew back, and "anſwered, that he was King of Jeruſalem and of "Zion. The children anſwered, that he was not "their King, but upon their asking the queſtion a "third time, he drew his ſword, cut the line, and "all

(3) *Voyage Hiſtor. d'Abiſſinie.* p. 252.

(4) Tigremæon, probably.

(5) P. 254.

(6) Ibid. p. 252.

crimes; and enacted, that he only who was to ſucceed to the crown, ſhould enjoy his liberty, which cuſtom, it is ſaid, ſtill prevails in Ethiopia. There were ſeveral other Ethiopian Princes called Abraham. Genebrard *in Chron.* Alvarez c. 58. *Hiſt. Æthiop.*

" all the girls cried aloud that he was their true " King, the King of Zion; then a noiſe was heard " of drums, trumpets and other inſtruments." The ſame author informs us, that the Ethiopians have but a confuſed catalogue of their Kings, and neither the age nor the years they reigned are expreſt in it (8). Their moſt famous Monarch was Lalibala, of whom the Ethiopians relate wonderful things. " The bleſ- " ſed Lalibala Emperor of Ethiopia, ſays Father " Telhes, that pure contemplator of the celeſtial " myſteries, died. When this Saint was born, his " parents were determined to bring him up in the " fear of the Lord; and being grown up, the Emperor " his brother who ſuperintended his education, knew " that he was to ſucceed him; but he was ſo envious " upon that account, that he cauſed him to be whip- " ped a long time together, but not a ſingle ſtroke " fell upon him, for an Angel of the Lord ſcreened " him, and told him that before he died he ſhould " build ten churches, which he did, and died in " peace (9)." Formerly theſe Kings never uſed to ſhew themſelves, but they do it three or four times a year, but are never ſeen at dinner, except by thoſe who feed them, and whenever they give audience they ſtand behind a curtain.

(8) Ibid. p. 247.

(9) Ibid. p. 249, 255.

ABRAM (NICHOLAS) a Lorrain Jeſuit, born in the dioceſe of Toul, anno 1589, entered into the ſociety in 1606, and took the fourth vow in * 1623. He was well verſed in polite literature, and appeared to his ſuperiors ſo great a Divine, that he was made Divinity-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Pont-a-Mouſſon. He enjoyed that employment ſeventeen years, and died the ſeventh of September 1655. Abram had taught polite literature, before he was made Divinity-Profeſſor (*a*). He publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*]; as he was a diſtinguiſhed writer, it is ſurprizing he was ſo little known in foreign countries [*B*].

(*a*) Extracted from *Nathan Satuel, Bibl. Societat. Jeſu*, p. 622.

* The fourth vow (thoſe common to other Religions being, of *Poverty, Chaſtity*, and *Obedience*; is, that they will labour at the ſalvation of others, by inſtructing youths, preaching, adminiſtring the ſacraments, and by going miſſionaries among Heretics and Idolaters.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] *Notes on the Paraphraſe of St. John's Goſpel*, written in Greek verſe by Nonnus; *A Commentary of ſome of Tully's Orations*; *A Commentary on Virgil*; a collection of theological treatiſes, entitled, *Pharus veteris Teſtamenti, ſive ſacrarum quæſtionum Libri XV. Axioms or Maxims of the Chriſtian Life*, and a *Hebrew Grammar in Latin verſe*. He tranſlated into French, Bartolis's Italian pieces intitled, *The Life of Vinant Caraffa*; *The Man of Letters*; and *Contented Poverty* (1). His commentary on Cicero is a very laborious work; the logical analyſes thereof are valuable and accurate, and the notes abound with literature; but as he has been too profuſe of his learning and of his reflections, he is inexpreſſibly tedious. This commentary, though it includes but the laſt volume of orations to the ſecond *Philippic* incluſive, is nevertheleſs ſwelled to two volumes in folio, which were printed at Paris in 1631. His commentary on Virgil is leſs prolix, and by that means has been more uſeful to ſchools. To his *Pharus veteris Teſtamenti* (2), a long treatiſe, *De veritate & mendacio* (of truth and falſhood) is added, in which he is far from giving into the maxims of the rigid Caſuiſts. Mr. de la Monnoie informs us, firſt, that this Jeſuit has added threeſcore and eleven Greek verſes, to complete the adulterous woman, in the 8th chapter of Nonnus's paraphraſe (3). Secondly, That Reineſius mentions this Nicholas Abram, in page 155 of his letters *Ad Hoffmanum & Rupertum*. I had recourſe to it and find the following elogium. *Si me cum tot rationibus audire hic noles, vel hujus* (Nic. Abrami) *auctoritati cede. Eſt enim ſane quam doctiſſimus, & maxime idoneus explicando Tullio.* That is, " If you will not liſten to theſe many reaſons I give, " yield however to the authority of this Abram; for " he is certainly a very learned man, and very well " qualified to explain Tully." To this teſtimony, let us add that of another learned man of the ſame country. *Ad intelligendas, adque ad uſum transferendas Orationes Ciceronis ſufficit commentarius Jo. Thomæ Freigii, niſi quis addere malit prolixos Commentarios Nicolai Abrami Jeſuitæ multa rerum varietate inſtructos* (4). That is, " The Commentary of J. Thom. " Freigius, is ſufficient for the underſtanding and ap- " plying of Tully's Orations, unleſs any one would " chuſe rather to add the prolix commentaries of " Nic. Abram the Jeſuit, which abound with a great " variety of matter.

(1) *Nathan Satuel, Bibl. Script. Societat. Jeſu*, p. 622.

(2) Printed in Paris, anno 1648, in folio.

(3) This is a miſtake; for the verſes here mentioned, were added by Francis Nanſius, who publiſhed an edition of *Nonnus* in 1589. Mr. de la Croze informs me, that Father Simon takes notice of this in p. 330 of his *Critical Hiſtory on Commentators.*

(4) Joh. Andreas Boſius *de prudentia & eloquentia comparandâ*. p. 400.

[*B*] *So little known in foreign countries.*] His Notes on Nonnus's Paraphraſe were printed at Paris, for Sebaſtian Cramoiſi in 1622, but Heinſius does not ſeem to have heard of them, when he publiſhed the ſame Paraphraſe with a large Commentary in 1627. This is what he entitles *Ariſtarchus Sacer*. Nor had our Jeſuit's Notes come to Dr. Cave's notice, ſince he does not mention them when he ſpeaks of the various editions of Nonnus (5). Aubertus Miræus and Father Oudin are ſilent on them, the former in his *Auctarium de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, printed in 1639: the latter in his *Supplementum de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, printed in 1686. Father Simon cites this work of Nicholas Abraham (6) in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhews he eſteems it, and that it deſerves to be known. But here follows a more ſingular circumſtance, Martin Schoockius, who was remarkable chiefly for his prodigious reading, declared in the latter part of his life, that he had never heard of ſuch an author as Nicholas Abraham. *Hanc ſi tuitus fuerit neſcio quis Nicolaus Abrahamus* (*jam primitùs eum noſſe incipio*) *prolixo examine haud opus fuiſſet* (7). That is, " Had one Nic. Abraham, (Abram) for this " is the firſt time I ever heard of him, ſeen this, there " would have been no occaſion of a long diſcuſſion.

(5) *Hiſtoria literaria ſcriptorum eccleſiaſticorum.* p. 299 of the London edit. in folio, anno 1688.

(6) *Critical Hiſt. on the Comment. on the New Teſtament.* c. 23.

(7) Schoockius *de fœnore unciario*. p. 107. printed in 1688.

☞ ABSALOM, the ſon of David by Maacah the daughter of Talmou King of Geſhur (*a*), was brother to Thamar, David's daughter, who was raviſhed by Amnon [*A*], their eldeſt brother, by another mother. Abſalom waited two years for an opportunity

(*a*) 1 *Chron.* iii. 2.

[*A*] *Raviſh'd by Amnon.*] We find, according to our tranſlation, that *when David heard of this, he was very wroth*; but the vulgar tranſlation has given a very different repreſentation of this matter. *Cum autem audiſſet Rex David verba hæc contriſtatus eſt valdè, & noluit contriſtare ſpiritum Amnon filii, quoniam diligebat eum, quia primogenitus erat ei*, i. e. " When King David heard of theſe things, he af- " flicted himſelf extremely; but he would not make " his ſon Amnon uneaſy on that account, becauſe he " loved him, as he was his firſt-born (1)." The latter part of this verſe, *Et noluit contriſtare*, &c. is not in the Hebrew, nor in any of the verſions, which are made from the Hebrew text. St. Jerom has not inſerted it in his tranſlation. But the Greeks have added theſe words in ſome of their copies (2), and Joſephus (3) manifeſtly read them in thoſe copies which he made uſe of; and it is not improbable, that he gave occaſion to the Greeks to add it to their copies. It is difficult to excuſe David's ſilence and diſſimulation in that affair, eſpecially if he acted upon no other motive than his particular fondneſs for Amnon. Perhaps as he knew himſelf to have been guilty, he could not eaſily reſolve to puniſh a crime, which his own example might have given occaſion to. I ſay this upon the ſuppoſition that the latter clauſe of the verſe be genuine; though it is generally doubted by the beſt critics.

(1) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 21.

(2) Edit. Nobilii.

(3) L. 7. c. 7.

opportunity of revenging the injury done to his ſiſter, and at laſt procured Ammon to be aſſaſſinated at a feaſt, which he had prepared for the King's ſons. Upon this he fled for refuge to Talmai King of Geſhur, and continued at his court three years; till at laſt, by means of Joab, he had obtained leave of David to return home, on condition that he would never offer to appear before the King. After he had ſtaid two years at Jeruſalem, baniſhed from his father's ſight, he ſent to Joab in order to engage him to ſpeak to David in his favour. But Joab delaying to anſwer his meſſage, he gave orders to ſet his field on fire; which induced Joab to come and expoſtulate with him upon the injury, while the other prevailed upon him to ſollicit his father for leave to ſee him; which he obtained. Abſalom was no ſooner reſtored to favour, but he begun to conſpire againſt his father. He inſinuated himſelf into the people's affections by all the arts and addreſs imaginable; his converſation was extremely affable and courteous, and his perſon prodigiouſly beautiful. Theſe advantages promoted his ambitious deſigns; and in order to carry them on, he pretended that he had made a vow during his exile to ſacrifice at Hebron, and accordingly went thither. There he procured himſelf to be proclaimed King, and engaged the Iſraelites to revolt from his father [*B*], who was obliged to fly from Jeruſalem. Abſalom came thither ſoon after, and lay with his father's concubines, agreeably to Ahitophel's counſel [*C*], who likewiſe adviſed him to purſue David, while his troops were yet weary with the flight. But this advice of his was defeated by Huſhai, who was ſecretly in David's intereſt, and repreſented that it would be very dangerous to attack men, whoſe circumſtances had made them deſperate. Ahitophel ſeeing he was neglected in this point hanged himſelf out of deſpair [*D*], while Huſhai ſent David adviſe to paſs over Jordan immediately [*E*]. Abſalom's army, though vaſtly ſuperior in number, was defeated in

[*B*] *Engaged the Iſraelites to revolt from his father.*] It may ſeem at firſt a little ſurprizing, that Abſalom ſhould be able to draw ſuch a prodigious number of the people to a revolt againſt a King ſo eminent for his merit and victories as David was. But we ſhall ceaſe to wonder at this, if we conſider that a great many perſons who had a conſiderable intereſt under Saul's government, were then neglected; that others, who had followed Iſhboſheth's party, were apprehenſive of puniſhment; that Joab's cruelty being permitted to go with impunity, had drawn an odium upon the King, who ſuffered him to treat the people with ſuch outrage and violence; add to this David's own perſonal crimes; his adultery and murder, which muſt unavoidably make men jealous of being injured in the moſt ſenſible part of their property, their wives chaſtity, and their own lives; beſides, the name and power of Bathſheba muſt certainly be very hateful to the women. All theſe circumſtances might very eaſily diſpoſe the nation to a revolt. We have many inſtances of the ill effects which the unbounded luſt of Kings has had upon their government. It was this that was the occaſion of the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ and the Tarquinii, and of many other Princes, who are mentioned by Ariſtotle in his *Politics*, lib. 1. c. 10.

[*C*] *Lay with his father's concubines, agreeably to Ahitophel's counſel.*] Ahitophel adviſed him to do this, that a reconciliation between Abſalom and his father might be rendered impoſſible, and that the people who had joined themſelves to his party, might by this means be aſſured, that all hopes of agreement between them would inevitably be cut off. Ahitophel knew the inconſtant humour of the Jews; and he was reſolved to fix them in Abſalom's intereſt, by the conſideration that they could hope for no pardon from David. He ſhewed them the neceſſity of ſupporting the Prince whom they had placed upon the throne, unleſs they were willing to expoſe themſelves to the vengeance of the conqueror, if ever he ſhould recover the kingdom. The inſult which Abſalom offered to his father was the moſt ſhocking that a ſon could poſſibly be guilty of. Jacob even to his death ſhewed Reuben his ſon how ſenſible he was of ſuch an injury (4). Homer tells us, that *Phœnix* having committed inceſt with one of his father Amyntor's concubines, that Prince curſed him in the moſt ſolemn manner, and devoted him to all the Furies (5). Armais, the brother of Seſoſtris, uſed his brother's miſtreſſes when he was abſent, in the ſame manner as Abſalom did thoſe of his father. This was the only thing that Seſoſtris had forbid him at his departure; and Armais never attempted this outrage, till he had reſolved to raiſe a rebellion (6). It appears that Ahitophel thought that Abſalom had a right to his predeceſſor's wives, which was the general cuſtom among the Perſians, as we find from the example of Smerdis the Magus, who made uſe of the ſame concubines, which Cambyſes his predeceſſor had done. Ἔχει αὐτῷ ὁ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φαιδύμη; τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος: καὶ ταύτῃ συνοίκεε, καὶ τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί (7). i. e. "Cambyſes had his daughter, whoſe name was "Phædyma. The Magus took her and lived with her, "and with all the other wives of Cambyſes." In this ſtory we may obſerve, that this Magus had aſſumed the perſon of Tanyoxaris, the brother of Cambyſes, and yet the Perſians did not think it ſtrange, that a brother ſhould take the miſtreſſes of his deceaſed brother. We may conclude from this fact of Abſalom, that this practice was very common in the antient times, and among the other Eaſtern Princes.

[*D*] *Hanged himſelf out of deſpair.*] Some writers pretend that he died of a quinſey (8); others that he was choaked with rage to ſee Abſalom's party ruined by ſuch imprudent counſel. Others tell us, that he procured himſelf to be ſtrangled by one of his ſervants. But the general opinion of commentators is, that he hanged himſelf out of deſpair, when he ſaw that if David had time given him to collect his forces and fortify himſelf, Abſalom muſt inevitably be deſtroyed. We may obſerve here that the Jews at that time did not refuſe burial, or aſſign any infamous puniſhment to thoſe who were guilty of Suicide, ſince Ahitophel was *buried* peaceably *in the ſepulchre of his father*. Joſephus tells us, that thoſe who killed themſelves are hated by God and man, and that Moſes condemned them to remain unburied till ſun-ſet; tho' even the enemies, who were killed in battle, were allowed the favour of a burial. Διὰ τοῦτο μιμισήτως παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο, καὶ παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καλάζειτες νομοθέτῃ. Τὰς γοῦ ἀνέλοντας ἑαυτοὺς παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν μικρὰς ἡλίε δύσεως ἀτάφους κρύπτειν ἔκειναν. Καί τοι καὶ πολεμίους θάπτειν θεμιτὸν ἡγούμενοι (9). But we have no law of Moſes extant upon that point. We find, according to Joſephus's account, that ſelf-murderers were treated in the ſame manner as thoſe were who were hanged for any crimes (10).

[*E*] *Huſhai ſent David advice to paſs over Jordan immediately.*] We ſee that Huſhai went over to Abſalom's party at David's deſire, in order to betray him. This action ſeems not very honourable either to the King, or to his friend Huſhai. It is acknowledged indeed Abſalom was a traytor and a rebel to his father; but is it lawful to do evil, or to adviſe it, that good may come from it? Is it lawful to uſe treachery towards a traytor, or to impoſe upon a liar by fictions and lies? Will the crimes of ſuch perſons juſtify the ill things which we do in return? It is anſwered to this, that David did not adviſe Huſhai to betray Abſalom, or to violate the laws of friendſhip and truth in that caſe. He only deſired him to go over and join Abſalom, in order to defeat the pernicious counſels of Ahitophel, as a General ſends ſpies into the enemy's

(4) *Gen.* xlix. 4.

(5) Iliad. l. i.

(6) *Joſeph.* l. 1. *contra Apion.*

(7) *Herod.* l. 3. c. 68.

(8) *Quidam Hebræi apud Sanct.* See Gronovius's *Diſſert. de Judâ Proditore.*

(9) L. 3. c. 11. *de Bello Judaic.*

(10) *Deuteron.* xxi. 22.

in the wood of Ephraim [*F*], and twenty thouſand men were ſlain. As he was flying his head caught hold of an oak, and he was ſuſpended in the air [*G*], till Joab came and thruſt him through with three darts [*H*]. David had expreſly ordered his life to be ſpared. His body was caſt into a great pit in the wood, and covered with a heap of ſtones [*I*]. He was extremely lamented by his father (*b*). This happened A. M. 3012, before the Chriſtian Æra 1023. He had in his life-time raiſed himſelf a pillar in the King's Dale, in order to perpetuate his memory [*K*]. He had three ſons and one daughter [*L*]. The

(*b*) 2 Sam. i. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

enemy's camp to diſcover what paſſes there; or as a Prince keeps up an intelligence in foreign courts, to penetrate into his enemies deſigns, and countermine the reſolutions which they may take to his prejudice. It was Abſalom's buſineſs to ſtand upon his guard. The unjuſt war which he had declared againſt his father, gave the latter a right to treat him as an enemy, and to employ artifice, as well as open force againſt him. It is never ſuppoſed unlawful for a perſon in time of war to diſguiſe his real intentions. The uſe of ſtratagem, which has always been allowed, is founded upon this. However, we are not obliged to juſtify David in all his actions, and therefore every one may think of this as he pleaſes (11).

(11) See Father Calmet, *Comment. Litter. ſur le 2 Livre des Rois*, ch. 15. ver. 34.

[*F*] *Abſalom's army .... was defeated in the wood of Ephraim.*] The Scripture tells us, that *the wood devoured more people than the ſword.* Some of them were deſtroyed by the precipices; others were trodden to death by thoſe who fled; others died of their wounds, or were ſtarved to death. Joſephus aſſures us, that *a greater number periſhed as they fled thro' woods and down precipices, than in the fight.* Φεύγοντας δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν καὶ φαράγγων ἐπόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐλαύνοντες, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνῄρουν, ὡς φεύγοντας πεσεῖν πλείονας ἢ μαχομένους (12). The Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic verſions, and the Rabbis tell us, *that more people were deſtroyed by wild beaſts in the wood, than by the ſword.*

(12) Joſeph. l. 7. c. 9.

[*G*] *His head caught hold of an oak, and he was ſuſpended in the air.*] He hung there having nothing to ſupport him; and his neck was ſo wedged between the boughs by the ſwift motion of the mule, that he was not able to diſengage himſelf (13). Joſephus is of opinion that he hung by his hair, which being very long was wrapt about the boughs of the tree (14). And the great Bochart is of the ſame opinion in his *Epiſtle about the weight of Abſalom's hair*; though in another work of his (15) he ſays only, that he ſtuck between the boughs of the trees, and his beaſt going from under him, he hung between heaven and earth. *Hæſit inter ramos arborum, & jumento prætergreſſo pependit inter cælum & terram.* The learned Sebaſt. Schmidius (16) having obſerved that Theodoret was of opinion that Abſalom hung between the boughs of the tree by his head, and not by his hair, tells us, that this is contrary to the general opinion. But the latter muſt certainly be falſe, ſince it is not founded upon expreſs words of Scripture. In anſwer to this, that author urges, that the Hebrew text ſays, *that his head caught hold of the oak*, which could not be done but by means of his hair. But there ſeems to be no reaſon to underſtand the words יומק ראשו באלה, i. e. *He held his head in the oak*, (of his hair;) and it is not probable that he was without an helmet, which covered it. And beſides it is ſaid afterwards, that Joab ſmote him *while he was yet alive*, in the middle of the oak, which had been no wonder, if he had only hung by the hair, for that would not have killed him; whereas, when Joab came to him, he was yet not quite dead, but very near it.

(13) Biſhop Patrick upon the 2d Book of Samuel, ch. xviii. ver. 9.

(14) Joſeph. *ubi ſupra.*

(15) *Hierozoicon*, Part 1. l. 2. c. 9.

(16) *Apud* Joan. Clericum, *Commentar.* in 2 Sam. xviii. 9.

[*H*] *Joab came and thruſt him through with three darts.*] Our tranſlation tells us, that *Joab thruſt them through the heart of Abſalom.* But the original word does not ſignify that part, which is ſtrictly called *the heart*; for then he would have died immediately, and there would have been no need of his ſoldiers falling upon him, as we read they did in the following verſe, but it means *the midſt of his body*, which did not kill him directly, but there was ſtill ſome life remaining in him (17). Kimchi has a conceit that ſome of Abſalom's crimes are legible in his puniſhment; for he was thruſt through with three darts, having firſt ſtolen the heart of the King; and then of the two hundred men that followed him out of Jeruſalem; and then of all Iſrael; and as he committed inceſt with his father's ten concubines, ſo ten young men compaſſed him about, and killed him. There is a queſtion ſtarted, whether Joab acted amiſs in killing Abſalom, contrary to the expreſs command of David.

(17) Biſhop Patrick and le Clerc *in locum.*

To this it is anſwered (18), that Joab upon that occaſion was obliged to regard the intereſt of the State, and that of the King himſelf, more than David's particular inclination for his ſon, and his orders, which were plainly contrary to ſtrict juſtice, as well as the King's ſafety. Abſalom was a traytor, a rebel, and the moſt dangerous enemy to the kingdom. The law of God condemned him to death as a ſon, who had revolted againſt his father (19), and as an inceſtuous perſon (20). The King had no right to be heard in this affair, ſince he ſhewed more regard to his own private affection, than to the general good of his ſubjects. The world has always extolled thoſe fathers, who have ſacrificed their paternal tenderneſs to the advantage of their kingdom. Theſe reaſons might determine Joab to kill Abſalom, ſince he was thus an enemy to his King and country. He had before deſerved death for the murder of Amnon; and though David had received him into favour after this action, and ſhewn him all the kindneſs and indulgence imaginable, yet he was ſo baſe as to attempt his father's life and kingdom, and had proſecuted his deſigns to the laſt extremity. So that there was not the leaſt ground to expect, that a man of his ambitious and cruel temper would ever be reclaimed.

(18) Grot. *in loc.*

(19) Deut. xxi. 18, 21.

(20) Levit. xviii. 29.

[*I*] *His body was .... covered with a great heap of ſtones.*] This was done likewiſe to Achan, who was ſtoned to death in the valley of Achor (21). Adricomius, in his *Deſcription of the Holy Land*, ſays, that this heap remained till his time; and all travellers, as they paſſed by it, uſed to caſt a ſtone to add to the heap, in deteſtation of his rebellion againſt his father. The learned Mr. John Doughtey (22) has ſhewn from many inſtances, that ſuch monuments as theſe were raiſed in honour of perſons of merit among the Grecians; but it is not probable, that David's army intended this as any mark of their reſpect for Abſalom.

(21) Joſhua vii. 26.

(22) *Analecta Sacra* p. 1. Excurſ. 95.

[*K*] *He had in his life time rais'd himſelf a pillar in the King's Dale, in order to perpetuate his memory.*] This Dale is mentioned in Geneſ. xiv. 17. and was not far from Jeruſalem. There he deſigned to perpetuate his name by a magnificent ſtructure, as Raſi and ſeveral other Jewiſh Doctors imagine. Doubdan in his *Voyage to the Holy Land*, ch. 15. ſays, that this fabric ſtill remains in the valley of Jehoſaphat. But this is certainly a ſuppoſititious monument, as Wagenſeil obſerves (23). For Joſephus, who deſerves more credit than theſe later authors, ſays, it was only *a marble pillar* στήλη λίθου μαρμαρίου, *about two furlongs from Jeruſalem* (24), in a place where the King's horſes run races, as we are told by ſome writers, and where other exerciſes uſed to be performed (25). Mr. Doughtey abovementioned has ſhewn, that it was very frequent among the Greeks to place ſuch pillars upon their tombs (26); but the pillar which is here ſpoken of did not belong to a tomb, but to a *Cenotaphium.* This pillar of Abſalom was called *Abſalom's Place*, according to our Engliſh tranſlation; but the Hebrew word יד *Jad* ſignifies *an Hand*; that is *his work.* Rabbi Kimchi obſerves, that this word ſometimes is the ſame with *Makom, a place*, as in Iſaiah lvi. 5. We find in the Hebrew text (27) that *Saul ſet him up an Hand or Place in mount Carmel* [מציב לזוך] which the author of the *Vulgate* tranſlation underſtands of a triumphal arch, as a monument of his victory againſt the Amalekites. The Jews (28) imagine that Abſalom had time allowed him, after he was diſentangled from the oak, to erect this monument, which was called *Abſalom's Hand*, becauſe he had ordered *an Hand* to be graven upon it.

(23) Wagenſ. upon Sota, p. 221.

(24) Joſeph. *Antiq.* l. 7. c. 9.

(25) Bp Patrick *in locum.*

(26) *Analect. Sacr.* Excurſ. 96.

(27) 1 Sam. xv. 12.

(28) *Autor. Traditi. Hebr. in lib. Reg. bîc. apud* Calmet *in loc.*

[*L*] *He had three ſons and one daughter.*] This appears from 2 Sam. xiv. 27. But as Kimchi and other Hebrew Doctors ſay, they all died before him. His daughter's name was Thamar; and we find in ſeveral Greek and Latin copies an addition to this 27th verſe of 2 Sam. xiv. which tells us, that *Thamar was married to Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, and was mother to King Abiah.* But this inſertion is not in

The weight of Abſalom's hair has been the ſubject of great diſpute among the critics, as will appear from the Note hereunder [*M*].

the Hebrew Original, nor in the Vulgate, nor in the Complutenſian edition of the Septuagint, and is of no manner of authority, and cannot be reconciled to chronology without great difficulty. We read in the ſecond book of Chronicles (29), that Rehoboam *married Maachah the daughter of Abſalom*; but this Maachah is evidently a different perſon from Thamar, and the word *Daughter* in that paſſage is put for *Grand-Daughter*; ſo that Maachah was daughter to Thamar (30).

(29) Ch. xi. ver. 20.

(30) See Calmet *in locum.*

[*M*] *The weight of Abſalom's hair has been the ſubject of great diſpute among the critics, as will appear from the Note hereunder.*] The Scripture tells us, that when *he polled his head (which he did at every year's end, becauſe his hair was heavy) he weighed the hair of his head at two hundred Shekels, after the King's weight.* This paſſage has ſeveral difficulties in it, which deſerve ſome attention to explain them. The firſt is, Whether Abſalom cut off his hair every year? 2dly, Whether he cut off all his hair, or only part? 3dly, Whether the weight of two hundred Shekels was the weight of all his hair, or only of that part which he cut off? 4thly, What the King's weight was?

1. The words in the Hebrew are *from the end of days to days*, without any particular deſignation of the time. And the Septuagint render the Hebrew literally, ἀπὸ πέλυς ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας. The Targum tranſlated it *at ſtated times*; that is, when it grew too heavy, which might be once in two years, more or leſs, as Bochart obſerves.

2. The Iſraelites wore their hair very long, as appears from the Scripture and Joſephus (31), who informs us, that the guard, who attended King Solomon, had their long hair flowing about their ſhoulders, and that they ſcattered in it every day, ψήγματα χρυσίου, *little particles of gold*, which made their hair ſhine and ſparkle by the reflection of the ſun's rays upon the gold. It is not probable therefore that Abſalom ſhould cut off all his hair, which was his chief ornament.

(31) *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 1.

3. We find by experience that the hair does not grow in a year above four inches in length. So that the ſuperfluous hair which he cut off could not poſſibly weigh two hundred ſhekels, for then the remainder would have weighed four or five times as much, which is abſolutely impoſſible.

(32) See his *Diſſertation* upon this ſubject in the *Journal de Trevoux*. An. 1702, Auguſt. Art. 1. p. 175.

4. But the greateſt difficulty is, what is meant by the *King's Weight*, or as it is in the Hebrew, the *King's Stone*. Mr. Pelletier (32) is of opinion, that the difference of the *King's Weight* from the common one was never known till the Chaldeans had ſubdued the Jews; and that the author of the two books of Samuel, who lived about the end of the captivity of Babylon, or ſoon after, when the Jews had been accuſtomed to the Babylonian weights for ſixty or ſeventy years, and conſequently might be ignorant of the Hebrew weights, which were then no longer in uſe; that this author, I ſay, to make himſelf the better underſtood, ſubſtituted the common weight, inſtead of that, which he found in his *Memoirs*; and told the reader that Abſalom's hair weighed two hundred ſhekels, taking notice however that he meant the Babylonian ſhekels, and thoſe of the King of Babylon's weight, to whom the Jews were then ſubject.

Now the Babylonian ſhekel weighed a third part of the Jewiſh ſhekel; which was equal to 219 Engliſh grains; ſo that the Babylonian ſhekel weighed 73 grains.

The Rabbis and other writers (33), who underſtand theſe two hundred ſhekels of the value of Abſalom's hair, and not of the weight of them, pretend that he or his ſervants ſold his hair to the women of Jeruſalem to make peruques: but Bochart (34) ſhews how abſurd it is to imagine a King's ſon would ſell his hair, or that any one would buy it, eſpecially at that rate, ſince peruques were not known in thoſe days.

(33) Sanctius, Salazar, Emmanuel Sa.

(34) Epiſtle to Michael Fankelius at the end of the 3d edition of his *Geographia Sacra.*

There are others, who imagine that Abſalom having cut his hair ſeveral times, kept it till it weighed two hundred ſhekels; but this makes the remark of the Scripture very trifling, ſince there would have been nothing extraordinary in that.

Bochart (35) conjectures, that Abſalom's hair weighed two hundred ſhekels, only on account of the gold duſt with which it was powdered, according to the cuſtom of that time; all which made it very ponderous; and theſe two hundred ſhekels he demonſtrates to be no more than three pounds and two ounces of our weight. But the Scripture ſpeaks of the real weight of the hair, and not of the weight, which was merely accidental to it.

(35) *Epiſt. de Cæſarie Abſalom.*

The Septuagint have reduced this weight of two hundred ſhekels to half of it; they mention only a hundred ſhekels, which agrees with the opinion of thoſe who aſſert, that they were gold ſhekels, or the King's ſhekels, which were but half the weight of thoſe of the ſanctuary. But it will be neceſſary to prove firſt this difference between the common weight, and that of the ſanctuary, and between the gold and ſilver ſhekel; ſo that at preſent we may ſatisfy our ſelves with the two hundred Babylonian ſhekels which weighed each of them ſeventy three Engliſh grains.

ABSTEMIUS (Laurentius) a Native of Macerata in Marca Anconitana, devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of polite literature, and made conſiderable advances in it. He taught the *Belles Lettres* in Urbino, where he was librarian of Duke Guido Ubaldo (*a*), to whom he dedicated a little work, wherein he explain'd ſome difficult paſſages which occur in ancient authors (*b*). He publiſh'd this piece under the Pontificate of Alexander VI; and another, he entitled *Hecatomythium*, which he inſcribed to Octavian Ubaldini, Count of Mercatelli. He gave it that title, becauſe it was a collection of an hundred fables (*c*), which he afterwards doubled. Theſe have been often printed [*A*] with thoſe of the ancient Fabuliſts, ſuch as Eſop, Phædrus, Gabrias, Avienus, *&c.* all which Nevelet collected into a body, and illuſtrated with ſome Notes. Abſtemius has not always kept thoſe ancient originals in view; for he ſometimes intermixes his Fable with jocoſe tales, and now and then is a little ſatyrical upon the Clergy [*B*]. Some of his conjectures on certain paſſages of the ancients, are inſerted in the firſt volume of Gruterus's *Theſaurus Criticus*, under the title of *Annotationes variæ*; but theſe are very few, and don't take up fifteen pages. There is a Preface of his to Aurelius Victor, which was printed in Venice anno 1505 (*d*). I can't ſay whether

(*a*) See Gruteri *Theſaur. Critic.* tom. 1. p. 878.

(*b*) *Opuſculum de nonnullis locis obſcuris. Vide de Epiſt. dedicat. ejus Hecatomythii.*

(*c*) See the Dedication to it.

(*d*) *Epitome Bibliotb.* Geſner.

[*A*] *Have been often printed.*] Geſner mentions the edition of Strasburg in 1522; but that which Nevelet worked upon, is not ſo old by eighty eight years. His Notes are of very little value, and it was certainly not for their ſake, that they were ſo often reprinted. He made none on Abſtemius's fables, and indeed they did not want any.

[*B*] *Now and then is a little ſatyrical on the Clergy.*] His 104th fable is a proof of what is here aſſerted. In this we are told, that a Prieſt was ordered by his Biſhop, to ſuperintend a monaſtery, in which were five Nuns, all whom he got with child by that time the year was out. This coming to the Biſhop's ear he was very much exaſperated, when ſending for the Prieſt, he chid him very ſeverely upon that account, calling him a perfidious, ſacrilegious wretch, in thus preſuming to defile the temple of the Holy Ghoſt. *Lord*, ſays the Prieſt, *thou deliveredſt unto me five talents*,

whether he liv'd any conſiderable time after this. He is one of thoſe whom Laurentius Valla cenſur'd.

The reader is deſir'd to take notice of the obſervations communicated to me, ſince the firſt edition of this work [*C*].

* Matth. xxv. 20. *behold I have gained beſides them five talents more**. The Prelate was ſo delighted with this facetious anſwer, that he gave the Prieſt plenary abſolution. *Quo dicto tam faceto permotus epiſcopus, homini veniam dedit.* The moral which the author draws from this fable, is no leſs profane than the fable itſelf. *Whenever*, ſays he (1), *we cannot juſtify our ſelves of a crime by ſolid reaſons, we muſt have recourſe to pleaſantry.* It is certain this advice has been followed with ſucceſs on ſeveral occaſions; but a Biſhop who ſhould be ſatisfied with ſuch profane waggery as that above, would be very near as unfaithful a paſtor, as the ſuperintendant of the five Nuns.

(1) *Fabula indicat, peccata, cùm ratione nequeant, urbanitate diluenda.* Abſtemii Tabul. c. 4.

[*C*] *The reader is deſired to take notice of the obſervations which have been communicated to me ſince the firſt edition of this work.*] "Abſtemius's conjectures, "inſerted in the firſt volume of Gruter's *Theſaurus "Criticus*, are only the extract of a work intitled "*Obſcurorum Locorum* (2), dedicated to the Duke of "Urbino. Gruter, who gave this extract, tells us, "in a little marginal note at the beginning, that "Laurentius Valla criticis'd our Abſtemius. I very "much doubt the truth of this aſſertion, ſince we "don't meet with the leaſt Tract of any ſuch "critique in Laurentius Valla's works, not to men-"tion that Abſtemius highly applauds them in the "Preface to his ſecond *Hecatomythium*; beſides, "there is room to believe that they were never at "variance, ſince our fabuliſt ſurvived Laurentius "Valla forty eight years at leaſt. He is the firſt, ac-"cording to what I could find, who writ the tale of "the *Talents Multiplied*, which has ſince been told "by Le Bandel, Verville and others." The above is extracted from a letter, with which Mr. de la Monnoie favoured me.

(2) See the citation (*b*) of this article above.

☞ABSTINENTS, a Sect of Heretics that appear'd in France and Spain towards the latter end of the third Century, when Diocleſian and Maximian perſecuted the church. They were, we are told, a branch of the Manichees and Gnoſtics; they maintain'd that matrimony was unlawful, and that men muſt abſtain from eating fleſh (*a*); and if we may credit Philaſtrius [*A*], they ſaid that fleſh was not created by God, but by the Devil (*b*). Baronius (*c*) is of opinion, that the Abſtinents are the ſame with the Hieracites [*B*]; but Moreri, and after him Luiſcius, ſay, that what is related of the Hieracites does not agree very well with the ſentiments of the Abſtinents, and that they come a great deal nearer to the Encratites: but the opinions or hereſies, for which they are particularly call'd Abſtinents, are the very ſame with thoſe of the Hieracites and of the Encratites; ſo that they ſeem at leaſt to be a branch of thoſe Heretics. We muſt not believe that they maintain'd their opinions enthuſiaſtically, without pretending to give any reaſon for them; they knew how to ſupport them at leaſt with a ſpecious ſhew of arguments. "Matrimony, ſay they, was allow'd under the Old "Teſtament, but condemned ſince the coming of Chriſt: What other new deſign "could he propoſe? What would he preach, or what praiſe-worthy action could he "perform, except that? Did he come to teach mankind the fear of God? But this "the Law had already done. Was it to condemn envy, covetouſneſs, iniquity, &c.? "But all this is contained in the Old Teſtament. He could not therefore have any "other view, but to preach continence to the world; practiſing himſelf that chaſtity, "without which everlaſting life cannot be obtain'd (*d*)." Thus the Abſtinents reaſon'd, pretending their abſtinence was that very reformation which Chriſt intended to eſtabliſh in the world. They made uſe of ſome paſſages in the New Teſtament, whereby they thought that they could ſupport their opinions. They inſiſted particularly upon theſe words of the Apoſtle, *Without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord* (*e*). From whence they concluded, that to be holy, a man muſt entirely be free from all carnal converſation with women. And if it was objected, that the ſame Apoſtle ſays, that *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled* (*f*); they anſwered in the words of St. Paul (*g*), *There is difference between a wife and a virgin, the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that ſhe may be holy both in body and in ſpirit; but ſhe that is married careth for the things of the world, how ſhe may pleaſe her husband.* From this paſſage they argued thus: If there be a diviſion between God and a married woman, how can there be a communication or union between them? And if a woman does not pleaſe God but her husband, how can ſhe inherit life everlaſting? Therefore when the Apoſtle gives this advice, *Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her*

(*a*) *Philaſtrius de Hæreſib. in Bibliotb. maxim. Patrum* t. 5. p. 710.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *In Anal. ad Ann.* 288.

(*d*) *Epiphan. adverſus Hæreſes*, lib. 2. tom. 2. p. 710.

(*e*) Heb. xii. 14.

(*f*) Ch. xiii. 4.

(*g*) 1 Cor. vii. 34.

[*A*] *If we may credit Philaſtrius.*] The reaſon why we ſpeak in this doubtful manner is, that we know but very little of the ancient Heretics; and the ſhort accounts we have of them, were written by their profeſſed enemies, who alſo were ſeldom their cotemporaries: their own books are not extant, ſo that to know their opinions we muſt entirely depend on thoſe who relate them in order to confute them. But it is obvious to every one, how cautious we ought to be, before we believe a man who ſpeaks of his adverſary: How reaſonable is it to ſuppoſe, that to make him odious he will blacken his character, and repreſent his opinions in the moſt ſhocking view, in order to get an eaſier victory over him? In ſaying this, we don't pretend to accuſe the fathers of having wilfully miſrepreſented the Heretics; but the fathers were fallible, liable to be impoſed upon, and their very zeal for the orthodox faith might ſometimes miſlead them; ſo that we muſt not blindly receive as truth all that they ſay of Heretics, but examine impartially what they have tranſmitted to us concerning the opinions of Heretics. See the author quoted in the margin (1).

(1) Clericus *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Sæc. 1. ad Ann. lxxvi. § 1.

[*B*] *The Hieracites.*] Theſe were the followers of Hierax an Egyptian, who lived in the third Century; he was maſter of all the ſciences that were taught in Greece, and underſtood particularly Aſtrology and the Magical or Black Art (2). Beſides the hereſies we have mentioned, he maintained that the body was not to riſe again, but only the ſoul; that thoſe only would be ſaved who lived in celibacy; that children, who die before they are come to years of diſcretion, ſhall not ſee God; that Melchiſedec was the Holy Ghoſt: He alſo diſtinguiſhed the ſubſtance of the Son or *Logos*, from that of the Father, and compared it to a lamp with two matches, as though there were a *Middle-Nature*, from which both the Father and the Son had taken their ſubſtance (3).

(2) By this we are probably to underſtand nothing elſe but Natural Philoſophy.

(3) Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* 67.

her own husband (*b*); his meaning is not, that ſince the coming of Chriſt, marriage is ſtill praiſe-worthy, but only that it ought to be tolerated, *to avoid* a greater evil, viz. *fornication* (*i*). If we may be allow'd ſome conjectures, we would think, that theſe Heretics fell into this ſtrange way of reaſoning, out of a miſtaken notion of the ſtrictneſs of the Goſpel-morality [*C*]; underſtanding in a literal ſenſe thoſe paſſages which require of us, *to walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit* (*k*), *to crucify the fleſh with the affections and luſts* (*l*), &c. It is probable they thought, that the pleaſures of wedlock were inconſiſtent with the ſevere duties of a true Chriſtian. They might perhaps alſo have been of opinion, that the end of the world was near at hand, and that therefore it did not become the diſciples of Chriſt to think of propagating mankind.

(*b*) Ibid. ver. 2.

(*i*) Epiphan. *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Rom. viii. 1.
(*l*) Gal. v. 24.

[*C*] *The ſtrictneſs of the Goſpel morality.*] If the words of Chriſt and his Apoſtles are to be taken in a literal ſenſe and without any modification, I don't ſee why the Abſtinents ſhould be blamed for maintaining that marriage is abſolutely unlawful under the Goſpel-diſpenſation. When the Diſciples ſaid to Jeſus, *It is not good to marry*, he does not contradict them, but anſwers, as though he approved it, *All men*, ſays he, *cannot receive this ſaying, ſave they to whom it is given: For there are ſome eunuchs, which were ſo born from their mothers wombs; and there are ſome eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themſelves eunuchs, for the kingdom of heaven's ſake; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it* (4). It ſeems natural to conclude from theſe words, conſidering on what occaſion they were ſpoken, that if a married ſtate be not an abſolute obſtacle to ſalvation, it renders it at leaſt very difficult. And when St. Paul commands us to *ſeek thoſe things which are above*; to *ſet our affections on things above, not on things on the earth, for* that *we are dead* (5), ſhould we not infer from thence, that we muſt look upon our ſelves as dead with regard to this world, and therefore mind nothing upon earth, but only think how to ſecure our ſalvation by the practice of all the Chriſtian virtues? And ſince a married ſtate intangles us in an endleſs round of buſineſs, does not ſuch a ſtate appear inconſiſtent with the ſelf denial St. Paul requires of us? If theſe were the arguments which induced the Abſtinents to believe that marriage is unlawful under the Goſpel, they are at leaſt excuſeable, ſince their only fault was, that they laid too much ſtreſs upon the literal ſenſe of ſeveral texts in the New Teſtament. But who ſhall determine how far the literal ſenſe is to be followed, and when it muſt give way to an allegorical interpretation? It was by inſiſting thus on the literal meaning of the New Teſtament that Mr. Bayle maintained, that a ſociety of Chriſtians who ſhould live up to the ſtrictneſs of the Goſpel, would never be able to defend itſelf, if ſurrounded by worldly Chriſtians that were governed by an ambitious Sovereign. And it is upon the ſame principles that it has been advanced lately (6), that if the plain doctrine of Chriſt was delivered in camps and armies without diſguiſe, or diſſimulation, it would ſooner diſpoſe men to melancholy, than to that chearfulneſs neceſſary to make them brave and daring.

(4) Matth. xix. 11, 12.

(5) Coloſ. iii. 1, 2, 3.

(6) *An Inquiry into the Origin of Honour*, &c. p. 211.

ABU BECR [*A*], the firſt Khalif and ſucceſſor of Mahomet. That Prophet's death being divulg'd, part of the inhabitants of Medina, who are call'd by the Moſlems or Muſulmans, Anſars (*a*), aſſembled to elect a ſucceſſor in his room, and caſt their eyes firſt on one Saad, the ſon of Obâda, their countryman (*b*). But the Chiefs of the inhabitants of Mecca, call'd Mohâjers (*c*), came to them, and declar'd that they themſelves might alſo have elected a Khalif, ſince their right was indiſputable: however, that they did not think fit to proceed to ſuch an election, as this might have divided Iſlam (Mahometiſm) into two factions, which would perhaps have been the entire deſtruction of it; but their opinion was, that all the Moſlems ſhould form but one body, who, by a general conſent, ſhould elect a ſucceſſor, without obſerving the diſtinctions of auxiliary or refugee. This affair was not carried on without a very warm conteſt; but at laſt Abu Becr, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in quieting the two parties, was unanimouſly elected (*d*), by all the chief Moſlems, the very day the Prophet died, and the next day he was recognized by all the people. Nevertheleſs, the followers of Ali maintain ſtiffly, that Ali never conſented to that election, nor to thoſe which follow'd, of Omar and Othman. However, Mahomet's death having produced a great change in the minds of the Arabians, ſeveral tribes among them quitted the new religion, and return'd to that they had formerly profeſs'd; ſo that Abu Becr's firſt care was, either to chaſtiſe thoſe apoſtates, or to make them return to Iſlam: for which purpoſe, he ſent one of the moſt valiant of his Captains called Khâled (*e*), ſon to Al Walîd, who partly by force, and partly by ſtratagem, reduced them all to their former obedience (*f*). This expedition being ended, and Abu Becr's authority firmly eſtabliſhed in Arabia, the Moſlems bent their thoughts immediately to foreign conqueſts, on which occaſion a ſignal victory was won by Khâled abovementioned [*B*]. Abu Becr

(*a*) i. e. Auxiliaries or helpers, becauſe they favoured and ſuccoured Mahomet when he ſheltered himſelf in their city.

(*d*) They all gave their aſſent except Ali the ſon of Abu Tâleb, and the reſt of the Haſhemites, who expreſſed their diſapprobation of the choice, by ſtriking their hands one againſt the other. But at laſt Ali perceiving that all were againſt him, he alſo gave his conſent and all the Haſhemites. *Hiſtoria Saracenica Elmacini*, p. 16. According to Mr. Ockley, (Vol. I. p. 3. of the *Hiſt. of the Saracens*) one of the Anſars fearing the conſequences of this diſturbance called out to the company, that they ſhould have two Khalifs, i. e. each party one; but this motion was rejected.

(*b*) *Hiſtoria Saracenica*, Georg. Elmacin. p. 15. *Lugduni Batav.* 1625. Folio.

(*c*) That is, refugees, becauſe they had been driven out of Mecca with Mahomet.

(*e*) This Khâled was ſent againſt Toleiha (who pretended to be a Prophet) and put him to flight. *Hiſt. Saracen. Elmacin.* p. 16. where we alſo find that one Thejâj or Sajâj ſet up for a Prophetes, who going to Moſeilama the falſe Prophet, married him, and after ſhe had continued only three days with her husband, return'd home. One of the Arabian writers takes notice of her great proweſs in the ſports of Venus.

(*f*) Elmacin tells us, p. 17. That ſuch as perſiſted in their apoſtaſy were put to death.

[*A*] *Abu Becr.*] It is related in the ſecond volume of the book entitled *Rawdat al Ahbeb*, that Abu Becr's proper name when an idolater, that is, before he turned Moſlem, was Abd'al Cába, that is, ſervant of the Cába, or temple of Mecca; and that Mahomet changed this name for that of Abdalla, which ſignifies the ſervant of God. Mahomet honoured him alſo with two particular titles, the firſt of which is Seddîk, (mentioned in the text of this article) that is, a faithful and authentic witneſs, becauſe he had atteſted the miracle of Mahomet's nocturnal journey, called by the Mahometans Al Mirâj, or the Aſcenſion. The ſecond title the Prophet gave him was Atîk, or delivered from hell fire, and conſequently predeſtinated (1).

(1) D'Herbelot, p. 18, 19.

[*B*] *A ſignal victory was won by Khâled.*] This General was ſent by Abu Becr to reinforce Al Mothanna, who was already advanced very far into Irâk or Chaldea, of which the Perſians were then maſters. Theſe two Generals ſeized on the cities of Hira, of Anbar, and of ſome others, where Al Mothanna reſided to keep them in obedience; and Khâled received orders to march his troops into Syria, to engage thoſe of Heraclius, which were aſſembled from all parts to oppoſe the enterprizes of the Arabians, who had already refuſed to pay the uſual tribute. Khâled's army conſiſted but of thirty ſix thouſand men, who were encamped on the banks of the river * Barmûk in ſight of the Greeks, who were ſaid to be two hundred thouſand ſtrong. Khâled was upon the point of giving battle, when a courier from Medina brought him news of Abu Becr's death. This prudent General

* It is probable that D'Herbelot has miſtaken this for the battle of Yermûkh, an account of which is given in Ockley's *Hiſt. of the Saracens* Vol. I.

Becr was seiz'd with a slow fever in the 13th year of the Hegira, which bringing him quickly near his end, he resolv'd to declare his successor. For this purpose he cast his eyes on Omar, but met at first with some opposition from his relations on that account; however, he at last overcame it, and then died with greater peace and satisfaction, having reign'd two years, three months, and nine days (g). Elmacin tells us that he was tall and swarthy; according to some, fair and lean; had a thin beard, and that he us'd to adorn his person. He was temperate, devout, and had riches in the utmost contempt. As soon as he was expir'd, Omar offer'd up a solemn prayer for him, and caus'd him to be interr'd in the house of Ayesha his daughter (h), on one side of the tomb of Mahomet his son-in-law. He was a great encourager of learned men (i), and died at sixty three years of age. His genealogy was again united with that of Mahomet, in the person of Hamza, who was his fifth ancestor in a right line (k). Abu Becr was honour'd by Mahomet with the title of Seddik [C], and was, as some pretend, the first proselyte that Prophet made (l) to his religion [D]. He boasted his own great disinterestedness [E]; and a memorable action of his is supposed to be applauded in the Koran [F]. Neither Mr. D'Herbelot nor Mr. Ockley mention several curious particulars in the life of Abu Becr, (who was first a merchant, as the generality of the tribe were) before his promotion to the Khalifat; such as, the wager he laid on the word of the Prophet and his winning

(g) Or, according to others, two years and four months wanting four days, *Idem.* p. 18.
(h) Idem. ibid.
(i) Idem. p. 19.
(k) D'Herbelot *Bibliotheque Orientale*, p. 18. Paris 1697. Folio.

(l) According to Mr. Gagnier (vol. I. p. 109. *De la Vie de Mahomet*, printed at Amsterdam in 1732. 12°) Khadija was the first among mortals who believed in Mahomet; and it is for this reason that the Prophet declared in the book Al Sahih; *Among men several are perfect; but among women I compute only four*, Asia wife of Pharaoh, Mary daughter of Imran, Khadîja daughter of Khowailed, and Fâtema daughter of Mahomet... The first man that embraced Mahometism was, Ali son of Abu Talêb, according to several authentic writers. Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, Vol. I. p. 8. 2d edition. Printed in London 1718, 8°.

ral artfully concealed it, and spread a report in his camp, that he had received an express of the march of twelve thousand horse, who, he declared, would join them immediately; for he was sensible that his army stood in great need of such a reinforcement, to revive their courage, which the numerous forces of the enemy had very much damp'd. Having thus reanimated them, Khâled asked the courier a great many questions privately, and among others, enquired who had succeeded Abu Becr. The courier telling him that it was Omar, I am then, replied Khâled, no longer General of the army; for he was sensible that this new Khalif had no great affection for him. The courier answered immediately, that he had guessed right, and Abu Obeidah was to succeed him. Khâled, notwithstanding this news, did yet engage the Greeks, and indeed it was impossible for him to avoid coming to a battle. He gained a complete victory, and routed the Greeks entirely, whose camp he plundered, where he found an immense booty. After so signal a conquest, and as he was to divide the plunder, he went to Abu Obeidah, whom he informed of the several particulars he had heard from Medina, and gave up his commission to him. After so great a change, the spoils of the Greeks were divided, the fifth part of which was sent to Mecca, and the other four distributed among the chiefs of the soldiers (3). According to Elmacin (4), Khâled marched by Abu Becr's order into Irak, where he concluded a peace with all the inhabitants of it, and of the town of Sawada, upon condition that they should pay tribute, which they agreed to, and this was the first tribute that was ever brought to Mecca. He afterwards took Anbar and Ainal Yaman, and sent the captives to Medina..... Khâled won that year a great many battles, in which a numberless multitude of infidels were slain, and prodigious spoils taken from the enemy. See his article.

(3) D'Herbelot, p. 18. This author seems to be pretty much mistaken in several of the circumstances which are related on his authority.
(4) *Historia Saracenica*, p. 17.

[C] *Honoured with the title of Seddîk.*] Abu Becr is not the only one who bore that name, for the Koran bestows this title on Joseph the Patriarch, on Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary his mother. The Moslems have also given the title of Seddîka to Ayesha, daughter of Abu Becr, and wife of Mahomet, because she bore witness to the truth of several traditions, received from her husband and her father, and which were rendered authentic by her approbation (5).

(5) D'Herbelot, p. 19.

[D] *Abu Becr was the first proselyte Mahomet made.*] Abu Becr's conversion engaged several of the chief persons in Mecca to turn Mahometans. It is said that his father, his son and grandson were all ranked among those who have the title of companions (first disciples of Mahomet) bestowed on them, which never happen'd to any other Moslems (6). The Prophet, speaking of him, used to say, *Whoever is desirous of beholding one predestinated* (to paradise) *let him look upon Abu Becr* (7). It was he also, according to Ebn Shohna and several other authors, who collected the verses of the Koran which were written on separate leaves; that he gathered these into a volume; divided it into chapters, and called it al Môshâf, that is, the book by way of eminence, like the Greeks who had called the Scriptures Βίβλια. He afterwards entrusted the original text of the Koran with Hafsa daughter of Omar, and widow of Mahomet (8). Joannes Andreas, a Moor by birth, who afterwards turned Christian, and Eutychius are of another opinion, thinking this was done by Othman the third Khalif, in which they seem to be mistaken (9).

(6) Here D'Herbelot seems to be mistaken.
(7) Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, Vol. 1. p. 8. who tells us that Mahomet said further, *God, whose name be blessed, hath given man his choice of this world, or that which is with him; and this servant* (meaning Abu Becr) *hath chosen that which is with God.*

[E] *He boasted his own great disinterestedness.*] Abu Becr declared, that he had never taken a single drachm from any Moslem, nor any money out of the treasury, but so much as was sufficient to defray the expence of a camel that brought him water, and of an Abyssine slave who waited upon him, besides the clothes he wore. A rare example in a Prince (especially in one who was arbitrary) and hardly to be parallel'd among Christian Princes. He gave orders, that immediately after his death, these three things should be carried to Omar his successor, which was accordingly done. Omar, upon receiving them, fell a weeping, and said, God have mercy upon Abu Becr, but he has led so virtuous a life, that it will be difficult for those who come after him, to imitate so excellent a pattern (10). According to Elmacin (11), he took three Staters out of the treasury by way of reward for himself, and said to Ayesha; See, O Propheteſs! the riches Abu Becr has amassed during his reign, and restore them to the Moslems, and she looked, and when they had computed all his substance, the value of the whole amounted to five Staters, which being told to Omar, he said; God be merciful to Abu Becr, for he has left his successors a very hard task. The same author observes farther (12), that every Friday he used to distribute the several monies that were brought into his treasury, among the soldiery, the learned, and to such as merited a recompence for their labours.

(8) D'Herbelot, p. 19. and Elmacin. p. 18.
(9) Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, Vol. I. p. 118.
(10) D'Herbelot, p. 19.
(11) p. 18.
(12) p. 19.]

[F] *A memorable action of his is supposed to be applauded in the Koran.*] viz. in the chapter entitled *Waleila*, and is as follows. An infidel, Omeyya by name, had a Moslem slave called Belâl (13), whom he tormented very much upon account of his religion, but this, so far from shaking his constancy, only strengthened it the more; and indeed, Belâl always desired his sufferings might increase, that he might thereby be enabled to give the stronger proof of his attachment to Mahometism. Abu Becr pitying the unhappy slave, whom his master used to beat in his presence, told him one day, that he was very much in the wrong to afflict a servant of God in such a manner. Omeyya answered; If my treatment of him touches you so intimately, buy him; he shall be your's for a thousand crowns; or in case you are willing, I will exchange him for Nastas who is your slave. This Nastas or Anastasius was a Greek, and a Christian. Abu Becr upon these words, said to Nastas, who was present, If thou wilt turn Mahometan, I will give thee the thousand crowns which are asked for Belâl, and then thou may'st purchase thy liberty with that money. But Nastas resolving not to consent to a bargain so injurious to the religion he professed, Abu Becr exchanged him with Omeyya for Belâl, to whom he gave his freedom the instant he was given up into his hands (14). A proof that humanity is not confined to those who profess the Christian religion.

(13) An Ethiopian, and consequently of Christian parentage.
(14) D'Herbelot, p. 19.

winning it. The teſtimony he gave of his great faith in Mahomet [G]. His reprimand to Abu Jahl, one who bore a mortal hatred to Mahomet. His accompanying him in his flight [H], and their eſcape from the cave in which they had taken refuge, and what befel them in their way to Medina [I]. Abu Becr's entry into that city with the Prophet [K], and the ſpeech he made (m) immediately after Mahomet was expired [L]. Mr. Ockley is pretty diffuſive on Abu Becr's wars, and among other particulars gives us a ſpeech, part of which is in a ſtrain of the greateſt humanity,

(m) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*.

[G] *The teſtimony he gave of his great faith in Mahomet.*] As the Prophet was giving an account of his nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jeruſalem, and from thence to heaven to a great number of people, and telling them the wonders he had ſeen, ſome perſons ran to Abu Becr (he not being in the aſſembly at that time) and ſaid to him, "Knoweſt thou what thy "companion (Mahomet) pretends, he declares he "has been in the temple of Jeruſalem, and that he "returned to Mecca in one night? Abu Becr an"ſwered; Does the Apoſtle of God ſay ſo? Yes, "replied they. Well, I declare and atteſt, ſays he, "that if Mahomet ſaid ſo, it was true. How, ſaid "they; would'ſt thou aſſert as a truth that Mahomet "has been in Syria, and returned to Mecca in "one night? Is this credible? Yes, replied Abu Becr, "I maintain that all he ſaid on that occaſion is true, "though you call him a liar. But ſurely, ſaid they, "the things he publiſhes are very ſtrange! And what "would'ſt thou thy ſelf ſay, were he to give thee "ſuch a relation?" Abu Becr made no other anſwer, than by ſaying, that if he ſaid ſo, it was true. As theſe people ſeemed to be in prodigious aſtoniſhment, Abu Becr added; What is there in all this that ſhould ſurprize you ſo much? By God (15) I ſwear, that if he were to declare that he has aſcended this night to the ſeventh heaven, and was returned back the ſame night; or was to affirm that he performed that journey in an hour, either in the day or in the night time, I would believe it all to be fact, ... Abu Becr afterwards going to Mahomet, and asking him whether all this were true, he anſwered, yes. But Abu Jahl ſaying to that Prophet, O Mahomet! If it be true, as thou ſayeſt, that thou haſt been in the temple of Jeruſalem, give us now a deſcription of it; for as to my ſelf, I have entered it more than once. Abu Becr hearing theſe words was in ſuch conſternation that he fell with his head againſt the ground; and the Prophet going up to him, whiſpered him ſoftly in the ear; I am prodigiouſly puzzled, ſays he, O Abu Becr, for it was night when I entred it, and conſequently it will be impoſſible for me to deſcribe it.... However, we are told, that Gabriel ſoon drew him out of his perplexity, by bringing him the model of the temple, by which he was enabled to deſcribe it exactly (16).

(15) The Arabic is *Wallah*, an oath frequently uſed by the Arabs, who do not count it any profanation of the Divine Name to ſwear by it, but rather an acknowledgment of his omnipotence and omnipreſence; and therefore we find it uſed by the moſt religious among them. Ockley's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, Vol. I. p. 113. Note.

(16) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, vol. I. p. 256, 257. Amſterdam 1732. 8°.

[H] *His accompanying him in his flight.*] Mahomet being obliged to fly away for fear of being killed by the tribe of Koreiſh, he went ſtrait to Abu Becr's houſe, and declared, that God had permitted him to flee. Shall I accompany you, replied Abu Becr? Yes, replied the Prophet, and Abu Becr fell a weeping. They then ſet out together, with Abdo'llah, an idolater, whom they had hired for that purpoſe, and arrived at the cave of Thûr which is a mountain, at about an hour's journey from Mecca towards the ſea-coaſt, where they hid themſelves for three days. Abu Becr at his going away, had ordered Abdo'llah his ſon to ſtay in Mecca, in order to hear what the people would ſay of them in the day time, and to come and give them an account of it in the evening. He had alſo provided for their ſubſiſtence, having commanded Amer, ſon to Tohaira his ſervant to get a lamb ready, and to bring it them in the evening with other proviſions neceſſary. Beſides this, Aſma, daughter of Abu Becr uſed to viſit them frequently in the duſk of the evening, and bring them refreſhments. In the mean time the tribe of Koreiſh hearing that the Apoſtle of God (as the Mahometans call Mahomet) was fled, they were greatly aſtoniſhed at it, and immediately ſent ſpies and couriers to all the places adjacent to Mecca. Theſe, after having beat every where about the country for ſome time, at laſt drew near to the cave. It happened that a man was there, who ſeeing them ſo eager in the ſearch, By God, ſays he, it is impoſſible that what you look for ſhould be in that cave. Abu Becr who heard this was ſeized with fear, but the Prophet encouraged him by theſe words; be not dejected for God is with us. Theſe ſpies however went away, upon ſeeing two pigeons which had built their neſt at the mouth of it, and laid eggs there, and alſo a ſpider's web, that was ſpread quite over the entrance. The ſpies being out of ſight, Abdo'llah their idolatrous guide came to them, leading a camel of burthen, and another ſhe-camel, of which they were owners. Aſma, Abu Becr's daughter, brought them proviſions alſo; but having forgot to take a thong with her to faſten the baggage, and the proviſions being in danger of falling to the ground, ſhe cut her girdle in two, and with one part of it faſtned the baggage, and bound her waſte with the other, whence ſhe was afterwards called the *Double-girdle Maid* (17). Mahomet and Abu Becr arrived afterwards ſafe at Medina.

(17) Ibid. vol. I. p. 288 & ſeq.

[I] *What befel them in their way to Medina.*] Mahomet and Abu Becr being come to a certain town called Giâmaa, ſituated in the territory of Codaïd, a place very plentiful in water, they paſſed before the tent of a woman, Omm-Mâled by name, whoſe huſband was called Barza. She was then ſitting at the door of her tent, eating and drinking. They entreated her to furniſh them with fruits and meat, for which they offered to pay ready money, but ſhe would not give them any thing, though they were almoſt famiſhed. However, the apoſtle of God happening to ſpy through the crevices of the tent an ewe that was almoſt worn to skin and bones, he called it to him, ſtroaked its teat very gently with his bleſſed hand, and immediately a great quantity of milk came out of it. After this he cauſed a cup to be brought, and filling it, preſented it to Omm-Maled who drank a little of it. He alſo gave his companions ſufficient to quench their thirſt, and himſelf drank as much as he had need of. This being done, he filled the cup a ſecond time, and leaving it with the woman, paid her, and went his way. Her husband afterwards returning home, and hearing what had happened, he ran haſtily after the Prophet and believed in him (18).

(18) Ibid. vol. I. p. 294, 295.

[K] *Abu Becr's entry into that city (Medina) with the Prophet.*] Being come at a little diſtance from Medina, they were met by about five hundred inhabitants of that city. Mahomet was walking under a kind of umbrello, made of olive branches, with Abu Becr at his ſide. But as moſt of the Anſars (auxiliaries) had never ſeen the Prophet before, they miſtook Abu Becr for him, and congratulated the latter on his happy arrival. Abu Becr going under the umbrello, received them very courteouſly. All this time the Prophet of God continued ſilent, cloſe ſhrouded under the umbrello; but the ſhadow going off his face, and Abu Becr ſpreading his cloak to ſcreen Mahomet from the burning rays of the ſun, the people perceived their miſtake, and diſtinguiſhed very clearly the apoſtle of God (19).

(19) Ibid. vol. I. p. 300.

[L] *The ſpeech he made immediately after Mahomet expired.*] The people being in a prodigious conſternation at the news, and ſcarce one of them thinking it was poſſible he could be dead, Abu Becr ran ſwiftly to the houſe where Mahomet lived, and going into the room, he uncovered the corps of the Prophet, and kiſſing it, cried out; "O apoſtle of God! Be "thou to me inſtead of a father and mother; an "agreeable odour ſtill exhales from thee now thou "art dead as when thou wert living. I ſwear by "him who holds my ſoul in his hands, that God "ſhall not make thee taſte a double death for ever." Then going out immediately, he ſpake thus to the people who were aſſembled. "O you, whoſo"ever you be, that ſwear in ſo execrable a manner "that the apoſtle of God is not dead, I beſeech you "to hear me a little." Abu Becr, after offering up the uſual prayers to God, ſpoke thus. "If any one "reveres Mahomet, ſo far as to believe he is not "dead, he is miſtaken, for Mahomet is very cer"tainly dead; but whoſoever on the contrary adores "God, ſuch an one is in the right way; for God "lives, he not being ſubject to death." Now that Mahomet

humanity, which this Khalif made to Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan [*M*], upon the Khalif's ſummoning all the Mahometans to repair to Medina, in order to ſend them to invade Syria. The ſame author tells us farther, that various reports were ſpread concerning the cauſe of Abu Becr's death, ſome ſaying, that he was poiſoned by the Jews, eating rice with Hareth Ebn Caldah, and that they both died of it within a twelvemonth after. But according to Ayeſha, he bathed himſelf upon a cold day, which threw him into a fever of which he died within fifteen days [*N*]. The reader will ſee the will he made hereunder. Upon his deſigning to make Omar his ſucceſſor, the latter deſired to be excuſed, and ſaid, he had no need of that place. To which Abu Becr replied, that the place had need of him, and ſo appointed him Khalif againſt his will. After Abu Becr had given Omar ſuch inſtructions as he thought proper, Omar being gone out of his preſence, he lifted up his hand and ſaid: "O God! I intend nothing by this but "the people's good, and I fear leſt there ſhould be any difference among them; and I "have ſet over them the beſt man among them. They are thy ſervants; unite them "with thy hand and make their affairs proſperous, and make him a good Governor; "and ſpread abroad the doctrine of the Prophet of mercy, and make his followers "good men." An Arabian author (Niſaburi) has collected in a little book the grave and witty ſayings of Mahomet and his ſucceſſors, &c. and among others which he has recorded of Abu Becr are the two following. "Good actions are a guard againſt the "blows of adverſity; death is the eaſieſt (or leaſt conſiderable) of all things after it, "and the hardeſt of all things before it (*n*)." There are ſeveral others of his name [*O*].

(*n*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 1. p. 115 & ſeq.

Mahomet was mortal, God himſelf has declared in theſe words which he directed to him; (O Mahomet!) *thou wilt certainly die; and they* (the idolaters) *will certainly die alſo* (20). And in another place (21), God ſays; *Mahomet is only an apoſtle in like manner as the apoſtles who preceded him. If therefore he ſhould die, either a natural or violent death, will you for that reaſon return back? Know therefore, that whoſoever returns back to idolatry, he cannot hurt God in any thing; but thoſe who ſhall gratefully acknowledge the grace of God, ſuch he will reward.* The hiſtorian informs us, that this diſcourſe calmed the minds of the people, who ſighed bitterly, and ſhed an abundance of tears, being now no longer in doubt but that the apoſtle of God was really dead (22).

(20) Koran, ch. 39. v. 30,
(21) Ibid. ch. 3. ver. 144.
(22) Ibid. vol. 2. p. 296, 297.

[*M*] *A ſpeech which this Khalif made to Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan.*] He had appointed him General of the forces that were to ſet out upon this expedition, and the ſpeech he made to him is as follows. "Yezid; be ſure you do not oppreſs your own "people, nor make them uneaſy; but adviſe with "them in all your affairs, and take care to do that "which is right and juſt, for thoſe that do other-"wiſe ſhall not proſper. When you meet with your "enemies, quit (acquit) your ſelves like men, and "don't turn your backs; and if you get the victory, "kill no little children, nor old people, nor women. "Deſtroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. "Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any miſchief to "cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat. When you "make any covenant or article, ſtand to it, and be "as good as your word. As you go on, you will "find ſome religious perſons that live retired in "monaſteries, who propoſe to themſelves to ſerve "God that way: let them alone, and neither kill "them, nor deſtroy their monaſteries. And you "will find another ſort of people that belong to the "ſynagogue of Satan, who have ſhaven crowns; be "ſure you cleave their ſkulls, and give them no "quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay "tribute (23)." Abu Becr alſo gave the following advice to Amrou another of his Generals. "Take "care to live religiouſly, and let the enjoyment of "the preſence of God and a future ſtate, be the end "and aim of all thy undertakings. Look upon thy "ſelf as a dying man, and always have regard to the "end of things; and remember that we muſt in a "ſhort time all die, and riſe again, and be called to "an account (24)." How inconſiſtent was this excellent advice with the buſineſs (that of cutting men's throats) which Abu Becr ſent Amrou upon!

(23) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens.* vol. 1. p. 24, 25.
(24) Ibid. p. 29.

[*N*] *The will he made hereunder.*] It is as follows. "This is the teſtament of Abu Becr En Abi Kohâ-"pha, which he made at that time he was juſt a "going out of this world, and entring into the other; "a time in which the infidel ſhall believe, and the "wicked perſon be aſſured (25), and the liar ſhall "ſpeak truth. I appoint Omar Ebnól Chitab my "ſucceſſor over you, therefore hearken to him, and "obey him. If he does that which is right and "juſt, it is what I think and know of him. If he "does otherwiſe, every man muſt be rewarded ac-"cording to his works. I intend to do for the beſt, "but I don't know hidden things; but thoſe who do "evil ſhall find the conſequences of it. Fare ye "well, and the mercy and bleſſing of God be upon "you (26)." What a ſtrain of piety runs through the whole?

(25) Of the reality of thoſe things relating to a future ſtate, which they diſbelievʼd and ridiculed in their life-time. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 116.
(26) Idem. ibid.

[*O*] *There are ſeveral others of his name.*] One Abu Becr the ſon of Abdallah, was ſirnamed Al-Dharir, i. e. the Blind. He was a holy Moſlem, whoſe life is written by Jafai. The following ſentence of his is cited. *He who imagines he will be able to ſatiate his deſires, by poſſeſſing the things he wiſhes for, is like to a man who would put out fire with ſtraw.* Another holy Moſlem of this name being asked, what was the leaſt thing God had created? he anſwered, it is the world, ſince, according to the Koran, it weighs no more, in God's ſight, than the wing of a gnat. But he that eſteems and ſeeks after it, is leſs and lighter than it. Another Abu Becr Shasbani a very valiant man, was born in the province of Mazanderan. He is ſaid to have been one of the three great warriors who gave the greateſt check to the progreſs of Tamerlane's arms in Aſia. He was ſo mighty a terror to the ſoldiers of this latter Prince, that one of the Tartar horſe obſerving his beaſt was afraid of going into the water, and always drew back his head from the manger, he uſed to ſay, one would think that my horſe has ſeen Abu Becr Shasbani either in the water or his oats (27).

(27) D'Herbelot, p. 20.

ABUCARAS (Theodorus) a Prelate [*A*], was very zealous for Orthodoxy, as is manifeſt from above forty diſſertations, written by him either againſt the Jews, the Mahometans, the Heretics, and in general on religious ſubjects. Genebrard tranſlated fifteen

(1) Cave, *Hiſtoria Literaria Scriptor. Eccleſ.* p. 557. *Oudin. Supplement*, p. 259.
(2) *Spizelii Specim. Biblioth. Konigii Bibl. Vet. & Nova*; & *Arnoldi Præfatio.*
(3) *Simleri Epit. Bibliath. Geſneri.*

[*A*] *A Prelate.*] Some give him the title of *Archiepiſcopum Cariæ* (1); others *Epiſcopum Cariæ*, Καρῶν Επίσκοπον, *Carum Epiſcopum* (2); Arnoldus and Joſias Simlerus think that Abucaras was Biſhop of Haran in Meſopotamia (3). Dr. Cave obſerves, that Photius had nominated Abucaras to the ſee of Laodicea.

* Arnoldus and Simlerus are in the right; for Abucaras was not Biſhop of Caria, but of Charræ or Haran in Meſopotamia, and he is ſo named in certain of his works in the Arabic tongue, which were ſeen and read by Aſſemanus at Sidon (4).

As to the time when Abucaras lived, Abu'lfaragius ſeems to make him contemporary with John Damaſcenus (5), which confirms the opinion of Turrianus. [Crit. Rem.]

* [He is called Theodoric the Haranite by Abu'lfarag. *In Candelabro Sanctor. apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient.* tom. 2. p. 292.]
(4) *Aſſeman.* ubi ſupra.
(5) Apud *Aſſem.* ubi ſupra.

fifteen of these Dissertations into Latin, and published them. Gretser adding these to the rest [B], which himself or Father Turrien had translated, published a compleat (a), as was supposed, edition of them; but it was not so, for Arnoldus printed at Paris in 1685, a treatise of Abucaras, never published till then, from a manuscript in the Bodleian library. He did not illustrate it with Notes, not daring to touch upon the deep mystery which the author examines in that treatise (b), I mean the incarnation and the hypostatical union. Authors find it a difficult matter to know the age in which Abucaras liv'd. Turrien the Jesuit thinks him a disciple of John Damascenus, according to whom he must have liv'd in the eighth century. Gretser makes him flourish a little later [C]; for he supposes him to be the same with the Abucaras who had so great a share in the troubles of the Church at Constantinople, in the time of Ignatius the Patriarch and Photius. This Abucaras first adher'd to Photius, and had undertaken in concert with Zachary Bishop of Chalcedon, to go as his Embassador to the court of the Emperor Lewis II, to whom he was to have presented the book which Photius had written against Pope Nicholas; and to excite that Prince to shake off the papal yoke. However, he was scarce set out, but Basilius the Macedonian, who had usurp'd the Imperial Crown, and put the Emperor Michael to death, recall'd, and commanded him to go no farther. Two years after this (c), he presented himself before the Council of Constantinople, when he humbly begg'd pardon for having devoted himself to Photius; and protested, that both force and artifice had been used to draw him over to his party. His desires were acquiesced with, the Patriarch restor'd him to the Communion of the Church, and gave him a place in the assembly (d). A learned man, with whom Arnoldus got acquainted in England, was of opinion, that Abucaras liv'd in the seventh century (e). The works of this author were inserted in the supplement to the *Bibliotheque des Peres*, of the Paris edition in 1624.

(a) 'Tis in Greek and Latin; and printed at Ingolstadt, in 4°. anno 1606.

(b) *Arnoldi Præfatio.*

(c) in 869.

(d) *Nicetus Paphlagon. in Vita Ignatii apud Cave, Hist. Literar. Scriptor. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 557.

(e) *Arnoldi Præfatio.*

[B] *Gretser adding these to the rest.*] The *Journal des Sçavans* gave a very false account of this Jesuit's edition. Genebrardus, as they say (6), *translated and published fifteen Dissertations of this author*; and Gretser added them to what he got from Anastasius the Sinaite in two manuscripts out of the Bavarian Library. Had the authors of the *Journal* understood Arnoldus's Latin, they would not have made that mistake. *Theodori Abucaræ dissertationes quindecim jamdiu latinè vertit & edidit Genebrardus, deinde Theodorum Anastasio Sinaitæ ob argumenti similitudinem conjunxit Jacobus Gretserus, deditque ex duobus codicibus MSS. Ductis Bavariæ Maximiliani*(7). That is, "Genebrard had long since translated into Latin and "published, fifteen Dissertations of Theodorus Abu- "caras; afterwards, James Gretser annexed Theo- "dorus to Anastasius the Sinaite, because of the simi- "litude of their subjects, and published them from "two manuscripts belonging to Maximilian Duke of "Bavaria." Three particulars are mentioned in these Latin words; first, that Gretser published Abucaras's works after that Genebrard had published fifteen Dissertations. 2dly, That Gretser printed them from two manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Bavaria; and 3dly, That he inserted them with Anastasius the Sinaite; now there is hardly any thing like this in the *Journal des Sçavans*. We are not there told, that Gretser published more pieces than Genebrard, nor that the edition of Abucaras was made from the Bavarian manuscripts, but that they were used only for the edition of Anastasius, which Arnoldus does not say. We are to observe, that all Anastasius the Sinaite's works were not published with those of Theodorus Abucaras, there being no more than the treatise entitled, Ὁδηγὸς, i. e. *Dux viæ adversus Acephalos*, added to Abucaras's works, in Gretser's edition.

(6) Journal XXIII of 1685, p. 368 of the Dutch edition.

(7) *Arnoldi Præfatio.*

[C] *Gretser makes him flourish a little later.*] Arnoldus's Preface shews pretty manifestly, that Gretser did not dare to advance any thing with regard to the age in which Abucaras lived. *Gretserus verò quis fuerit Abucaras, quo sæculo floruerit, ab Antonio Velsero SS. Theol. D. Ecclesiæ Frisingensis Canonico, Præposito Spaltensi, cujus honori librum suum dedicavit, discere volebat* (8). That is, "But Gretserus desired "to know who Abucaras was, and the age he lived "in, from Anthony Volserus, Doctor of Divinity, "Canon of the church of Frisingen, and Provost of "Spalta, to whom he dedicated his book." Arnoldus by saying this only of Gretser, insinuates pretty evidently, that we are not to look for any thing more in the Preface of that Jesuit; however, it informs us also, that the Abucaras mentioned in the life of St. Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, is the same with the author of the Dissertations.

(8) *Arnoldi Præfatio.*

ABUDHAHER. This is the name of the Chief of the Karmathians or Cannathians [A], under whom they profan'd and laid waste Mecca, the 317th year of the Hegira [B]. These plunder'd the Pilgrims, and kill'd seventeen hundred within the walls of the very Caaba (a), at a time when those harmless, superstitious people, were walking round that sacred oratory, as their books of devotion enjoin'd. The Karmathians, not contented with the slaughter they had made, carried off the black stone out of the temple, which was there venerated as a present sent from heaven (b); they pull'd down the gate of the temple, and fill'd with dead bodies the well *Zamzam*, one of the holiest and most sacred parts in that place. To heighten the affliction, Abudhaher ridiculed the Mahometan religion in a most outrageous manner; he brought his horse to the entrance of the Caaba, purposely that he might lay his dung there; and told the Mahometans, that they were great fools, to give the name of God's house to that edifice; and added, *Had God the least regard for this temple, he would have crush'd me*

(a) By this name that part of the temple is call'd, in which the Mahometans perform their worship.

(b) See the remark [K] of the article HAGAR.

[A] *Of the Karmathians.*] This is the name of a sect, which sprung up in Arabia, about anno 278 of the Hegira (1). The founder of it was a blasphemer and an impostor, who prevailing with such peasants and inhabitants of deserts, as were the most illiterate and least versed in religion, to be his adherents; he by that means gained an absolute authority over them. Dr. Pocock (2) gives us several etymologies of the word Karmathians. They were at first very inconsiderable, but they afterwards made incredible progress. They possessed themselves of the greatest part of the provinces of Eraki and Hejazi, spread themselves over Syria, and advanced even to the gates of Grand-Cairo (3).

(1) That is, Anno Dom. 891.

(2) *Pocock. Notæ in Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 371. This Specimen was printed in Oxford, Anno 1650.

(3) *Pocock. Notæ in Specimen. Hist. Arab.* p. 372.

[B] *The 317th year of the Hegira.*] Abul Feda and Ahmed Ebn Yuseph fix it at this period, and relate, that the stone was not recovered till anno 339; but it was not so late according to Safioddin, who tells us that the stone was carried away in 319, and restored in 335 (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 119.

me with his thunder, for ſo terribly profaning this houſe [C]. But notwithſtanding all this, the Mahometans ſtill had the ſame veneration for this temple, and continu'd their annual pilgrimages to it. When the Karmathians found this, they reſolv'd to ſend them back the black ſtone, after having kept it twenty two years. Some time after, they had a mind to be merry, and to ridicule the folly of that ſuperſtitious devotion. *How fondly*, ſaid they, *do theſe people imagine that they have got the black ſtone! but we ſent them another in its ſtead; conſequently the object of their devotion is falſe and ſuppoſititious.* In uttering theſe words, they had ſomething more ſubſtantial in view [D], than the bare pleaſure of inſulting the Mahometans. Anſwer was made them, that they needed only to come and ſee the experiment which ſhould be made; and that in caſe the ſtone ſwam on the ſurface of the water, it was the true one. Accordingly it did ſo in the preſence of the Karmathians; by which means, all the doubts and ſcruples which the raillery of thoſe prophane wretches might raiſe, were entirely eraz'd (*c*). This is a ſmall ſpecimen of the legend of the Eaſtern nations.

(*c*) *Pocockii Notæ in Specimen Hiſt. Arab.* p. 118, 119, ex Abulfeda & Ahmede Ebn Yuſef.

The reader will meet with a great many curious particulars relating to the Karnathians and Abudhaher in D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale* (*d*). He calls them Carnathens, and the name of their Chief Abu Thaher.

(*d*) In the article CANNATH, p. 256 & ſeq.

[C] *For ſo terribly profaning this houſe.*] Ahmed Ebn Yuſeph relates, that the Mahometan religion never ſuffered ſuch a calamity, as on this occaſion (5).

(5) Ibid.

[D] *Something more ſubſtantial in view.*] They had hoped to draw the caravans of pilgrims to them, imagining that thoſe deluded people would go whereever the ſtone ſhould be carried, for which reaſon they would never let it be ranſomed, and were deaf to all intreaties or promiſes. But finding afterwards that the pilgrimages to Mecca were ſtill continued, and that no one came to pay their devotions to the ſtone in their poſſeſſion, they reſtored it. But ſtill they did not quit all pretenſions to it; for when they declared that the ſtone they had given back was a falſe one, they undoubtedly did it merely in the view of raiſing doubts and ſcruples in the minds of the people, and in order to divide at leaſt the pilgrimages one time or other; but the inhabitants of Mecca foreſaw the conſequences of this, and therefore thought proper to ſpread a report, that an experiment having been made upon their ſtone, it had ſtood the teſt.

☞ABU'L AINA, a famous Doctor, was noted for his ſmart ſayings or repartees [A]. He was very poor and made his court daily to the Wazîr or Viſier Iſmael, the ſon of Belâl. One day his daughter, a woman of exquiſite beauty, ſaid to him; Father, as you wait every day upon the Viſier, don't you acquaint him with your neceſſity? I do, anſwered the father, but he will not liſten to what I ſay. But, replied ſhe, does not he ſee your poverty? How ſhould he ſee it, ſays the father, when he will not once condeſcend to look at me? Upon this, his daughter cited very a propos the following verſe of the Korân againſt idols: *Do not ſerve that which neither hears, nor ſees, nor can bring thee any profit* [B] (*a*).

(*a*) D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 24.

[A] *Was noted for his ſmart ſayings or repartees.*] The following incident gave occaſion to Abu'l Ainâ's making one. Moſes, ſon to Abda'lmâlec the Khalif, having ſecretly put to death in priſon a friend of this Doctor, and cauſed a report to be ſpread that he had eſcaped; Abu'l Ainâ being one day asked what was become of his friend, replied in the words mentioned in the Koran (1), *Moſes ſtruck him and he died.* The Prince being told what Abu'l Ainâ had ſaid, ſent for him, and threatned to puniſh him if he did not bridle his tongue. Abu'l Ainâ, without being in the leaſt diſconcerted, anſwered him in the words immediately following; *Intendeſt thou to kill me, as thou killedſt the man yeſterday?* The Prince found this paſſage ſo well timed, that he reſtrained his anger, and reſolved to ſilence this Doctor by gifts rather than by menaces. Another time the Khalif complained, that Abu'l Ainâ gave out that he had no courage, but the Doctor ſoon calmed his reſentments by theſe words: The truly noble man is generally modeſt and reſerved; on the contrary, a man of a low and contemptible extraction is generally impudent and raſh (2). So one of our Engliſh Poets,

(1) Chap. 28.

(3) D'Herbelot, p. 24.

Fools in proſperity like bubbles blown,
Fly high, and hardly by themſelves are known:
Forget the dunghil whence the muſhrooms grew,
And take themſelves to be the Lord knows who.

The above ſentence of the Doctor, and the manner in which the Khalif received it, prove that they were both men of ſenſe.

[B] *Do not ſerve that which neither hears nor ſees, nor can bring thee any profit.*] An excellent leſſon to thoſe who often make a fruitleſs court to great men. There are ſome Turkiſh verſes to the ſame effect, the ſenſe of which is very beautiful, and are as follows:

'Tis ſtrange that earthly mortals ſhould addreſs
Vain creatures, and neglect the power ſupreme.
Thoughtleſs, they never crave of him that's rich,
But idly beg of thoſe who beg themſelves (3).

(4) Lâmaî Laa tûiſ.

ABUL FARAGIUS (Gregory), ſon to Aaron a Phyſician, was himſelf one, and gain'd great reputation in his art, inſomuch that people came from the moſt remote countries to ask his advice. He was born in Malatia [A], near the Euphrates, and would have been very little known in this age, had he made Phyſic the boundary of his knowledge; but he was vers'd in Hiſtory, and has left us a work in that kind, which does honour to his memory. Our age indeed does not judge ſo favourably of it as the Eaſterns did: but thoſe nations are exceſſive in their applauſe; a circumſtance which is owing, either to the few truly learned men they have among them, or to the caſt

[A] *He was born in Malatia.*] I have looked, but in vain, for this city in Pocock's *Prefaces*, in Ortelius's *Theſaurus*, and Baudrand's *Geography*. However, chance favoured me more than my reſearches, for as I happened to peruſe the *Geographia Nubienſis* for other matters, I there found that Malatia was a ſtrong city, fifty one thouſand paces diſtant from Samoſata, towards the ſource of the river Euphrates (1).

(1) *Geogr. Nubienſ.* chon. 4. p. 5. & p. 197.

Mr. Baudrand acquaints me, that he has mentioned this city under the word *Melita* and *Melitene*, which is very true, he having placed it in the leſſer Armenia, upon the Euphrates, and ſays that it is now called *Malatiah*.

caſt of their minds. Be this as it will, there are an hundred hiſtorians in the Weſt, whoſe compoſitions, tho' no ways inferior to thoſe of Abul Faragius, have yet not had the titles beſtowed upon them, which have been given to our Aſiatic [*B*]. He liv'd about the end of the thirteenth century, and was a Chriſtian [*C*]; notwithſtanding which, ſeveral Mahometans ſtudied under him [*D*]. We are to conſider a certain report, viz. that he abjur'd his religion in his expiring moments, in the ſame light with a thouſand other ſuch fictions, which are publiſhed in all ſects [*E*]. He has divided his hiſtory, which is written in Arabic, by dynaſties; and it is an epitome of *Univerſal Hiſtory*, from the creation to his own time. It conſiſts of ten parts; and the contents of each may be ſeen in the ſupplement to Moreri. Dr. Pocock (*a*) publiſhed this work of Abul Faragius, anno 1663, with his Latin verſion of it; to which he added a ſupplement, containing a compendious ſequel of that hiſtory with reſpect to the Eaſtern Princes. He had before publiſhed in 1650, a ſmall extract of the ninth dynaſty of this author, illuſtrated with a great number of learned notes, and entitled it, *Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum, ſive Gregorii Abul Faragii Malatienſis, de origine & moribus Arabum ſuccincta narratio:* i. e. "A Specimen of the Arabic Hiſtory, or a ſuccinct "relation of the origin and manners of the Arabians, by Gregory Abul Faragius, a "native of Malatia (*b*)." Abul Faraghius is not near ſo exact on the tranſactions of the Greeks and Romans, as on thoſe of the Saracens and Tartar Moguls. The latter piece is the moſt valuable in the whole work; it comprehending, in a moſt inſtructive method, which has all the air of truth, the prodigious conqueſts of Zingis-Chan. All that Abraham Zacuth relates of that Monarch, in his *Juchaſin*, and ſeveral other particulars, were ſtole from Abul Faragius. I cannot poſſibly gueſs upon what foundation Abraham Ecchellenſis calls our author Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus (*c*) [*F*].

(*a*) Profeſſor of the Hebrew and Arabic tongues in Oxford.

(*b*) *In Præfat. Biblior.* Πολυ̃ λαέστων. Pariſ. & alibi.

(*c*) Extracted from Dr. Pocock's Prefaces.

ABUL-

[*B*] *The titles.... which have been given to our Aſiatic.*] Dr. Pocock found what follows, prefixed to a manuſcript of Abul Faragius, written anno 900 of the Hegira; *Dixit Dominus noſter pater ſanctus, eximius, doctrina & eruditione inſignis, doctorum rex, excellentium excellentiſſimus, temporum ſuorum exemplar, ſæculi phœnix, ſapientum gloria, Doctor Divina ope ſuffultus Mar Gregorius, Abul-Pharaï, filius excellenter ſapientis Aaronis Medici Malatienſis.* That is, "Thus ſaid Mar Gregory, Abul Pharagius (ſon to "the excellently wiſe Aaron, a Phyſician of Malatia) "our Lord, our holy excellent father, famous for "his learning and erudition, the King of the Learned, "the moſt excellent of thoſe who excel, the example "of his times, the phenix of his age, the glory of "wiſe men, the Doctor ſuſtained by the Divine aſ"ſiſtance." And here follows what he met with at the end of another copy; *Pater & Dominus noſter, rex doctorum, & corona virorum virtute præſtantium, dubiorum in Theologicis occultorum* Ἐπιλύτης, *Chriſtianorum princeps primarius, ſectæ Jacobiticæ medulla, Mar Gregorius, dominus, pater, unicum ævi decus, & ſæculi phœnix.* That is, "Our Lord and father, the "King of the Learned, and the crown of thoſe who "excel in virtue, the reſolver of the hidden doubts "in Divinity, the moſt illuſtrious head of the Chri"ſtians, the marrow of the ſect of Jacobites, Mar "Gregory, Lord, father, ſole glory of his time, and "phenix of the age." To this let us add the words he found prefixed to a Syriac Grammar written by that author; *Pater noſter ſanctus, rex doctorum, Mar Gregorius, Doctor Orientis, qui idem eſt Abul Pharaï, filius Aharonis medici Militinienſis,* i. e. *Malatienſis.* That is, "Our holy father, King of the Learned, "Mar Gregory, the Doctor of the Eaſt, who is "Abul-Pharagius, the ſon of Aaron, a Phyſician of "Malatia.

[*C*] *Was a Chriſtian.*] We have juſt now ſeen that he was of the ſect of the Jacobites *, which Pocock tells us is more probable than what a learned Jew relates, viz. that Abul Faragius was of the ſect of the Melchites: *Cui potius fidem habemus, quàm docto cuidam Judæo, qui eum vocat Ebnol' Koff Chriſtianum Malatienſem, ſecta Melkhitam* (2).

[*D*] *Several Mahometans ſtudied under him.*] In one of Pocock's copies, what follows was written by a Mahometan: *Author libri eſt Abul-Faraï Ebn Hocima, vir multæ lectionis, variiſque ſcientiis inſtructus & penitus imbutus, præcipuè autem medicinæ gloriâ ſæculo ſuo clarus, adeo ut ad eum è plagis occidentalibus frequentes contenderent. Chriſtianus erat, à quo tamen dedicerunt multi è Muſlemorum eximiè doctis. Ferunt ipſum morti propinquum à fide Chriſtianâ deſciviſſe* (2). That is, "This book was written by Abul-"Pharagius Ebn Hocima, a perſon of great reading, "and perfectly verſed in various ſciences. He was "particularly famous in his time for his great skill in "phyſic, ſo that people flocked to him from the Eaſt. "He profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, and yet many "learned Muſſulmans were his pupils. It is related, "that he renounced the Chriſtian faith in his expir"ing moments." Theſe words were writ by Ebn Chalecan, an author famous for his lives of illuſtrious men, if we may believe a remark written by another hand, in the ſame part of the copy (3).

[*E*] *Which are publiſhed in all ſects.*] We juſt now heard the report that was ſpread, relating to the expiring moments of Abul Faragius. The Mahometans could ſcarce believe, that it was poſſible for ſo great a man as our hiſtorian to be a Chriſtian in his heart; but were perſuaded rather, that he adhered inwardly to the faith, notwithſtanding the erroneouſneſs of his outward profeſſion, till the near approaches of death made diſſimulation unneceſſary. This prejudice prevails univerſally. Every one fancies that the truths of his own religion are ſo clear and obvious, that all perſons of ability of other perſuaſions cannot fail of diſcovering them; and that nothing but worldly conſiderations can prevail with them not to profeſs it openly. Such perſons therefore imagine that when the fatal moment draws nigh, when the fate of eternity ſtrikes more forcibly on the mind (4), all who till then acted in a diſguiſe, give truth the glory, and throw off the mask.

Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur perſona, manet res (5).

In Engliſh,

"For then their words will with their thoughts agree,
"And, all the mask pull'd off, ſhew what they be.
Creech.

This bad principle has given riſe to the many idle ſtories, which are told in Moreri's Dictionary, concerning Peter Du Moulin, Joſeph Scaliger, &c. and has alſo occaſioned a multitude of diſcourſes, in which certain perſons are made to ſay, *The religion I profeſs is better for this world, but not at the hour of death.* See the remark [*DD*] of the article Mahomet.

[*F*] *Calls our author Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus.*] On this occaſion I ſhall make the little remark following. Pocock mentions two paſſages in which our author is called *Mar Gregorius*, and another where the name, *Mor Gregorius*, is given him; but he makes no reflection on the former of thoſe two words, nor tells us, that Abul Faraghius was called *Mark*. Here I ſhall obſerve that the authors of the *Supplement* to Moreri may poſſibly be miſtaken, when they declare that this author was called Mark Gregory. They may have miſtaken *Mar*, a title of honour anſwering to *Sir* in our tongue, for *Mark*, a name given in baptiſm. I find the ſame miſtake in the book entitled, *The Perpetuity of the Faith defended* (6), for the Patriarch of Babylon who joined in communion with the Church of Rome under Pope Paul the Vth, is there named Mark Elie (Elias) whereas the author who is cited (7) on that occaſion, calls him Mar Elias.

(3) *Pocock. Præf. Compend. Dynaſ.*

(4) *Dii longæ noctis quorum jam numina nobis Mors inſtans majora facit!* Dido apud Silium Italicum. lib. 8. p. 140. Thus tranſlated, "Ye Gods of "endleſs night, "whoſe gloomy "forms "Riſe larger on "the eye that "ſwims in "death.

(5) *Lucretius*, lib. 3. ver. 57.

(6) Book 5. chap. 10.

(7) *Petrus Strozza de Chaldæor. dogmat. Vide Aub. Miræum, Polit. Eccleſ.* p. 219.

* Eaſtern Chriſtians ſo call'd from Jacob a Syrian, the diſciple of Eutyches and Dioſcorus. *Elenchus Hæretic. omn. per Gab. Pateolum. Marcoſſ. Coloniæ* 1605.

† This name is given to the ſectaries of the Eaſt, who don't ſpeak the Greek tongue, but that differ very little from the Greeks, either with regard to faith or ceremonies.

(2) *Pocock. Præf. Specim. Hiſt. Arabum.*

☞ ABULFARAGIUS. As Mr. Bayle is not very accurate in his account of this famous man, we therefore think that a ſupplemental article will not be unacceptable. Abulfaragius was born A. C. 1226 (*a*), and was ſurnamed Bar-Hebræus, that is, *the ſon of an Hebrew man*, becauſe his father was originally of Jewiſh extraction [*A*]. From his childhood he apply'd himſelf to the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic languages; and afterwards learning Philoſophy and Divinity, he ſtudied Phyſic under his father, and the moſt celebrated Phyſicians of his time. Being twenty years of age, he was ordained Biſhop of Gûba by Ignatius the Patriarch of the Jacobites, as he himſelf relates in his Syriac Chronicle (*b*). The next year, viz. A. C. 1247, he was tranſlated by the ſame Patriarch to the See of Lacabena, and ſome years after to that of Alepo. Finally, about the year 1266, he was made Primate of the Jacobites in the Eaſt [*B*], which dignity he poſſeſſed till his death in 1286 (*c*). He expected to die in that year, which was the ſixtieth of his age; for he ſaid that he was born when Jupiter and Saturn were in conjunction in the Sign of Aquarius; that twenty years after they were again in conjunction in Libra, when he was made Biſhop; that after twenty other years, when he was promoted to the dignity of Primate, theſe two Planets were in conjunction in the Sign of Gemini, and that they being again in conjunction in Aquarius after the ſpace of twenty years, he thought that the time of his death was now come (*d*)[*C*]. At his interment his corps was followed by a numerous attendance, not only of perſons of his own principles, but alſo of Armenians and Greeks [*D*], who all were preſent at the Divine Service that was performed on this occaſion. Beſides the Hiſtory mentioned by Mr. Bayle, Abulfaragius wrote about thirty other Tracts, ſeveral of which relate to Philoſophy or Divinity: Aſſemanus has given us a catalogue of them, which is too large to inſert here. It will appear by ſome of his arguments, which we ſhall give in the remarks, how deeply he was ſkilled in Philoſophy and Divinity [*E*]. His

(*a*) Aſſemanus, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. 2. p. 244.

(*b*) P. 2. fol. 322. ap. eund. p. 245.

(*c*) Aſſem. ibid. p. 246.

(*d*) *Abulph. in tertia parte Chroniti.* Ap. eund. p. 263.

[*A*] *Becauſe his father was of Jewiſh extraction.*] So I think we muſt underſtand theſe words of Aſſemanus, *Abulfaragius patre Aaron medico natus eſt, ex quo Bar-Hebræi, id eſt, Hebræi filii cognomentum traxit* (1). "The father of Abulfaragius was Aaron a "Phyſician, whence he was ſurnamed the ſon of an "Hebrew." This is mere nonſenſe, if Aaron was not of Hebrew extraction; Hence it appears that Dr. Pocock, and after him Mr. Bayle, had no reaſon to ſay, one cannot gueſs why Abraham Ecchellenſis calls him Gregorius Bar Hebræus, for he is alſo thus named in the titles of his books (2).

(1) Aſſemanus, *Biblioth. Orient.* t. 2. p. 244.

(2) Ibid. p. 248.

[*B*] *Primate of the Eaſt.*] The Syrians call Chaldea and Aſſyria the Eaſt, and Syria and Meſopotamia the Weſt (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 252. note 1.

[*C*] *The time of his death was now come.*] The following words are found at the end of a Grammar, which is written in the Syriac tongue, and kept in MSS. in the Vatican Library at Rome. *Tranſacto illo anno, quo ſe moriturum putabat, quum nequaquam moreretur, aiebat juxta illud Apoſtoli, non oportet reſpicere ad elementa hæc infirma & miſera, neque obſervare menſes aut dies aut tempora annorum; non enim Deus tollit animam, uſque dum cogitet cogitationem, quam nemo effugere queat, juxta dignam laude admonitionem, quam ſapiens illa Thecuitis ad Davidem habuit. Hactenus ille de geſtibus ſuis & de mortis expectatione. Atque ita gaudens & lætus obiit migravitque ad Dominum die* 30 *Julii Anno* 1597 * (Chriſti 1286) &c. (4). That is, "When the year, in which he thought he "ſhould die, was paſt, and he was ſtill living, he "made uſe of thoſe words of the Apoſtle (5); we ought "not to mind *the weak and beggarly elements* of this "world, nor *obſerve days, and months, and times, and "years*; for God does not take away a ſoul, till he "has reſolved to perform that decree which no mor"tal can eſcape. Thus far Abulfaragius himſelf re"lates his own actions and his expectation of dying. "He departed this life with chearfulneſs and alacrity, "on the 30th of July in the year 1597 *of the Greek "Æra* (A. C. 1286)." Here is a very great inaccuracy, if not a downright falſhood; for that very year (1597) in which Abulfaragius is ſaid to die, and in which he really died, is that which he expected would be his laſt, as he himſelf informs us in the words quoted in the text of this article (6). How then can it be ſaid, that he did not die that year? Aſſemanus takes no notice of this contradiction, which we know not how to reconcile; for his brother himſelf ſays (7), that he always had that year in his mind; that he fell ſick that very year, and would take no phyſick, and at laſt died on the 30th of July.

* Æræ Græcorum.

(4) Ap. eund. p. 263. Note 1.

(5) *Gal.* iv. 9, 10.

(6) Lit. (*e*).

(7) Ap. Aſſem. ibid. p. 264.

[*D*] *Not only of his own principles, but alſo of Armenians and Greeks.*] It is common enough in the Eaſt, for Chriſtians of different ſects to aſſemble in the ſame Church, and to join in the ſame Divine Service. Abulfaragius himſelf ſays (8), that the Neſtorians uſed to meet daily in his Church with the Jacobites; and Olearius obſerves, that Chriſtians, of what denominations ſoever they be, don't ſcruple to join together in their devotions (9). Hence it appears, that a diſagreement in opinions would be no objection againſt uniting in worſhip, if a blind zeal were not excited in the people by bigotted or ambitious leaders.

(8) *In Chron.* part 3. ap. eund. p. 250.

(9) From a little book written in French, and entitled, *La Reunion du Chriſtianiſme*, printed at Saumur, but without a date.

[*E*] *How deeply he was skilled in Philoſophy and Divinity.*] The arguments he makes uſe of to prove that God ſees and hears, might prove alſo that he has the ſenſe of ſmelling, feeling and taſting; for he reaſons after this manner; *Deus vidit, atqui omne vivens videre & audire natura poteſt; omne autem quod natura videre & audire poteſt, nec tamen videt aut audit, privationis viſus & auditus nomine, hoc eſt, cæcitatis & ſurditatis titulo appellari neceſſario debet; Deus igitur, quem his nominibus nuncupari nefas eſt, neceſſario ſequitur quod audiat & videat* (10). That is, "God ſees; now every living *ſubſtance* ſees and "hears naturally; and all that by its nature can ſee "and hear, and yet does not ſee or hear, muſt be "ſaid to be deprived of ſeeing and hearing, that is, "muſt be called blind and deaf; but as it is blaſphe"mous to ſay this of God, it follows therefore that "he hears and ſees." *Dicimus quod Creator cuncta quæ exiſtunt comprehendit. Atqui colores & voces ſunt ex iis, quæ exiſtunt, colores igitur & voces Creator comprehendit: Quum autem horum comprehenſio per auditum & viſum duntaxat fiat, neceſſario infertur Creatorem videre & audire* (11). That is, "We ſay "that the Creator underſtands whatever exiſts; co"lours and voices are among the things which exiſt, "and they cannot be underſtood but by hearing and "ſeeing; hence it muſt be concluded, that the Cre"tor ſees and hears." But we find all this muſt be taken in a ſpiritual or metaphorical ſenſe; for Abulfaragius himſelf ſtarting this objection, viz. that the ſoul ſees, feels, &c. by the organs of the body, but that God having no body, he can have no organs; how then ſhall he ſee or hear? He anſwers, that the ſoul wants organs, becauſe it is imperfect, but that God being infinitely perfect, can have no occaſion for them. Theſe are examples of his manner of reaſoning in Philoſophy. With regard to Divinity, he maintained with all the Jacobites, that there is but one nature in the Perſon Chriſt; whereas the Orthodox Divines ſay, there are two natures (the Divine and the human) united in one perſon. Abulfaragius reaſons as follows to ſupport his opinion. "To ſay that dif"ferent natures are united together ſignifies, that "from their mutual conjunction one ſingle *thing* "ariſes; but it is impoſſible that this ſhould be a "mere name without the thing named; otherwiſe "Chriſt would be nothing, which is a direct abſur"dity.

(10) *Abulph. Candelabrum Sanctorum de Fundam. Eccleſ.* Fundam. 2. cap. 4. §. 1, 2. ap. Aſſeman. ubi ſupra, p. 286.

(11) Ibid.

His ſentiments concerning the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, ſeem more rational than thoſe of the Roman Catholics, and are entirely different from what is call'd *Tranſubſtantiation* [*F*]. He held a ſtrange opinion concerning thoſe who are not perfectly virtuous nor altogether vicious. He maintain'd, that they ſhould neither be admitted into Heaven, nor condemned to Hell, but be kept in the ſame Paradiſe in which Adam was at firſt placed [*G*]. As Abulfaragius liv'd in the thirteenth century, an age famous for miracles of all kinds, it would ſeem ſtrange were none wrought by him, or in his behalf; but he himſelf mentions two; the firſt happened a little after he was advanced to the dignity of a Primate. When in the Eaſter Holidays he was conſecrating the Chriſm, or Holy Ointment, which before conſecration did not fill the veſſel in which it was contain'd, it increaſed ſo much after conſecration, that it would have run over the veſſel, had they not pour'd it immediately into another (*f*). This was look'd upon as a very great miracle [*H*]. The other happened in

(*f*) Id. ibid. ap. eund. p. 250.

" dity. It follows therefore, that what ariſes from " the union of two natures muſt be ſomething real, " which muſt be either a ſubſtance or an accident. " It cannot be an accident, and therefore muſt be a " ſubſtance. Now a ſubſtance is either common or " ſingular; it cannot be common, for in that caſe the " name Chriſt would belong to ſeveral ſpecies, and " to ſeveral perſons, which is impoſſible; for a common ſubſtance is that whoſe name and definition " can be applied to all the individuals which are " comprehended under the general or common name. " Therefore that which ariſes from the union of ſeveral natures muſt be a ſingular ſubſtance; but a " ſingular ſubſtance is nothing elſe but a ſingular nature and perſon. Therefore Chriſt, who is not " nothing, but ſomething; who is no accident, but " a ſubſtance; nor a common but a ſingular ſubſtance, " muſt have but one nature and perſon. (12)." This is the principal argument of the Jacobites, which they ſupport by the following ſyllogiſm. The word *Man* can be applied to Peter and to Paul, therefore they are two men; if then we could apply the word *Chriſt* to the Divine and to the human nature, there would be two natures and two Chriſts; but there is but one Chriſt, therefore he alſo has but one nature (13). Aſſemanus undertakes to confute theſe reaſonings of Abulfaragius, and of the Jacobites, but his refutation is ſo ſubtle and ſcholaſtic, that we are afraid of tiring the reader ſhould we tranſlate it here; we will only obſerve, that ſuch nice diſtinctions and ſcholaſtic reaſonings, far from ſupporting religion againſt the cavils of Infidels and Heretics, ſeem calculated only to expoſe the Goſpel to ridicule, and afford a ſpecious pretence to explode it. Father Simon thinks the Jacobites differ from the Orthodox only in the manner of expreſſing their opinions (14).

(12) Id. ap. eund. p. 289.

(13) Ibid.

(14) *Hiſt. Crit. des Dogm. &c. des Chretiens Orient.* c. 9. p. 119.

[*F*] *Entirely different from what is called Tranſubſtantiation.*] Theſe are his words; *Quemadmodum natura humana Domini non natura, ſed propter unionem cum natura Divina, Deus dicitur & eſt; ita & panis hic & vinum non natura corpus & ſanguis ſunt, ſed propter gratiam Spiritus, qui ipſis illabitur, corpus & ſanguis Chriſti dicuntur.* That is, " As the human " nature of the Lord, is not called God, becauſe it " is ſo naturally, but is called and is God only be" cauſe it is united to the Divine Nature; ſo this " bread and this wine, are not naturally the body " and blood of Chriſt, but are only ſo called, becauſe " of the grace of the Spirit which comes upon them" (15). And he explains more particularly how this is to be underſtood, when he anſwers the following objection. " If becauſe of the grace of the Spirit, the " bread and wine are called the body and blood of " God; and if the body and blood are God, becauſe " they are united with God; it will follow, that " the bread and wine are alſo God." To which he anſwers: " If we maintained that the bread " and wine are naturally the body and blood (of " Chriſt;) and that the body and blood are naturally " God, the objection would hold good. But we " don't ſay ſo; we only ſay, that the bread and wine " are the body and blood (of Chriſt) becauſe of the " grace of the Spirit, and (that his body and blood " are) the body and blood of God, not naturally, but " becauſe of their union with God (16)." Thus it appears, how far the Jacobites are from maintaining Tranſubſtantiation. Father Simon ought to have taken notice of this, when he treats of the opinions of the Jacobites; but he is quite ſilent (17). If this is not prevaricating, I don't know by what name to call ſuch an omiſſion. Father Simon's intention was to ſhew, that the Eaſtern Chriſtians agree in almoſt every thing with the Roman Catholics, and that when they differ it is only in words, or in ſome cuſtoms and ceremonies, of an indifferent nature. See his Preface to the book quoted above; but how far he has ſucceeded in his attempt we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to give an account of the Sects he mentions.

(15) Ibid. Fundam. 6. cap. 2. §. 4. ap. Aſſem. p. 293.

(16) Ibid. p. 294.

(17) See the chap. quoted in marg. note 14.

[*G*] *Kept in the Paradiſe, in which Adam was at firſt placed.*] Theſe are his words; *Dicimus haud fruſtra creatus eſt Paradiſus, etſi Adam ſtatim ex eo pulſus & relegatus fuit; ſed initio quidem Adam & Heva in eo habitârunt: poſt eorum vero diſceſſum, animæ juſtorum, ut patrum eorum, qui Deo placuere, Abraham nimirum & Iſaac & Jacob, & Prophætarum, & Juſtorum, & Latronis dexteri, & Apoſtolorum, & Martyrum, & Confeſſorum, & Anachoretarum, ibi habitârunt, & nunc habitant. Sed & Enoch atque Elias ibidem corpore manent. Atque ki quidem uſque ad reſurrectionem. Poſt reſurrectionem verò, quum non omnes homines regno cœlorum digni ſint, nec omnes pœnis infernalibus & Diabolo paratis, hoc eſt, tenebris exterioribus tradantur, ſed medius plurium ſtatus erit inter utrumque hoc extremum; haud inveriſimile eſt, nonnullos homines, qui nec in omnibus perfecti ſint, nec in omnibus imperfecti & impii, ad æternam Paradiſi habitationem deſtinari; quod & verax ille comprobat, qui ait, In domo Patris mei multæ manſiones ſunt; cur enim fieri nequit ut una ex illis manſionibus Paradiſus ſit* (18)? That is, " We ſay that " Paradiſe has not been created in vain, though Adam " was immediately baniſhed out of it. For Adam and " Eve lived in it at firſt; afterwards it became the " place of abode for the ſouls of the righteous, as of " Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob; of the Prophets, of the " Penitent Thief; of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſ" ſors, and Anchorets; they all inhabit Paradiſe. " And Enoch and Elijah are there ſtill in their bodies, " and ſhall remain in Paradiſe till the reſurrection. " But after the reſurrection, as all men ſhall not be " worthy to inherit the kingdom of heaven; nor all " deſerve to be condemned to hell torments, prepared " for the Devil, that is, to be *caſt into outer dark*" *neſs*, there will be an intermediate ſtate between " theſe extremes. It is therefore not improbable, " that ſome men, who have not been perfectly vir" tuous, nor yet altogether wicked, will have Para" diſe appointed them for an eternal habitation; " which is alſo confirmed by *him that is true*, when he " ſays, *in my Father's houſe there are many manſions.* " For why could not Paradiſe be one of theſe man" ſions?" Aſſemanus remarks on this paſſage, that if Abulfaragius ſpeaks of adult perſons, as he ſeems to do, he muſt have borrowed his notions from the Pelagians, who denying original ſin, maintained that men, who died without being baptiſed, and without having any ſupernatural virtue; but who were alſo free from great ſins, ſhould not obtain the heavenly Paradiſe, nor be condemned to hell, but ſhould go to an intermediate place. But, adds Aſſemanus; if Abulfaragius underſtood this of infants, his opinion has been alſo maintained by ſome other Divines, who thought it was probable, that infants would inhabit this world, and conſequently Paradiſe; though it is not likely, that Paradiſe, if it was not deſtroyed by the flood, ſhould eſcape the general conflagration (19).

(18) Ap. Aſſem. ibid. p. 294.

(19) Id. ibid. p. 295.

[*H*] *A very great miracle.*] Aſſemanus pretends to account for this miracle in a natural way; the temple being little, ſays he, and very full of people, this, with the wax tapers and burning of incenſe, might heat the air to ſuch a degree, as to cauſe the balſam to dilute and melt away, and ſo to run out of the veſſel, without any miracle (20).

(20) P. 250. note 1.

in the year 1285, and is thus related by Abulfaragius. The Church of St. John Bar-Nagore having been demoliſhed by ſome robbers, Abulfaragius built a new church and monaſtery in a more ſecure place, and dedicated it to the ſame Saint: and as he deſir'd that the relics of the ſaint ſhould be kept in the new church, he ſent ſome perſons to dig them up out of the ruins of the old church; but they not finding the relics, the ſaint appear'd to ſome Chriſtians, and told them, that except the Primate himſelf came, the relics would never be found. Abulfaragius hearing of this, would not believe it, and feigning to be ſick, ſhut himſelf up in his cell, from the Friday till the Sunday night following; when having ſaid his evening prayers, and being between ſleeping and waking he ſaw a glorify'd boy [*I*], who told him that the relics were depoſited under the altar of the old church. Upon this the Primate went immediately with his brother and two Biſhops, in queſt of thoſe holy remains, and found them according to the direction of the boy (*g*). Here follows the character of Abulfaragius, drawn by his own brother. "Who would not, ſays he, deplore the unhappy con-"dition of the famous Jacobites, ſeeing them depriv'd of this extraordinary man, "this excellent Philoſopher? No one but himſelf could give ſuch ſatisfactory an-"ſwers to any foreigner, either on eccleſiaſtical matters, or profane ſciences. No one "could write letters ſo full of good ſenſe, ſo elegant and elaborate, as thoſe of this "great man, whom God had endow'd with the knowledge of the whole circle of "ſciences. This famous Prelate was perpetually writing and compoſing excellent "books, from the age of twenty till the time of his death (*h*)." The learned Pocock is miſtaken, when he ſays in his preface, that our Abulfaragius was the ſame with Abulfaragius Abdalla Ebn-Attiba [*K*]. Concerning what is ſaid of Abulfaragius's renouncing Chriſtianity when he was near his death, ſee the remark [*L*].

(g) Ibid. p. 260, 261.

(h) *Barſuma, ap. Aſſeman.* ibid. p. 267.

[*I*] *He ſaw a glorify'd boy.*] Here again Aſſemanus (21) will not allow the miracle; this, ſays he, might be a dream of Abulfaragius; or a ſtory invented to raiſe the piety of the people: and he obſerves, that St. Auſtin reproaches the Donatiſts with ſuch viſions. But if ſuch a ſtory were related by a Catholic writer, Aſſemanus would have found no fault with it; but it muſt not be allow'd that any miracles were perform'd among thoſe that are called Heretics.

(21) Ibid. p. 261. Note 1.

[*K*] *The learned Pocock was miſtaken when he ſaid, &c.*] For our Abulfaragius himſelf relates the death of Abulfaragius Abdalla Ebn-Attiba, and gives a catalogue of the books he wrote (22). "Towards the latter end "of October, in the year 1355 of the Greek Æra, "(A. C. 1043) ſays he, died Abulfaragius, a pious "Neſtorian Monk, a learned man and a Philoſopher. He "wrote in Arabic a Commentary on the Old and New "Teſtament; he alſo explain'd the books of Ariſtotle, "and reprov'd the Neſtorian Patriarchs, for their "neglecting eccleſiaſtical learning: but in my opinion "he was but little skill'd in the Syriac tongue." It appears by this, that Abulfaragius Ebn-Attiba liv'd above two hundred years before our Abulfaragius: and Dr Pocock himſelf (23) places the death of Ebn-Attiba in the year 435 of the Hegira that is, A. C. 1244. 'Tis therefore to be wonder'd, how he could ſay in his preface, that he was the ſame with our Abulfaragius.

(22) In *Chron. Syriac.* part 1. fol. 112. ap. *Aſſem* ubi ſupra. p. 309.

(23) Or rather Abulfar. tranſlated by Pocock, p. 233.

[*L*] *Renounced Chriſtianity when he was near his death.*] Dr. Pocock ſays, this was a ſtory invented by thoſe who were envious, that the Chriſtians ſhould have ſuch a learned man among them; and he adds, that if he had been an apoſtate, the Chriſtians would never have talk'd of him with ſo much eſteem, but would rather have anathematiz'd him; whereas they, even after his death, call him, *Our Holy Father, The Prince of the Chriſtians, The pureſt ſubſtance of the Jacobites: At non ab aliis hoc dictum videtur, quam ab iis, qui tantam eruditionem Chriſtianis invidèrent. Si apoſtatam egiſſet nequaquam eum tanto honore, ſed anathematis potius & diris proſequuti fuiſſent Chriſtiani, apud quos pater noſter ſanctus, Chriſtianorum Princeps primarius, Sectæ Jacobiticæ puriſſima ſubſtantia etiam poſt mortem audit.* Renaudot pretends, that this is no convincing argument, becauſe ſuch epithets do not relate to a man's morals, but only to his dignity; therefore the Chriſtians might have given Abulfaragius all theſe titles, notwithſtanding his apoſtaſy. Aſſemanus anſwers, by barely denying what Renaudot ſays, but does not confute, or undertake to confute him (24).

(24) In a note at the beginning of a MS. of Abulfaragius, it is expreſly aſſerted, not only that he was a Chriſtian of the Jacobite ſect, but that he died in the faith of that ſect.

ABUL FEDA (Ismael) Prince of Hamâh, a city in Syria, ſucceeded his brother, the year of the Hegira 743, or Anno Dom. 1342, and died three years after, being about threeſcore and twelve years of age (*a*). Study was his delight, and particularly that of Geography, as appears from the work entitled, *Choraſmiæ & Mawaralnahræ, hoc eſt, regionum extra fluvium Oxum deſcriptio ex tabulis Abulfedæ Iſmaëlis, principis Hamah* (*b*). That is, *A Deſcription of Choraſmia and Mawaralnahra, or the countries beyond the river Oxus,*

(a) Pocock, in his Notes on the *Specim. Hiſt. Arab.* p. 363. relates, that he was born the 672d year of the Hegira.

(b) According to Greaves, the Arabic title ſignifies *Canon*, or rather *Rectificatio Terrarum*; and therefore Konig was not in the wrong to ſay, that Abul Feda writ a geographical work, entitled, *Directorium Regionum.*

[*A*] *The year of the Hegira* 743.] This the Arabian author of the work entitled *Al Saterdan* (1) declares; ſo that Blancanus the Jeſuit was groſly miſtaken, when he placed Abul Feda in the fourth Century of the Chriſtian Æra (2). This error ought to have prevented his falling into another, viz. his giving this Geographer the title of Prince of Syria, Aſſyria and Perſia; ſince a little attention would have ſhewn him, that it was impoſſible for an Arabian writer, of the Mahometan religion, to be King of Perſia four hundred years after Chriſt. Voſſius, after having mentioned what Blancanus ſays on this head, animadverts no farther on it, than by ſaying, that he believed Abul Feda did not flouriſh in near ſo remote an age; but at the ſame time he gives him the title of Prince of Syria, Aſſyria and Perſia (3), as does alſo Simlerus. He comes pretty near the truth with reſpect to chronology, ſince he tells us that Abulfeda lived three hundred years ago (4); but inſtead of this, Moreri charges him with believing as Blancanus did, that this Syrian Prince flouriſhed in the third or fourth Century. *But it is certain,* continues Moreri, *that he lived much later, perhaps in the 8th or 9th Century, or even in the year* 1200. He ſhould not have ſaid *perhaps*, he ſhould have aſſerted he was living in the 14th Century, ſince his work was finiſhed the year 721 of the Hegira, as we are told at the end of it. There is a typographical error in the Dutch edition of Moreri relating to this place; for there Mr. Greaves is made to ſay, that our Abul Feda flouriſhed in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, and nevertheleſs he dates the death of that Prince in 1345. A circumſtance which gives me pain, is, to find the learned Dr. Pocock aſſerting, that Abul Feda ſucceeded to the government of the province of Hamâh the 710th year of the Hegira (5). Now this is inconſiſtent with what Mr. Greaves aſcertain'd. However, it is more natural to depend on the latter, ſince Abul Feda is the chief ſubject on which Greaves writes, whereas Dr. Pocock mentions him only occaſionally. But is it not vexatious, that men of Dr. Pocock's knowledge in Oriental affairs, cannot be depended upon; and that at the ſame time they publiſh a circumſtance, one of their fellow labourers ſhould prove it to be falſe?

(1) *Apud Gravium Præfatione.*

(2) He writes his name Abifeidea in his *Chronol. Mathematic.*

(3) *Voſſius de Mathematic. Diſciplin.* p. 250.

(4) He writes his name Abilfeldeas, and Abilfedæas. See *Epitom. Biblioth. Geſneri.*

(5) *Pocock. Not. in Specim. Hiſt. Arab.* p. 393.

Oxus, from the tables of Abulfeda Iſmael, Prince of Hamah; this book was printed in London anno 1650. The author cites a great number of Arabian writers in this work, which was written a great many years before he aſcended the throne; it being declar'd at the concluſion of the work, that it was ended the 721ſt year of the Hegira, that is, Anno Dom. 1321. We are obliged to the learned Mr. Greaves for the London edition abovemention'd, who, together with the Arabic original, publiſhed a Latin verſion of it, and a preface, in which he acquaints us, that he conſulted five different manuſcripts; the firſt was that which Erpenius had tranſcrib'd from the copy in the Palatine library; the ſecond was that very copy, which is now in the Vatican library; two other manuſcripts in Doctor Pocock's poſſeſſion; and a fifth that had been purchas'd in Conſtantinople. We are told moreover in this preface, that Ramuſius firſt applauded this work of Abulfeda, and pointed out the uſes of it; that Caſtaldus corrected the longitudes and latitudes by it; that Ortelius mentions it often in his *Theſaurus Geographicus*, not as having ſeen it, but on the teſtimony of Caſtaldus; that Erpenius, vex'd to find it had not yet been printed, was determin'd to publiſh it, and would certainly have kept his reſolution, had not death ſtopt him in the midſt of his progreſs; that Schickard firſt extracted from thence ſeveral deeply learned remarks, which till then were unknown, and inſerted them in his *Tarich Perſicum*; but as the copy belonging to the Imperial library, which *Tengnagelius* lent him, was not legible in many places, he left the greateſt part of the labour and glory to Mr. Greaves (*c*). 'Tis ſurprizing that Moreri could croud ſo many errors into one ſingle article [*B*], as he has done in that of Abul Feda. Spigelius did not know in 1668, nor Konig in 1678, that Abul Feda had been printed in England (*d*).

(*c*) Infer from this, that Fabricius, in his *Specimen Linguæ Arabicæ*, p. 99. is miſtaken, when he ſays, in Konig, that Schickard tranſlated *Abulfeda* into Latin. Spizelius, in his *Specim. Bibl.* cites the abovemention'd Fabricius, as declaring that Schickard had tranſlated the whole work.
(*d*) *Spizelii Specim. Biblioth. Univerſ.*

[*B*] *That Moreri ſhould croud ſo many errors into one ſingle article.*] We have already taken notice of ſome, and here follow the reſt. Firſt, as he relates that ſome think Abul Feda was born in Nubia, he manifeſtly confounds him with the author of *Geographia Nubienſis*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. At leaſt, it is plain he does not know that theſe are two different authors, for otherwiſe he would not have mentioned the opinion of thoſe writers, without cenſuring it at the ſame time. Secondly, He confirms the firſt obſervation, when he adds, that *Abul Feda has diſpoſed his Geography by climates*, which is more applicable to the author of *Geographia Nubienſis*, than to Abul Feda. The latter has left only a deſcription of ſome parts of Aſia ſituated on the other ſide the Oxus, which he places under the twenty fifth and twenty ſixth climates. The Geography of Nubia is diſpoſed after a different manner; in this, no more than ſeven climates are mentioned, according to that diviſion of the antients, to which the deſcription of the ſeveral parts of the known world there given, is referred. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that Abul Feda makes the firſt climate to paſs over Arabia, and not, as the author of *Geographia Nubienſis*, over the moſt weſtern coaſt of the Atlantic Ocean; and makes that the firſt Meridian, which paſſes over Cape St. Vincent. Thirdly; *We have hitherto ſeen*, ſays Moreri, *no more than the firſt climates of Abul Feda, but we are as good as promiſed the remainder of them this year*. This is an errant falſhood; for the part of Abul Feda here publiſhed relates to the twenty fifth and twenty ſixth climates, and not to the firſt. Fourthly; An author ſhould never employ that looſe and indeterminate expreſſion, *this year*; for ten years after it has been uſed his reader does not know what date to fix upon; he therefore muſt have recourſe to that of the firſt edition, which is met with only in ſome books; and then it is not always a ſure guide, becauſe a book is ſometimes not publiſhed, till ſeveral years after it was written. This is an inſtance of the perplexity which the words *this year*, occaſions. Now what reader, upon ſuch a peruſal of Moreri, could gueſs the date in which the reſt of Abul Feda's climates were promiſed? *This year* is a very long one, ſince it continued to the ſixth edition incluſive. Fifthly, Poſtellus *firſt brought this work into Europe, an abridgment whereof he publiſhed in Latin*. Here Moreri has again made two miſtakes. Of the ſeveral authors he cites, Simlerus only is concerned on this occaſion. Now all that Simlerus relates is, that Poſtellus having brought this work out of the Levant, left the abridgment of it, which he tranſlated, in Venice, with Ramuſius (6), who intended to publiſh a ſecond volume on America. There is a wide difference between bringing a book out of the Levant, and being the firſt who brings it from thoſe parts; between publiſhing a work, and only leaving the manuſcript of it with a perſon, to make what uſe of it he thinks proper. It is certain that Ramuſius did not publiſh what Poſtellus left with him; and though it were true that Abul Feda (which was in Arabic in the Palatine Library, as Moreri obſerves) was brought into Europe by Poſtellus; and that this copy was the firſt which was ever ſeen in the Weſt; it is nevertheleſs certain, that Moreri makes people ſay more than they really do; and that we may with juſtice complain of his falſifications here. Theſe deſerve to be particularly commented upon.

(6) Simlerus writes his name falſly Rhamnuſius, as does alſo Spizelius.

☞ ABU'LFEDA, was the ſixth in lineal deſcent from Ayûb, or Job, the father of the famous Saladine, (Salâho'ddîn Yuſof) by another ſon named Shâhinſhâh Seifo'ddin (*a*). Salâho'ddin, as we ſhall hereafter call him, to whom the eſtabliſhment and grandeur of that family was chiefly owing, in the year of the Hegira 570 (*b*), ſet out from Egypt, of which he had been in poſſeſſion ſome years before, on an expedition into Syria, and having made himſelf maſter of that province (*c*), gave Hamâh, and ſome other towns and territories there, to his nephew Takîo'ddîn Omar, the ſon of Shâhinſhâh; whoſe poſterity, in a direct line, enjoy'd the ſame under the Kings of Egypt, without interruption, till the year 698 (*d*). But in that year, Mahmûd the ſon of Mohammed, couſin german to our Abu'lfedâ, and Prince of Hamâh, dying, Salâr and Bibars al Jâſhenkîr, who were at the head of affairs in Egypt under Soltân al Malec al Nâſer Ebn Kelaûn, at that time a minor, took Hamâh and its dependencies from the Ayûbites, and committed the government thereof to Lieutenants appointed by the Egyptian court, till 710 (*e*), when al Nâſer, having the preceding year recover'd the throne of which he had been depriv'd by Bibars for about eleven months, inveſted Abu'lfedâ with the dominions of his anceſtors (*f*); and he continu'd in the peaceable poſſeſſion thereof to the time of his death, which happen'd in 733 (*g*), he being then ſixty years old [*A*]. It

(*a*) Abu'lfed. *Hiſt. Gen.* tom. 3.
(*b*) A. C. 1174.
(*c*) V. *Excerpta ex Hiſt. Univ.* Abu'lfedæ, *edita per* Schultens, *ad calcem vitæ* Saladini, cap. 9.
(*d*) A. C. 1298.
(*e*) A. C. 1310.
(*f*) Abu'lf. *Hiſt. Gen.* tom. 3.
(*g*) A. C. 1332. Al Jannâbi, *Hiſt. Gen.* § 36.

[*A*] *Abu'lfeda died in* 733, *being ſixty years old.*] That is to ſay, ſixty lunar years: for he was born in the 672d year of the Hegira (1), at Damaſcus, whither his father Nûro'ddin Ali and his family had removed,

(1) A. C. 1273.

It muſt not be omitted, that this Prince, during the laſt twelve years of his life, enjoy'd the ſupreme title or dignity of Soltân or King, which was granted him in 720 (*b*) by al Nâſer (*i*), but without any new acceſſion of dominions. On comparing what has been ſaid in this article with the preceding, it may be eaſily perceiv'd, that the account given of Abu'lfedâ by Mr. Bayle, is erroneous in many reſpects; he having been miſled by Greaves, (as ſeveral other writers (*k*), better verſed than Mr. Bayle in the Oriental Hiſtory, have alſo been) and confounded our Prince of Hamâh with a King of Egypt, who did not begin his reign till ten years after Abu'lfedâ's death [*B*]. The writings which this Prince has left behind him, are a ſufficient proof of his capacity and skill, not only in Geography, but in other parts of learning, as in Juriſprudence, Phyſic, Philoſophy, Aſtrology, Hiſtory, and Poetry [*C*]. I ſhall take notice, in the remarks, of the cenſures of our author's two principal works by a very learned man, and of the anſwers which have been made to them [*D*]. How cloſely ſoever Abu'lfeda purſued his ſtudies, he did not

(*b*) A. C. 1320.
(*i*) Abulf. *ubi ſup. apud* Schultens *in præf. ad vit.* Saladini.

(*k*) D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Abu'lfedâ; Prideaux, in his account of authors annexed to his *Life of Mahomet*; and La Roque, in the Preface to his French tranſlation of Abu'lfeda's *Deſcript. of Arabia.*

moved, on the rumours ſpread of the irruption of the Tartars (2). That city was alſo the refuge of this branch of the family of Ayûb on two other occaſions; for Abu'lfedâ having, by the Soltân's direction, quitted Hamâh, retreated to Damaſcus, for fear of the governor Aſendamar, and was there when he received the news of his promotion to the principality, on the removal of Aſendamar from the government of Hamâh to that of Haleb or Aleppo (3); Abu'lfeda's ſon and ſucceſſor, al Afdal Ali, being depoſed, retired likewiſe to the ſame city, where he died in the year 746 (4).

(2) Abu'lfed. *Hiſt. Gen. ubi ſupra.*

(3) Idem. ibid.

(4) A. C. 1345. Al Jannâbi, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Mr. Bayle, miſled by Greaves, has confounded our Prince of Hamâh with a King of Egypt.*] This miſtake of Greaves, a very extraordinary one in ſo great a man, has been diſcover'd by Mr. Gagnier (5), and deſerves a particular examination.

(5) *In Præf. ad* Abulf. *vitam Mah. p.* 4. *& ſeq.*

Mr. Greaves, in an Arabic manuſcript entitled *al Sacerdan* (or rather *al Sukkerdân*, which is a Perſian word, and ſignifies a *Sugar-diſh*) found the following paſſage, as it ſtands in his Latin tranſlation: *Rex juſtus, columna religionis* (6), *al Soltân, Abu'l-feda Iſmael, filius al Melec al Naſer, ſedit ſuper thronum regni* [in Hamah] *poſt amotionem fratris ipſius al Melec al Naſer Ahmed, feriâ quintâ,* XXII *die* [*menſis*] *al Moharram, anno* DCCXLIII [*Hegiræ*] *& regnavit donec obiit* VI *die* [*menſis*] *Rabiæ poſterioris, anno* [*Hegiræ*] DCCXLVI (7). That is, "Al "Mâlec al Sâleh Omâdo'ddin Abu'lfeda Iſmael, ſon "of al Malec al Naſer, aſcended the throne [of Ha-"mah] after the depoſition of his brother al Mâlec "al Nâſer Ahmed, on Thurſday the 22d of al Mo-"harram, in the year 743, and reigned till he died, "the 6th of the latter Rabîa, in the year 746." This paſſage Greaves, from the ſimilitude of names (a moſt deceitful guide) immediately, and without further examination, concluded muſt belong to our Abu'lfeda (8), and no other; and therefore made no ſcruple to inſert the words [*in Hamah*], which were not in his author, as a thing of courſe. But had he look'd into what precedes and what follows, he would have found, that the author is there giving the ſucceſſion of the Mamlûc Soltan of Egypt, of the race of the Bahrites, (and not of the Circaſſians or Borjites, as Mr. Gagnier has inadvertently written (9); and that the paſſage before us ſpeaks of a King of that dynaſty, who is the 16th in the ſeries of thoſe Princes given us by Dr. Pocock (10).

(6) The original words are, *al Malec al Sâleh Omâdo'ddin*, which being his title and ſurname, ſhould not have been tranſlated.

(7) *Apud* Gravium, *in præf. ad* Abu'lfed. *Deſcr. Chorafmiæ & Mawaralnabræ.*

(8) His titles and names at length were, *Al Malec al Moayyad Omaddo'ddin Abu'lfeda Iſmael Ebn Ali* Prince of *Hamah.*

(9) *Ubi ſup.* p. 6.

(10) *Supplement. Hiſt. Dynaſtiar.* p. 14.

It muſt be obſerved that, beſides the interpolation taken notice of above, Mr. Gagnier charges Greaves with having alſo foiſted into his quotation from the *Sukkerdân*, the name ABU'LFEDA: and I am ready to believe that the word is not in the Bodleian manuſcript, which Mr. Gagnier had recourſe to. But then I am inclin'd to think that Greaves actually read the name ABU'LFEDA in his copy, and did not add it out of his own head; becauſe, if it had been otherwiſe, he would certainly have given us notice of it, by incloſing that name between two crotchets, as well as the words [*in Hamah*], which are ſo diſtinguiſhed both in the Latin and in the Arabic text: and I am confirm'd in this opinion, becauſe I find it in a manuſcript copy of the ſame book, now lying before me, which exhibiting the paſſage in queſtion in terms ſomewhat different from thoſe above cited, I will tranſcribe it here in Engliſh, tranſlated as literally as poſſible. The words are; *His brother*, (i. e. the brother of the preceding Prince) *al Malec al Sâleh Omâdo'ddin Abu'lfedâ Iſmael, the ſon of al Mâlec al Nâſer, aſcended the throne, on the depoſition of his brother al Naſer Ahmed, on Thurſday the* 22*d of al Moharram, in the year* 743 (11). *And the length of his reign was three years, two months, and ſome days over.*

(11) A. C. 1342.

I hope by this time the reader is ſatisfy'd of the injuſtice of Mr. Bayle's reflexion on the accurate and judicious Dr. Pocock (12), whom no European has hitherto excell'd, if equall'd, in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue and writers.

(12) See Remark [*A*] of the preceding Article.

[*C*] *The writings which this Prince has left behind him, are a ſufficient proof of his capacity and skill in ſeveral parts of learning.*] Beſides his *Geographical Canon*, which he finiſhed in the 11th year of his reign (13), (not before his advancement to the throne, as Mr. Bayle ſays) he wrote the following books: *A General Hiſtory, from the beginning of the world to his own time*; the laſt edition whereof he continu'd to the year 730 (14). *A ſhort ſyſtem of the Mohammedan Civil Law*, compoſed according to the deciſions of al Shâfeï, whoſe ſect he was of. *A Treatiſe of Phyſic*, written in the manner of Avicen's *Canon*. Some Poems (15). He was alſo probably the author of the *Aſtronomical Tables*, a copy whereof is in the Bodleian Library, of the mean motions of the planets in the years of the Arabs, Perſians, Syrians, Greeks and Jews, compar'd with one another; the rules and problems being in verſe, with the explications underneath in proſe: for the title of the book imports, that it was the compoſition of Omâdo'ddîn Iſmael, the ſon of Zeino'ddin Omar, Soltan of Hamâh; by which our Abu'lfedâ ſeems to be deſign'd, tho' that name appears not among the others, and his father is call'd Zeino'ddîn Omar, inſtead of Nûro'ddin Ali (16).

(13) A. H. 721. A. C. 1321.

(14) A. C. 1329. V. Schultens *præf. ad vit.* Saladini.

(15) Al. Jannâbi, *apud* Gagnier, *ubi ſup.* p. 9.

(16) V. Gagnier, *ubi ſupr.* p. 11.

Of theſe writings, which are all eſteem'd excellent in their kind, none have been printed, except only ſome parts of his *Geography* and *General Hiſtory*; the former ſeveral learned men have deſign'd to publiſh; for beſides Erpenius and Schickard, named by Mr. Bayle, Mr. Greaves, and after him Mr. Samuel Clerk and Mr. William Guiſe, at Oxford, and, as it is ſaid, Mr. Thevenot, in France, undertook the ſame province, but were all prevented by death (17), or ſome other accident (18), from executing their purpoſe. Only Greaves publiſhed the deſcription of the two provinces mention'd by Bayle, (which he ſeems, by his manner of ſpeaking of it, to have taken for the whole work) and left behind him a tranſlation of the deſcription of Arabia, which was in 1712 inſerted, together with the original, by Mr. Gagnier, in the third volume of Dr. Hudſon's *Geographiæ veteris ſcriptores Græci minores*; from which edition, chiefly, Mr. la Roque made his French tranſlation of the ſame deſcription of Arabia, ſubjoin'd to his *Journey to Paleſtine*. Of the latter work we have two large extracts printed, which give a very advantageous idea of the reſt; the one containing *The Life of Mahomet*, publiſhed with a Latin tranſlation and notes, by Mr. Gagnier (19); and the other, *The Life and Actions of Saladine*, publiſhed with a Latin tranſlation likewiſe, by Mr. Schultens (20).

(17) Tho. Smith, *in vita* J. Gravii.

(18) V. Renaudot's Preface to the *Accounts of India and China*, p. 12, and 13. Mr. Gagnier did alſo ſome years ago publiſh propoſals for printing the *Geography of Abu'lfeda*, but met not with the encouragement he deſerved.

(19) Oxon. 1723. fol.

(20) *Ad Calcem vitæ* Saladini. Lugd-Bat. 1732 fol.

[*D*] *I ſhall take notice of the cenſures of our author's two principal works by a very learned man, and of the anſwers which have been made to them.*] I mean that formidable critic l'Abbé Renaudot, who has alſo involved ſome other writers in the ſevere cenſures he has given of Abu'lfedâ. I. He charges Abu'lfedâ with ignorance in not knowing that the Old Teſtament had been tranſlated into Arabic; becauſe he alledges, in excuſe of the miſtakes he may have made in the Jewiſh hiſtory, that the ancient books

not, in the mean time, neglect the art of war. He attended his father, in his youth, in ſeveral military expeditions, and ſerved in the wars againſt the Tartars and Franks in Syria; firſt under Al Manſûr Kelaûn, Soltan of Egypt, who overthrew the Tartars, and took many towns and caſtles from the Chriſtians, and among them Tripoli, a place of great ſtrength, which neither Salâho'ddin, nor any other of the Egyptian Kings, had ventured to attack, as Abu'lfeda teſtifies, who was preſent at the ſtorming of that city in the year 688 (*l*). Then under Salaho'ddin, ſurnamed Khalîl, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Kelaûn, who took Acca or Ptolemais, after a bloody ſiege, and demoliſhed it, in 690 (*m*). And again, in the year 702 (*n*), Gazân Khân, Emperor of the Mogul Tartars, having ſent his forces into Syria, led by Kotlû Shâh, Abu'lfeda met them with the troops of Hamah, under his own command, and in conjunction with the Egyptian army, which was headed by other Generals, obtained a ſignal victory over them. He alſo mentions ſeveral other expeditions, of leſſer moment, before his advancement to the throne (*o*), and alſo after; particularly one into the Leſſer Armenia, where he took the city Malatia or Melitene, in the year of the Hegira 715 (*p*).

(*l*) A. C. 1289.

(*m*) A. C. 1291.

(*n*) A. C. 1302.

(*o*) Abu'lf. *Hiſt. Gen.* Tom. 3. V. Gagnier, *in Præf. ad* Abu'lfedæ *Vit.* Mohammedis.

(*p*) A. C. 1315. Abulf. *in Deſcr. Syriæ, apud* Aſſem. *Diſſert. de Monophyſitis.*

books of that people were not then in Arabic, but in the Hebrew tongue (21): which, ſays Renaudot, deceived the learned Pocock, when he grounded his conjecture as to the antiquity of the Arabic verſion on his teſtimony (22). To this it has been anſwered, 1. That Dr. Pocock has cleared Abu'lfeda from ignorance in this matter, by obſerving, that it appears from that author's words, that no verſion of the Hebrew text was then to be found written in Arabic characters, for ſo they ought neceſſarily to be underſtood, ſince the Jewiſh Scriptures had been many years before tranſlated into Arabic by R. Saadias (23), (and perhaps by others) though written in the Hebrew character, as is ſtill their cuſtom, leſt they ſhould be read by thoſe of a different religion (24). 2. That Dr. Pocock lays no ſtreſs at all on Abu'lfeda's evidence to ſupport his conjecture of the antiquity of the Arabic verſion; as appears not only from what has been juſt now quoted from the former, but from what he further adds, viz. that he would not raſhly affirm that the ſaid verſion was at that time (i. e. in the time of Abu'lfedâ, who himſelf tranſcribed ſome parts of the hiſtorical books, by the aſſiſtance of a perſon who underſtood both Hebrew and Arabic) firſt put into a Saracenic dreſs, ſince Aben Ezra aſſerts of Saadias himſelf, *That he turned the law into the Iſmaelitic tongue and character* (25). II. Renaudot accuſes Abu'lfeda of equal ignorance in reſpect to the council of Nice, and ſays that he copied Al Makrizi or Eutychius, of whoſe moſt abſurd narrative he was not able to judge; and alſo condemns him as ſhamefully unacquainted with the Chriſtian affairs, becauſe he finds in a MS. copy of his hiſtory, ſome marginal notes and emendations written in a large and ſcrawling character (a certain mark, as he ſuppoſes, that it was the author himſelf who took ſuch liberty, and not a critical corrector) among which a ſilly account of the Chriſtian doctrines, taken from ſome catalogues of hereſies, like that which may be read in the beginning of the Preface of the Nicene Council tranſlated by Ecchellenſis, written by men perfectly ſtrangers both to Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And then he proceeds to inſult him in the following terms: *En hominem infidelem & barbarum, quem ſeculo decimo quarto nugas alterius, qui nono ſeculo viveòat, tranſcribentem audire nos jubet Seldenus, omnium antiquorum teſtimonio inſuper habito* (26)! That is, "Behold the infidel and barbarian, "who in the fourteenth Century copied the trifling "fables of another that lived in the ninth, and whom "yet Selden bids us to hear, without having any re"gard to the teſtimony of all the ancients!" This ſharp cenſure was occaſioned by Selden's quoting a paſſage of Abu'lfeda, wherein it is ſaid, *That in the twentieth year of Conſtantine, two thouſand and forty eight Biſhops were aſſembled, out of whom he choſe three hundred and eighteen, and that they anathematized Arius, for aſſerting Chriſt to have been created, &c.* (27). But theſe words Abu'lfeda expreſly ſays he tranſcribed from the Geographical Canon of al Birûni, who flouriſhed about the year 385 (28). Whence it appears how raſhly Renaudot has affirmed Abu'lfeda to have copied them from al Makrizi or Eutychius. The latter, indeed, he might have copied, but al Makrizi he could not, becauſe he was not born till thirty ſix years after Abu'lfeda's death, that is, in 769 (29). However, Selden gives no credit to this ſtory, but only tells it as ſuch: for he juſtly obſerves, as Renaudot himſelf confeſſes, that that monſtrous number of two thouſand and forty eight Biſhops can ſcarce be made up out of all the Biſhops to be found in the *Notitiæ Epiſcoporum* of the whole world. As to the argument of Abu'lfeda's ignorance of the Chriſtian doctrines, from the account he found thereof in the abovementioned marginal additions, it can be of no manner of weight, there being not the leaſt proof, beſides Renaudot's own imagination, that they were written by our author (30). III. He has a fling at Abu'lfeda's other work, his *Syſtem of Geography*. The great fault he finds therein is the ſetting down divers poſitions of moſt of the cities there named, which poſitions differ from one another, ſometimes ſeveral degrees, both in the longitude and in the latitude: this he calls want of exactneſs, and thinks it impoſſible to juſtify the author's negligence and incapacity in that reſpect; and then leaves the reader to judge whether there is any great aſſiſtance to be expected from this work, ſo much cried up for near two Centuries, to reſtore the Oriental Geography (31). Hereto it has been replied, that the very thing which Renaudot eſteems to be a fault, is, in the judgment of other learned men, a principal recommendation: for Abu'lfeda having given the various poſitions of places, according to ſeveral authors, from the comparing them with one another and with later obſervations, the true ſituations may more eaſily be found. Is it to be reckoned for nothing that there are above ſixty authors of note cited in the Geography of Abul'feda, as Greaves aſſures us? Is there no uſe to be made of the obſervations of ſo many writers, for the reſtoring the Eaſtern Geography? eſpecially conſidering that the diſtances of places are alſo ſet down in Paraſang's miles, ſtations, days-journeys, &c. (32). And indeed it ſeems an unreaſonable thing to expect any more from our author than a faithful report of what the beſt Geographers had ſaid before him; unleſs his cenſurer would have had him gone in perſon to the ſeveral places he deſcribes, and to have taken their poſitions on the ſpot. Before we diſmiſs our critic, it may be proper to obſerve that he has alſo been guilty of a miſtake as to the year of Abu'lfeda's death, which he places thirteen years too late, that is, in the 1345 of Chriſt (33).

It cannot be amiſs to take notice that Abu'lfeda ought not to be confounded with Iſmael, ſurnamed Shâhinſhâh, the compiler alſo of a General Hiſtory, a great part whereof he has tranſcribed word for word from the work of that Prince, they being two different perſons, though from the ſimilitude of names, and exact agreement of ſeveral paſſages which have been quoted from them, they have been taken by ſome writers (34) to have been the ſame (35).

Y.

(21) Abu'lf. *Hiſt. Gen. apud* Pocock. *præf. ad Var. Lection. Arab. Vet. Teſt.* in tom. 6. *Bibl. Polygl. Angl.*

(22) Renaudot. *Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 77, *& ſeq.*

(23) R. Saadias died A. C. 947.

(24) Pocock, *ubi ſupra.*

(25) Idem, ibid. V. Gagnier, *ubi ſupra.*

(26) Renaudot. *ubi ſupra.*

(27) Selden. *Comment. in Eutychii Origines.*

(28) A. C. 995.

(29) A. C. 1367.

(30) Gagnier, *ubi ſupra.*

(31) Renaudot, *Pref. aux Anciennes Relations des Indes & de la Chine*, p. 15.

(32) Gagnier, *ubi ſupra.*

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) Particularly by Marraccius, *in Prodr. ad Refut. Alcor. &c.* and by Dr. Prideaux, in the account of authors at the end of his *Life of Mahomet.*

(35) V. Gagnier, *ubi ſupra*, p. 16.

☞ABU'L OLA AHMED, a celebrated Arabian Poet, was of the tribe of Tonûkh, and born at Maarra al Nomân, a town of Syria in the territory of Hems, in the year of the Hegira 363 (*a*), and died in 449 (*b*). His father, and ſeveral of his family were famous for learning. Abu'l Olâ, when three years old, loſt his eye-ſight by the ſmall-pox, and therefore the greater care was taken of his education, that this defect might be

(*a*) A. C. 973.

(*b*) A. C. 1057. Ebn Shohnah. Pocock. *Spec. Hiſt. Arab.* p. 364. D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Abu'l Olâ.

be recompenſed by the accompliſhments of his mind, and a better light (c): nor was this care fruitleſs; for having fine natural parts, he quickly maſtered the politer kinds of learning, and became an excellent Poet. Though he declared he remembered nothing he had ſeen in his infancy, except only the colour *red*, yet his deſcriptions are very juſt and lively (d) [A]. Abu'l Olâ once took a journey to Baghdâd, where he ſtaid a year and a half, to enjoy the converſation of the learned men of that city, and then returned to Maarra, out of which he went no more. Khakâni and Feleki, two Perſian Poets, were his ſcholars (e). He has been violently accuſed by ſome of Zendiciſm, or denying a Providence and the Reſurrection; a charge that ſeems to have been occaſioned by certain paſſages in his works, which favour very much of irreligion [B]: and others have as ſtrenuouſly defended his orthodoxy (f) [C], notwithſtanding the liberties he has taken in ſome of his writings. However, in the latter part of his life he ſeems to have fallen into the opinions of the Indian Philoſophers, by his abſtaining forty five years from eating of fleſh, eggs, and milk, and his avoiding to put any animal to pain (g), and alſo from the inſcription which he ordered to be put upon his tomb [D]. How eaſy is it for a man to make but one ſtep even from Atheiſm to Superſtition!

(c) *Gol. in Append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpenii.* p. 226.

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) D'Herbel. ubi ſupra.

(f) Idem, ib. *Pocock. in Not. ad Portam Moſis*, p. 238---341.

(g) D'Herbel. & Pocock. ubi ſupra.

ABU

[A] *His deſcriptions are very juſt and lively.*] This appears from many paſſages in his various compoſitions, but more eſpecially in that which he entitled *The Spark*, as deſigning it for a ſpecimen of his genius and knowledge. He alſo wrote a larger work, the title of which is taken from the final rhymes: in this latter he treats of intellectual things, and the vanity and contempt of the world, as he does in the former of viſible and ſenſible objects (1). Golius has publiſhed the firſt piece of the former work, with a Latin tranſlation (2); and alſo a ſhort ſpecimen of the latter, in Arabic only (3).

(1) *Gol. in Append. ad Grammat Arab. Erpenii*, p. 226, &c.

(2) J. Fabricius had before publiſhed the ſame piece, with a Latin tranſlation (but not ſo exact as that of Golius) and Notes, in his *Specimen Arabicum*, printed at Roſtock in 1638.

(3) In the Appendix abovemention'd.

[B] *Some paſſages in his works occaſioned him to be charged with Zendiciſm.*] Thoſe which are generally produced to ſupport this charge, are the following, of which we ſhall give an almoſt literal tranſlation.

1. *We laugh, and thereby but proclaim our folly;*
For mortal men who dwell in this low world
Should rather weep.
2. *Time breaks to pieces vain, fantaſtic man,*
As he were glaſs. And tho' the various fragments
Should all be melted down a ſecond time,
This brittle frame could never be repair'd.

(4) *Apud Pocock. in Not. ad PortamMoſis.* p. 239.

Theſe verſes ſeem plainly to deny the reſurrection; but here are others which ſtrike at all religions without diſtinction.

1. *With wonder on the Magian I reflect,*
*And his two blended principles * amaze me.*
Nor am I leſs aſtoniſh'd at the Indians,
Who, with a cow's warm urine, waſh their faces.
2. *The Chriſtians ſtagger me, when they affirm*
That God is ſometimes guilty of injuſtice,
Or croſs'd in the deſigns which he projects:
3. *As do the Jews, when they aſſert, that God*
Delights in ſprinkled blood; and that the ſmell
Of broiling fleſh is grateful to his noſtrils.
4. *Nor am I leſs ſurpriz'd, to hear of people*
Who idly come, from earth's extremities,
*To ſcatter pebble, and to kiſs a ſtone *.*
5. *How do theſe notions ſhock unprejudic'd reaſon!*
Sure all are blind, and cannot ſee the truth (5).

* i. e. Of good and evil, by the mixture of which that ſect ſuppoſes the world, &c. to have been fram'd. See the article ZOROASTER.

* Theſe are ceremonies which the pilgrims perform at Mecca.

(5) *Apud Ebn Shohnah.* MS.

1. *Jeſus appear'd; annull'd the law of Moſes;*
Next, Mah'met came with his five prayers a day.
2. *'Tis ſaid, no Prophet will ſucceed to him:*
From morn to eve, confus'd, the people wander.
3. *Haſt thou, of all mankind, ſince thou'ſt profeſs'd*
Thy preſent † principles, alone enjoy'd
The ſplendor and advantages which flow
From the two lamps that ſhine in heav'ns high arch?
4. *If thy reply's impertinent, I'll raiſe*
My voice: but if thy words are to the purpoſe,
I'll ſtill ſpeak low (6).

† Or Religion.

(6) Apud eund. V. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* art. ABUL OLA.

1. *The Chriſtians wander in a miſt of error;*
The Moſlems are deluded by their guides;
The Magians are like mummies wrapt in balm,
And all the Jews in darkneſs are involv'd.
2. *Mankind may in two claſſes be divided,*
The one have ſenſe, but they have no religion;
The other have religion, and are ſenſeleſs (7).

(7) Apud eund. V. D'Herbel. ubi ſupra.

To theſe paſſages may be added his reply to the Kâdi al Manâri. That judge telling him one day what ſcandalous things people ſaid of him, Abu'l Olâ anſwered, *What have mankind to do with me, ſince I have quitted my claim to this their world?* To which the Kâdi adding, *And to their other world too*; our Poet replied, *Ay, Kâdi, and to their other world too*; which words he repeated ſeveral times (8).

(8) Pocock. ubi ſupra. p. 240.

But theſe latter words, as well as the verſes firſt quoted, may be underſtood in a better ſenſe than what is uſually put upon them. In thoſe verſes he ſeems to deny the opinion of a certain heretical ſect among the Mohammedans, who aſſerted a return into this world: and by his reply to the Kâdi he might reject their ſenſual notions of the next life, which they imagine will be conformable to this (as to eating, drinking, enjoying of women, palaces, &c.) rather than abſolutely to deny a future ſtate. Perhaps his want of ſight might make him a more ſevere obſerver and cenſurer of the actions of other men; on which accounts he might alſo draw their cenſures upon himſelf (9).

(9) Idem, ibid.

[C] *Others have defended his orthodoxy.*] As a proof of which they might produce the following verſes:

1. *Mankind to live eternally were form'd;*
And that vain ſect's (10) *deceiv'd, who idly think*
They were created for annihilation.
2. *For theſe, when their probation here is ended,*
To ſeats of bliſs or woe are hence convey'd.
3. *The lying down to die, is but to ſleep,*
Then ev'ry active faculty's at reſt.
But the immortal life we hope hereafter,
Is as the waking from a long, long ſleep (11).

(10) Viz. the *Sadducees* or *Zendiks.*

(11) Apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 238.

See alſo what we have offered in his vindication in the preceding Remark.

[D] *The inſcription which he ordered to be put upon his tomb.*] It was this. *Hadha janâh abi aleyya; walâ janeitoh ala ahad*: i. e. "This crime did my "father commit againſt me; but I have not com-"mitted the ſame againſt any." Which words are ſuppoſed to be grounded on an opinion which ſome Philoſophers have held, that the begetting of a child and the bringing him into this world is a ſin againſt him, becauſe of the accidents and evils to which he thereby becomes expoſed; for, as the Poet ſays,

Παῖδας φυτίνειν οὐπόθ' ἁνδρώπους ἐχρῆν,
Πόνους ὁρῶντας εἰς ὅσους φυτεύομεν (12).

(12) *Euripid. Fragm.* p. 513. Ed. Barnes.

Liberos procreare nequaquam homines decet,
Videntes in quanta procreamur mala.

That is,

"Mankind ſhould never procreate, ſince children
"Are born to woes unnumber'd.

This epitaph of Abu'l Ola's, however, may be underſtood to mean no more, than that children being made obnoxious to death by the ſin of their father, himſelf, having begotten none, had not tranſmitted either death or ſin to any (13).

(13) Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 241.

☞ ABU MASHAR (Jafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Omar) known to us by the name of Albumaſar, was the Prince of the Aſtronomers of his time. He was born in the city of Balkh in Khoraſân, whence he came to Baghdâd under the Khalifate of al Mámûn. He was at firſt one of thoſe who make it their trade to relate the traditional ſayings of Mahomet, and had a great antipathy to the famous Philoſopher al Kendi, againſt whom he uſed to excite the mob, reproaching him with his philoſophical ſtudies. Wherefore al Kendi privately procur'd ſomebody to recommend Arithmetic and Geometry to him, which he enter'd upon; but before he had maſter'd thoſe, he turn'd his applications to judiciary aſtrology, and began to perſecute al Kendi no more. 'Tis ſaid he began to ſtudy aſtrology after he was forty ſeven years old. The Khalif al Moſtaſn order'd him to be ſcourg'd for foretelling a thing which came to paſs. We are told of ſome experiments that were made to try his ſkill [*A*]. Some pretend our author died the year 190 of the Hegira (*a*); but others are much nearer the truth, who place his birth in that year, and his death in 272 (*b*): for Abulfaragius tells us he died at Waſet at the age of above an hundred, and that he was Aſtrologer to, and very intimate with, al Mowaffec, (brother to the Khalîf al Mótamed) who died in 279. Abu Máſhar was much given to wine, and noted for drunkenneſs (*c*). He was a man of excellent parts, and wrote ſeveral books in aſtronomy and judiciary aſtrology [*B*]. According to this writer, in his book of the *Olûf*, or *thouſands of years*, the Chriſtian Religion would laſt no longer than fifteen hundred Arabic or lunar years. But 'tis very plain this great Doctor was very much out in his calculation.

(*a*) Of Chriſt 805.
(*b*) Of Chriſt 887.
(*c*) Ex Abulfarag. *Hiſt. Dyn.* p. 178, &c.

[*A*] *Some experiments were made to try his ſkill.*] 'Tis ſaid that al Mámûn the Khalîf, by way of proving Abu Máſhar, caus'd one of his attendants to conceal himſelf in a room, and made him ſit on a golden mortar, laid in a braſs baſon full of blood; and afterwards ask'd Abu Máſhar where the man was. Abu Máſhar made his aſtronomical obſervations, and then anſwer'd: *I ſee him ſeated on a mountain of gold, in the midſt of a ſea of blood, ſurrounded with walls of braſs.* 'Tis alſo related (1), that a lady having loſt the ſeal which was in her ring, look'd on Abu Máſhar, who immediately declar'd, that the ſeal of God had taken her's: and it happen'd, that after having ſought a long time, ſhe found it in her Koran, which the Mahometans look upon as the ſeal of the promiſes of God, in like manner as they call Mahomet the Seal of the Prophets (2).

(1) In the *Rabi Alakbiar.*
(2) D'Herbelot, p. 27.

[*B*] *After having written ſeveral books.*] Theſe are, the *Madkhal*, or *Introduction to Aſtronomy*; *a Zeij*, or *Aſtronomical Tables*; and a treatiſe entitled, *Ikhtiyârât*, or *Select Judgments*. Some aſcribe to him the books entitled, *Abkâm*, i. e. *Judgments*, and *Aſrâr al Nojûm*, i. e. *The Secrets of the Stars*; and alſo another, entitled, *Ikterân al Cawâkeb*, *Of the Conjunction of the Planets*. But the moſt famous work of all is that of the *Olûf*, which treats of the beginning, the duration, and end of the world. 'Tis here he aſſerts, that the world was created, the ſeven planets being together in the firſt point of the ſign *Aries*; and that it will end, when the ſame planets ſhall meet again in the laſt point of *Piſces*, in their exaltation, or dragon's head. He alſo ſets down, in the ſame work, the Æra's of empires and religions, with the time of their duration (3).

(3) Idem. p. 28.

ABU MOSLEMA (*a*), a General under the firſt Khalîfs, deſcended from Abbâs, on whom the province of Khoraſân was beſtow'd, in the 125th year of the Hegira (*b*). He accepted of it, and died the ſame year. Ibrahim his ſon and ſucceſſor ſent Abu Moſlema into that country, being then but nineteen years of age. This General, tho' ſo young, did nevertheleſs drive Naſr out of that province, who commanded therein for Merwan the Khalîf. After the death of Ibrahim, which happened anno 131 of the Hegira, Al Saffâh his brother was rais'd to the Khalîfate, who ſuffer'd Abu Moſlema to poſſeſs the government of the province of Khoraſân; and employ'd him in the murder of Abu Moſlema his counſellor, whom he ſuſpected to be guilty of corrupt practices. Al Saffâh died in 136, and was ſucceeded by Al Manſûr his brother. This Khalîf, after Abu Moſlema had done him the moſt ſignal ſervices, caus'd him to be murther'd in the treacherous manner following. Abdalla having made an inſurrection in Syria, Abu Moſlema was ſent at the head of a choice body of forces to oppoſe him, and entirely routed his army: but Al Manſûr being more ſtrongly affected with the calumny which he pretended Abu Moſlema had vented againſt him, than with the advantages which accru'd from ſo ſignal a victory, ſent for him, in order to take away his life. Abu Moſlema, juſtly ſuſpecting ſome treacherous deſign, refus'd to obey the orders of his Sovereign; but afterwards, being allur'd by careſſes, he waited upon Al Manſûr, who had him thrown into the Tigris. This happen'd the year of the Hegira 137, or the 754th of Chriſt. We are told, that Abu Moſlema had occaſion'd the death of ſix hundred thouſand perſons. He was thought to have had ſome little ſkill in magic; and was of a ſect, which, in the main, is not very different from that of the wretched Spinoza [*A*].

(*a*) Herbelot, who has written a long article on this warrior, calls him *Abou Moſlem.*
(*b*) That is, the year of Chriſt 742.

Erpenius

[*A*] *Of a ſect, which, in the main, is not very different from that of the wretched Spinoza.*] The ſect which Abu Moſlema profeſs'd, taught a kind of tranſmigration very different from that of Pythagoras (1). According to the latter, ſouls were not deſtroy'd, but only ſhifted from one body to another; but the other kind of tranſmigration is thus deſcrib'd by the famous traveller (2) Pietro della Valle, where he takes notice of certain Mahometan Heretics, who call themſelves *Ehl Eltahkik*, *Men of Truth*, *People of Certainty*. "Theſe, ſays he, believe there is no "other God, but the four elements .... that there "is no reaſonable ſoul, or any other life after this; "but that the whole man is only a mixture of the "four elements, of which man is compounded during "his life, join'd together and animated by that cloſe "union which keeps them bound one to the other; "which mixture, when man dies, diſſolves, and is "blended with the four ſimple elements, and conſe-"quently returns to God who created it: and ſo "of all other things, either on earth or in hea-"ven: in a word, that God, man, and every thing "elſe conſiſt of the four elements,; and conſe-"quently, that the four elements are eternal, and "the world, with all its viciſſitudes and changes, "eternal." What difference ſoever there may be between

(1) Beſpier's remarks on *The preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, by Sir Paul Ricaut, p. 666.
(2) *Pietro della Valle*, vol. 3. pag. 392, cited by Beſpier, ibid.

Erpenius did not underſtand Elmacinus's words on that ſubject [B]. I don't pretend to vouch for what I here advance (c), or for the two remarks following, which I quote only on the teſtimony of another. Only the parallel, with regard to Spinoza's doctrine, is mine; and I am not fully perſuaded, that the perſon who animadverts upon Erpenius, underſtands the paſſage in queſtion better than he did.

(c) Extracted from Elmacini *Hiſt. Saracen.* lib. II. cap. 1. & *ſeq.*

between this and Spinoza's ſyſtem they are the ſame in the main; both held that the univerſe is but one ſubſtance, and that all we call generation and corruption, life and death, is only a combination or diſſolution of modes. Elmacinus calls the tranſmigration in which Abu Moſlema believed, *Metempſychoſis reſolutionis*, i. e. *The tranſmigration of reſolution.*

[B] *Erpenius did not underſtand the words of Elmacinus on that ſubject.*] He makes him declare that Abu Moſlema was of the ſect of the deſcending ſucceſſion, *Profitebatur ſectam ſucceſſionis deſcendentis* (3); whereas he ſhould have ſaid, that he was of the ſect which believed the *tranſmigration of reſolution*. *Profitebatur ſectam eorum, qui credunt metempſychoſin reſolutionis.* In this manner Beſpier cenſured and corrected Erpenius's tranſlation of the paſſage (4).

(3) *Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen.* lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 100.

(4) *Beſpier's Remarks on Rycaut's Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire.*

☞ABU NOWAS, an Arabian Poet of the firſt claſs. He alſo goes by another name (a), and was born in the city of Baſra the year of the Hegira 145 (b), and died the 195th (c) in the Khalifat of al Amîn. He left his native country in order to go and ſettle at Cûfa, but did not continue long there; for Harûn al Raſhîd would have him near his perſon in Baghdâd, and gave him an apartment in his palace with Maſâb and Rekâſhi, two other excellent Poets. He received the ſurname Abu Nowâs from two locks of hair which fell in ringlets on his neck. His principal works have been collected into one body (call'd by the Arabians *Diwân*) by various perſons, for which reaſon there is a great difference in the copies of this author. We are indebted to Sûli for one; Ali Ebn Hamza al Isfahâni made a ſecond, and Ibrahîm al Tabari a third. There is a ſtory in the *Nighiariſtân* (d) relating to this Poet [A], and another in Lâmaî's *Defter Latâif* [B] (e).

(a) *Haſſan Ebn Abd'alawwal Ebn Ati Al-Hâkemi.*

(b) Anno Dom. 762.

(c) A. D. 810.

(d) A Perſian book.

(e) D'Herbelot, p. 31.

ABU.

[A] *A ſtory .... relating to this Poet.*] This is told as follows by D'Herbelot. The Khalif Harun al Raſhid, going his rounds in the night time, about his palace, found one of the Queen's female attendants aſleep, upon which he was reſolved to take this opportunity of obtaining from her what ſhe had hitherto refuſed him ſeveral times. The Lady waking, and ſeeing the Khalif vaſtly urgent, found no other method to free herſelf from his importunities, than by entreating him to ſtay till the morrow, when ſhe promiſed to indulge his fondeſt wiſhes. Harun upon this promiſe diſmiſſed her, but did not fail to ſend her a meſſage the next day, by which ſhe was to appoint the aſſignation. The young Lady, who was as witty as prudent, ſent him no other anſwer than the following Arabic half verſe, (for it is no more in the original) which is ſince become proverbial.

(1) D'Herb. has miſtaken the ſenſe of this half line.

(1) *The promiſes a maiden makes at night,*
Are merely given to haſten on the light.

The Khalif, greatly ſurprized at this anſwer, gave orders that none of the Poets who lived in his palace ſhould be ſuffered to ſtir out; when ſending for them, he repeated the lines above, and ordered them to make a little copy of verſes or ſong which ſhould include thoſe lines. Every one of the Poets performed his beſt, but thoſe of Abu Nowâs were judged to excel; for he interwove this verſe ſo artfully in his own, that he ſeemed to deſcribe very naturally the whole ſcene between the Khalif and the Lady. However, his skill had like to have coſt him his life; for Harun, after he had beſtowed gifts on the other Poets, told Abu Nowâs that he had deſerved death, for having ſeen what had paſt in the ſecret apartment of his palace, between himſelf and the young Lady. Abu Nowâs, very much aſtoniſhed at what he heard, proteſted to the Khalif that he had not ſtirred out of his apartment all that day, of which he ſaid, he could bring witneſſes. Accordingly they were called, and declaring in his favour, the Khalif was appeaſed, and beſtowed the like gifts on him as on the other Poets. Thus Mr. D'Herbelot tells this ſtory; but we find it related in a more probable and beautiful manner, in a manuſcript collection of Tales in Arabic, from which we have tranſlated it as follows. " (2) The " Khalif Harun al Raſhid one night met a Lady of his " Harâm, or Seraglio, whoſe company he had not fre- " quented for ſome time, rambling about the palace, and " a little elevated with liquor. Her dreſs was very " looſe and negligent, which diſcovering ſome beauties " to advantage, revived the Prince's paſſion ſo ſtrongly, " that he deſired to enjoy her that moment. The " Lady told him, that as he had abandoned her ſo " long, ſhe did not expect the honour of a viſit from " him, and therefore was not in a proper condition " to receive him; for which reaſon ſhe begged him " to ſtay till next morning, when ſhe would prepare " her ſelf for his embraces, and wait upon him. " This the Khalif conſented to, and gave orders next " morning that none ſhould be admitted into his " apartment but the Lady. However, he waited to " no purpoſe, for ſhe never came; upon which he " went to her, and taxing her with breach of pro- " miſe, ſhe anſwered in the following half verſe

(2) Story from an Arabic MS.

The day blots out the promiſe made at night.

" The Khalif hearing this, roſe up, and asked what " Poets were in waiting? Being told there were Abu " Nowâs, al Rekâſhi, and Maſâb, they were called in, " when Harûn commanded each of them to make a " ſtanza, in which the half verſe abovementioned " might be introduced naturally. They obeyed, and " the ſenſe of Abu Nowâs's ſtanza was as follows.

" *I met my heart's fond idol in the palace,*
" *In the ſoft, ſilent hour, to lovers kind:*
" *The wine my charmer had that evening ſipp'd,*
" *Smooth'd every frown, and brightned her reſerve.*
" *She ſtarted; when the ſky-blue mantle dropt*
" *Which veil'd her ſhoulders; and her zone was looſe,*
" *The winds that wanton'd o'er her lovely frame,*
" *Diſcover'd beauties Poets ne'er can paint,*
" *And ſhook the ſmall pomgranates on the ſpray:*
" *Enrapt, I cry'd; Dear Lady, come, a promiſe*
" *To crown my wiſhes;—But ſhe, ſmiling, ſaid,*
" *The day blots out the promiſe made at night.*

" Al Raſhîd hearing theſe lines cried out to Abu " Nowâs, God curſe thee! (an expreſſion of admira- " tion among the Arabians) thou haſt deſcribed the " ſcene as naturally, as if thou hadſt been preſent at " it; and thereupon ordered Abu Nowâs ten thou- " ſand pieces of ſilver, and but five thouſand pieces " each to the other two Poets.

[B] *Another ſtory in Lâmai.*] This Poet going into Egypt, was ſplendidly entertained by the chief Lords of the court. But one day preſenting a Poem of his to the Sovereign and to Safia his miſtreſs, a native of Abyſſinia and a miracle in beauty, he was received very coldly, and had no recompence. The Poet, exaſperated againſt them both, and being informed that the Prince had preſented his miſtreſs with a gown enrich'd with a vaſt number of precious ſtones, happened to repeat inadvertently the following verſes addreſs'd to the Monarch,

My muſe ſublime on you is thrown away,
Juſt as the pearls on your Safia gay.

Theſe

☞ABU SAID Ebn Aljaptu, ſirnamed alſo Behâder Khân (a) Sultan of the Moguls of the race of Jenghizkhân, ſucceeded his father anno 717 of the Hegira *, and was crowned in the city of Sultania. He immediately created the Emir Chûbân Nûvian Generaliſſimo of his armies, and confirmed Raſhid and Ali Shâh his father's Viſiers, in their employments; and as he was but twelve years of age, Emir Chûban preſided over the whole Empire in quality of Abu Saîd's Governor. In 718 * Raſhid was diſgraced and by the machinations of Ali Shâh, who had bribed the Emir Chûban, at that time Maſter of all the forces of the Empire, and ſoon after put to death. The ſame year Baiſûr, a Prince of the royal family of the Moguls, revolted, and threatned to march to the capital, but was defeated in Khoraſân by the Emir Hôſain Kurkân, who at laſt obliged him to fly on the other ſide of the river Amû, where he was killed ſome time after. When the abovementioned inſurrection broke out, advice being brought to the Sultan that Shâh Uzbek, the Tartar, had marched over Kepjâk, and ſeized upon the city of Derbend, Abu Sâid immediately ſet out againſt him with the few troops he had about him, and was joined by the Emir Chûbân, who had followed the Emir Hôſain into Khoraſân, but was now come to ſuccour his Sovereign. When Abu Saîd was thus reinforced, Shah Uzbec being afraid of engaging him, retired out of the dominions of the Sultan, and Chûban falling upon his rear, killed a very great number of his troops. After this victory the Emir Chûban having cauſed ſome of the chief officers of the Mogul army to be whipped with the utmoſt ſeverity of martial diſcipline, for neglecting their duty in his abſence, they formed a conſpiracy, and following after Chûban, who was marching towards Georgia, they engaged and put him to flight, he eſcaping very narrowly being taken, but arrived at laſt at Sultania. Abu Saîd upon this, fearing their power, withdrew from the capital (Sultania) but afterwards fighting the malecontents or rebels, he gained a complete victory over them. The Sultan, in 721 *, gave his ſiſter Satibeg in marriage to the Emir Chûban, and the nuptials were ſolemnized with the utmoſt magnificence. Timûrtaſh this Emir's ſon rebelled againſt Abu Saîd, but was defeated by Chûban, his father, and being carried priſoner by him to the Sultan, was forgiven in conſideration of his father's ſervices. Ali Shâh the Viſir dying, Saïn, Chûban's Lieutenant General, who afterwards did him very ill offices, ſucceeded him in his poſt. The ſame year the Emir Chûban married his daughter Baghdâd Khâtûn, one of the moſt beautiful women in all Aſia to the Emir Haſan Ilkhâni ſon of Sheikh Hoſain, which proved of very fatal conſequence to him [A]; and Damaſhk Khowâjah, ſon to Chûban, having abus'd his father's authority, and carry'd on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late Sultan Aljaptû, father to Abu Saîd, was put to death (c), by order of [A].

(a) From his bravery ſhewn in combating the rebels.

* A. D. 1317.

* A. D. 1318.

* A. D. 1321.

(c) See the note [A].

Theſe coming to the Prince's ear, he ſent for the Poet in order to know whether he were author of them: Abu Nowâs told the King that he had made ſome lines in his and Safia's praiſe, but that poſſibly his enemies might have altered them, purely to do him an ill office; and ſaying this, he repeated the ſame lines, (changing only a ſingle letter (3) in them) which then run thus.

(3) By changing the letter *ain* into *hamza*.

Singing your praiſe, my airy muſe refines,
Bright as the pearls in which Safia ſhines (4).

(4) D'Herbelot, P. 31.

We are not told how theſe lines were received, however, there's no doubt but the Poet was handſomely rewarded.

[A] *His daughter Baghdâd Khâtûn in marriage, which prov'd of very fatal conſequence to him.*] Unhappily for them, Abu Saîd the Sultan fell in love with her, and thereupon demanded her in marriage of her father Chûban. Nevertheleſs, tho' by the laws of the Moguls, every man is obliged to divorce his wife, when the Sultan deſires to marry her, yet this Emir could not be prevail'd upon to conſent to it (1), and even ſpoke in very unbecoming terms of this young Prince, tho' he did not require any thing from him, repugnant either to his laws or his duty. Abu Saîd however conceal'd the reſentment with which this refuſal fir'd him; and the Emir Chûban imagining that diſtance would cure the Sultan's paſſion, he ſent his ſon-in-law and daughter to Carabagh (2) and carry'd Abu Saîd againſt his will to Baghdâd, in order that he might ſpend the winter there. But the Sultan's love, inſtead of cooling by this ſeparation, grew every day more violent. The Viſir Saïn (formerly Chûban's Lieutenant-General, as was before obſerv'd) fomented Abu Saîd's averſion to that Emir, by telling that Monarch ſeveral falſities of Chûban and his children. But Damaſhk Khowâjâh, ſon of the Emir Chûban, one of the principal officers of the Sultan's houſhold, and who had the moſt frequent acceſs to his perſon, heard of the ill offices which the Viſir Saïn did his father, and ſent him a faithful account of the whole. Chûban took a bold reſolution on this occaſion; for, upon pretence of ſetting out to put an end to ſome troubles which were broke out in Khoraſân, he left Baghdad ſuddenly, and came to Sultania, bringing with him the Viſir Saïn, by way of hoſtage for his ſon, whom he had left at court with Abu Saîd. Damaſhk was entruſted with the management of affairs, nothing of which Chûban his father, who preſided in the government, communicated to any perſon but to his ſon. But Damaſhk, abuſing his father's authority in his abſence, diſpos'd of all things in ſo arbitrary a manner, that Abu Saîd was only Sultan nominally. However, this Prince being weary of always living under the direction of others, diſcover'd his uneaſineſs to ſome of his confidents, one of whom told him that Damaſhk had a private intrigue with one of the wives of Sultan Aljaptû his father. Abu Saîd, upon hearing this, gave orders that Damaſhk ſhould be watch'd, in order to find out whether the report were true; and 'twas not long before the Sultan was an eye-witneſs that it was really ſo; which exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he gave orders for putting to death that inſolent Miniſter, who, not content with bereaving him of his authority, was ſo bold as to wound him in his honour. 'Twas in the year 727 *, that Abu Saîd was reſolv'd to rid himſelf of Damaſhk: but no one having then courage enough to ſtrike the blow, chance prov'd very fatal to the Sultan on this occaſion. It happen'd at that time, that the heads of ſome people who had rebell'd in the provinces, having been brought to Abu Saîd's palace; a rumour prevail'd, that they were the heads of the Emir Chûban and his adherents, which had been ſent from Khoraſân: at which Damaſhk was ſeiz'd with ſuch a pannic fear, that without enquiring into the truth of it, he left the palace in the dead of night, accompany'd only by ten men, and fled away. This coming to the Sultan's ear, he caus'd him to be immediately purſu'd by one of his people call'd Meſr-Khowâjah, who coming up with Damaſhk cut off his head, and brought it to the Sultan (3).

(1) According to Khondemir, Damaſhk oppos'd the paſſion which the Sultan had for Baghdad Khatûn his ſiſter, which exaſperated Abu Saîd ſo much, that he got Meſr to make away with Damaſhk.

(2) Abu Saîd generally paſſed the winter in that city.

* A. D. 1326.

(3) D'Herbelot, P. 32, 33.

having abuſed his father's authority and carried on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late Sultan Aljaptû, father to Abu Saîd, was put to death (*c*), by order of the Sultan, who reſolving afterwards to rid himſelf of Chûban himſelf, the Emir got notice of it, and raiſing a ſtrong force reſolved to engage Abu Saîd his maſter. Chûban however being afterwards deſerted by ſeveral of his principal officers who owed all their fortune to him, his head was ſtruck off [*B*] by the ungrateful Ghayâtho'ddin, ſirnamed Maleckurt (*d*) and brought to the Sultan. The murtherer was not however recompenſed; for while theſe things were doing, Sheikh Haſan having divorced his wife Baghdâd Khâtûn, daughter of Chûban, and ſent her to the Seraglio, Haſan was raiſed to the poſt which Ghayâtho'ddin flattered himſelf would be given to him; and the latter was told he might return home if he pleaſed. Shaikh Haſan was nevertheleſs diſgraced ſome time after, upon a rumour that prevailed; but the falſity of it appearing, Abu Saîd reſtored him to favour [*C*]. The Sultan Abu Saîd died the 736th year of the Hegira, aged thirty two years, of which he had reigned nineteen, or according to others but eighteen. His corps was conveyed to the city of Sultania, with a pomp and magnificence ſuitable to ſo great a Monarch. The hiſtory of Chûban and his family, is an example of the fickleneſs of worldly grandeur [*D*]. The manner of his death is variouſly

(*c*) See the note [*A*].

(*d*) Son to Raſhid who had been put to death at the deſire of Abi Shah, as was before obſerved.

[*B*] *Chûban's head was ſtruck off.*] This Emir before he left Khoraſân, into which, as was before obſerv'd(4), he was come upon pretence of quieting ſome troubles, put to death the Viſir Saïn the author of all theſe evils, to revenge the murther of his ſon Damaſhk; and the Sultan on the other ſide, nominated Ghayâtho'ddin Mohammed, a man of learning, ſon to the late Viſir Raſhid to ſucceed him. Chûban having carried matters thus far, march'd forward with a deſign of ſeizing upon the court and perſon of the Sultan. Coming into the city of Semnan, he viſited Rocno'ddin Alâo'ddacolat al Semnâni, a man venerable for his holineſs, whoſe ſepulchre is ſtill viſited by the Moſlems. After diſcourſing for ſome time together, the Emir promis'd with an oath, to follow his advice to a tittle; and as a proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, Chûban deſir'd the holy man to go to the Sultan in his name, and to require of him the ſurrendring up of the murtherers of his ſon Damaſhk, and conditions of peace in his (Chûban's) favour. The Sheik complying with his requeſt, was receiv'd in a very honourable manner by the Sultan, but he refus'd abſolutely to deliver up into the hands of the Emir, the aſſaſſins of Damaſhk, and would not hear of any treaty with Chûban. The Sheik brought this ill news to Chûban, who exaſperated at the refuſal, and throwing off all reſpect for the Sultan, came and encamp'd within a day's journey of the Ordû or imperial camp, in a place call'd Cûha, but did not keep that poſt long. For ſeveral of his principal officers who ow'd every thing to him, deſerted him with thirty thouſand horſe, and went over to their Sovereign. As the Emir, by being thus abandoned, could not in prudence truſt ſuch of his friends as remain'd with him, whilſt they continued ſo near the troops of the Sultan, eſpecially after their companions had ſet them ſo bad an example, he left his camp, and took his way thro' the deſart of Nûbendijân, in order to withdraw into Khoraſân. This long and difficult march, and eſpecially the deſertion of many officers who left him to ſeek their fortune, weakned ſo much the Emir's army, that he was no longer able to continue in that province (Khoraſân), upon which he reſolv'd to go into Turkeſtân, in which were ſeveral conſiderable Princes, who often infeſted the dominions of the Sultan. This deſign wou'd in all probability have been very advantageous to the Emir; but his evil ſtar ſo order'd matters, that being come to the river Morghab, he chang'd his reſolution on a ſudden, and turning back, threw himſelf into the arms of Gayâtho'ddin ſirnamed Maleckurt, whom he had brought up from his infancy, and raiſed to the higheſt military employments. However, Malec was as unfaithful to him as others had been; for having receiv'd at the ſame time an expreſs from the Sultan, with the promiſe of a great reward, in caſe he would ſend Chûban's head; the firſt viſit he ſuffer'd the unhappy Chûban to receive, was from an executioner. The Emir begg'd to ſee Malec, but was refus'd, and finding he muſt die, he requeſted three things at his hands. Firſt, that the inſtant his head was ſeparated from his body, he ſhould ſend one of his fingers which had two tips, to the Sultan Abû Saîd. Secondly, that he ſhould cauſe his corps to be convey'd to Medina, to be there buried in an oratory or chapel which he had built; and thirdly, that he ſhould get his ſon Jalair, whom Satibeg, Abu Saîd's ſiſter, had borne him, carried to the court of the Sultan Abu Saîd his (Jalair's) uncle. Theſe three requeſts being granted, the executioner ſtruck off his head, which Malec ſent immediately to the Sultan, and ſet out a little after, in order to receive the reward of his treachery. But he was greatly ſurpriz'd to hear by the way, that the Emir Sheik Haſan had divorc'd Baghdâd Khâtûn, daughter to Chûban, and ſent her to the Sultan's ſeraglio. And a greater mortification was, his being inform'd that Sheikh Haſan, in conſideration for his having comply'd with the deſires of the Sultan, was raiſed to the poſt at court which Malec flattered himſelf would have been beſtow'd upon him; and that Baghdâd Khatûn had gained an abſolute aſcendant over Abu Saîd. Upon this ill news, he reſolved before he went farther, to ſend orders into Khoraſân for putting Jalair ſon to Chûban to death, whom he had hitherto ſpar'd, according to the promiſe he had made his father, tho' in oppoſition to the Sultan's orders. Jalair being kill'd, Malec advanc'd forwards towards Carabagh, where Abu Saîd then reſided. But the great credit which Baghdad Khâtûn, Chûban's daughter, had at court, ſhe having been married with great ſolemnity to the Sultan, was the occaſion that he met, as 'twas very natural he ſhould, with a very cold reception at court; and was conſider'd as the murtherer of the Sultana, Baghdad Khâtûn's father, rather than as a man who had done the Sultan a ſignal piece of ſervice. He was even made to ſtay ſo long time in the camp, as was neceſſary for conveying the bodies of Chûban and of Jalair from Khoraſan to Aûgian, whence they were deliver'd, by the Sultan's orders, to the pilgrims of Mecca. The Sultan gave theſe people forty thouſand dinars, upon condition that they ſhould cauſe their bodies to be interr'd in Medina; and rewarded Malec no otherwiſe, than by giving him leave to depart home. The Emir Chûban whoſe cataſtrophe we have heard, bore always the character of an upright man, a friend to juſtice, and a very zealous obſerver of the religion he profeſs'd (5).

(4) Note [*A*].

(5) D'Herbelot, p. 34. Who informs us further from the Nighiariſtan and Giannibi, that Chûban had done Abu Saîd very ſignal ſervices, having delivered him from ſeveral of his enemies who had fallen upon the provinces of Khoraſân and of Aderbigian, and conquered a great number of rebels who had made an inſurrection in his dominions.

[*C*] *Sheikh Haſan was diſgrac'd, and afterwards reſtor'd to favour.*] In the 732d * year of the Hegira, ſome people envying the fortune of Sheikh Haſan, and exaſperated at the great aſcendant Baghdâd Khâtûn the Sultana had over all the affairs of ſtate, whiſper'd ſome things to the diſadvantage of that princeſs's conduct, by accuſing her of ſtill carrying on a private correſpondence with her firſt husband. Theſe reports came inſenſibly to the Sultan's ears, who thereupon immediately baniſh'd Sheikh Haſan to the caſtle of Kamakh, and diſcovered a great coldneſs for his new Sultana. But the injuſtice of theſe rumours being ſoon diſcovered, and the authors of ſo baſe a calumny puniſhed; Abu Saîd reſtored the Sultana and Sheikh Haſan to favour, and beſtowed on the latter the government of part of his dominions, call'd the province of Rûm, in Aſia Minor (6).

* A. D. 1331.

(6) Idem. ibid.

[*D*] *Chûban and his family are an example of the fickleneſs of worldly grandeur.*] We have ſeen him governor of Abu Saîd; prime Miniſter, and afterwards brother-in-law to the Sultan, by his marriage with Satibeg. But afterwards, his refuſing to let his daughter Bagdad Khatûn be divorc'd from Sheik Haſan in favour of the Sultan's paſſion, very probably exaſperated his Sovereign ſo much againſt him, as

variouſly related [*E*]. He was the laſt Monarch of the race of Jenghizkhân, and after his death, which happened the ſame year that Tamerlane was born, the Empire was made a ſcene of blood and deſolation (*e*).

(*e*) D'Herbelot, p. 32, & *ſeq.*

paved the way to his ruin, which the ill conduct of Damaſhk, Chûban's ſon, compleated. Monarchs will not bear any controul, particularly in the paſſions of love and ambition, and therefore it is no wonder that Abu Saîd ſhould carry his reſentments ſo far as he did, eſpecially as he was born in ſo warm a climate, and was an abſolute Monarch. We have ſeen the end Chûban and Damaſhk came to, and after this, Baghdâd Khâtûn was made Sultana, who then poyſons Abu Saîd, (according to ſome hiſtorians) and is herſelf put to death by Abu Saîd's ſucceſſor.

[*E*] *The manner of his death is variouſly related.*] We are told, that Shah Uzbek having in 735 † made a ſecond irruption into the dominions of Abu Saîd, this Sultan march'd the next year in order to engage his enemy; but that being ſcarce arrived in the province of Shiruſân, a part of Media, the heat and malignant influence of the air threw him into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs. And that whilſt he was under the phyſicians hands, and in the bath, he fell into a fainting fit, which carried him off very ſoon. But according to the author of the preface to the Zafarnâmeh, Baghdâd Châtûn the Sultana, finding the affection which the Sultan had for her, very much leſſen'd, poyſoned him. Arbah Khân his ſucceſſor put the Sultâna to death, upon her being accuſed of having had a hand in Abu Saîd's death, and convicted of holding a private correſpondence with Shah Uzbek, who diſputed the crown with him (7).

† A. D. 1334.

(7) Idem. ibid.

☞ABU TEMAM, or Habîb Ebn Aws Al-Hareth Ebn Kais, ſirnamed Al-Tâyi, becauſe he was of an Arabian tribe ſirnamed Tay, whence three of the moſt famous perſonages of that nation have ſprung, viz. Hâtem, Daûd, and Abu Temâm. The firſt was the model of generoſity and liberality, the ſecond was illuſtrious for his probity and piety, and the third (the perſon in queſtion) is looked upon as the Prince of the Arabian Poets, and none but al Motanabbi can diſpute precedence with him. According to Ebn Khalecân ſome ſay Abu Temâm's father was a Chriſtian, (as the tribe of Tay generally were, in Mahomet's time) and named *Tedûs*, or, (as Dr. Pocock gueſſes) *Theodoſius*; which might be corruptly changed into *Aws* (*a*). This great Poet was born the 190th year of the Hegira (*b*), at Jâſem a little town ſituated between Damaſcus and Tiberias. He was educated in Egypt, and died at Mawſel (near where Ninive once ſtood) the 231ſt year of the Hegira, or A. D. 845 (*c*.) He lived but a few years as Filſôf (*d*) had foretold him, ſaying, that the vivacity and fire of his genius would conſume his body, in the ſame manner as the blade of an Indian ſword eats away its ſcabbard. He ſung the Elogiums of ſeveral Khalifs, who were all vaſtly liberal to him. He collected all his poetical compoſitions into a volume or *Diwân*, and entitled it *Al Hamâſah* (*e*). Bakhteri, another celebrated Arabian Poet, being aſked who was the beſt Poet, himſelf or Abu Temâm, he anſwered; ſuch verſes as are good in Abu Temâm, excel the fineſt in mine; but ſuch as are bad in my works, are not ſo contemptible as the low verſes in his. Bakhteri flouriſhed almoſt at the ſame time with Abu Temâm. A certain Prince gave him one day fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver (*f*) for a Poem he preſented him, and at the ſame time made him this compliment; *The preſent I make you is of much leſs value than that you have made me.* Having written an elegy on the death of another, the following elogium was given Abu Temâm,

(*a*) Pocock, *Spec. Hiſt. Arab.* p. 380.

(*b*) A. C. 805. Others ſay he was born in 188, or 192. of the Heg. or A. C. 803, or 807. Or in 172. of the Heg. or A. C. 788.

(*c*) Some ſay he died in 228, or 232. of the Heg. or A. D. 842, or 846.

(*d*) Filſôf ſignifies a Philoſopher, being only the Greek word a little changed; ſo that we are not ſure whether it be a proper name or not.

(*e*) Here Mr. D'Herbelot is miſtaken, for the Diwân entitled *al Hamâſah* is a collection of extracts from the ancient Arabian Poets, made or collected only by Abu Temâm. He was, however, as much famed for this collection as for his own Poems. See Pocock's *Spec. Hiſt. Arab. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Theſe pieces are dirkems or drachms, and of no great value.

The man whoſe virtues thus aſcend the ſky,
Prais'd (mighty Bard) by thee, can never die (*g*).

(*g*) D'Herbelot, p. 40.

☞ABU YUSOF, is the ſame with Yacûb Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Habîb al-Cûfi, the companion of Al-Joneid, and diſciple of the famous Doctors Amâſh and Yahya Ebn Saïd al-Anſâri. The Khalifs al-Hâdi and Harun al-Raſhid, made him chief Juſtice of Baghdad; and he was the firſt who was honoured with the title of Kâdi al Kodât, that is, Judge of the Judges, a dignity ſomething like that of the Chief Juſtice or Chancellor among us. He alſo gave a peculiar habit to the Doctors of the Law, and made the doctrine of Abu Hanîfah grow into credit. He amaſſed, in a very little time, great wealth, which he owed more to his induſtry than to fortune, he being deciſive and fruitful in expedients, of which we ſhall give an example [*A*]. This Doctor having

[*A*] *Abu Yuſof was fruitful in expedients.*] The Khalif Harûn al Raſhîd falling in love with one of the ſlaves and concubines of Ibrahim his brother, was for purchaſing her, and for that purpoſe offer'd him thirty thouſand dinars, or crowns of gold, but Ibrahim had ſwore that he would neither ſell nor give her to any perſon. However, as the Khalif his brother was vaſtly urgent, and would pay any money for this ſlave, he ask'd Abu Yuſof what was to be done on this occaſion. The doctor anſwered; If you will not be forſworn give one half of her to the Khalif and ſell him the other half. Ibrahim overjoyed at this expedient, immediately ſent the ſlave to his brother, who notwithſtanding ſent him the whole ſum he had offered him: and Ibrahim highly pleaſed that he had ſo happily extricated himſelf from the difficulty he was under, preſented the Kadi with all the money. Harûn being thus poſſeſſed of the fair one for whom he had a violent paſſion, would have enjoyed her that very night. But here the law was an obſtacle to his wiſhes, for it is a rule that no Moſlem can lie with his brother's concubine, till after ſhe has been married to another. Abu Yuſof being conſulted on the difficulty, adviſ'd the Khalif to give this woman in marriage to one of his ſlaves, upon condition that he ſhould immediately divorce her, and ſurrender her up to his arms. Accordingly they were married; but now the ſlave was ſo fond of his new wife, that he would not ſo much as hear of the divorce, and abſolutely refuſed to put her from him, tho' he was offer'd ten thouſand dinars. 'Twas then Abu Yuſof was obliged to have recourſe to all the law-quirks, in order to ſatisfy his conſcience, and at the ſame time the paſſion of his Sovereign. But here he again extricated himſelf very happily, by adviſing Harûn to make a preſent of the ſlave, who was ſtill his property, to the woman he had married; by which means the marriage would be diſſolved, ſince according to the Moſlem law, no woman can be married to her own ſlave. This being done, the divorce enſued of courſe, and the

having one day confeſſed his ignorance on a queſtion that was propos'd to him, the following reproach was caſt upon him, viz. that he received very conſiderable penſions from the royal treaſury, and nevertheleſs did not do his duty, ſince he did not determine the law points which were brought before him. But Abu Yuſof made this agreeable anſwer: I receive, ſays he, from the treaſury in proportion to what I know; but were I to receive proportionable to the things I know not, all the riches of the Khalif would not ſuffice to pay me (*a*).

(*a*) D'Herbelot, p. 22.

the woman was given up to the Khalif. Harun al Raſhid was ſo pleaſed with the Kadi for theſe expedients, that the ten thouſand dinars which had been offer'd the ſlave were that inſtant given to him. But this was not all he got upon this occaſion, for the Khalif having made a preſent to his fair one, whom he loved to diſtraction, of an hundred thouſand dinars; ſhe, in gratitude for the good office ſhe had received from Abu Yuſof, as he had taken her out of the hands of a ſlave, and given her up to the embraces of ſo great a Monarch, gave him ten thouſand dinars more. So that this able civilian got fifty thouſand crowns of gold in one night (1).

(1) From the *Nighiariſtan*, as quoted by D'Herbelot, p. 22, 23.

ABYDOS, a city of Egypt. Stephanus Byzantinus is of opinion that it was a colony of Mileſians [*A*], and received its name from a man called Abydos. Strabo mentions it as a city that was very much ruined; but tells us, that it ſeemed to have been antiently of a very great extent, and the chief city of the kingdom after Thebes (*a*). It was the reſidence of the famous King Memnon, who cauſed a magnificent palace to be built in it (*b*). The temple and ſepulchre of Oſiris were a great ornament to that city, which raiſed its fame in an extraordinary manner, and drew multitudes to it. The greateſt Noblemen in Egypt were particularly deſirous of having their remains interred there, in order that their monuments might be in the ſame place, where that of Oſiris ſtood (*c*). Nor was the oracle of the god Beſa a ſmall embelliſhment to Abydos. All the inhabitants in the places adjacent to it, held this deity in great veneration, who, when any perſon had not the conveniency to conſult him perſonally, uſed to anſwer in writing. In this caſe, the enquirer needed only to ſend his queries in manuſcript (*d*). This oracle was ſtanding in the reign of Conſtantius, ſon to Conſtantine the Great, and gave occaſion to the exerciſing of great cruelty and injuſtice [*B*]. Abydos was ſeven thouſand five hundred paces diſtant from the Nile, weſtward (*e*); but a canal had been dug, which conveyed the waters of that river to it (*f*). It lay below Dioſpolis and Tentyris (*g*), and above Ptolomais (*h*), which was the greateſt city in all Thebais, and as large as Memphis. The inhabitants of Abydos hated mortally the ſound of trumpets [*C*]. The thorns or brambles which grew in the places adjacent to that city, have been very much talked of [*D*]; and flowers in the ſhape of a crown, were ſaid to be always growing upon them. 'Tis thought that this city is now called Abutich. John Leo does not relate, as Moreri makes him ſay, that Joſeph the Patriarch was buried in it [*E*]. There ſtood on the coaſt of the Helleſpont a city called Abydos,

(*a*) Strabo lib. 17. p. 559. edit. 1587.
(*b*) *Memnonis regiâ & Oſiris templo inclytum.* Plin. lib. 5. cap. 9. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 559.
(*c*) Plutarch. *de Iſide & Oſir.* p. 359.
(*d*) Ammian. Marcell. lib. 19. cap. 12. p. 227, 228.
(*e*) Plin. lib. 5. cap. 9.
(*f*) Strabo lib. 17. cap. 579.
(*g*) Plin. lib. 5. cap. 9.
(*h*) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 579.

[*A*] *A colony of Myleſians.*] This is not very probable. I confeſs indeed that they founded colonies in Egypt, but theſe were near the mouth of the Nile. Their power at that time lay wholly at ſea, and as they traded it was not neceſſary for any of them to fix in a place ſo far diſtant from the ſea-coaſt, as *Abydos* was. Moreover, they did not ſettle in Egypt, till the reign of Cyaxares King of the Medes (1): now Abydos was conſiderable before that period, ſince Memnon did not only keep his court, but alſo built a magnificent palace in that city.

(1) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 551.

[*B*] *And gave occaſion to the exerciſing of great cruelty and injuſtice.*] This happen'd as follows. Such as conſulted the oracle by writing, would ſometimes leave their letters in the temple after they had received their anſwers (2). Now it happen'd, that certain malicious perſons ſent ſome of theſe letters to Conſtantius, who being of a mean, ſuſpicious, credulous, and cavilling diſpoſition, fell into a dreadful paſſion upon that account. *Qui ut erat anguſti pectoris, obſurdeſcens in aliis etiam nimium ſeriis, in hoc titulo ima, quod aiunt, auricula mollior, & ſuſpicax, & minutus, acri felle concaluit* (3). Immediately he cauſed a commiſſion to be iſſued out for the trying of the criminals; it being pretended, that ſeveral perſons had conſulted that God with regard to the Emperor's life, and the name of the perſon who was to ſucceed him. The perſon who preſided in this commiſſion being avaricious and cruel, found means to involve whomſoever he pleas'd in the proſecution. A numberleſs multitude of barbarities were exerciſed on this occaſion, as appears from Ammianus Marcellinus.

(2) Amm. Marcell. lib. 19. cap. 12. p. 227, 228.
(3) Amm. Marcellin. *ad ann.* 359.

[*C*] *Hated mortally the ſound of trumpets.*] This Ælian informs us of, if we correct him according to Berkelius's conjecture (4). Σάλπιγγος ἦχον βδελύττονται Βυσιῖται, καὶ Ἄβυδος ἡ Αἰγυπτία. (In the editions of Ælian, 'tis Ἄβυ ἡ Αἰγυπτία) καὶ Λύκων πόλις. That is "The Buſiritæ, and the inhabitants of Abydos in E-"gypt, and thoſe of Lycopolis, deteſt the ſound of "a trumpet (5)." Strabo confirms this conjecture, when he relates that this people were forbid all muſic whether vocal or inſtrumental, in the prelude to the ſacrifices which were offer'd to Oſiris in his temple at Abydos (6).

(4) Berkelius *in Stephan. de Urbibus*, p. 14.
(5) Ælian. *de Animal.* lib. 10. cap. 28.
(6) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 560.

[*D*] *The thorns or brambles which grew in the places adjacent to that city.*] Of this Athenæus informs us (7); but we muſt ſubſtitute the word Ἄβυδον inſtead of Ἄβυλαν, in his work, as the abovemention'd Berkelius conjectures very rationally (8). The ſtory mentioned by Athenæus runs thus. The thorns which grow round the temple of Tindium, were always ſaid to have flowers growing upon them; but according to Hellanicus's remark (9), the reaſon of this was, becauſe people us'd to meet in thoſe places; and whilſt their aſſemblies continued, noſegays of different flowers were thrown on theſe thorns. Demetrius relates, that ſuch kind of thorns or brambles grow about Abydos, and that a fable was current among the Ægyptians, viz. that the Ethiopian ſoldiers, whom Tithonus ſent to King Priam, hearing that Memnon had been kill'd, they threw, near Abydos, their chaplets of flowers on thoſe thorns, whence theſe flowers were ſhap'd like crowns (10).

(7) Athenæus, lib. 15. cap. 7.
(8) Berk. *in Steph. de Urbib.* p. 14.
(9) In Ægyptiacis, *apud* Athen. lib. 15. cap. 7.
(10) Demetrius *in libris Rerum Ægyptiacarum, apud* Athenæum, lib. 15. cap. 7.

[*E*] *Joſeph the Patriarch was buried in it.*] Moreri cites John Leo, pag. 8; conſequently one would imagine he refers to that page; however the paſſage is not in this place but in the 8th book, where we find the following words, 'Tis a miſtake to believe, that the Kings of Egypt in the age of Joſeph and Moſes reſided in the city call'd *Meſre Hatichi*. He refutes this opinion from hence, viz. that thoſe ancient Kings inhabited the weſtern part of the Nile, which he proves from two reaſons; firſt, from the ſituation of the city which the ſcriptures ſay the Jews built for Pharaoh; and ſecondly, from the ſituation of a very ancient edifice, in which Joſeph was ſaid to be interr'd. Some pages after, he obſerves that the city in which that edifice ſtands, is ſituated on an arm of the Nile, and is now call'd *El Fiium*. I don't find that he makes the leaſt mention of our Abydos.

Abydos, of which I ſhall not now take notice, although that article is very incorrect in Moreri's Dictionary.

ACACIA or ACAKIA (MARTIN) ſee AKAKIA.

☞ACACIUS firnamed Luſcus or Μονοφθαλμὸς, becauſe he was blind of one eye (*a*), was Biſhop of Ceſarea in Paleſtine, and ſucceeded the famous Euſebius, whoſe diſciple he had been in the year 340 (*b*). He joined himſelf to the Euſebians [*A*], and began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the year 341 in the council of Antioch [*B*], which was held by the Biſhops of Euſebius's party. Six years after this he was depoſed by the council of Sardica, together with ſeveral other Biſhops, who had declared themſelves of his opinions [*C*]. But to revenge themſelves upon the Orthodox, for having thus

(*a*) St. Jerom *de Viris illuſtrib.* cap. 98.

(*b*) Cave *Hiſtor. Literar.* p. 129. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

[*A*] *He join'd himſelf to the Euſebians.*] This ſect deriv'd its name from Euſebius the author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, who was ſuppos'd to have been a favourer of Arius; and his own opinion with regard to the Trinity is as follows. He declares in ſeveral places, that the Word is God, and the Son of God. He expreſly aſſerts, that he was not produc'd from nothing, nor created in time; but that he was begotten from all eternity from the ſubſtance of the Father. He abſolutely rejects the opinion of thoſe, who affirm that the Word was produc'd out of nothing, and rank him amongſt the creatures. But he ſeems to inſinuate in ſome paſſages, and eſpecially in his *Book againſt Marcellus* (1), that the perſon of the Son is not equal to that of the Father; and that the ſame degree of adoration is not due to him. He writes in the ſame manner likewiſe in all his other books, in which he rejects the opinion of thoſe, who maintain that the Son was created out of nothing, and is not of the ſubſtance of the Father, and that there was a time when he did not exiſt; but he ſeems to admit ſome inequality between the Father and the Son, and to acknowledge that the Son is in ſome meaſure dependent and inferior (2). And therefore tho' he did not ſcruple to acknowledge in the council of Nice, that the Son was God from all eternity, and rejected in expreſs terms the notion of Arius, who aſſerted, that the Son was produced out of nothing, and that there was a time when he did not exiſt; yet he was always cautious of approving the word *Conſubſtantial*, which ſignifies, that the Son is of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father; and when he ſign'd his approbation of it, he gave in the letter, which he wrote to his church, a ſenſe of it, which is far from eſtabliſhing the equality of the Son with the Father. *When it is affirm'd*, ſays he, *that the Son is conſubſtantial with the Father, we mean only, that the Son of God has no reſemblance to the creatures, which were made by him; but that he has a perfect reſemblance with the Father, by whom he was begotten, and is not of any other hypoſtaſis or ſubſtance.* Which ſhews, that Euſebius did not approve that form, as far as it eſtabliſh'd a perfect equality between the Father and the Son; but only as far as it aſſerted a reſemblance between the Son and the Father, and ſignified, that the Son was begotten by the Father. We may obſerve that Athanaſius in his *Treatiſe of Synods*, and in his *Book concerning the deciſion of the council of Nice*, by no means approv'd this explication of Euſebius. But what rendred him moſt ſuſpected of heterodoxy in this point was his friendſhip with the biſhops of Arius's party, the commendations which he every where gives them, his affected ſilence in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* with regard to every thing that related to the council of Nice, and the diſadvantageous manner, in which he ſpeaks of it in his life of Conſtantine. But his opinion concerning the Holy Ghoſt is ſtill more excepted againſt; for he aſſerts (3), that he is not really and true God. *The Holy Ghoſt*, ſays he, *is not God, nor the Son of God, becauſe he is not deriv'd from the Father, as the Son is, but is one of thoſe Beings, who were created by the Son.* This ſhews, that Socrates, Sozomen, and ſeveral modern authors are miſtaken on the one hand, who endeavour to clear him from any ſuſpicions of having departed from the common notions of the Trinity; on the other hand, that it is very unjuſt to call him an Arian, and even the Head of the Arians, as St. Jerom has done; ſince he rejected in expreſs terms the peculiar characteriſtics of Arius's doctrine, which were theſe; that the Word was produc'd out of nothing, and is not of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, but different from him; and that there was a time when he was not (4).

(1) Lib. 2. c. 7.

(2) Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 2. *Præpar. Evangel.* l. 4. c. 5.

(3) *In Demonſtr. & Præpar. Evangel. de Eccleſ. Theolog.* l. 3.

(4) See Du Pin *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 2. p. 7. Paris edit. 1693.

[*B*] . . . . *in the council of Antioch.*] The eaſtern biſhops having alter'd their reſolution of appearing in the weſtern council, or taking the Pope for judge of the conteſt, which they had with Athanaſius, met at Antioch in the beginning of the year 341, and held a ſynod there of about ninety biſhops. The occaſion of this ſynod was to celebrate the dedication of the church of Antioch; but they took that opportunity to draw up ſome new creeds, and to eſtabliſh ſeveral canons relating to church diſcipline. In the firſt of theſe creeds, they declar'd that they were not followers of Arius, and that they had no other faith than what they receiv'd by tradition; that they receiv'd Arius, becauſe they found he maintained ſeveral orthodox opinions, but that they did not follow him in other points. To this proteſtation is ſubjoin'd a form of belief, in which they do not uſe the term *conſubſtantial*; but declare *that they believe in one only Son of God, co-exiſting with the Father, who begot him, by whom all things were made; and in the Holy Ghoſt* (5). This was the firſt creed that was made after that of the council of Nice. It was ſoon follow'd by another, which was drawn up by the biſhops in the ſame council. They enlarge more copiouſly upon the attributes of Jeſus Chriſt; and affirm that *he was begotten of the Father before all ages; that he is God of God, a perfect Being, the perfect Image and compleat Reſemblance of the Divinity, Subſtance, Will, Power, and Glory of the Father.* They add, that *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt are not three different names but three hypoſtaſes, and one in will and conſent*; ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία; τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν. They pronounc'd an anathema againſt thoſe who ſay, *that there was any point of time before the generation of the Son, or that he is a Creature formed like other creatures* (6). But it is probable that ſeveral of the Biſhops in that Synod diſliked ſome expreſſions in this creed; which might induce Theophronius of Tyanea to draw up a third creed, which was approved by the whole body. In this he declared that *he believed in Jeſus Chriſt the only Son of God, who is God, the Word, Power and Wiſdom, by whom all things were created, who was begotten by the Father before all worlds, perfect God of perfect God, who exiſted with the Father in the hypoſtaſis.*

(5) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* l. 2. c. 10.

(6) Idem. ibid.

This council of Antioch, which was held in 341, is to be diſtinguiſh'd from another ſynod, which was compoſed of part of the ſame biſhops, who met together about the beginning of the year 342; for this latter was held after Athanaſius had been acquitted; when the eaſtern Biſhops ſent back the Pope's Legates, having detained them till January 342. This ſynod wrote a letter to Julius, in which they excuſed themſelves for not being able to attend the council, which he had call'd at Rome, on account of the Perſian war, and of the ſhortneſs of the time, which there was after Julius's letter was given them, to the day which they had appointed for the meeting of the ſynod. They were diſſatisfied, becauſe Julius had written alone, and addreſs'd his letter only to Euſebius; but they complained above all that he ſhould draw over to his communion Athanaſius and Marcellus, who had been condemn'd and depos'd.

It was in this latter ſynod that the fourth creed was drawn up, which is mentioned by Athanaſius (7). It approaches very near to that of Nice, except the omiſſion of the term *conſubſtantial*. They compos'd this, as Athanaſius obſerves, in order to ſend it into the Weſt to the Emperor Conſtans.

(7) *De Synodis* p. 687. and *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 590.

[*C*] *Six years after this he was depoſed by the council of Sardica, together with ſeveral other Biſhops, who had declared themſelves of his opinions.*] The Emperor Conſtantius and Conſtans being deſirous to reſtore peace to the church, call'd a council of the eaſtern and weſtern Biſhops at Sardica (8). There came

(8) Socrat. l. 2. c. 20. Sozomen. l. 3. c. 11.

thus depoſed them, they aſſembled themſelves together at Philippopolis in Thrace [D], where they fulminated in their turn againſt Athanaſius, Oſius Biſhop of Corduba, Pope Julius, and the reſt of their antagoniſts. Acacius had a great ſhare in the baniſhment of Pope Liberius, and bringing Felix into the See of Rome (c) [E]. He ordained

(c) St. Jerom *ubi ſupra.*

came thither an hundred weſtern Biſhops, and ſeventy three eaſtern Biſhops (9); but thoſe of the Eaſt having declar'd to the weſtern Biſhops, that they would not be preſent at the council, unleſs Athanaſius, Marcellus, and other Biſhops, who had been condemn'd, were denied communion with the church; and the weſtern Biſhops refuſing to ſubmit to that condition, the council divided, and the eaſtern Biſhops departed.

(9) Du Pin *Bibliot.* tom. 2. p. 327.

However the weſtern Biſhops, of whom Oſius was the Head and Preſident (10), continued to hold the council in their abſence, to debate concerning points of faith, and to examine the accuſations rais'd againſt Athanaſius and the other catholic Biſhops, and to make canons relating to the diſcipline of the church. With reſpect to matters of faith, they all agreed, that they ought to make no new creed, but only to maintain that of Nice. However ſome particular perſons were deſirous of making a new creed in imitation of the eaſtern Biſhops, but the whole council diſapprov'd of their deſign. Theodoret has given us this creed in his hiſtory (11).

(10) Theodor. lib. 2. c. 15. Sozomen. l. 3. c. 11. *Concil.* tom. 4. p. 825.

(11) L. 2. c. 8.

They examined afterwards into the perſonal accuſations, which were rais'd againſt Athanaſius and Marcellus of Ancyra. The former vindicated himſelf, and was acquitted; and the latter having alledg'd, that Euſebius and his adverſaries had taken thoſe things for poſitive aſſertions, which he had only propoſed as difficulties, was likewiſe reſtor'd. They likewiſe reſtor'd Aſclepas Biſhop of Gaza; and excommunicated and depos'd Theodorus of Heraclea, Narciſſus of Neronias, Stephen of Antioch, George of Laodicea, Menophantus of Epheſus, Urſacius of Singidunum, Valens of Murſa, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Accacius of Cæſarea (12).

(12) Theodor. ibid.

They made alſo ſeveral canons relating to the diſcipline of the church; but theſe canons were never receiv'd by the church as general laws; nor were they ever inſerted in the code of the canons which was approved by the council of Chalcedon. They were never received in the Eaſt; and the Biſhops of Africa always refuſed to acknowledge them. So that, as Mr. Du Pin obſerves (13), they were made uſe of but by the Popes only, who have often cited them under the name of the council of Nice to give them the more weight and authority.

(12) *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 329.

[D] . . . . *they aſſembled themſelves together at Philippopolis in Thrace.*] The Eaſtern Biſhops having left the council of Sardica, met together at Philippopolis, and wrote from thence a letter, which they dated from Sardica, addreſs'd to all the Biſhops in the world. They declaimed with great ſeverity againſt Athanaſius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Aſclepas, and repreſented them as men of very obnoxious characters. They declar'd that they had refus'd to join the Weſtern Biſhops, becauſe the latter had receiv'd to their communion the Biſhops, who had been depoſed in the Eaſt; and upon the ſame account they excommunicated Oſius of Corduba, Protogenes, Gaudentius, Maximin, and Julius of Rome. They complain'd that the whole world was overturn'd, and the church diſturb'd, on account of one or two ill men. They accuſed the Weſtern Biſhops of arrogance, and remonſtrated againſt them for endeavouring to eſtabliſh a new law, in aſſuming to themſelves a liberty of examining a-new what had been already regulated in the Eaſt. They obſerved, that the ancient diſcipline of the church was contrary to this practice; and that the ſentences paſs'd in the Eaſt ought to be confirmed in the Weſt, as thoſe of the Weſt were received in the Eaſt. They prov'd this rule by many inſtances. Laſtly, they ſubjoin'd to this letter a confeſſion of faith, in which they profeſs that *the Son of God was begotten of his Father before all Worlds, and is God of God, Light of Light, and created all things*; and they condemn'd thoſe, who ſay, that *the Son was produc'd out of nothing, or that he is of a different ſubſtance from that of God, and is not God; or that there was a time, when he was not the Son of God.* They likewiſe anathemize thoſe, who ſay, *that there are three Gods, or that Jeſus Chriſt is not God, or that there is more than one Chriſt the Son of God, or that he is the ſame perſon with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt.*

(14) *Col.* 434, &c. and *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 699.

This letter which is ſtill extant in the *Fragments of St. Hilary* (14), is addreſs'd to Gregory of Alexandria, Amphion of Nicomedia, and ſeveral other Biſhops, and among the reſt to Donatus of Carthage. Upon which account the Donatiſts cited it in the conference at Carthage; and the catholic Biſhops, who knew nothing of this hiſtory, aſſerted that the council of Sardica was compoſed of Arian Biſhops (15).

(15) Du Pin *Bibl.* tom. 2. p. 327.

[E] *He had a great ſhare in the baniſhment of Pope Liberius, and bringing Felix into the ſee of Rome.*] The Emperor finding, that Liberius was almoſt the only perſon, who appeared in defence of Athanaſius, and being deſirous that his condemnation ſhould be confirmed by ſo eminent an Authority as that of the Biſhop of Rome, ſent an eunuch to him, in order to prevail upon him to ſign the ſentence againſt Athanaſius. But this ſolicitation was in vain; for the only anſwer he could obtain of him was this, that he would call a free council, and begin with a confeſſion of faith agreeable to that of the council of Nice: that all the Arians ſhould be excluded, and their opinions anathematized; and that afterwards Athanaſius's cauſe ſhould be examined. The Emperor having receiv'd this anſwer, ſent an order to the Governor of Rome to ſeize Liberius immediately, and ſend him to court; which order was executed. When he was brought before the Emperor, he refuſed to ſubſcribe the condemnation of Athanaſius. Conſtantius urging that he had been condemned by the whole world, and telling him, that *he was the only Biſhop, who perſiſted in diſturbing the peace of the Church, in defence of an impious* (ἀνοσίου) *man:* he reply'd, *Tho' I ſhould be the only Biſhop, yet the cauſe of faith is not the leſs good on that account; for there were only the three children formerly, who reſiſted the King's command.* He deſired then that a council might be call'd; but that, before Athanaſius's cauſe ſhould be examined, all the Biſhops ſhould ſubſcribe the Nicene Creed. Conſtantius having ſpoken very ſeverely of Athanaſius, for being the cauſe of the enmity, which his Brother Conſtans had againſt him. Liberius anſwer'd: *You ought not, Sir, to make uſe of Biſhops to revenge your own private animoſities. For the hands of the Clergy ſhould be employ'd only in bleſſing*; αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς τὸ ἁγιάζειν εὐχαρεῖν ὀφείλουσιν (16). At laſt Conſtantius threatning him with baniſhment, he reply'd: *I have already taken my leave of my brethren at Rome; for the laws of the church are much to be preferr'd before the pleaſure of living at Rome.* He had three days more granted him to conſider of the affair; but ſtill continuing in the ſame mind, he was two days after baniſh'd to Berœa in Thrace. The Emperor and Empreſs, and the Eunuch Euſebius offer'd him money to ſupport him in his journey, but he refus'd it, and went to the place of his exile with the utmoſt ſatisfaction (17). The Clergy of Rome having thus loſt their Head, engaged in a ſolemn oath not to elect any other perſon in Liberius's room, while he was living. But Conſtantius by means of Epictetus Biſhop of Gentumallo in Italy cauſed one Felix a Deacon to be ordained Biſhop, tho' he had been one of thoſe, who had ſworn not to elect any perſon in Liberius's room. St. Jerom ſays expreſly, that Acacius had a ſhare in this ordination; *In tantum autem ſub Conſtantio Imperatore claruit, ut in Liberii locum Romæ Felicem Arianum Epiſcopum conſtitueret* (18). The ſame Father, and Socrates the Hiſtorian (19), accuſe Felix of being an Arian; tho' the latter acknowledges, that it was the opinion of ſome perſons, that he was not of the Arian ſcheme, and was compell'd to ſubmit to the ordination: But Theodoret (20), Sozomen (21) and Ruffinus (22), affirm that he was an Arian in point of communion only, and not in doctrine. *In Liberii locum*, ſays Ruffinus, *Felix Diaconus ſuus ab hæreticis ſubrogatur; & non tam ſectæ diverſitate, quam communionis & ordinationis conniventia* perhaps it ſhould be *convenientiâ*) *maculatur.* Baronius (23) likewiſe inclines to acquit Felix of the imputation of Arianiſm. However that be, all the Ancients agree, that his ordination was irregular. Athanaſius (24) ſays, that he was ordain'd in the palace (without the conſent of the people, without being elected by the Clergy,) by Epictetus, in the preſence of three Eunuchs and three Biſhops, who might rather be conſider'd as ſpies (κατασκόπους) than Biſhops. That the

(16) Theodoret. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 2. 16.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) *De Viris Illuſtrib.* c. 98.

(19) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 2. c. 37.

(20) L. 2. c. 17.

(21) L. 4. c. 10.

(22) L. 1. c. 22.

(23) *Annales Eccleſiaſt. ad Ann.* 355. p. 706. tom. 3. edit. Plantin. 1624.

(24) Epiſt. ad Solitar.

ordained St. Cyril Biſhop of Jeruſalem in the year 351 [*F*]; but afterwards had a conteſt with him, and procured him to be depoſed [*G*], and out of reſentment to him ſeparated himſelf from the Semi-Arians, and joined himſelf to the Anomœans (*d*) He defended the latter very vigorouſly in the council of Seleucia [*H*], and that of Conſtantinople,

(*d*) They were called ſo (Ἀνόμοιοι) from their affirming the Son to be unlike the Father in every reſpect.

people would not ſuffer them to enter into the church, and withdrew themſelves from their communion. St. Jerom ſays that he was an Anti-Pope. And Optatus and St. Auſtin in their *Catalogues of the Popes* omit Felix, and place Damaſus immediately after Liberius. Nay ſome modern Authors make no mention of him in their *Catalogues*; and yet he is rank'd amongſt the Martyrs in the greateſt part of the *Martyrologies*.

As for Liberius, who had acted with ſo much reſolution in the times of peace, he grew impatient of the inconveniencies of baniſhment; in which he had not continued two years, before he was prevail'd upon by Demophilus Biſhop of the city where he was baniſh'd, not only to ſign the condemnation of Athanaſius, but likewiſe to approve of a creed which is ſaid to be heterodox. There is a diſpute among the Learned, whether it was the firſt or ſecond creed of Sirmium. St. Jerom ſays expreſly, that he was oblig'd to ſign hereſy; *ad ſubſcriptionem hæreſeos compulit* (25). And all the Ancients ſpeak of this act of Liberius as an approbation of the Arian doctrine (26). However that be, he wrote a letter of communion to the Eaſtern Biſhops, in which after he had excluded Athanaſius from his communion, and acknowledg'd that he approved of the creed, which Demophilus had offered him, he deſired them to uſe all their intereſt and entreaties with the Emperor, that he might be recalled from his exile, and return to the church which God had intruſted him with. He wrote likewiſe at the ſame time two letters to the ſame purpoſe, one to Urſacius and Valens, and the other to Vincentius of Capua; which are cited in the *Fragments of St. Hilary*.

(25) *De Viris Illuſtrib.* cap. 97.
(26) See Du Pin *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 78.

Liberius ſoon after was recalled; for the Emperor being ſatisfy'd with his ſubmiſſion, ſent for him to Sirmium, where he met with the Deputies of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops, who held a kind of council there, in which there was a collection made of the creeds, which had been approved of by the Semi-Arians, in which *the Son is declar'd to be like the Father in ſubſtance*. This was ſubſcrib'd by Liberius, who was ſent to Rome with a letter from the council directed to Felix, the purport of which was, that Liberius and he ſhould govern the church of Rome in conjunction. But Liberius was no ſooner come to Rome, but Felix was obliged to leave the city, and endeavouring to enter it again by force, he was expell'd with diſgrace (27). Liberius having thus fix'd himſelf again in his ſee, as he had before ſubſcribed Athanaſius's condemnation and the Arian creeds contrary to his own inclination; he ſoon repented of what he had done, and declared his aſſent to the Nicene faith, and reconciled himſelf to Athanaſius. He wrote a letter in the year 362 to all the Biſhops in the world, in which he deſires that thoſe Biſhops might be pardoned, who had been ſurpriz'd into an approbation of Arius's opinions; but he anathemizes the Heads of that party, and thoſe who would not abandon their doctrines (28). At laſt the Semi-Arians finding themſelves oppreſſed by the Anomœans, who had a greater intereſt with the Emperor Valens, had recourſe to Liberius, and ſent to him in the year 366, Euſtachius of Sebaſte, with Silvanus and Theophilus Biſhop of Cilicia. Liberius refuſed to receive them at firſt; inſiſting that they were of Arius's party; but they aſſured him that they had quitted thoſe notions, and declared that the Son of God was like his Father in all things, and of the ſame ſubſtance with him; nay they even gave their aſſent to the Nicene creed, and approved of the word *conſubſtantial*, and condemn'd the creeds of Ariminum and Seleucia. Liberius having receiv'd theſe declarations from them, wrote into the Eaſt in their favour. He died ſoon after in the year 366 (29).

(27) Sozomen. l. 4. c. 15.
(28) Fragment. S. Hilarii.
(29) St. Jerom & Marcellin. *in Chronic.* See Du Pin *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 77.

[*F*] *He ordained St. Cyril Biſhop of Jeruſalem in the year* 351.] St. Cyril was ordained Prieſt of the church of Jeruſalem by Maximus Biſhop of that city; but St. Jerom tells us, he refuſed to perform the functions of a Deacon, while that Biſhop was living (30). Socrates (31) and Sozomen (32) inform us, that Acacius and Patrophilus of Scythopolis excluded Maximus, and put St. Cyril in his room. But St. Jerom, who ſpeaks of St. Cyril in a manner, which ſhews that he had no favourable opinion of him, treating him every where as an Arian, ſays that Maximus was dead, when he was ordained. But he accuſes St. Cyril of having perſecuted Heraclius, who had been ordained Biſhop by the Catholics in the room of Maximus, and of having obliged him to continue in the order of Prieſts; *Heraclium quem moriens Maximus in ſuum locum ſubſtituerat, variâ fraude ſollicitans, de Epiſcopo in Presbyterum regradavit* (33). The ſame father (34) and Ruffinus (35) obſerve, that he very frequently changed his faith and communion. With regard to his changing his communion, Du Pin owns the fact (36). Cyril was at firſt of Acacius's communion; then he left it; afterwards he communicated with the Biſhops of Acacius's party in the year 357; then he abandoned them, and joined with Baſil of Ancyra and the ſemi-Arians; at laſt he reconciled himſelf to the orthodox. But as the abovementioned author aſſerts, he never changed his faith, for he always believed the Son to be like the Father in ſubſtance, without condemning the word *Conſubſtantial*, it was Acacius who changed his opinions; for he ſometimes affirmed that the Word was like in ſubſtance, and at other times condemned that doctrine, and approved the notion of the Anomœans; but Meletius reconciled them all, and prevailed upon them to approve of the term *Conſubſtantial*. Mr. Du Pin remarks, that St. Jerom is not to be depended upon, when he ſpeaks of Cyril, becauſe he was prejudiced in favour of Paulinus againſt Meletius and his whole party (37).

(30) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 134.
(31) L. 2. c. 30.
(32) L. 4. c. 19.
(33) St. Jerom. *in Chronic.*
(34) Id. ibid.
(35) L. 10. c. 23.
(36) *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 143. Note (6).
(37) Idem, ibid. p. 144.

[*G*] *But afterwards had a conteſt with him, and procured him to be depoſed.*] Their diſputes about the prerogatives of their ſees very ſoon divided them. The council of Nice (38) had given the Biſhop of Jeruſalem the firſt rank among all the Biſhops of that province, without interfering with the rights of the church of Cæſarea, which is the metropolis of that of Jeruſalem. This honour gave occaſion to the Biſhop of Jeruſalem to aſſume ſeveral extraordinary privileges; and we find that Maximus his predeceſſor ordained Biſhops in Paleſtine, and called a council of the province. But St. Cyril endeavouring to maintain the ſame prerogatives, was interrupted in his attempts by Acacius, who could not ſuffer, that the church of Jeruſalem ſhould uſurp a right which belonged to his own. For that purpoſe he called a council about the year 356, in which he depoſed Cyril, upon pretence that he had ſold the ornaments of the church, and the ſacred veſſels to aſſiſt the poor in the time of famine (39). He choſe in his room Eutychius, who was very probably Biſhop of Eleutheropolis (40).

(38) In the ſeventh Canon.
(39) Sozomen. l. 4. c. 25.
(40) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 134.

[*H*] *He defended the latter very vigorouſly in the council of Seleucia.*] This council conſiſted of an hundred and ſixty Biſhops of two different parties. About forty of them were Arians, who maintained that the Son was not like the Father in ſubſtance; the other were called ſemi-Arians, who profeſſed that the Son was of like ſubſtance with the Father, and rejected the notion of Arius and Aetius. There were a hundred and five of this party. The reſt of the Biſhops were probably defenders of Conſubſtantiality. There was an officer of the Emperor's court, whoſe name was Leonas, preſent in the council, to prevent any diſorder. The ſemi-Arians inſiſted that it was proper to examine perſonal cauſes before they entered upon matters of faith. The Arians on the other hand, whoſe leaders were Acacius, George of Alexandria, Uranius of Tyre, and Eudoxus of Antioch, maintained, that it was proper to begin with points of faith, and carried it againſt the others. They propoſed to reject the Nicene creed, and to form a new one; which the other party oppoſed. Theſe conteſts being carried very high, Leonas at laſt declared that he would put an end to the council, and abſented himſelf from it the next day. Acacius's party took this opportunity to depart. The other Biſhops having cited them to appear, depoſed Acacius, George of

Conſtantinople [*I*], but he repented ſoon after of having engaged in that party; and having ordained Meletius (*e*), Pelagius, and ſeveral other Biſhops, who were of the orthodox faith, he reconciled himſelf to the Catholics, and ſigned the Nicene Creed in the council of Antioch under the Emperor Jovian [*K*]. He died about the year 366 (*f*). He was a man of great genius and diſtinguiſhed learning [*L*]. He gave his name to a ſect who were called Acaciani (*g*). He wrote ſeveral works before he was made a Biſhop, and particularly a book againſt Marcellus of Ancyra, of which Epiphanius has given us a fragment (*h*). Some time after he was made a Biſhop, he wrote the *Life of Euſebius*, his predeceſſor (*i*). St. Jerom (*k*) ſays, that he wrote ſeven volumes of *Commentaries on Eccleſiaſtes*, and ſeven volumes *upon Miſcellaneous Queſtions*, συμμίκτων ζητημάτων, and ſeveral other treatiſes upon various ſubjects. There were ſeveral other perſons of this name, as particularly a Martyr under the Emperor Decius (*l*); a Patriarch of Conſtantinople in the fifth Century (*m*); a Patriarch of Antioch, who ſucceeded Baſil in 458, and died in 459 (*n*); a Biſhop of Amida in Meſopotamia (*o*); a Biſhop of Berœa in Paleſtine (*p*); a Biſhop of Meletum in the fifth Century (*q*), and a famous Rhetorician in the time of Julian the Apoſtate (*r*). Olearius (*s*) has committed an error in ſuppoſing that what Mr. Du Pin has ſaid concerning the author of a memorial of the affair of Acacius Biſhop of Conſtantinople, written in the year 486 (*t*), is to be applied to our Acacius of Cæſarea, who died almoſt a whole Century before the other. For the Biſhops of Conſtantinople and Beroe, ſee the two next articles.

(*e*) Epiphan. *adverſus Hæreſes.* l. 3. tom. 1. c. 28. p. 876. edit. Colon. 1682.
(*f*) Aubert. Miræ in S. Hieron. *de Viris illuſtrib.* c. 98.
(*g*) See J. Forbeſii *Inſtruct. Theolog.* l. 1. c. 2. § 7.
(*h*) *Hæreſ.* 72.
(*i*) Socrat. l. 2. c. 4.
(*k*) *De Viris Illuſtrib.* c. 98.
(*l*) Tillemont, *Memoires Eccleſ.* tom. 3. part 2.
(*m*) Evagr. l. 3.
(*n*) Idem. l. 2. c. 22.
(*o*) Socrat. l. 7. c. 21.
(*p*) Idem, l. 6. c. 18.
(*q*) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.*
(*r*) Sujdas.
(*s*) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticor.* tom. 1. p. 5. edit. Jenæ 1711.
(*t*) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. 4. p. 262.

Alexandria, Uranius of Tyre, and ſix other Biſhops, and excommunicated nine of them. But at laſt the Emperor having heard the cauſe debated in his preſence, prevailed upon all the Biſhops of both parties to aſſent to the Nicene creed, which had been ſigned at Ariminum (41).

(41) Du Pin, *Bibliotb.* tom. 2. p. 334. Socrat. l. 2. c. 39, 40. Sozom. l. 14. c. 23.

[*I*] *And that of Conſtantinople.*] This council was held in the year 360 by Acacius's party, and was compoſed of fifty Biſhops. They invited thither the Biſhops of Bithynia, who were of their party; and approved and publiſhed in that council the creed of the council of Ariminum with a very ſlight variation (42). Then they condemned Aetius, and excommunicated three Biſhops, who would not conſent to his condemnation. But Mr. Du Pin obſerves (43), that as they condemned him only out of policy and regard to the Emperor, they revenged themſelves upon thoſe Biſhops who had oppoſed them in the council of Seleucia, and depoſed the leaders of the ſemi-Arians upon various pretences, and ordained thoſe of Aetius's party in their room.

(42) Socrat. l. 11. cap. 41.

(43) *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 335.

[*K*] *He ſigned the Nicene creed in the council of Antioch under the Emperor Jovian.*] Acacius his party finding the Emperor Jovian inclined to favour the Catholics, joined Meletius Biſhop of Antioch, and held a council in that city in the year 363, in which they declared that they would embrace the Nicene creed, and receive the term *Conſubſtantial*; but at the ſame time they added, that this word was to be underſtood in ſuch a ſenſe, as to ſignify that the Son of God was begotten of the ſubſtance of his Father, and that he is like his Father in ſubſtance; that we are not to believe that there was any paſſion in this ineffable generation; that we muſt not uſe the word *Subſtance* in its natural ſenſe; that this term was only made uſe of to deſtroy the error of Arius, who ſaid, that the Word was produced from nothing, which notion had been revived by the Anomœans. The Biſhops having made this declaration in their letter to the Emperor, they approved of the Nicene creed entirely. The Biſhops who were preſent at this council were Acacius, Meletius of Antioch, Euſebius of Samoſata, Pelagius of Laodicea in Syria, Irenio of Gaza, and Athanaſius of Ancyra (44).

(44) Socrat. l. 3. c. 25. Sozomen. l. 6. c. 4. *Concilior.* tom. 2. p. 827.

[*L*] *He was a man of great genius and diſtinguiſhed learning.*] Sozomen tells us (45), that "he was a "ſon of great ſagacity and eloquence, and indefati- "gable in purſuing his deſigns," Φύσει τὰ δεινὸς ὢν νοῆσαι καὶ λέξαι, καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα εἰς ἔργον ἄγειν. Philoſtorgius ſays, that "Acacius was bold in diſputation, "of great ſagacity in the management of affairs, and "maſter of an happy eloquence in expreſſing his "thoughts. Ὧι δὲ ὁ Ακάκιος θαρσαλέος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, διανοηθῆναί τε πραγμάτος φύσιν ἐξὺς, καὶ λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὸ γνωσθὲν ἱκανός (46). But the ſame author afterwards tells us, that "it was uſual with him to "ſpeak one thing, and mean another." Ἕτερος μὲν ἐν τῇ δόξαι, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν (47).

(45) L. 4. c. 23. See likewiſe l. 3. c. 2.
(46) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 4. c. *ult.*
(47) Idem, ibid.

☞ACACIUS firſt Governor of the Orphans Hoſpital, and afterwards Patriarch of Conſtantinople lived in the fifth Century. He ſucceeded Gennadius in the See of Conſtantinople (*a*) A. C. 471, and died in 489, having been Patriarch ſeventeen years and nine months (*b*). He was ſo ambitious, that he maintained his See ought to have the pre-eminence over thoſe of Alexandria, Antioch and Jeruſalem. His intention, 'tis probable, was to draw by degrees the whole power and authority of the Biſhop of Rome to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople; but as he was very cunning and artful, he pretended only at firſt that the church of Conſtantinople was to have the firſt rank after that of Rome; and to compaſs his deſign he prevailed with the Emperor Leo to reſtore and confirm all the privileges which the churches once enjoyed, and eſpecially that of Conſtantinople (*c*); but by the words of the Emperor's decree it appears that Acacius had more extenſive views [*A*]. Pope Simplicius was ſo well appris'd of this, and ſo apprehenſive

(*a*) Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. c. 21.
(*b*) Ann. Pagi *ad ann.* 489.
(*c*) Baron. *ad ann.* 472.

[*A*] *Acacius had larger views.*] Theſe are the Emperor's words, as they are quoted by Baronius (1), *Sacroſanctam quoque religioſiſſimæ hujus civitatis eccleſiam & matrem noſtræ pietatis & Chriſtianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, & ejuſdem regiæ urbis ſanctiſſimam fidem privilegia & honores omnes, ſuper Epiſcoporum ordinationibus, & jure ante alios reſidendi, & cætera omnia, quæ ante noſtrum imperium, vel nobis imperantibus habuiſſe dignoſcitur, habere in perpetuum firmiter regiæ urbis intuitu judicamus & ſancimus* (2). That is, "We order and decree, out of "regard to our royal city, that the holy church of "this moſt religious city, the mother of our piety "and of all orthodox Chriſtians, do enjoy for ever "the moſt holy faith (now eſtabliſhed) in this ſame "royal city, with all the privileges and honours that re- "late to the ordaining of Biſhops, and to the right of "precedency, which that city enjoyed either be- "fore our reign or ſince we came to the crown." Tho' no expreſs mention is made of Rome in this decree, yet as it is written in general words, the Emperor might very well have had a mind to ſubmit, if not expreſly, yet in an obſcure manner, the church of Rome to that of Conſtantinople. And Baronius is of opinion that this decree was dictated by Acacius himſelf, for, ſays he (3), a pious Prince as Leo was, could not ſay that the church of Conſtantinople was the mother of all the Chriſtians, and of the orthodox Religion. There is reaſon to believe, that Acacius ſeeing the Weſtern Empire was in a declining condition,

(1) *Annal. ad ann.* 472.
(2) L. 16. *Cod. de Sacroſanct. Eccleſ.*
(3) Ibid.

henſive leſt Acacius ſhould encroach upon his power and authority, that he oppoſed him as much as he could; but his letters being loſt, we cannot know exactly what reſiſtance he made. Felix III. his ſucceſſor reſiſted Acacius vigorouſly, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Acacius, though ſecretly in the intereſt of the Eutychians, ſeemed at firſt very zealous for the council of Chalcedon [B], in which the hereſy of Eutyches had been condemned. Baſiliſcus, who uſurped the Imperial crown, having wrote a circular letter, or edict, in which he condemned the council of Chalcedon (c) [C], Acacius

(c) Ap. Evagr. *H. E.* l. 3. c. 4.

dition, and that of the Eaſt very flouriſhing, thought the capital city of that Empire was now to take, in all reſpects, the place of old Rome (4). Baronius endeavours to confute him by diſtinguiſhing the temporal Authority from the ſpiritual; the firſt following the Emperor wherever he goes, but the ſecond being fixed by Chriſt himſelf to the city of Rome: This is a very good argument ſuppoſing the infallibility of the Pope, that is ſuppoſing, what was to be proved: Otherwiſe one would be apt to think, that thoſe cities, where Princes keep their court, muſt generally be better provided with able and learned Clergymen than any other city; and therefore if any diſputes ariſe about religious or eccleſiaſtical matters, which cannot be decided in the places where they happen, the beſt way is to have them determined by thoſe Clergymen that live near the court. This ſuppoſes indeed that Clergymen are preferred according to their merit and learning; but how far this is true we ſhall not venture to determine.

(4) Baron. ibid.

[B] *Acacius — ſeem'd at firſt very zealous for the Council of Chalcedon.*] "Peter ſurnamed the *Fuller*, "profeſſed publickly the opinions of Eutyches, for "which reaſon he was removed from his EpiſcopalSee "of Antioch; and having been reſtored to it by this "Emperor Zeno, he wrote a letter to Acacius in which "he maintain'd the Eutychian hereſy. Acacius, who "was his friend, and had been the principal promoter "of his reſtoration, was nevertheleſs ſo offended at his "hereſy, that he aſſembled a ſynod of Biſhops at "Conſtantinople, in which the opinions of Peter were "unanimouſly condemned." *Petrus Fullo epiſtolam quandam blaſphemiis pleniſſimam ſcripſit ad Acacium, quando ejus opera expulſo Calendonio in ſedem Antiochenam invectus fuit. Hanc cum Acacius accepiſſet, exhorreſcens tot blaſphemiorum involucrum inſtar ſerpentum, — ad dementem hominem curandum Conſtantinopoli concilium Epiſcoporum congregavit, quo omnium orthodoxorum unanimi conſenſu inſanus ille inſani Fullonis error condemnatus fuit* (5). When the ſynod was riſen Acacius wrote a letter to Peter the Fuller, in which he warned him "not to go out of the com-"mon road, leſt he ſhould be a ſtranger to the Prieſt-"hood of God, but to follow the fathers of the council "of Chalcedon." *Abſolutus ſynodo Acacius literas ad Petrum Fullonem dedit, ibique eum exhortatus, ne viam non tritam incedat, ſicque a Dei ſacerdotio alienus fiat, ſed ut viam ſequatur, quam ſecuti ſunt patres Chalcedonenſes* (6). Thus we ſee, how zealous Acacius appear'd for the orthodox faith. But we ſhall ſhew hereafter (7) that this was nothing but mere affectation and policy.

(5) Tom. 4. *Concil. ad Ann.* 483.

(6) Ibid.

(7) In the Remar [D].

[C] *In which he condemns the council of Chalcedon.*] Here follows the ſubſtance of his letter or edict. He firſt confirms the laws which the Emperors his predeceſſors had made concerning the Trinity. He ſays, that as the union and concord of all the Chriſtians is the ſtrongeſt bulwark of his Empire, as well as the moſt effectual means of their ſalvation, he orders the Nicene creed only to be uſed in all the churches of God and the aſſemblies of the orthodox; that rule of faith being ſufficient to overthrow all hereſies, and to unite all the churches. He alſo confirms the council of Conſtantinople, and that of Epheſus. But as for thoſe things, which tend to diſturb the union and tranquillity of the churches and the peace of the whole world, ſuch as the code of Leo and whatever was done in the council of Chalcedon either with regard to faith, or to the explication of the creed, he condemns, as being contrary to the council of Nice. His own words deſerve to be inſerted in this place. Τὰ δὲ διέλοντα τὴν ἕνοσιν καὶ ἐυταξίαν τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῦ κόσμου πανὸς, δηλαδὴ τὸν λεγόμενον τόμον Λέοντος, καὶ πανὸα τὰ ἐν Καλχηδόνι, ἐν ὅρῳ πίσεως, ἐκθέσει συμβόλων, ἢ ἑρμηνείας, διδασκαλίας, ἢ διαλέξεως εἰρημένα καὶ πεπραγμένα εἰς καινοτομίαν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου συμβόλου τῶν τιὴ ἁγίων πατέρων, θεσπίζομεν ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ παντάχοῦ καθ' ἑκάσην ἐκκλησίαν, παρὰ τῶν ἀπαύξαχοῦ ἁγιατῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀναθεματίζεσθαι καὶ περὶ παραδίδοσθαι (8). That is, "Thoſe things, which have diſturbed the "union and order of the holy churches of God, and "the peace of the whole world, viz. the *Tome* of "Leo, as it is called, and whatever has been decreed "at Chalcedon, in the definition of the faith, and "in the expoſition of ſymbols, either to explain, to "teach, or to diſpute; tending to introduce an in-"novation in the holy creed drawn up by the three "hundred eighteen Fathers (*of the council of Nice*) "(*all thoſe things*) we order to be anathematized, and "to be burnt, wherever they be found." The Emperor alſo condemns thoſe, who deny that the only Son of God was born of the Virgin Mary, and was truly made man, and maintain that he received his fleſh from heaven, or that he only took it ſeemingly and not really. He requires further that all the Biſhops ſubſcribe this epiſtle; and thoſe that act any way contrary to it, he declares to be the authors of tumults and ſeditions in church and ſtate, and enemies of God and of himſelf: if therefore they be Biſhops or Clerks, he condemns them to be depoſed, and if Monks or Lay-men, to be baniſh'd, their goods forfeited, and themſelves ſubject to the moſt ſevere puniſhment. Baronius and other Writers diſclaim very much againſt Baſiliſcus for having wrote this letter; but we are rather inclined to believe, that this Prince intended to remove the ſcruples which the council of Chalcedon might raiſe in the minds of honeſt but unlearned Chriſtians. That council in order to explode the pretended hereſy of Eutyches, had enter'd into ſuch minute particulars concerning the perſon of Chriſt and the union of the Divine and human nature in one hypoſtaſis, as could not but puzzle extremely thoſe who were no ſcholars, and did not underſtand the nice diſtinctions of the Philoſophers and Divines. The definition of the council, as related by Evagrius, is this. Τοὺς παθητὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς λέγειν τολμῶντας τὴν θεότητα τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθεῖται συλλόγε, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν δύο φύσιων τοῦ Χριστοῦ κρᾶσιν, ἢ σύγχυσιν ἐπινοοῦσιν ἀπίστατε, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανίε ἢ ἑτέρας τινὸς οὐσίας τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ θήλυ μερφὴν παρεκβάσιος ἐξελαύνει, καὶ δύο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως φύσεις τοῦ Κυρίου μυθεύοντας, μίαν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀναπλάτοντας, ἀναθεματίζει.— Ὁμολογοῦμεν ϗ καὶ συμφώνως ἅπαντες, διδάσκομεν — ἕνα τὸν αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, Υἱὸν, Κύριον, μονογενῆ ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον. οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης ϗ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον, καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης· οὐχ ὡς εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον, ἢ διαιρούμενον (9). That is, "Thoſe, who dare to maintain that the Di-"vinity of the Son is paſſible, (or can ſuffer) he * ex-"pels the aſſembly of the Saints. He alſo oppoſes "thoſe who imagine that there has been a mixture or "confuſion between the two natures of Chriſt. It "rejects thoſe, who ſay, that the form of a ſervant, "which Chriſt took up among us, was of a heaven-"ly ſubſtance, or of any other. Finally it anathe-"matizes thoſe, who pretend that Chriſt had two na-"tures before the union (of theſe natures) but only "one after the union — And we confeſs and all una-"nimouſly teach — one Jeſus Chriſt, Son, Lord, on-"ly-begotten, (acknowledged) in two Natures, with-"out confuſion, immutably, indiviſibly, and inſepa-"rably. The difference of the two natures being "not taken away by the union, the properties of ei-"ther nature being rather preſerved, concurring in "one perſon and in one *hypoſtaſis*, and not divided "or parted into two perſons." If this decree of the council of Chalcedon be compared with the letter of Baſiliſcus, it will appear, that the Emperor agrees with the council in what is moſt eſſential; and that he only explodes ſome nice diſtinctions and too curious explications, which ſeem calculated only to puzzle mens conſciences, and to occaſion diſcontent, diſputes and diviſions among Chriſtians.

(8) Ap. Evagr. *H. E.* lib 3. cap. 4. p. 336. edit. Reading.

(9) *Ap.* Evagr. *H. E.* lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 291.

* Pope Leo in his letter to Flavianus, which letter the council approves.

Acacius affected with the deepeſt ſorrow ſtirred up the Monks and all the people [*D*] of Conſtantinople againſt Baſiliſcus, repreſenting him as an arch-heretick (*d*). Baſiliſcus, frightened at this, retracted his former letter, as though it had been ſurreptitious, ordered that it ſhould be cancell'd, and wrote another letter, in which he confirmed the council of Chalcedon (*e*) [*E*], and, what Acacius principally deſired, reſtored to him the authority he claimed, of ordaining the Biſhops of ſeveral Provinces. Acacius now in the height of his power ſoon made it appear, that his zeal againſt the followers of Eutyches was nothing elſe but policy, for he was a great friend and ſupporter of Peter Mongus an Eutychian, who having been depoſed from the Biſhoprick of Alexandria, was reſtored by the credit of Acacius (*f*), notwithſtanding the letters which Pope Simplicius wrote to him, deſiring him to oppoſe the reſtoration of that Heretic as much as lay in his power. In the mean time the Emperor Zeno, who then had already wreſted the Imperial ſcepter out of the hands of Baſiliſcus, publiſhed an edict of union * [*F*] directed to the Biſhops, Clergy, Monks, and people of Alexandria, Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis; his intention was to baniſh all diſputes and diviſions by that edict, in which he maintains the Nicene creed, and condemns expreſly Neſtorius and Eutyches (*g*). This edict was probably dictated by Acacius himſelf (*b*), Peter Mongus having ſubſcribed to it, there were, it ſeems, no reaſons to ſuſpect him any longer of heterodoxy. But Pope Felix III, who had now ſucceeded to Simplicius, rejected the Emperor's edict, and eſpouſed the cauſe of John Talaia or Talaida [*G*], who had been expelled the See of Alexandria by the friends of Mongus. Felix, to determine the cauſe between theſe two competitors, and in all likelihood to humble the pride of Acacius, who being a favourite of the Emperor, was now powerful in the Eaſt, aſſembled a Synod at Rome, in which it was reſolved that a letter ſhould be wrote to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, complaining of the injury done to the church and to the Catholic faith, by thoſe who had betrayed it, and deſiring that they might be puniſhed; that a letter ſhould alſo be written to Acacius, reproaching him with conniving at Heretics, and ſummoning him to appear before the Pope, and anſwer to all

(*d*) Evagr. ibid. c. 7.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Evagr. ibid. c. 13 and 20

* It is called Ἑνωτικὸν, *Henoticon*.

(*g*) *Apud Eund.* ibid. cap. 14.

(*b*) Theophanes, *in Chronographia*, p. 89.

(27) 1 Cor. i. 10.

[*D*] *Stirred up the monks and all the people of Conſtantinople.*] Dr. Cave, who ſeems to entertain a very great opinion of Acacius, ſays that "he maintained "the Catholic Faith with an invincible conſtancy; and "that by the credit he had with the people and friars "of Conſtantinople, he brought things to that paſs, "that the Emperor fearing an inſurrection, cancell'd "his former edict." *Acacius invicta animæ conſcientia fidem Catholicam propugnavit, & authoritate ſua apud plebem C. P. & Monachos effecit ut tumultum graviſſimum veritus Baſiliſcus edictum — revocaverit* (10). From theſe words of Dr. Cave one would conclude, that the Emperor only feared an inſurrection, but that the people had not yet revolted. Whereas Evagrius ſays expreſly, that Acacius συγκινῆσαι τὸ μοναδικὸν καὶ τὸ δῆμον (11), "excited the monks and people." Theophanes does not accuſe Acacius of being the author of the revolt, but he ſays, that "Acacius ſeeing a "great number of the Clergy and Monks of Con"ſtantinople aſſembled to ſupport the council of "Chalcedon was ſo frightened at it, that he feigned to "be of their opinion, and preached from the pulpit "againſt Baſiliſcus and Zeno." Τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ΚΠ. ὑπερμαχούντων τῆς ἁγίας ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου φοβηθεὶς Ἀκάκιος, τὰ πλήθη ὁμοφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπεκρίνατο· ὅθεν ἐπὶ ἄμβωνος κατὰ Βασιλίσκου καὶ Ζήνωνος προσεφώνει (12). This agrees much better with the whole conduct of Acacius, who was a great friend and ſupporter of Peter the Fuller, and Peter Mongus, two Eutychian Biſhops.

(10) *Hiſt. Lit.* p. 364.

(11) Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 7.

(12) Theophan. *Chronogr.* p. 84.

[*E*] *He confirmed the council of Chalcedon.*] Evagrius ſays it expreſly, and immediately after this, he gives us (13) the letter of Baſiliſcus, in which Neſtorius and Eutyches are indeed expreſly condemned, but no mention is made of the council of Chalcedon: But the Emperor does not forget to reſtore to Acacius the right of ordaining Biſhops in ſeveral provinces. The council of Chalcedon had granted that privilege to the Archbiſhops of Conſtantinople, and that council being exploded, Acacius would have loſt his privileges; this it ſeems was the only reaſon which obliged that ambitious Prelate to oppoſe the former letter of the Emperor, and to oblige him to write another: and the council of Chalcedon not being mentioned in that letter, ſeems to be an effect of the cunning of Acacius, who favouring the Eutychians, tho' not yet openly, would not have the council of Chalcedon directly approved.

(13) Lib. 3. cap. 3.

[*F*] *An edict of union.*] This edict had ſo far the intended effect, that the people of Alexandria having read it, joined in communion with the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church (14). This edict was not expreſly condemned by the church for fear of offending the Emperor, and creating greater diviſions and ſchiſms; and alſo becauſe Zeno far from exploding directly the council of Chalcedon, did in expreſs words condemn the opinion of Eutyches, and in his private letters to the Biſhops of Rome admitted the council we have mentioned. Natalis (15) Alexander ſhews by the very words of this edict that it did not contain any hereſy. But, ſays the Author, from whom I borrow this remark, Zeno's edict has been prejudicial to the orthodox faith, and favourable to the hereticks, becauſe it does not mention St. Leo's letter, nor the definitions of the council of Chalcedon, and becauſe it does not contain theſe words *ex duabus* and *in duabus naturis, of two*, and *in two natures*, which are the diſtinguiſhing marks of the catholick faith, againſt the Eutychian hereſy (16). But it ſeems that the Emperor having a mind to unite the Chriſtians, and to put a ſtop to their quarrels and diviſions, was very much in the right to ſuppreſs thoſe party-expreſſions, which tend only to create and foment hatred and diviſions among thoſe, who ought to be *perfectly joined together in the ſame mind and in the ſame judgment* (17). And it were to be wiſhed that all party-expreſſions were left out of our creeds.

(14) Evagr. *H.E.* lib. 3. cap. 14.

(15) *Sæcul.* V. cap. 3. *in Diſſert.* xviii.

(16) *Ap.* Evagr. lib. 3. c. 14. *in not. var. nota* a.

[*G*] *John Talaia, or Talaida.*] Thus he is called by Liberatus; but Valeſius (18) thinks he ſhould rather be called *Thladias*, the Eunuch, that being the meaning of the Greek word Θλάδιας. This John was a Prieſt, and Purſe-keeper, or Treaſurer of the church of St. John the Baptiſt at Alexandria. He was ſent to Conſtantinople, to petition the Emperor, that when Timothy, the then Biſhop of Alexandria, ſhould die, the citizens might have the liberty to chooſe his ſucceſſor: The Emperor ſoon found out that this ambitious man coveted the biſhoprick for himſelf, therefore he made him ſwear, that he would never accept it; afterwards the Emperor granted the requeſt of the Alexandrines, and publiſhed a law by which he enacted that after the death of Timothy, the Clergy and people of Alexandria ſhould chuſe their own Biſhop. Timothy dying a little while after, John forgetting his oath diſpoſed money among the people, to be made a Biſhop; which ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. The Emperor hearing of this, ordered that John be expelled from his See, and Peter Mongus reſtored to it (19). Hence we may judge what honeſt views the Popes Simplicius and Felix III. had when they ſupported the intereſt of a man guilty both of ſimony and of perjury; but theſe, it ſeems, are ſmall crimes, if compared with heterodoxy.

(17) 1 Cor. i. 10.

(18) *In Diſſert. de duab. Synod. in quib. Acacius damnatus eſt*, cap. xi.

(19) Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 12.

all the articles drawn up againſt him; and that the Emperor ſhould be deſired to compel him to it (*i*). Theſe letters were brought to Conſtantinople by Vitalis and Miſenus both Biſhops, and by Felix Protector of the Church of Rome. The Emperor anſwered the Pope, that he ought not to trouble himſelf with the affair of John Talaida, ſince that man had ſworn he would never attempt to get into the Epiſcopal See of Alexandria, and that afterwards breaking his oath, he had committed all manner of ſacrileges. That Peter Mongus had been promoted to that See after a diligent inquiry; that he had with his own hand ſubſcribed to the faith of the Nicene council (*k*); I ſuppoſe the Emperor made this anſwer at the inſtigation of Acacius, who had alſo prevailed upon Vitalis and Miſenus to communicate with him [*H*] and with his followers, or as Evagrius calls them, with the Heretics (*l*). The Pope hearing how his Legates had prevaricated, aſſembled a ſynod againſt them as ſoon as they were returned to Rome, and deprived them of their Biſhopricks; he alſo excommunicated Acacius and Peter Mongus (*m*); but he did not think fit to ſend immediately to Acacius the ſentence pronounced againſt him, in hopes, ſays Valeſius (*n*), that he would repent, and renounce the communion of the Hereticks. But Acacius truſting to the Emperor's favour, far from altering his conduct, ſtretched his power and authority farther ſtill; for he depoſed Calandion Biſhop of Antioch, whom he had himſelf ordained for that Biſhoprick, and reſtored Peter the Fuller to that See (*o*), which he had already enjoyed, but had been depoſed as an Heretick. The Pope hearing of this held another ſynod of forty three Biſhops at Rome, in which Acacius and Peter the Fuller were again excommunicated. Tutus Protector of the Church of Rome was ſent to Acacius to deliver him the Pope's letter, in which was contained the ſentence of excommunication and deprivation [*I*]. This letter with the ſentence being delivered to Acacius, not by Tutus himſelf, but by ſome Monks, occaſioned a ſedition, in which ſeveral Monks were killed, by perſons who were of Acacius's party; others were ſeverely pelted, and ſome were thrown into priſon (*p*). Acacius received the ſentence without any concern, and to be even with the Pope, he eraſed his name out of the ſacred *Diptichs*, that is, out of the liſt of thoſe Biſhops, whoſe names were mentioned in the publick prayers; this was breaking off all fellowſhip with him. He alſo depoſed all the orthodox Biſhops, ſays Godeau (*q*), and put Heretics in their places; and being ſupported by the Emperor, he enjoyed his Biſhoprick quietly till his death, which happened in the year 488 (*r*). It is not an eaſy thing to give a true character of this Biſhop, for whatever we know of him has been tranſmitted to us by his profeſſed enemies. If the facts, they relate, are true, we may, it ſeems, infer from them, that Acacius was a very ambitious man, who minded religion only ſo far as it was ſubſervient to his views, who being ſecretly an Eutychian, declared for the council of Chalcedon, only becauſe the privileges of his See had been confirmed in that council, and rejected that council, or at leaſt did not care to obey its decrees, as ſoon as his credit and authority were well ſettled: A haughty man, who could not bear that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have the pre-eminence over him; and who ſupported the Eutychians to contradict the Pope, and to have an opportunity of exerting his own power and authority. Suidas ſays that he was ſo proud, and thirſted ſo much after honour and glory, that with his conſent his picture was ſet up in the churches, which no Biſhop ever permitted before him. The Roman Catholic authors give him generally a very bad character. But if we were

(*i*) Id. ibid. c. 18. See alſo Valeſius, *Diſſert. de Acacio Conſtant. Epiſ.* at the end of the third volume of the *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Scrip.* Gr. edit. Reading.

(*k*) Id. ibid. c. 20.

(*l*) Ibid. c. 21.

(*m*) Valeſius, *Diſſert. de Acacio Conſt.* c. 2.

(*n*) Ibid. cap. 3.

(*o*) Valeſ. ibid. Evagr. lib. 3. *H. E.* cap. 16.

(*p*) Theophanes, *Chronogr.* p. 91.

(*q*) *Hiſt. Eccl. V. Siecle*, T. 3. Liv. 3. p. 666.

(*r*) Cave *Hiſt. Liter.* p. 364.

[*H*] *Acacius prevailed upon Vitalis and Miſenus to communicate with him.*] When the Pope's Legates were come to Abydos in their way to Conſtantinople, they were there detained by the order of Zeno and of Acacius; their letters were taken from them, they were put in priſon, and Zeno threatened them that they ſhould be put to death, if they did not come into fellowſhip with Acacius and Peter Mongus, that is, look upon them as orthodox, and take the ſacrament with them upon occaſion: This is what Theophanes relates (20). Valeſius adds (21) from Pope Gelaſius, that when the Emperor and the Patriarch ſaw they could not prevail over the Legates by threatning, they endeavoured to entice them by fair words, and what is more powerful by gifts and preſents; promiſing them alſo upon oath, that their coming into fellowſhip with Acacius and Peter Mongus, would not in the leaſt injure the cauſe they were to maintain.

(20) *In Chronograph.* p. 91.

(21) *In Diſſert. de Acacio*, cap. 2.

[*I*] *The ſentence of excommunication and deprivation.*] The Greeks blamed this ſentence againſt Acacius for the following reaſons; becauſe he had not been condemned by a council or ſynod, but by the Pope himſelf, who alone ſubſcribed his name to the ſentence. And indeed the two ſynods held at Rome, and in which he was condemned, had not been called together on his account; the firſt being aſſembled againſt Vitalis and Miſenus the Pope's Legates, who were depoſed for their prevarication, as we have ſaid, and Acacius only cenſured and ſeverely reproved as Evagrius relates (22). The ſecond ſynod was held on account of the diviſions of the church of Antioch; in that ſynod Peter the Fuller was condemned for having invaded the Epiſcopal See of that City, and Peter Mongus Biſhop of Alexandria and Acacius were condemned for being favourers and abettors of Peter the Fuller (23). If then a Biſhop cannot be lawfully condemned, but in a ſynod held particularly on his account, the complaint of the Greeks was very well grounded. As to their other complaint, viz. that the Pope alone ſubſcribed to the ſentence of Acacius, Felix himſelf anſwers in theſe words: *Quoties intra Italiam propter eccleſiaſticas cauſas præcipue fidei colliguntur Domini Sacerdotes, conſuetudo retinetur, ut ſucceſſor Præſulum ſedis apoſtolicæ, ex perſona cunctorum totius Italiæ Sacerdotum juxta ſollicitudinem ſibi eccleſiarum omnium competentem, cuncta conſtituat* (24). That is, "Whenever the Prieſts of the Lord are aſſembled "in Italy on account of eccleſiaſtical affairs, eſ- "pecially of ſuch affairs as relate to the faith, it is "uſual for the ſucceſſor of the Prelates of the Apo- "ſtolick See, to determine every thing in the name "of all the Prieſts of Italy, according to the care "which he is obliged to take of all the churches." Thus the Pope determines in his own cauſe; but the Greek churches, it ſeems, were not obliged to ſubmit to his determination. They alſo complain'd, that Acacius had not been examined nor convicted according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. To which Gelaſius anſwers, that "Acacius having himſelf laid open his crime in his "letters, this was a ſufficient confeſſion without any "further inquiry; *Cum proprium crimen ſuis literis ipſe detexerit, nec audiri debuerit jam ſponte confeſſus* (25) But this was a mere begging of the queſtion, ſince. Acacius never confeſſed, he had done any thing that deſerved cenſure.

(22) Lib. 3. cap. 21.

(23) Valeſius ad Evagr. *H. E.* lib. 3. cap. 18. note 1.

(24) *Felicis Epiſt. Apud* Valeſium, ibid.

(25) Gelaſ. *apud eund.* ibid.

were acquainted with all the circumſtances of his actions, they would perhaps appear in another light. We find in the ſentence of his excommunication a paſſage, which deſerves to be taken notice of [K]. There are two letters of Acacius extant, one to Peter the Fuller (s) in Greek and Latin; the other to Pope Simplicius about the ſtate of the Church of Alexandria (t), in Latin only (u).

(s) In Tom. iv. *Concil.* p. 1098.
(t) Ibid. p. 1080.
(u) Cave, *Hiſt. Liter.* p. 364.

[K] *A paſſage, which deſerves to be taken notice of.*] The Pope ſpeaks after this manner; *Sublatum tibi nomen & munus miniſterii ſacerdotalis agnoſce, Sancti Spiritus judicio, apoſtolica auctoritate damnatus, nunquamque anathematis vinculis exuendus* (26). That is, "Know that you are deprived of the name and "office of a Prieſt, and that you are condemned by "the Holy Ghoſt, and by the Apoſtolick Authority, "and that you are *never to be delivered from the chains* "*of this anathema.*" Here the haughty Pope delivers his enemy to the devil irretrievably and for ever. Valeſius (27) himſelf finds this an exceſſive ſeverity, unworthy the Vicegerent of Chriſt. But, ſays he, the Pope who always wiſhed for the converſion of Acacius, could not propoſe to anathematize him for ever; he only intended to threaten him, that if he did not repent, his ſentence would never be repealed: Valeſius confirms this by a paſſage from Pope Gelaſius, but whether the words of Felix admit of ſuch a modification let the reader judge.

(26) *Ap.* Valeſium, *Diſſert. de Acacio*, cap. 6.

(27) Ibid.

☞ACACIUS Biſhop of Berœe in Syria, lived in the fourth Century, and in the beginning of the fifth. Having been brought up from his youth in a monaſtery, it is ſaid he conſtantly led a virtuous life (a). When yet in Prieſt-orders and Abbot of a monaſtery, he prevailed upon Epiphanius to write againſt hereſies. Acacius was ſo much valued by Flavianus (b), afterwards Biſhop of Antioch (c), that he employed him in a very important affair. There was a famous Anchoret called Julianus, and Saba by the Syrians. In the diſputes between the Orthodox and the Arians, each party pretended they had Julianus on their ſide. Flavianus, to confound the Arians, ſent Acacius to the Anchoret, in order that he might prevail with him to return to Antioch, and there openly confute the untruths of the Arians and confirm the Orthodox faith. Acacius happily ſucceeded in his commiſſions. Julianus went to Antioch, and in his way thither performed a great many miracles, if we may credit Theodoret (d). Some time after (e) Acacius was promoted to the Biſhoprick of Berœe, and conſecrated by Euſebius Biſhop of Samoſata (f). He was (g) at the council of Conſtantinople held in the year 381, in which were preſent an hundred and fifty Biſhops (h). Acacius was afterwards ſent to Rome by Flavianus (whom he had conſecrated Biſhop of Antioch) to reconcile the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, who had long been at variance on account of Flavianus himſelf, and Paulinus, who both had been Biſhops of Antioch [A] at the ſame time, the Eaſtern ſiding with Flavianus, and the Weſtern favouring the party of Paulinus (i); that party, after the death of Paulinus, inſtead of ſubmitting to Flavianus, had conſecrated Evagrius. The Emperor Theodoſius [B] being at Rome, the Weſtern Biſhops complained to him of Flavianus, repreſenting him as a tyrant, and petitioned the Emperor to depoſe him. Theodoſius (k) favouring Flavianus became

(a) Sozomenus, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 28.
(b) Theodoritus, *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 4. cap. 27.
(c) Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 23.
(d) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 27.
(e) A. D. 381.
(f) Theodor. ibid. lib. 5. c. 4.
(g) Id. ibid. c. 8.
(h) Socr. *H. E.* lib. 5. cap. 8.
(i) Theodor. *H. E.* lib. 5. c. 23.
(k) Theophanis *Chronogr.* p. 50.

[A] *Flavianus and Paulinus had been Biſhops of Antioch at the ſame time.*] To clear this we muſt trace the hiſtory a little higher. Under the reign of the Emperor Conſtantius, who favoured the Arians, one Meletius had been promoted to the See of Antioch (1); at firſt he only preached upon moral ſubjects, but venturing afterwards to explain the Nicene Faith, and to maintain the *Conſubſtantiality* of Chriſt, the Emperor was ſo offended at it that he baniſhed him; and Euzoïus an Arian was elected in his room (2). Upon this, they who favoured Meletius, left the Arian congregation, and held ſeparate meetings: this however was not done by all the orthodox, for a great many of them ſcrupled to ſide with Meletius, becauſe he had been elected by the Arians (3), who thought he was of their opinion (4). Thus the church of Alexandria was divided into two parties, not to mention that of the Arians. Some time after Paulinus was made Biſhop of the Orthodox party at Antioch (5), ſo that there were three Biſhops for that ſee, Meletius who by the order of the Emperor Julian returned from his baniſhment, Euzoïus, who was Biſhop over the Arians, and Paulinus over one part of the orthodox (6). Euzoïus was afterwards tranſlated by the Arians to the ſee of Alexandria (7). Meletius having been baniſhed a ſecond time by the Emperor Valens, was again reſtored by *Gratian:* and being come to Antioch, thoſe of his party would oblige him to enjoy the Epiſcopal See in concert with Paulinus: But Paulinus repreſented that it was againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, for one who had been ordained by the Arians, to partake of the Epiſcopal Authority. Thoſe who favoured Meletius hearing this, procured him, tho' in a riotous manner, a church without the city, where he might exerciſe his functions over them. This occaſioned at firſt a great uproar; however both parties ſoon came to this agreement, viz. that all thoſe, who aſpired to be Biſhops of Antioch ſhould promiſe upon oath, that they would not accept of that Biſhoprick, till after Meletius and Paulinus were both dead, and that as ſoon as one of them ſhould die, the other ſhould be acknowledged ſole and lawful Biſhop. Flavianus was one of the ſix who took that oath (8). But it ſeems an oath was not much valued by him, for Meletius was no ſooner dead, but his party forgetting their agreement with the abetters of Paulinus, choſe Flavianus for their Biſhop, who did not ſcruple to accept the ſee, and was conſecrated accordingly (9). Paulinus dying ſome time after, his party elected Evagrius, and would not ſubmit to Flavianus; 'tis plain they were in the right in this; ſince that man, becauſe of his perjury, was unworthy the high ſtation he enjoyed in the church. Hence we may judge how ſcrupulouſly honeſt Acacius was, ſince he ſupported the intereſt of a perjur'd Biſhop, who was guilty of a double crime, firſt of perjury, ſecondly of dividing a ſecond time the church, whoſe peace had been reſtored by the agreement made between Meletius and Paulinus. This new diviſion occaſioned by Flavianus laſted at leaſt ſeventeen years (10).

[B] *The Emperor Theodoſius* &c. Either Theodoret who relates this muſt be miſtaken as to the circumſtance of the time, or Sozomen; for this laſt hiſtorian tells us (11), that John Chryſoſtom, a little while after he was raiſed to the ſee of Conſtantinople, intending to unite the eaſtern and weſtern churches, divided upon account of Paulinus, ſpoke himſelf to Theophilus *, and deſired him to aſſiſt him in the deſign he had of reconciling the Biſhop of Rome to Flavianus: Theophilus complied with his requeſt, and accordingly Acacius and Iſidorus were ſent to Rome. Now 'twas after the death of Theodoſius, in the beginning of Arcadius's reign, that John was made Biſhop of Conſtantinople. What would make me think that Theodoret miſtakes, is, that he places this whole affair under Pope Innocent I, ſucceſſor of Anaſtaſius I. now 'twas after the death of Theodoſius, that Anaſtaſius was choſen Biſhop of Rome (12).

(1) Socrates, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 44.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Theodorit. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 31.
(5) Socrates, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 6.
(6) Id. ibid. c. 9.
(7) Id. lib. 4. c. 21.
(8) Socrates, lib. 5. cap. 5.
(9) Id. ibid. cap. 9
(10) Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 23.
(11) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 8. cap. 3.
* Biſhop of Alexandria.
(12) See the *Annotations* of Valeſius and Will. Lowth on Theodorit. lib. 5. cap. 24. edit. Reading. Cambridge 1720.

came his advocate, and adviſed the Biſhops to be reconciled to him, and to promote the peace of the church, Paulinus was now dead, and Evagrius had been unlawfully ordained; he told them alſo, that Flavianus was acknowledged by all the Eaſtern Churches for their Primate. This advice of the Emperor prevailed ſo far with the Weſtern Biſhops, that they promiſed to ſuppreſs their hatred, and to receive kindly ſuch perſons as Flavianus ſhould ſend to confirm the union and good underſtanding between them; and accordingly Flavianus ſent Acacius to Rome at the head of ſeveral worthy Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, who healed the breach that had continued ſeventeen years (*l*). Acacius having thus happily finiſhed his commiſſion, went into Egypt, and being returned into Syria, he brought letters of peace and union to Flavianus from the Weſtern and Egyptian Biſhops (*m*). This happened ſome time after John ſurnamed Chryſoſtom (the Golden Mouth) had been conſecrated Biſhop of Conſtantinople (*n*). Acacius did not ſeem at that time to entertain any hatred againſt this great man, but either out of pride, envy, or revenge, he ſoon became his greateſt enemy, and perſecuted him to the utmoſt of his power; for being arrived at Conſtantinople, he complained, that he had not been kindly received by Chryſoſtom (*o*), who ſeemed to deſpiſe him, and was ſo exaſperated at it, that he reſolved to be revenged of Chryſoſtom [*C*]. Immediately he joined with Theophilus and other Biſhops [*D*], who were reſolved to have John Chryſoſtom depoſed. They held a council without the gates of Conſtantinople, and ſummoned Chryſoſtom to appear before them, and to anſwer to the articles that were exhibited againſt him. But as he refuſed to comply, excepting againſt ſeveral of them, and eſpecially againſt Acacius (*p*), as being his profeſſed enemies, and appealing to a general council, the council paid no regard to his challenge, and depoſed him, as though the charge brought in againſt him had been fully proved (*q*); they alſo prevailed with the Emperor to confirm their ſentence, accuſing Chryſoſtom of having preached againſt the Empreſs Eudoxia, and called her Jezebel in one of his ſermons. Upon this the Emperor ſent an officer of his palace with ſome ſoldiers to remove Chryſoſtom from his Epiſcopal See (*r*). Chryſoſtom complied, and went into the country; but within a few days a plague raging in the Emperor's bed-chamber, he ſent again for Chryſoſtom and reſtored him to his Biſhoprick [*E*] (*s*), which he would probably have enjoyed till his death, had he not been ſo imprudent, as to give his enemies

(*l*) Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 23.

(*m*) Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 3.

(*n*) See the Remark [*B*].

(*o*) Palladius, *De Vita Chryſoſt.* p. 48.

(*p*) Palladius, ibid. p. 72.

(*q*) Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 17.

(*r*) Pallad. *ubi ſupra*, p. 75.

(*s*) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He reſolved to be revenged of Chryſoſtom.*] If we may believe Palladius, who wrote the life of Chryſoſtom, Acacius had ſo little power over his paſſions, that he declared before ſome of his enemy's Clergy he would be even with him. His words, according to Palladius (13), were theſe: Ἐγὼ αὐτῷ ἀρτύω χύτραν. That is, "I will give him a bone to pick. How far Palladius, whoſe life of Chryſoſtom is a mere panegyrick, is to be credited in this, we leave our readers to judge.

(13) *In vita Chryſoſt.* p. 49.

[*D*] *He joined with Theophilus and other Biſhops.*] Theodoret, who relates the ſame ſtory (14), does not name the Biſhops who conſpired againſt Chryſoſtom, and the reaſon he gives for it is, that notwithſtanding the perſecution they raiſed againſt Chryſoſtom, they were very worthy men on other accounts. Theſe are his words; Διηγήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ τούτου τολμηθεῖσαν ἀδικίαν βυλόμενος, τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν τῶν ἠδικηκότων αἰσχύνομαι. ὧν δὴ χάριν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας κατακρύψαι πειράσομαι. That is, "Intending to relate the injury "attempted againſt him (Chryſoſtom) I * revere the "virtues of thoſe, who attempted it: I will therefore endeavour to conceal their names." This reſerve ſeems to be the effect of humanity and Chriſtian charity; but it is inconſiſtent with the impartiality of an hiſtorian, whoſe duty it is to ſet in a clear light the vices of men as well as their virtues. It is pretended indeed, that this rule ought not to be obſerved in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; that to inſpire the readers with a great eſteem for the Chriſtian Religion, 'tis requiſite they ſhould entertain a very good opinion of thoſe, who during ſeveral centuries, and even from the beginning of Chriſtianity, preſided over the church; that therefore a prudent hiſtorian muſt exaggerate whatever is praiſe-worthy in the life and actions of the ancient Chriſtians, and excuſe or palliate whatever they ſaid or did amiſs (15). But this is a very dangerous maxim, tending not only to introduce a perfect ſcepticiſm into hiſtory, but alſo to render Chriſtianity itſelf ſuſpected; ſince infidels will be apt to conclude from thence, that the Chriſtians diſtruſt their own cauſe, and are afraid leſt the vices and falſe reaſonings of their ancient teachers ſhould be publiſhed to the world (16). But as Chriſtianity does not depend on the good or bad conduct of its profeſſors, why ſhould we not be permitted to ſet the vices as well as the virtues of the ancient Fathers and Biſhops in a true light? We'll cloſe this remark with a curious paſſage of Melchior Canus (17), quoted by Mr. le Clerc. *Dolenter hoc dico, potius quam contumelioſè, multò à Laertio ſeverius vitas Philoſophorum ſcriptas, quam à Chriſtianis vitas ſanctorum; longèque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Cæſarum expoſuiſſe, quam expoſuerunt Catholici, non res dicam Imperatorum, ſed martyrum, virginum, & confeſſorum. Illi enim in probis aut Philoſophis aut Principibus, nec vitia, nec vitiorum ſuſpiciones tacent. Noſtri autem plerique vel affectibus inſerviunt, vel de induſtriâ quoque ità multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non ſolum pudeat, ſed etiam tædeat. Hos enim intelligo Eccleſiæ Chriſti, cum nihil utilitatis attuliſſe, tum incommodationis plurimum. — Certum eſt autem, qui fictè & fallaciter hiſtoriam eccleſiaſticam ſcribunt, eos viros bonos atque ſinceros eſſe non poſſe, totamque eorum narrationem inventam eſſe, aut ad quæſtum, aut ad errorem; quorum alterum fædum eſt, alterum pernitioſum.* That is, "It is with grief I ſay it, rather than with "an intention to inſult any body; that the lives of the "Philoſophers are written by Laertius with much "more dignity, than thoſe of the Saints by the "Chriſtians; and Suetonius is more impartial and "upright in the Hiſtory of the Emperors, than "the Catholic Writers in thoſe, I don't ſay of "Princes, but of the martyrs, virgins, and confeſſors. For thoſe heathen writers don't conceal "the vices either real or ſuſpected, of the beſt "Emperors or Philoſophers whoſe lives they relate; "but moſt of our Authors are either ſo prepoſſeſs'd "with their paſſions, or wilfully invent ſo many "falſhoods, that I am not only aſhamed but perfectly "tir'd with them; for I am perſuaded, that they "have not done any good by this to the Church "of Chriſt, but rather injured it very much. — "And it is certain that thoſe, who writing Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, falſify and diſguiſe it, cannot be "honeſt and ſincere men, and that all theſe relations "are calculated either from a view of intereſt, which "is a baſe action, or to impoſe upon others, which "is pernicious." The reader is to obſerve, that Melchior Canus was a Roman Catholic, and aſſiſted at the council of Trent.

(17) *Loc. Com.* lib. 11. p. 650. *ap.* Eund. ibid. p. 136.

[*E*] *A plague raging in the Emperor's bedchamber he — reſtored Chryſoſtom to his See.*] Palladius alone ſpeaks of this plague, but he does not mention what plague it was, and Socrates (18), Sozomen (19), Theodoret

(18) Lib. vi. cap. 16, &c.

(19) Lib. viii. cap. 17, &c.

* Valeſius tranſlates *mihi pudorem injiciunt*, i. e. "make me aſhamed." But the word αἰσχύνομαι, ſignifies alſo, *I revere, I have a reſpect for one*; and this, I think, is the ſenſe of that word in this paſſage.

(15) See Clerici, *Art. Crit.* vol. 3. Ep. v. p. 135.

(16) Clericus, ibid. p. 140.

enemies a ſpecious pretence to render him odious to the Sovereign. The Empreſs Eudoxia cauſed her ſtatue to be caſt in ſilver, and had it placed near a temple at Conſtantinople (*t*). Chryſoſtom hearing this declaimed againſt her in a very outragious and unbecoming manner [*F*]. This gave his enemies, and particularly Acacius, a fair opportunity of accuſing him before the Emperor. But they did not do it, till they had held another Synod againſt Chryſoſtom, in which they read a canon made in another council *, wherein it was decreed, that if a Biſhop or a Prieſt, after being once depoſed either juſtly or wrongfully, returned to his church without the leave of a Synod, he ſhould no more be admitted to trial, but be abſolutely expelled (*u*). Chryſoſtom was judged by that canon, and expelled accordingly, but not without the Emperor's conſent, who notified to him, that ſince he had been condemned in two Synods the Emperor could not go to his church (*x*). Chryſoſtom was afterwards baniſhed, and died in a few months. If we may believe Palladius, Acacius and Antiochus adviſed the Emperor to conſent to the depoſition of Chryſoſtom, ſaying theſe words, *Let the guilt of his depoſition be upon our heads*, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν ἡ Ἰωάννου καθαίρεσις (*z*). Biſhop Godeau ſays (*aa*), that Acacius being an hundred and ten years of age, wrote a letter to the Emperor Theodoſius the Younger, adviſing him to confirm the ſentence pronounced againſt Cyril Biſhop of Alexandria, who had been depoſed in a conventicle of Schiſmatics. As Biſhop Godeau does not quote his authorities, we are not able to trace them. The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians give Acacius a very good character; Sozomen ſays (*bb*), that what is very praiſe-worthy in this Prelate is, that after he was raiſed to that dignity, his houſe was always open to ſtrangers as well as to citizens, who had acceſs to him at all times, even when he was at his meals or aſleep [*G*]: And Theodoret aſſures us (*cc*), that he was eminent both for his wiſdom and the ſanctity of his life. We won't diſpute his wiſdom, which perhaps was nothing but policy and craft, but how his ſanctity can be reconciled with his hatred againſt Chryſoſtom, and the ſhare he had in the perſecution, which that great man ſuffered, we cannot well apprehend, except it be alledged, as we obſerve in the Remark [*E*], that Acacius had no hand in that affair, till after Chryſoſtom had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt the Empreſs Eudoxia; if this be the caſe, Acacius cannot be blamed for having promoted the deprivation of ſo fiery a preacher. Acacius lived to a good old age, he being about a hundred and ten when he died.

(*t*) Theoph. *Chron.* p. 54. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 20.

* Held at Antioch, but by the Arians.

(*u*) Pallad. p. 78. and Socrates lib. 7. cap. 18.

(*x*) Socrates, ib.

(*y*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 82.

(*z*) Id. ibid.

(*aa*) *Hiſt. de L'Egliſe*, tom. 3. p. 315.

(*bb*) Lib. 7. cap. 28.

(*cc*) Lib. 5. cap. 27.

(20) Lib. 5. cap. 34.

(21) *In Chron.* p. 55, &c.

Theodoret (20), and Theophanes (21), who all relate at large the Hiſtory of Chryſoſtom's depoſition, have not a word of that Plague; but they ſay, that the people riſing in a riotous and tumultuous manner, obliged the Emperor to reſtore Chryſoſtom; this, I ſuppoſe, was the plague which Palladius meant. The ſame Hiſtorians don't ſay that Acacius was any ways concerned in this affair before the reſtoration of Chryſoſtom, but only when he was baniſhed again a few months after. But one would imagine that Palladius, who is rather a Panegyriſt than an Hiſtorian, intended to repreſent his hero aſſiſted, like the ancient Patriarchs and Prophets, by a miraculous power from heaven (22).

(22) Palladius, *De Vita Chryſoſt.* p. 75.

(23) That Sermon or Homily is inſerted in vol. 7. of his works, p. 545. edit. Savil.

(24) Socr. lib. 6. c. 18. Sozom. l. 8. c. 20. Theoph. in *Chr.* p. 54.

[*F*] *Declaimed againſt the Empreſs in a very outragious manner.*] He began one of his ſermons (23) in the following words (24), Πάλιν Ἡρωδιὰς μαίνεται, πάλιν ταράσσεται, πάλιν ὀρχεῖται, πάλιν ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου ζητεῖ λαβεῖν. That is, "Herodias runs "mad again, ſhe is again out of her ſenſes, ſhe dances "again, ſhe again deſires to receive the head of John "(alluding to his own name) in a diſh." Some perſons doubted whether Chryſoſtom ever ſpoke theſe words, but it ſeems unreaſonable to reject the teſtimony of the Hiſtorians we have quoted, and eſpecially of Socrates, who lived very near the time of Chryſoſtom. Socrates indeed favoured the Novatians, whom Chryſoſtom oppoſed; but he ſeems for all that to do juſtice to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, tho' he did not think fit to conceal his faults; 'tis at leaſt confeſſed by every one, that Chryſoſtom delivered a violent invective againſt Eudoxia on the very ſame occaſion that Socrates ſays he ſpoke the words we have quoted (25): 'Twill not be denied, we preſume, that a man who thus publickly brands the throne, deſerves the moſt ſevere puniſhment; and that, if ſuch an one is a Biſhop, he has no reaſon to complain, when for his raſhneſs he is depoſed and ſent into baniſhment.

(25) *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Let.* An. 1704. Fevrier p. 161, 162.

[*G*] *Even when he was at his meals or aſleep.*] Sozomen admires this extraordinarily, and looks upon it as proof of Acacius's virtue, or at leaſt of his endeavours to be virtuous: Theſe are his words. Ἄγαμαι ἔγωγε τοῦτο μάλιστα, ἢ γὰρ οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς ἀεὶ πιστεύειν· ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἕτοιμον εἰς κακίαν τῆς φύσεως παρεσκευασμένος, τοῦτο ὑπενόησεν· ὥστε ἀεὶ φοβεῖσθαι προσδοκῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξαπίνης εἰσόδου, ἐν τῇ συνεχεῖ φυλακῇ μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν ἂν δοκῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν σπουδαίοις εἶναι πράγμασιν (26). That is, "I wonder very much at this; "for he either lived in ſuch a manner, that he could "always depend upon himſelf *; or he invented "this, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the evil incli- "nations of nature; and to the end, that ſuſpecting "conſtantly left any one coming in unawares, ſhould "ſurprize him, he might always take care not to "commit any fault, but be conſtantly employed in "ſome good action." This reaſoning of Sozomen does not appear very well grounded; for tho' a man be ever ſo vicious, he will ſeldom chuſe to commit evil actions in his own houſe, eſpecially if they be of a lewd nature; not to mention, that keeping one's houſe open, will never hinder the maſter of it from being covetous, unjuſt, or ambitious, if he be naturally inclined to thoſe vices. Acacius then might give every body free acceſs into his houſe at all times, without being the more virtuous upon that account. We may alſo obſerve, that it is a mark of great vanity and pride to have a houſe left open in this manner, in order that every body may be an eye-witneſs of our good actions. We may therefore conclude, that Sozomen knew not how to praiſe a man rationally, ſince he commended Acacius on that account.

(26) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 28.

* That is, never fear to be ſurpriſed in any evil action.

ACAMAS ſon of Theſeus (*a*) followed the reſt of the Grecian Princes to the ſiege of Troy. He was deputed, with Diomedes, to the Trojans, in order to get Helena reſtored. This embaſſy was of no effect with regard to the principal article; but was ſucceſsful to Acamas, with reſpect to what is called good fortune in gallantry; for Laodice, King Priam's daughter, fell ſo deſperately in love with him, that after having revolved in her mind all the reflections, which honour and infamy could ſuggeſt, ſhe was forced to reveal her paſſion to Philobia, wife of Perſeus; and to beg her aſſiſtance in an affair of a moſt urgent nature to a Lady (*b*). Philobia, touched with compaſſion, deſired her huſband to order matters in ſuch a manner, as that the wiſhes of Laodice

(*a*) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 5. and lib. 10. p. 325, and 343.

(*b*) Παρακαλεῖν τε αὐτὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη διεχομένην, ἀρῆγαν αὐτῇ. Parthenii *Erotic.* cap. 16. That is, "She begg'd her "to aſſiſt her "immediately, "otherwiſe ſhe "was a dead "woman.

dice might be compleated. Perſeus alſo pitied the poor Lady, and being beſides very deſirous of obliging his wife, he inſinuated himſelf into Acamas's friendſhip, and obtained a viſit from him, in the city (c) of which he was Governor. Laodice did not fail to go thither, attended by ſome Trojan women. A ſplendid feaſt was made, which being ended, Perſeus laid her in the ſame bed with Acamas, telling him that ſhe was one of the King's concubines. Laodice was highly ſatisfied with her gallant; ſhe took leave of him, and at nine months end was delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe committed to the care of Æthra, grandmother by the father's ſide to Acamas [A]. This child was called Munitus [B], and what became of him afterwards ſhall be mentioned in the remarks (d). Acamas was one of the heroes who concealed themſelves in the wooden horſe (e). He afterwards met with an adventure in Thrace, of much the ſame nature with that above related, except that it proved of very fatal conſequence; the ſtory is this. Phyllis, the King's daughter falling in love with him, overtures of marriage were ſoon made; the Fair-one was promiſed, and the crown was beſtowed on her by way of dowry. Acamas deſired leave to viſit his own country; but Phyllis begged him, in the moſt tender manner, not to leave her; however, her intreaties were vain, and being able to obtain from him only an oath that he would return, ſhe preſented him with a box (f), telling him it was conſecrated to Rhea mother of the Gods; and at the ſame time deſired him not to open it, but when he ſhould have no farther hopes left of ſeeing Thrace again. Acamas went aſhore on the iſland of Cyprus [C], and reſolved to ſettle in it; but Phyllis, after venting the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt that perfidious man, hanged her ſelf. Acamas opened the box, when immediately his brain was filled with the wildeſt chimeras. He got on horſeback, but ſpurred forward in ſo heedleſs and raſh a manner, that himſelf and the beaſt fell, and Acamas was thruſt through the body with his own ſword. Tzetzes relates this ſtory, but has confounded Acamas with Demophoon (g); for it is of the latter, that all authors relate the ſeveral incidents concerning the unfortunate Phyllis. See the paſſionate letter which Ovid pretends ſhe wrote to Demophoon, whereby it appears that their marriage had been conſummated (h). We are not to omit, that one of the tribes in Athens was called Acamantides [D], from our Acamas (i), by the appointment of the oracle. According

(c) It was called Dardanus.

(d) Extracted from Hegeſipp. lib. 1. *de Rebus Mileſiorum*, cited by Parthenius, *Erotic.* cap. 16. and from Tzetzes on *Lycophron.*

(e) Tryphiodorus *de Excid. Trojæ. Vide etiam* Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 21.

(f) Tzetzes in *Lycophron.*

(g) Who alſo was ſon to Theſeus.

(h) *Turpiter hoſpitium lecto cumulaſſe jugali*
Pœnitet, & lateri conſeruiſſe latus. Ovid. Epiſt. Phyll 57.
" But to admit
" thee looſely to
" my breaſt,
" Is treaſon, fa-
" tal to my pre-
" ſent reſt. Floyd from Ovid.

(i) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 5. and lib. 10. p. 525. See alſo Suidas and Stephanus Byzantinus.

[A] *Whom ſhe committed to the care of Æthra, grandmother by the father's ſide to Acamas.*] The reader is to know, that Caſtor and Pollux having made an incurſion into Attica, in order to recover their ſiſter Helena, they took the city of *Aphidnæ*, whither the raviſher had ſent that celebrated beauty. Æthra, Theſeus's mother had been ſent thither at the ſame time; her they took priſoner, and brought to Lacedæmon. She was in that country when Paris carrying off Helena, forced her to embark with them for Troy. Demophoon and Acamas followed the reſt of the Greeks, chiefly with the deſign of delivering the good old Lady their grandmother, either by paying her ranſom, or by ſtorming the city. Troy being taken, as the Greeks were plundering it, theſe met the old Lady in the ſtreets; and being inform'd who ſhe was, they embraced one another with the utmoſt tenderneſs (2). 'Twas then Æthra told Acamas, that Munitus was his ſon (3); for ſhe had brought him up, Laodice having let her into the ſecret of the whole affair, which had paſs'd in Perſeus's houſe. Johannes Cornarius has made a pretty great blunder in his tranſlation of Parthenius, he having rendred the words: Ὁι ὑπ' αἴθρα τραφέντα μετὰ Τρῳὰς ἄλωσιν διεκόμισεν ἐπ' οἶκυ, in the following manner; *Quem ſub Dio enutritum poſt Trojæ captivitatem tranſportavit in domum*; that is, " Whom, being brought up in the " open air, he carried home after Troy was taken." He ſhould have ſaid, *brought up by Æthra*, and not, brought up *à la belle etoile* (in the open air). We ſhall preſently quote Plutarch, who relates, that ſome looked upon this whole ſtory as fabulous.

(1) Scholiaſt. Euripid. *in Hercul. Pauſanias*, lib. 10. p. 342.

(2) Quintus Calaber, lib. 13. v. 496. Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 342.

(3) Tzetzes on Lycophron, quoted by Mezeriac on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, p. 143.

[B] *Was called Munitus.*] He followed his Father into Thrace, and died there by the bite of a ſerpent (4). Plutarch in the *Life of Theſeus*, calls him Μάνυχος, *Munychus*; however, ſince he is always called Μούνιτος, *Munitus*, by Parthenius, Lycophron and Tzetzes, we may believe that either the text of Plutarch has been there corrupted, or that he could not rightly recollect the true pronunciation of this word. Don't authors, when they cite names merely by memory, daily miſtake in the ſpelling of a ſyllable, and ſometimes in more than one? I ſhall expatiate further on this in the article *Ephorus*. I cannot directly ſay, whether Plutarch, when he declared, that Demophoon lay with Laodice, had not forgot himſelf. Perhaps ſome writers which are not extant, told him ſo; poſſibly too, Tzetzes might have read in certain authors which are now loſt, that the ſeveral incidents concerning Phyllis, related to Acamas. However this be, each of the brothers ſeem to have been reſpectively compenſated; for if on one ſide Plutarch deprives Acamas of the happy moments which he ſpent with Laodice, and gives them to Demophoon; Tzetzes, on the other ſide, robs the latter of the many ſoft nights he ſpent with Phyllis, and beſtows them on Acamas. But to be ſerious: Had Meurſius examined carefully thoſe paſſages, in which the ſon of Laodice is called *Munitus*, he would not have borrowed Plutarch's words to prove that the port of Munychia was not ſo nam'd from Munychus ſon to Pantacles as is generally aſſerted; but from Munychus ſon to Demophoon and Laodice (5). The following are Plutarch's own words; Οἱ δὲ κ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλυσι, καὶ τὴν περὶ Μυνύχυ μυθολογίαν, ὃν ἐκ Δημοφοῶντ Λαοδίκης κρύφα τικτόσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκθρέψαι τὴν Αἴθραν λέγυσι (6). *Alii hunc verſum rejiciunt*, (the verſe in which Homer relates, that Helena carried Æthra to Troy with her) *& Munichi fabulam quam ex Demophoonte à Laodice clàm editum Ilii creviſſe ſub Æthra memorant:* That is, " Some reject this verſe, and the fiction of Muny-" chus, who, being the ſon of Demophoon and Lao-" dice, and of whom ſhe was deliver'd privately, is " ſaid to have been brought up in Troy by Æthra.

(4) Parthenii *Ereticor.* cap. 16.

(5) Meurſius, lib. 1. cap. 14. *Lect. Atticar.* cited by Mezeriac, who cenſures this miſtake in his Commentary on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, p. 144.

(6) Plut. in Theſeo, *ſub fin.* pag. 16.

[C] *Acamas went aſhore on the iſland of Cyprus.*] There was a mountain in that iſland named *Acamas*, ſo call'd from the ſon of Theſeus, as Heſychius affirms, who obſerves that the ſpring, or head of the river Bocarus which ran by Salamis roſe in this mountain. Geographers mention a famous promontory in the ſame iſland (7), and ſome obſerve, that the whole iſland was anciently called *Acamantis* (8); but I don't find in any ancient author, that the promontory of Acamas was nam'd from a city which Acamas the Athenian, (a friend to the Trojans) who fled thither, built on that promontory, and call'd it after his own name. This city and the friendſhip of Acamas the Athenian for the Trojans are equally chimerical. I ſhould be glad to know where Stephano Luſignano, Divinity-reader to the preaching friars in Paris in the ſixteenth Century, met with this rare piece of erudition (9).

(7) Strabo, lib. 14. Ptolem. lib. 5. cap. 14. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 31.

(8) Philonides *apud* Plin. lib. 5. cap. 31. Stephanus *verbo* Κύπρος.

(9) *Hiſt. of Cyprus*, fol. 4 and 29.

[D] *One of the tribes in Athens went by the name of Acamantides.*] Moreri calls this tribe *Acamante*, but all the French writers I have met with give it the name of *la tribu Acamantide*, i. e. " the Acada-" mantide tribe." I'll here take notice of another miſtake

According to Stephanus Byzantinus he founded a city in Phrygia Major [*E*], and made war against the Solymi. I dare not determine whether Acamas was ſon to Phædra or Ariadne [*F*]. We ſhall take notice, in the remark [*D*] of ſome other Acamas's, whom Moreri has treated with his uſual inaccuracy.

(10) We here ſuppreſs the errors which had been pointed out in the firſt edition.

As theſe errors are ſtill found in ſeveral editions of Moreri, we have thought proper to inſert them here, in this third edition of the *Critical Dictionary*.

Theſe are as follows, Firſt, he quotes the firſt book of Strabo, with regard to Acamas a Promontory of the iſland of Cyprus; but ſhould have quoted the xivth. Secondly, He calls Acamante the ſon of Theſeus. Thirdly, He tells us that Suidas mentions Acamantides, a Philoſopher of Heliopolis, whereas Suidas calls him Acamantius.

(11) *Homer's Iliad*, lib. 6. verſ. 7.

(12) Id. lib. 4. verſ. 474.

miſtake of that writer, to prevent my being obliged to do it twice (10). He tells us that Homer, in the 2d book of the *Iliad*, mentions one ACAMAS a Thracian Prince, who came to ſuccour Priam, and one ACAMAS, ſon of Antenor, who for his wonderful modeſty was rank'd among the Gods. Homer indeed ſpeaks of this Thracian Prince in the book above cited, and relates elſewhere that he was kill'd by Ajax (11). 'Tis alſo certain that he ſpeaks of Archilochus and Acamas, ſons of Antenor, and declares them μάχης ὣ εἰδότε πάσης, i. e. "skill'd in all kinds of "combats;" but then he does not mention a word of the chaſte Acamas's deification. Moreri is almoſt the author of this aſſertion, and would be ſtrictly ſo, had not Charles Stephens given him the following foundation to build upon; *Fuit & alius ejuſdem nominis filius Antenoris, qui tempore belli Trojani cælebs erat, & diis ſimilis habebatur.* i. e. "There "was another of the ſame name, the ſon of An- "tenor, who was a batchelor at the ſiege of Troy, "and was eſteem'd to be like the Gods." As this writer cites no authority for what he here advances, I could not make any enquiries concerning this pretended celibacy; and if I durſt give a ſcope to conjecture, I would ſay that the Printers had compoſed *cælebs* for *celebris*, in ſome work which Charles Stephens copied; yet at the ſame time I don't deny but that Homer mentions ſeveral unmarried men, who were killed (12). But ſuppoſe we take it for granted that this Trojan was a batchelor, and was honoured with the elogium, *like to the Gods*; are we to conclude from thence that his chaſtity was ſo wonderful that it procured him divine honours? Had all thoſe been deified, on whom Homer beſtows the epithet Διοίκλος (God-like) poor Atlas's (13) ſhoulders muſt have had a fine time on't.

(13) See Juvenal's 13th Satyr, verſ. 47. where he ſays,

. . . . *Contextaque fidera paucis nominibus miſerum urgebant, Atlanta minori pondere.* i. e. "E're God's "grew nume- "rous, and the "heavenly croud, "preſt wretch- "ed Atlas with "a lighter load. Creech.

[*E*] *According to Stephanus Byzantinus, he founded a city in Phrygia Major.*] This city he calls *Acamantium*, but Geographers don't ſay a word of it. The epitomizer of this writer, or the tranſcribers, have ſo corrupted this paſſage, that 'tis impoſſible to make the leaſt ſenſe of it, unleſs we ſupply ſome words. But what words ſoever we ſupply, ſtill the war in which Acamas was ſaid to be engaged againſt the Solymi, will be as little known as before.

[*F*] *Whether Phædra or Ariadne.*] I find two learned men differing abſolutely in opinion on this particular; for Mezeriac aſſerts that Acamas was ſon to Phædra (14), but the only proof he ſeems to give for it is, that Demophoon, Acamas's brother, was Phædra's ſon; which he proves from Aulus Sabinus's epiſtle of Demophoon to Phyllis. Valeſius on the other ſide declares, that Adriadne was Acamas's mother (15), to which purpoſe he cites the Scholiaſt on Homer (16): He ſays farther, that Demophoon, according to the Scholiaſt, was brother to Acamas; and that Euripides confirms this aſſertion (17). But neither of theſe writers obſerv'd, that tho' Acamas and Demophoon had been brothers, yet this would not clear up the matter; ſince they might have been ſo, tho' the one was ſon to Ariadne, and the other to Phædra.

(14) Mezeriac, on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, pag. 137.

(15) Henr. Valeſius in *Harpocrat.* p. 4, and 5.

(16) In Ὀδυσσ. Ο.

(17) *In Ione.*

ACARNANIA, a country ſituated on the Ionian Sea, between Ætolia and the gulph of Ambracia. It is related that the Taphii and the Teleboæ were the firſt poſſeſſors thereof; and that Cephalus conquered it, after Amphitryo (*a*) had eſtabliſhed him Sovereign of the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Taphos. It is added further, that Alcmæon, ſon of Amphiaraus, poſſeſſed himſelf of it after the ſecond Theban war, and called it after the name of his ſon Acarnan (*b*). He had joined his forces to thoſe of Diomedes, and having conquered Ætolia in concert, that country fell to the ſhare of the latter. Some time after they were ſummoned to go to the ſiege of Troy; upon which Diomedes attended the reſt of the Greeks in that expedition, but Alcmæon continued quiet in Acarnania (*c*); a circumſtance which, many ages after, was of important ſervice to the Acarnanians, who made a great merit of it in Rome [*A*]; by repreſenting, that their anceſtors, were the only people in all Greece, who did not join in the expedition againſt Troy. The Romans employed this trifling reaſon, when they aſſiſted theſe people againſt the Ætolians [*B*]; ſo true it is, that politicians, on certain occaſions,

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.

(*b*) Id. ibid. p. 318.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Who made a great merit of it in Rome.*] Ephorus the hiſtorian furniſhed them undeſignedly with an opportunity of doing this; for the Acarnanians, after hearing what he related of Alcmæon, turn'd it artfully to their own advantage with regard to the Romans, who pretended that the Founder of Rome was deſcended from Æneas. This is Strabo's conjecture: Τούτοις δ' ὡς εἰκὸς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, σοφίσασθαι λέγονται Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξανύσασθαι λέγοντες, ὡς ἂ μετεσχήκει μόνοι τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προγόνους τοὺς ἐκείνων στρατίας οὔτε γὰρ ἐν Αἰτωλικῷ καταλόγῳ φαίζοιντο, οὔτε ἰδίᾳ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως τοῦτο μὰ τοῦτ' ἐμφέροιτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν (1). i. e. "'Tis probable that the Acarnani- "ans, in purſuance of this relation, cunningly pre- "vailed upon the Romans, to indulge them the free "uſe of the laws of their country, upon pretence "that they were the only people who did not en- "gage in the war againſt the anceſtors of the Ro- "mans, as not being mentioned in the Ætolian "Roll particularly, nor in any manner in Homer's "verſes." However, they grounded this latter aſſertion on an untruth; for Strabo ſhews by the liſt of the warriors and ſhips, inſerted in the ſecond book of the Iliad (3), that the Acarnanians furniſhed their quota in the Trojan expedition.

(1) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 318.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Homer mentions only their country, but does not call it Acarnania.

[*B*] *The Romans employed this trifling reaſon, when they aſſiſted theſe people againſt the Ætolians.*] After the death of Alexander, ſon to Pyrrhus King of Epirus, the Acarnanians were terribly afraid of the Ætolians; and did not rely very much on that Monarch's widow, who was Guardian to her two ſons. This prompted them to implore ſuccour from the Romans, which was not refuſ'd them; and thereupon the Ætolians were commanded not to moleſt a nation, which was the only one that had not aſſiſted the Greeks in the expedition againſt Troy. *Acarnanes quoque diffiſi Epirotis adverſus Ætolos auxilium Romanorum implorantes, obtinuerunt à Romano ſenatu, ut Legati mitterentur, qui denunciarent Ætolis, præſidia ab urbibus Acarnaniæ deducerent; paterenturque eſſe liberos, qui ſoli quondam adverſus Trojanos auctores originis ſuæ, auxilia Græcis non miſerint.* i. e. "The Acarnanians having ſome ſuſpi- "cion of the Epirotes, implored the Romans to aſ- "ſiſt them againſt the Ætolians, and obtained from "the Senate of Rome, that Embaſſadors ſhould be "ſent to the Ætolians, to require them to with- "draw their garriſons from the cities of Acarna- "nia; and permit a people to be free, who alone "did not aſſiſt the Greeks againſt the Tro- "jans, from whom the Romans originally deſcend- "ed (4)." Plutarch relates two incidents full as ridiculous: "Agathocles tyrant of Syracuſe . . . . "laugh'd at the inhabitants of Corcyra, when they "asked him the reaſon, why he laid waſte their Iſland. *It is*, ſays he, *becauſe your anceſtors formerly gave a reception to Ulyſſes.* And in like manner, when the "Ithacans complained to him about his ſoldiers, "for plundering them of their ſheep; ah but, ſays "he,

(4) Juſtin. lib. 28. cap. 1. See *La Mothe le Vayer, Lettr.* xcv. vol. 2. pag. 325.

occaſions, don't ſcruple to make uſe of the moſt ridiculous pretences. The Ætolians and Acarnanians were long united (*d*), either with a deſign of repulſing the Macedonians and other Greeks, or of maintaining their liberties againſt the Roman arms; but, at laſt, they were quite exhauſted, and loſt all courage. In Acarnania the year conſiſted only of ſix months (*e*). The inhabitants of this country were very laſcivious, if ſome Dictionaries are to be credited [*C*]: but a circumſtance which may be more depended upon, is, that the dreſs of their women was no ways modeſt (*D*). Cicero does not ſpeak of a city called Acarnania [*E*].

(*d*) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.

(*e*) Macrobius, *Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 242.

I obſerved, that the Acarnanians and Ætolians were united for a long courſe of years;

" he, your King came many years ago into our iſ-
" land, and did not only carry off our ſheep, but
" even put out our ſhepherd's eye (5)." What follows is ſtill more ludicrous. Mahomet the ſecond, Emperor of the Turks, writ to our Pope Pius the ſecond in theſe words; " I am ſurprized, ſays he, that
" the Italians ſhould unite together againſt me,
" ſince we are both deſcended from the Trojans;
" and that 'tis their duty no leſs than mine, to re-
" venge the blood of Hector on the Greeks, whom
" nevertheleſs they aſſiſt in oppoſing me (6)." In this manner chimerical evils, which exiſted only in the imagination of poets, have been made to apologize for real evils.

(5) Plutarch. *de ſerâ Numinis vindictâ.*

(6) Montagne's *Eſſays* Book 2. chap. 36. p. 763.

[*C*] *The inhabitants of this country were very laſcivious, if ſome dictionaries are to be credited.*] Let us firſt cite Biſhop Lloyd; *Mollitiei & laſciviæ notati leguntur; (Acarnanes) teſte Luciano in Dial. de Meretriciis, unde proverbium,* Porcellus Acarnanius, *in laſcivos.* i. e. " According to Lucian in his dialogue of
" harlots, the Acarnanians are cenſured in Hiſtory
" for their effeminacy and laſciviouſneſs, which gave
" occaſion to the proverb level'd againſt the wanton,
" *an Acarnanian hog.*" Hoffman tranſcribed the whole paſſage in his dictionary; and Moreri ſays as follows: *The Acarnanians were accuſed of being too laſcivious and over delicate.* Hence that filthy proverb among the ancients, *Porcellus Acarnanius, an Acarnanian hog,* took its riſe. We read the ſame in Pinedo's notes on Stephanus Byzantinus (7). I look'd into *Lucian's Dialogues* of Curtezans, but don't find that the Acarnanians are there deſcribed as voluptuous and effeminate people. 'Tis true indeed that Muſarium the Curtezan anſwered her mother, (who reproach'd her with indulging favours to Chereas gratis, and at the ſame time wonder'd how ſhe could reject a peaſant of Acarnania), in the following manner: *What! leave Chereas, to give myſelf to ſuch a lubberly clown, who ſmells as rank as a goat? Chereas is to me a ſmooth-faç'd creature, as the ſaying is, and an Acarnanian hog* (8). Eraſmus ſuppoſes, that " by Acarnanian
" hog, an effeminate favourite was underſtood (9);
" and that it alluded to the comedy of Ariſtophanes,
" in which a hog is the ſymbol of the inſtruments
" of venereal pleaſures." *Alluſum opinor, ad porcellum, quem inducit Ariſtophanes in* Ἀχαρνεῦσιν, *ſymbolum eorum membrorum, quibus obſcœnæ voluptates peraguntur* (10). I don't believe that any perſon underſtands what Muſarium's anſwer alludes to; and I confeſs that 'tis a myſtery to me, for which reaſon, I ſhan't animadvert on thoſe, who aſſure us, that the Acarnanians were reputed a laſcivious people. If it were true, I wonder 'tis not once mentioned by authors. By the way, Eraſmus is not miſtaken in the figurative ſignification of the word χοιρίσκος. The Latins had adopted that figure. *Noſtræ mulieres,* ſays Varro (11), *maximè nutrices, naturam, quâ fœminæ ſunt, in virginibus appellant porcum, & Græcè* χοῖρον. i. e. " Our women, the nurſes eſpecially, call that
" part in virgins, which diſtinguiſhes the ſex, *porcum,*
" in Greek χοῖρος." See *Menage's Origine della lingua Italiana,* under the word *Potta.* Here follows a conjecture I am not ſatisfied with, and which I advance merely to ſee whether it may not furniſh a hint to thoſe who have more genius and learning than I can pretend to. Chereas always fed the Curtezan with hopes, which was the only coin he paid her in (12). *The moment,* ſays he, *my father is in his grave, the inſtant I get poſſeſſion of my paternal eſtate; my ſubſtance ſhall all be at your diſpoſal, and I'll make you my wife.* Muſarium decoy'd by thoſe promiſes, ſurrendred to him both her perſon and her purſe. Did ſhe not therefore ſay juſtly to her mother? *I can neither ſtrip nor ſhear this gallant of mine; but then he's an Acarnanian hog; I feed him indeed, but I ſhall be well paid for it all at once.* 'Tis the ſame with theſe animals; nothing is got by feeding them, till after they are well fatted, and all the expences, neceſſary for that purpoſe, have been made; but at laſt the monies firſt laid out, return with large intereſt. Perhaps Acarnania abounded in thoſe days with hogs, as Weſtphalia does in ours; and poſſibly the maſters of the famous eating-houſes in the ſeveral cities of Greece, uſed to ſend for great numbers of hogs from thence, in order to feed them (13); which might be the reaſon of the curtezan's employing the epithet Ἀχαρνεύσιος.

(7) Thomas de Pinedo in Stephan. Byzan. p. 50.

(8) Λεῖός μοι, φασι, χαιρίας καὶ χοιρίσκος Ἀχαρνάνιος. *Lævis mihi, ut aiunt, Chæreas & Porcellus Acarnanius,* Lucian. *Dialog. Meretric.* p. 723. tom. 2.

(9) *In mollem & amabilem atque in deliciis habitum dicebatur.* Eraſm. Chil. 2. Centur. 3. num. 69. p. 445.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Varro *de Re ruſticâ,* lib. 2. cap. 4.

(12) Luciani *Dialogi Meretric.* p. 721, 722.

(13) Ὥσπερ αἱ καπηλίδες τὰ διλφάκια τρέφουσι. " As the cook-
" ſhop-keepers
" breed little
" pigs." Athen. lib. 14. p. 656.

[*D*] *The dreſs of their women are no way modeſt.*] The manner in which Apollonius cenſures the Athenian Ladies informs us of this. *Whence,* ſays he to them, *did you borrow the faſhion of ſplendid, purple habits* (14), *of a bright and pale red; of ſillemot, yellow, green, and ſuch like colours, with which you make as gaudy a figure, as a meadow in the month of May? For we don't find that the women of Acarnania ever trick'd themſelves up after this manner* †. The Latin (15) verſion runs thus; *Coccineæ atque etiam purpureæ croceæque veſtes unde à vobis ſumptæ? Cum neque Acarnanides mulieres ita exornentur.* i. e. " Whence was the
" mode borrowed, of the ſcarlet, purple and ſaffron-
" colour'd robes you wear? ſince even the women
" of Acarnania don't adorn themſelves after that
" manner." 'Tis plain that Apollonius would not have expreſs'd himſelf thus, had not the women of Acarnania been noted for the immodeſty of their dreſs. This paſſage ſeems to confirm the aſſertions which we meet with in ſome dictionaries, viz. that the Acarnanians paſſed for a laſcivious people; but, to ſay the truth, the conſequence would be a little forc'd. Thoſe authors want a more preciſe authority. Artus (Arthur) Thomas (16) did not underſtand thoſe words of Apollonius, which he pretended to comment upon. *The Acarnanians,* ſays he, *were anciently very expert in the chariot-race, as Pauſanias tells us in the ſixth and laſt book of his Eliacks; having formerly been look'd upon as a wiſe nation and deep politicians, becauſe they had eſtabliſhed their ſtate and commonwealth in ſo happy a manner, that ſome ſay Ariſtotle wrote an hundred and fifty books, drawn wholly from the laws and government of that nation: but both the books and the government are loſt, which occaſioned Philoſtratus to mention their women in this place.* A wretched commentator! he has quite miſtaken the ſenſe of this author.

(13) Ὥσπερ αἱ καπηλίδες τὰ διλφάκια τρέφουσι. " As the cook-
" ſhop-keepers
" breed little
" pigs." Athen. lib. 14. p. 656.

(14) Philoſtrat. *in vita Apollonii,* lib. 4. cap. 7.

† This is tranſlated from the French verſion of Vigenere.

(15) Alemanus Rhimuccinus, pag. 167.

(16) Artus Thomas, *Sieur d'Embry,* in his *Annotations* on the *Life of Apollonius,* vol. 1. book 4. chap. 7. p. 800.

[*E*] *Cicero does not ſpeak of a city called Acarnania.*] This nevertheleſs is aſſerted by Moreri. " 'Tis,
adds that author, *in Sicily, and is famous for a temple dedicated to Jupiter;* and for this purpoſe he cites *Cicero, Orat. in Verrem,* and *Servius in lib.* V. *Æneid.* Hoffman goes ſtill farther, and mentions two circumſtances; firſt, that this city ſtood near Syracuſa; and ſecondly, that it was burnt by the Goths. All this he had read in *Charles Stephens.* The truth is, Cicero does not ſpeak of Acarnania, but Acradina one of the four diviſions of the city of Syracuſa, *Ea tanta eſt urbs ut ex quatuor urbibus maximis conſtare dicatur, quarum una, &c. . . . . altera autem eſt urbs Syracuſis, cui nomen Acradina eſt; in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimæ portus, ornatiſſimum prytaneum, ampliſſima eſt curia, templumque egregium Jovis Olympii* (17). That is, " The city is ſo large, that
" it is ſaid to conſiſt of four large cities, one of
" which &c. . . . Another diviſion of Syracuſa is
" called Acradina, in which is a vaſtly large forum;
" very beautiful porticoes, and a moſt nobly adorn'd
" prytaneum *, a moſt ſpacious court, and a magnificent
" temple of Jupiter Olympius." Servius, whom Moreri cites, ſays no more than that Acarnania is a part of Epirus (18), and not a little country in Egypt as Hoffman pretends (19).

(17) Cicero *in Verrem* Orat. 6. fol. 77. *verſo.*

* That is a Council-houſe.

(18) Servius in v. lib. *Æneid.* ver. 298.

(19) *Item regiuncula Ægypti.* Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 5. Hoffman, *Voce Acarnania.*

years; but I muſt add, that they were engaged in frequent wars, and that the Ætolians very much annoyed the Acarnanians. This Polybius tells us, when he relates that the Acarnanians declared war againſt the Ætolians, the inſtant the King of Macedonia ſolicited them for that purpoſe (*f*). He applauds them for following a very laudable political maxim, viz. in preferring honour to profit even in the moſt urgent dangers (*g*).

(*f*) Polybii *Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 30.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

ACCARISI (FRANCIS) an Italian Civilian, born in Ancona, went through his ſtudies in Sienna, where Bargalio and Benvolenti taught the law with tolerable reputation. He had a great friendſhip for both; but the former was much dearer to him than the latter, and indeed with very good reaſon; for Bargalio was not only very communicative, and promoted Accariſi's ſtudies to the utmoſt of his power (*a*), but had alſo applauded him highly in a ſpeech which was printed; containing the Elogiums of the family of the Accariſi; and upon his death-bed, recommended to him the printing of his excellent diſpute *De Dolo*. The firſt publick employment which Accariſi obtained, was that of explaining the * Inſtitutes in Sienna, which he did for ſix years. He afterwards was deſired to explain the † Pandects; and as ſeveral foreigners reſorted to Sienna, for the ſake of purſuing their ſtudies, the great Duke Ferdinand the Firſt, ordered that a Profeſſor ſhould be appointed to explain the civil law, in the ſame manner as Cujacius had done. Accariſi was choſe for this purpoſe, and acquitted himſelf worthily of it; after which he was raiſed to the chair of Law-Profeſſor in ordinary, vacant by the death of Bargalio, and filled it with great reputation for twenty years. His fame ſpread ſo far, that all the Univerſities in Italy wiſhed to have him, and thereupon made him very advantageous offers; but he led ſo agreeable a life in Sienna, that he long reſiſted thoſe temptations; however, their repeated ſolicitations proved at laſt effectual, and they prevailed with him to quit his reſolution of dying in the chair he had firſt enjoyed; a reſolution that is very ſeldom made by perſons of his character [*A*]. Rainuccio Farneſe Duke of Parma, was the perſon who laid this temptation in his way, by appointing him his Counſellor; promiſing at the ſame time, that he ſhould have the honour to ſuceeed Sforza Oddus and Philippo Marini. The great Duke was reſolved that Accariſi ſhould not continue long in the ſervice of another Prince, and thereupon ſoon brought him back [*B*], by nominating him principal Law-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Piſa. Accariſi having left the Duke of Parma went to Piſa, took poſſeſſion of the Profeſſorſhip, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened in Sienna four years after, viz. the fourth of October 1622. The author (*b*) that furniſhes me with this article, and who is the only one Moreri quotes, does not ſay that Accariſi writ ſeveral Law Treatiſes; or that Rainuccio Farneſe could never prevail with him to leave Sienna. Moreri has made two miſtakes on this occaſion, and did not underſtand the meaning of IV. *Non. Octobris*, which he ſays anſwered to the 26th of September. We ſhall take notice of another of Moreri's miſtakes in the ſecond remark.

(*a*) *Ab illo factus ſubrat omnium ſuorum ſtudiorum particeps.* Nic. Erythræus, *Pinacoth.* II. cap. 25.

* A book in which the elements, and principles of the Roman (or civil) law are contain'd: and was digeſted by order of the Emperor Juſtinian.

† The *Digeſts*, or body of laws, compiled in the reign of the Emperor Juſtinian anno 534; containing the anſwers of the antient lawyers, to all law queries.

(*b*) Janus Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacoth.* II. c. 25.

[*A*] *A reſolution very ſeldom found in perſons of his character.*] One of the moſt common faults of profeſſors is, that they can ſeldom be prevailed with to ſettle in the univerſities, where they are firſt employed. Inſtead of conſidering this firſt vocation as a kind of marriage, they look upon it merely as a tranſient engagement, as an interim, or proviſional employment; and a kind of baiting place, if I may ſo call it, in which they reſide only till they can provide themſelves better. They have as little affection for the ſecond vocation as they had for the firſt; and don't care to pitch their tents for good and all, till they are ſeated in the moſt profitable chair. It has been ſaid of ſome, that they make the tour of all religions in a little time; and there are others, who, when they have an opportunity for it, ride poſt, as we may ſay, thro' the ſeveral univerſities. Some Profeſſors will be well paid for their reſidence; unleſs their ſtipends are conſiderably augmented, they are immediately for moving away bag and baggage. Tacitus who doubtleſs included a great number of faults in the words *profeſſoria lingua* (1), would have mentioned that I now ſpeak of, had it been practiſed in his age. Nor are the Clergy exempt from this petty infirmity: 'Tis well known that rigid moraliſts inveigh againſt certain Prelates, who being nominated to Biſhopricks of a ſmall revenue, are afterwards ſo often tranſlated, that they at laſt obtain the moſt eminent Metropolitan Sees. This is a ſpiritual polygamy, or ſomething worſe; ſince according to the ancient canons (2), a ſpiritual marriage is contracted between the paſtor and his flock. Nor are the Chriſtian Societies, where the benefices are of ſmall income, unacquainted with the effects of this ambulatory diſpoſition.

(1) Taciti. *Ann.* lib. 13. cap. 14.

(2) *Ne virginalis pauperculæ ſocietate contempta; ditioris adulteræ quærat amplexus.* That is, "Leſt deſpiſing "the ſociety of a "poor virgin, he "ſhould ſeek the "embraces of a "more wealthy "adultreſs." Hieronymi *Epiſt. ad Oceanum*, tom. 2. p. 744. quoted in the *Advice to the Jeſuits of Aix, concerning a Mask or Interlude, &c.* p. 37.

Parcius iſta viris tamen objicienda memento (3).
Imitated,
"But hold! beware how you aſperſe theſe men.

(3) Virgil. *Ecl.* 3. ver. 7.

See the remark (*G*) under the article ALCIAT (Andreas.)

[*B*] *Soon brought him back.*] Such was the ill ſucceſs the Duke of Parma had, after having ſo long ſolicited Accariſi to come to his court; not to mention the gratifications he made him. 'Tis true, indeed, that he won him at laſt; but he was taken from him by the very ſame methods he had employ'd to get him from others; and yet Moreri ſays, that he did not go over to that Duke; and that he *would have forced his inclinations too much, had he quitted his country, to which the beneficence of Ferdinand great Duke of Tuſcany, had bound him.* This is a freſh and inexcuſable miſtake, ſince we read in *Nicius Erythræus*, that when Accariſi went to attend upon the great Duke of Parma, he had enjoyed for twenty years at leaſt, the new Profeſſorſhip which the great Duke Ferdinand had founded in the college of Sienna. We alſo read in the ſame author, that Accariſi was not above four years Profeſſor in Piſa, whither he was invited a little after he had engaged himſelf in the ſervice of the Duke of Parma. Now he died in 1622, four years after he had accepted the Profeſſorſhip of Piſa: conſequently the Duke of Parma prevailed with him to come, about 1616, at which time there was no great Duke whoſe name was Ferdinand. Moreri himſelf ſays in the article MEDICIS, that Ferdinand the firſt died in 1609, and that Ferdinand the ſecond ſucceeded his father in 1621.

ACCARISI (JACOPO) Doctor of Divinity, and born in Bologna. I have nothing to add to what Moreri relates of him, except firſt, that the *Orations* which he publiſhed

were ſpoken by him in Rome, Colen, Mantua and other places; ſecondly, that he taught rhetoric in Mantua, in the academy founded in that city anno 1627 (a).

(a) *Ex Aub. Miræo Script. Eccl. Sæc.* xvii. pag. 251.

ACCIAIOLI (Donato) a man famous for his learning and the employments he poſſeſſed in Florence his native country, flouriſhed in the fifteenth Century. He might have acquired much more erudition, had the publick affairs in which he was engaged, permitted him to devote more time to his ſtudies; and the delicacy of his conſtitution had not ſhortned his days (a). The ſmall fortune he left his children, is of itſelf a ſufficient teſtimony of his great probity and diſintereſtedneſs. His daughters, like thoſe of Ariſtides antiently, were married at the publick expence (b); which at the ſame time is a proof, that his country was ſatisfied with his ſervices. He had been ſent into France to ſue for ſuccour againſt Pope Sixtus the fourth, who haraſſed the Florentines in a moſt terrible manner; but he died before he had paſſed the Alps (c). He died at Milan in Auguſt 1473, in his thirty ninth year (d); and his body was carried to Florence, and buried in the church of the Carthuſians (e). * [If Donatus Acciaioli was born in the year 1428, as it is aſſerted by Palmieri in Remark [D], and died in 1473, he was then 45 years old, and not 39, as Mr. Bayle has it here from Varillas. Crit. Rem.] The epitaph which was engraved on his tomb was compoſed by Politian. The works he left behind him are, *A Latin tranſlation of ſome of Plutarch's Lives* [A]; *The Life of Charlemain*; and *Commentaries on Ariſtotle's Ethicks and Politicks*. As the latter life has ſometimes been annexed to thoſe of Plutarch, it occaſioned Georgius Wicelius to commit a ſtrange blunder; for he gave out that this life was written by Plutarch (f); ſo admirably was he verſed in the hiſtories of different ages. Some have accuſed Acciaioli of being a plagiary [B] with regard to his Commentary on Ariſtotle's *Ethicks*; others have laviſhed the greateſt encomiums

(a) Jovius *in Elogiis*, cap. 16.

(b) Volaterr. lib. 21.

(c) Jovius *in Elogiis*, cap. 16.

(d) *Varillas anecdotes de Florence*, p. 169.

(e) Jovius *in Elogiis*, cap. 16.

(f) *In Hagiologio* fol. 178. *apud* Voſſium *De Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 624.

[A] *Some of Plutarch's lives.*] According to Voſſius (1) and Konig (2), he tranſlated four of them, viz. thoſe of Hannibal, Scipio, Alcibiades and Demetrius; but as we don't find that Plutarch writ either Scipio's or Hannibal's life, 'tis more probable to ſuppoſe, that Acciaioli writ the lives of thoſe two illuſtrious Generals originally (3), than that he tranſlated them from the Greek; a circumſtance Voſſius ſeems not to have conſider'd. Poſſibly the epitomizer of Geſner miſled him on that occaſion. Father Meneſtrier declares, that Acciaioli impoſed upon the public, when he boaſted his having tranſlated Hannibal's life from the Greek (4).

(1) Voſſius *de Hiſt. Lat.* p. 624.
(2) Konigii *Bibl. vet. & nov.* p. 4.
(3) Pocciantius, *de Script. Flor.* pag. 51. ſays expreſly ſo; *Dictavit proprio Marte Vitam Annibalis & Scipionis*, i. e. "He had no aſ-"ſiſtance in "writing the "lives of Hanni-"bal and Scipio.
(4) See the *Journal des Savans, of Sept.* 2. 1697, p. 654.

[B] *Some have accuſed Acciaioli of Plagiariſm.*] 'Tis aſſerted that he arrogated to himſelf the lectures of Joannes Argyropylus, and drew from thence the commentary which he publiſhed on Ariſtotle's Ethicks; aſſuming to himſelf the property of others. *Scripta, quæ ſub nomine Acciaioli ea de re circumferentur, non Acciaioli commentaria, ſed Argyropyli prælectiones Florentiæ habitæ, & ab Acciaiolo deſcriptæ editæque à pleriſque exiſtimantur.* Theſe are the words of Simon Simonius, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to a work printed in 1567 (5); and this accuſation was revived a great many years after by Gabriel Naudé, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt poſitive terms. *Argyropylus Byzantinus* (ſays he) (6) *cujus prælectiones Florentiæ habitas non abſque manifeſto plagii crimine ſibi poſtea vindicavit Donatus Acciaiolus.* i. e. "Ar-"gyropylus the Bizantine, whoſe lectures read in "Florence, Donatus Acciaioli claim'd afterwards as "his own, in which 'twas manifeſt that he was a "Plagiary." Moreri has confounded Ariſtotle's Ethicks with the commentary on thoſe Ethicks. *'Twas even thought*, ſays he, *that the Ethicks of Ariſtotle addreſs'd to Nicomachus, which Donato had publiſhed, were alſo written by the aboveſaid Argyropylus*; but Volaterranus aſſerts the contrary. Thus we ſee how excellently well this writer could tranſlate the moſt eaſy Latin, that of Voſſius. He had read the following words in the laſt mentioned writer: *Imò, commentaria illa in Nicomachia Ariſtotelis, multi arbitrantur non ipſius eſſe Acciaioli, ſed prælectiones eſſe Argyropyli, ab Acciaiolo autem deſcriptas, inque lucem emiſſas. Nihil tale tamen de eo Volaterranus* (7). i. e. "Nay, many think that the commentaries of "Ariſtotle's works addreſſed to Nicomachus, were "not written by Acciaioli, but that they were "only the Lectures of Argyropylus tranſcrib'd "and publiſhed by Acciaioli; yet Volaterranus ſays "nothing of it." Moreri's tranſlation creates a double confuſion: firſt, as the commentary is there miſtaken for the text; and ſecondly, as the ſilence of a writer is conſtrued into an expreſs refutation of a charge. The learned Conringius has juſtified Donatus againſt Naudé, not by ſhewing, that Argyropylus did not furniſh materials for that work, but by declaring that Acciaioli mentioned whence he had them (8). Can a more authentic confeſſion be deſired than that which follows. *Joannes Argyropylus Byzantinus, cum Florentiæ inter cætera philoſophiæ opera Ariſtotelis libros, qui ad Nicomachum de moribus ſcribuntur, mirificè eſſet complexus, eos tuo nomine Latinos fecit, publiceque deinde explicuit, non ſine magna audientium approbatione; habent enim libri 2 ſummam dignitatem, admirabilemque doctrinam, ordinem verò propè ſingularem. Itaque ſi accurata & exquiſita quædam explanatio accedat, magnum auditoribus afferent fructum; quod ego jam inde ab initio mecum conſiderans unà cum pleriſque aliis, qui hujus quoque Præceptoris diſciplinam ſequuntur, in iis audiendis præcipuam curam diligentiamque adhibui. . . . . Poſtea verò cum viderem hos libros à te & ab iis omnibus, qui ingenio vehementer excellunt, libentiſſimè legi, ulterius progrediendum ratus,* Expositionem hujus Doctoris, *accommodatam præcipuè menti philoſophi, literis mandare conſtitui; at ii, qui adeſſe non potuerunt, ... hæc quæ nos* ex ejus ore accepimus *percipere & ipſi pro arbitrio poſſent; quare traductionem illius ac ordinem explicandi pluribus verbis ſecuti ſumus, lata interdum & diffuſa oratione utentes, ut explanatio aperta magis magiſque omnibus eſſet communis* (9). i. e. "John Argyropylus the Byzantine, having in Flo-"rence, among other philoſophical works, taken a "particular delight in the moral writings of Ariſtotle "inſcribed to Nicomachus, tranſlated them into La-"tin under your patronage, and afterwards read pub-"lic lectures on them with great applauſe; for the "ſubject of theſe two books is very great, the in-"ſtruction is wonderful, and the order and method "very ſingular. If therefore theſe are accurately "and judiciouſly explained, the auditor muſt neceſ-"ſarily reap a great benefit from them; a circumſtance "which, from the beginning, prompted me and ſe-"veral of my fellow-pupils, who ſtudied under this "maſter, to attend his lectures with the utmoſt care "and aſſiduity.— But afterwards, when I perceived "that theſe books were read with pleaſure by you "and all perſons of exalted genius; I thought it "proper to proceed farther, and reſolved to commit "to writing the Commentary of this excellent "Master, agreable to the ſenſe of Ariſtotle, in or-"der that thoſe who could not be preſent at his lec-"tures, might, whenever they pleaſed, peruſe what "we heard from Argyropylus's own Mouth. "For this reaſon I have expanded his tranſlation, "and ſometimes explained his meaning, employing "a copious and diffuſe ſtyle, in order to render "his commentary more intelligible and of more "general uſe." Had Voſſius met with this paſſage, would he have contented himſelf with merely oppoſing Volaterranus's ſilence to the accuſers of Acciaioli? He might have read this in a work of Geſner (10). Is it not very ſtrange, that a poor author, after having ſo ſolemnly declared in his Preface, that he there publiſhed only a paraphraſtic tranſlation of Argyropylus's Lectures, ſhould yet be charged for ſo many years with being a Plagiary.

(5) Sim. Simonii *Comment. in Ariſtot. Ethic.*

(6) Nauderi, *Bibliograp. Polit.* p. 26.

(7) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 624.

(8) Conring. *Introduct. Polit. Ariſtot.* p. 649. 650. *apud* Thomaſium, *de plagio Literar.* p. 153.

(9) Donat. Acciaioli, *præfat. ad Coſmum Medicen. Commentar. in Ethica Ariſt. ad Nicomach.*

(10) Geſn. *Bibliotb.* fol. 216. *verſo.*

encomiums [C] on him, upon account of that work. He was high in the esteem of Cardinal of Pavia, as is manifest from the letters he received from him, which are published among those of his Eminence.

We have annexed a considerable supplement hereunder [D].

[C] *The greatest Encomiums.*] This appears by comparing the text of Paulus Jovius, with Varillas's Paraphrase. *Erudita & pereleganti commentatione magnum lumen attulisse judicatur Moralibus Aristotelis, explosis scilicet sophistarum interpretum ineptiis, quum Eustratii Græci placita secutus, certiore ubique vestigio niteretur* (11). i. e. "He is thought to "have very much illustrated Aristotle's Ethicks by "his learned and very elegant commentary; having "therein exploded the silly glosses of the sophists; "and following the opinions of Eustratius the Greek, "he went upon a more certain foundation." This is the text, and now follows the paraphrase. *He yet translated Aristotle's Ethicks with much greater accuracy than his predecessors in that work; and cleared them of the ridiculous interpretations with which the ancient and modern sophists had disguised them by an admirable commentary; wherein he shewed, that whosoever strikes into that labyrinth without any other guide than the famous Eustachius, will infallibly lose his way* (12). *[The English reader will observe, that what follows, to the end of the paragraph, are Mr. Bayle's animadversions on Varillas's French Paraphrase, in his *Anecdotes* of Florence. And being a critique on the construction of that French writer; the sense is not altogether so clear in English as in the original. The English of that passage of Varillas, according to Bayle's corrections, would run thus. *He yet translated Aristotle's Ethicks with much greater accuracy, than his predecessors in that province had done; and in his admirable commentary expunged the ridiculous interpretations, with which the ancient and modern sophists had disguised them: shewing also, that whosoever strikes into this labyrinth without taking the famous Eustratius for his guide, will infallibly lose his way.* CRIT. REM.] I need not inform the reader, that the author of the *Anecdotes* says more than the Latin with regard to Acciaioli, as well as to Eustratius (13); and that instead of applauding the latter, as was his intention; he, on the contrary, degrades him to the meanest class of interpreters: for he should have said, *avec un autre*, (*with another*); and not, *sans un autre*, (*without another*). What would Father Bouhours say to the words, *par un admirable commentaire*, (*by an admirable commentary*)? Those words are so unhappily placed, that one would conclude, the sophists had given ridiculous interpretations by an admirable commentary.

(11) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 16.

(12) Varillas, *Anecdot. de Florence*, pag. 169.

(13) It is thus we must read, and not *Eustachius.*

[D] *The reader will find a considerable supplement hereunder.*] I may justly call it so, since 'twas communicated to me by a gentleman of very great abilities (14). "The treatise which Matteo Palmieri has left (14) Mr. de la Monnoie.
"on the origin of the family of the Acciaioli, may
"be of great service to correct and enlarge the
"article of *Donato Acciaioli*. This treatise, writ-
"ten originally in Latin by Matteo Palmieri, was
"translated into Italian by one *Donato Acciaioli*,
"a Knight of Rhodes. The original was never
"published, but the translation was printed at Flo-
"rence in 4to, anno 1588, for Bartolomeo Sermar-
"telli, annexed to the History of the Ubaldini, and
"the life of Nicolo Acciaioli, or great Seneschal of
"the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem. We there
"read, that the Donato in question was born in
"1428, that he was buried at the public expence,
"and that Christophoro Landini pronounced his fune-
"ral-oration *. We shall omit the rest of the particu- * This is ob-
"lars for brevity sake. . . . Sabellicus in his dialogue *de* served by Pocci-
"*reparatione linguæ Latinæ*, (which, by the way, antius, *de Script. Florent.* p. 51.
"is generally cited as written by an anonymous au-
"thor), and *Vives, libro* V. *de tradendis disciplinis*,
"have very much commended Donato Acciaioli's
"life of Charlemain. Leonardo d'Arezzo's Floren-
"tine History, which our Donato translated out of
"Latin into Italian, was printed at Venice, in Folio,
"anno 1473, according to father l'Abbe's *Supple-*
"*ment* to *novæ Bibliothec. MSS.* page 341."

☞ACCIAIOLI (DONATO) of whom Mr. Bayle treats in the preceding article, was of royal extraction, he being descended on the father's side from Justin, nephew to Justinian Emperor of Constantinople, and also from the Dukes of Athens, Bohemia and Corinth. His ancestors had enjoyed very honourable posts in the kingdom of Naples, as Seneschal (that of a kind of Chief Justice) and had also been Viceroys of Sicily, and Generals. Some of them had likewise possessed very high employments in the Republic of Florence; had gone on several embassies to different powers of Europe; were related to all the Princes of the Morea and the adjacent Islands; raised to the dignity of Cardinal; had erected several splendid Carthusian Monasteries in Florence, Naples, &c. and signalized themselves by the most glorious actions, and among others the Acciaioli's of Vasconcellos, who went into America. Our Acciaioli was son to Neri Acciaioli and Lena Strozzi. He studied in his childhood under Jacopo Ammanti of Lucca, and afterwards under Giovanni Argiropolo a Constantinopolitan, and soon was esteemed the ablest Orator, Philosopher, Mathematician and the most general Scholar of his age. Some of his works, omitted by Mr. Bayle, are as follows [A]. A very eloquent oration was spoke at his funeral by Christophoro Landini, and his memory was honoured with the following inscription written by Politian;

Donatus

[A] *Some of his works omitted by Mr. Bayle are as follows.*] According to the author of the History of the Florentine Writers (1), Acciaioli writ also the books hereunder mentioned.

(1) *Istoria de gli Scrittori Fiorentini del P. Guilio Negri*, in Ferrara 1722. fol.

Libri tres de Anima.

Laudatio ab ipso habita in æde principe patriâ, in funere Franciſci Vaivodæ, qui in bello contra Turcas obierat in Pannoniâ; & cui utpote de se optimè merito, civitas Florentina parentavit.

Orationes eloquentissimæ, quas ingenti auditorum plausu, habuit ad Paulum II, *ad Sixtum* IV, *ad Francorum Regem, ad Senenses, ad Mediolani Duces; apud quos sæpe pro sua republica Oratoris munus implevit.*

Liber cui titulus, Rei familiaris cura, *Joanni Oricellario dicatum.*

Tractatus de bono & malo Opere, Joanni Oricellario sacer.

He also translated into his native tongue, Leonardo Aretino's twelve books of the *History of Florence*, which was dedicated to the principal Magistrates of that city, and printed at Venice for Jacopo Rossi in 1476.

In the Library belonging to the family of the Strozzi in Florence, is preserved a manuscript folio volume of original Latin letters, written by Donato Acciaioli, all which have remained unpublished, except one to Alamanno Rinuccini, dated March 14, 1454. . . . . Several of his works are not to be found.

One of his descendants was also famous for his love of literature, being educated in the Roman seminary, where he was greatly admired for the brightness of his parts, insomuch that he was appointed to deliver an oration, which he did on the festival of the Holy Ghost in the Pope's chapel, in presence of Urban VIII. He writ the following piece: *Oratio sub titulo,* Phœnix ab igne redivivus, *à se habita de Sancti Spiritûs adventu. Impressa primò Romæ, anno* 1642, *& iterùm evulgata anno* 1645 (2). (2) Idem, ibid.

Donatus nomen, patria eſt Florentia, gens mi
Acciajola domus ; clarus eram eloquio.
Francorum ad regem, patriæ dum orator abirem ;
In Ducis Anguigeri mœnibus occubui,
Sic vitam impendi patriæ ; quæ me indè relatum
Inter majorum nunc cineres ſepelit (a).

That is,

" Donatus is my name, my country Florence ;
" And from the fam'd Acciaioli I ſprung.
" By eloquence I gain'd immortal wreathes,
" But going on an embaſſy to France,
" Within the walls of fam'd Milan I died.
" My life I thus devoted to my country,
" Which kindly bringing my remains from thence,
" Here buried them amid my kindred aſhes.

(a) *Iſtoria de gli Scrittori Fiorentini*, Del P. Guilio Negri, in Ferrara 1722, Folio.

☞ACCIAIOLI (JOHN) ſon to Marcellus of the ſame family with the former Acciaioli, was a native of Florence. This Gentleman quitting the affairs of the bar, where he preſided in quality of Senator ; and the hopes of riſing in the world, with which he might juſtly flatter himſelf from the dignity of his anceſtors, the greatneſs of his fortune, and the fame of his talents, entred into holy orders, and conducted himſelf ſuitably to the character he had aſſumed ; firmly reſolved to ſecond his ſtrong propenſion to all kinds of learning, and being endowed by nature with a genius capable of attaining them all, he applied himſelf to his ſtudies under the direction of Clement Tomaſino, by whoſe great care he became, in a ſurpriſingly ſhort time, a profound Philoſopher. After having learnt the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic languages, and having a ſtrong thirſt for the neweſt and more rare branches of Science, he went to Bologna, and there entertained himſelf with the moſt ſublime Sciences. He then took a journey to Padua, where arming himſelf with every kind of literature, diſputing with the famous Pandaſio and Piccolomini, he anſwered with great promptneſs and facility all queſtions relating to ſcholaſtic matters ; inſomuch that the Venetian Nobility flew with great eagerneſs to Padua to hear ſo excellent a man, where, in preſence of theſe and the two celebrated Literati abovementioned, he gained an immortal name. Nor did he get leſs reputation in Florence in 1565, where he alſo diſputed publickly for ſeveral days before a great concourſe of learned men. Acciaioli was looked upon as an Oracle in all Sciences ; and the moſt eminent men of the age uſed to frequent his houſe, in order to conſult him on doubts, and to aſſiſt at the conferences which were there held. He left only the following work. *Multa Doctiſſimorum problematum monumenta, magno ſtudio & ingenio elucubrata.* He is mention'd with great honour by Francis Bocchi, in his *Elogia* of the moſt celebrated Florentine writers ; by Baptiſt Arrighi, Francis Verino ; as alſo in part the firſt of *Notizie Litterarie ed Iſtoriche dell' Academia Fiorentina* (a).

(a) Idem, ibid. p. 258, 259.

ACCIAIOLI † (ZENOBIO) a Dominican Friar, born in Florence, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his works. By his employment of Librarian to the Vatican, under Pope Leo the Xth one may ſuppoſe that he was a man of learning. He enjoyed that ſtation from the year 1518, to his death, which happened in 1520, he being then fifty eight years of age. He underſtood Greek and Hebrew, and tranſlated into Latin ſome of the works of the antient fathers of the church, viz. *Olympiodorus on Eccleſiaſtes* ; *Euſebius's Treatiſe againſt Hierocles* ; *The twelve Books of Theodoret, De Græcarum affectionum Curatione* ; and *Juſtin Martyr*. Being a Poet as well as an Orator, he ſung the praiſe of heaven and earth both in proſe and verſe. There are extant of his, Poems and Sermons on the Epiphany ; and Verſes and Orations in honour of Leo the Xth. Some of his letters to Picus of Mirandola, are publiſhed ; and alſo, a treatiſe *De Laudibus Urbis Romæ* ; *A Panegyric on the City of Naples*, ſpoke in the general chapter of the order ; and *The Chronicle of the Convent of St. Mark in Florence*. He collected into one volume the Greek Epigrams of Politian, and publiſhed them in 1495 (a).

† It ſhould be *Zanobio*.

(a) Extracted from Ambroſe d'Altamura, *Biblioth. Ordin. Prædicat.* pag. 243.

Ambroſe d'Altamura, whom I have ſtrictly followed in this article, has, in all probability, not been very accurate, ſince Mr. de la Monnoie writes to me as follows. *Of the ſeveral works of Zenobio Acciaioli, the following only are extant, viz. A Tranſlation of Euſebius's book againſt Hierocles, that of Olympiodorus on Eccleſiaſtes, and that of Theodoret on the cure of the falſe opinions of the Gentiles. The Poems, whether Greek or Latin, mentioned by Gyraldus, were never printed. Some are of opinion that he did not die till* 1537, *becauſe Jerom Aleander, who ſucceeded him as Librarian of the Vatican, did not poſſeſs this employment till that year ; in the ſame manner as Zenobio was preferred to it in* 1518, *after Philippus Beroaldus junior, who died the ſame year.*

ACCIUS (LUCIUS) a Latin Tragic Poet, ſon to a freed-man [*A*], was born under

[*A*] *A Son of a freed-man.*] The oftner I reflect on the following words of Moreri, *Marcinus and Serranus, who had been raiſed to the dignity of Conſuls in ancient Rome, were his near relations*, the more difficult I find it to aſcribe his blunder to any other cauſe than this. He had read in Charles Stephen's dictionary, *Natus parentibus libertinis, Marcino & Serrano conſulibus* ; i. e. " Born in the conſul- " ſhip of Marcinus and Serranus of parents who had " been affranchized ; " and not giving due attention to the words *libertinis* and *parentibus*, he imagin'd he muſt ſay, that this poet was nearly related to thoſe two

under the Conſulate of Hoſtilius Mancinus and Attilius Serranus; the year of Rome 583, if S. Jerom's Chronology may be credited; however, we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that it is not much to be depended upon [*B*]. He made himſelf known before the death of Pacuvius, a dramatic piece of his having been acted the ſame year that Pacuvius [*C*] brought one upon the ſtage; the latter being then fourſcore years of age, and the former but thirty. We don't know the title of the play of Accius which was exhibited that year; but the titles of ſeveral of his Tragedies are known, they having been cited by ſeveral authors (*a*). He wrote on the great ſubjects which had been repreſented on the Athenian ſtage, ſuch as Andromache, Andromeda, Atreus, Clytemneſtra, Medea [*D*], Meleager, Philocletes, * Thebais, Tereus, the Troades, &c. He did not always take his ſubjects from the Grecian ſtory, but formed one purely Roman, the title

(*a*) Nonius, Marcellus, Varro, Aulus Gellius, &c.

* The civil wars of Thebes in Greece, between the two brothers Etheocles and Polynices.

two Conſuls; at leaſt, he ought to have changed *Marcinus* into *Mancinus*. St. Jerom writes in this manner: *Lucius Accius Tragœdiarum ſcriptor clarus habetur, natus Mancino & Serrano conſulibus, parentibus libertinis* (1). i. e. "Lucius Accius a celebrated "Tragic-poet, born in the Conſulate of Mancinus "and Serranus, of parents who had been affranchiz-"ed." Father Briet aſcribes to Aulus Gellius two or three particulars concerning Accius, which belong to St. Jerom only (2).

(1) *In Chron. Euſebii, ad ann. 2. Olymp.* 160.

(2) Brietius *de Poët. Lat.* p. 5.

[*B*] *It is not to be depended upon.*] Notwithſtanding this aſſertion, I yet cannot produce any demonſtrative reaſons againſt this chronology; and ſee nothing but perplexity and confuſion on all ſides. Cicero had often ſpoke with Accius, as is proved in the remark [*H*]. Now Cicero was born anno 647 of Rome, and we can hardly ſuppoſe that he would have had frequent converſations with our poet, till he was twenty; Accius therefore muſt have been living the year 667 of Rome; at which time he would be eighty four years of age according to Euſebius's Chronicle. I confeſs all this is not impoſſible; however it can ſcarce be probable, ſince Gyraldus could not be perſuaded that Lucius Accius, ſo many of whoſe tragedies are quoted, was the very Poet with whom Cicero converſed ſo often; and therefore he is of opinion that there were two Poets call'd *Accius*. Add to this, that Corradus, who rejects this diſtinction, does not dare to make Accius above ſeventy years of age when Cicero was twenty: inſomuch, that becauſe of this paſſage of Cicero, he fixes the birth of Accius forty years lower than St. Jerom has done (3). But this is not all: Cicero tells us in his firſt *Philippic*, that a tragedy of Accius was repreſented, during the celebration of the games which Brutus was to have exhibited; and at which he was not preſent, becauſe he left Rome after Cæſar's murther. That dramatic piece was highly applauded, but the applauſes related more to Brutus than to Accius. This would have reflected an honour on the Poet from ſo long a diſtance as threeſcore years. *Niſi forte Accio tum plaudi & ſexageſimo poſt anno palmam dari putabatis, non Bruto.* "Unleſs you ſuppoſed, that "Accius, after an interval of ſixty years and not "Brutus, was applauded and honoured with the "palm." If we conſult theſe threeſcore years from the death of Accius (4), he then muſt have died the year 650 of Rome; and conſequently Cicero tells an untruth, when he ſays that he had often heard Accius ſay certain things. If we compute them from the time this piece was firſt repreſented on the ſtage, we then ſhall make the Orator a very weak reaſoner, in ſuppoſing that a good play was applauded only the firſt time it was brought on the ſtage, which is abſolutely falſe. However, this opinion is more probable, than to ſuppoſe that Accius died when Cicero was three years old. If therefore the paſſage in the firſt *Philippic* does not prove that Accius died before the year of Rome 667, let us ſuppoſe he lived till that period: but, as we are not certain of St. Jerom's accuracy (5), let us venture to aſſert that Accius might then be about ſixty or ſeventy, and that if he lived to ſo great an age as Pacuvius, we then may ſuppoſe that Valerius Maximus ſpeaks of our Poet and of Cæſar. *Is (poeta Accius) Julio Cæſari ampliſſimo & florentiſſimo viro in collegium poetarum venienti nunquam aſſurrexit; non majeſtatis ejus immemor, ſed quod in comparatione communium ſtudiorum aliquanto ſuperiorem ſe eſſe confideret. Quapropter inſolentiæ crimine caruit, quia ibi voluminum, non imaginum certamina exercebantur* (6). i. e. "This Poet (Accius) never roſe "from his ſeat, when Cæſar the moſt illuſtrious Hero of the age came into the college or aſſembly of "the Poets; not that he forgot his exalted dig-"nity, but becauſe he was ſenſible he had ſome ſupe-"riority over Cæſar, with regard to their reſpective "performances. For this reaſon Accius was not "thought to have been guilty of inſolence on this "occaſion; the diſpute there being about learning, "not about anceſtors." This laſt laſt thought is not unlike one we meet with in the (7) ſatyr againſt the French Academy (8). I confeſs, we cannot without ſome difficulty extend Accius's life, to the time Cæſar's proſperity was at its height; a circumſtance which made Corradus think that Valerius Maximus hints at Sextus Julius Cæſar in this paſſage. But why may we not ſuppoſe, that the perſon here alluded to is Caius Cæſar, who was kill'd by Marius's ſatellites; and who, tho' he had been no more than ædile, had yet ſo much credit, that his diſputes with Sulpitius the Tribune, occaſioned a civil war (9)? He was one of the moſt eminent Orators of his time, and a good tragic writer. Be this as it will, we are to remember that Cæſar was a Poet very early. *Feruntur & à puero, & ab adoleſcentulo quædam ſcripta, ut Laudes Herculis, Tragœdia Oedipus* — (10). "'Tis related, "that he wrote ſome pieces when but very young "and yet a boy, as *the Praiſes of Hercules* and *the* "*Tragedy of Oedipus.*"

(3) Corrad. *in Brut. Cicero.* pag. 198.

(4) P. Manutius, *in Philipp. I. ſub finem*, computes them in this manner; not recollecting what Cicero has ſaid concerning the converſations he had with Accius. Obſerve, by the way, that what is advanced in the judgment of the Learned on the Poets, vol. 2. p. 15, viz. that Accius died the 618th year of Rome, the 161ſt Olympiad, is falſe.

(5) See the remark [*O*].

(6) Valer. Maxim. lib. 3. c. 7.

[*C*] *The ſame year that Pacuvius.*] Cicero relates this on the teſtimony of Accius himſelf, *Ut Accius iiſdem ædilibus ait, ſe & Pacuvium docuiſſe fabulam, cum ille octoginta, ipſe triginta annos natus eſſet* (11). i. e. "As Accius declares, that he and Pacuvius "taught dramatic poetry under the ſame Ædiles, the "latter being fourſcore and himſelf but thirty." We find it, *iiſdem ædilibus*, in Tully; but ſome perſons having erroneouſly read or written this paſſage in the manuſcript, aſſerted that theſe two Poets publiſhed their pieces in the ſame houſe, *in iiſdem ædibus, paucis quidem annis interpoſitis* (12). i. e. "few years "one after the other;" Which is evidently a double miſtake. Corradus thinks, that Accius had mentioned this circumſtance of his life in his annals (13); but Voſſius pretends 'twas in a work entitled *Didaſcalica* (14), and gives this reaſon for it, that Accius had treated on Poetry and Poets in this work, as may be gather'd from the paſſages which Chariſius and Aulus Gellius have quoted from thence. However, this is far from being a weighty reaſon; for Voſſius makes againſt himſelf, when he refutes Corradus. The latter had recourſe to the Annals of Accius, *becauſe*, ſays he, *'tis not uſual for a Poet to ſpeak of himſelf in a dramatic piece.* But does not the contrary appear from Terence's Prologues? How was it poſſible for Voſſius who uſes this reaſon, not to conſider that Accius might ſay very naturally in a Prologue, that one of his plays had been acted at the ſame time with one of Pacuvius? Add to this, that beſides his *Annals* and his *Didaſcalica*, Accius writ ſeveral works which were not of the dramatic kind.

(7) St. Euvremont is by ſome ſaid to have writ that Satyr. See the *Hiſtory of the French Academy*, p. 69. but in the *Chevræana*, pag. 307, it is aſcrib'd to Count d'Etlan.

(8) The Comedy of the Academiſts. In this Godeau being ſuppoſed to ſay as follows to Colletet.
Colletet je vous trouve un gentil violen,
Is anſwered thus,
Nous ſonimus tous egaux, etant fils d'Apollun.
Thus imitated,
"Colletet, moſt
"genteely you
"play on the
"fiddle.
"Since we both
"ſpring from
"Phœbus, is
"that ſuch a
"riddle?

(9) Aſcon. Pedian, *in Orat. pro M. Scauro.*

(10) Suetonii, *in ejus Vita*, cap. 56.

(11) Cicero *in Bruto.*

(12) Crinitus *de Poët. Lat.* cap 5. Glandorp. *Onomaſt.* p. 3.

(13) Corrad. *in Cicero Brut.* pag. 342.

(14) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Lat.* pag. 30.

[*D*] *Medea.*] Father Leſcalopier's conjecture appears to me very probable, viz. that the verſes which Cicero quotes in his ſecond book *De Natura Deorum*, were borrowed from the Medea of our Poet (15). Theſe verſes deſcribe the aſtoniſhment with which a ſhepherd is ſuppos'd to be ſeiz'd, who having never ſeen a ſhip, diſcovered from the top of a mountain that which carried the Argonauts. Petrus Crinitus is weak enough to infer from thence, that Cicero ſpoke of a tragedy of Accius, entitled *the Argonauts* (16). But tho' this Poet had really written ſuch a tragedy, yet Crinitus might juſtly be cenſured, for aſſerting it on ſo ſlight a foundation. The author whoſe con-

(15) See Leſcalopier, *Comment. in Cicero, de Nat. Deorum*, p. 382.

(16) Crinit. *de Poët. Lat.* lib. 1. cap. 7.

title of which was Brutus [*E*], relating to the expulsion of Tarquin. If it were true that he wrote a dramatic piece entitled *The Wedding*, and another called *The Merchant* (*b*), we might justly suppose that he also writ Comedies [*F*]. Accius did not write Plays only, several works of another kind being composed by him, particularly *Annals*, which are cited by Macrobius, Priscian, Festus and Nonius Marcellus. Decimus Brutus, who was Consul the year 615 of Rome, and had gained several victories in Spain, for which he was honoured with a triumph some time after, was his patron and friend (*c*). This Brutus was so well pleased with the verses which Accius had writ in his praise, that he had them inscribed at the entrances of the several temples and monuments [*G*], which were built with the spoils of the vanquished. This might arise from a principle of vanity, rather than of friendship; and be less a proof of his loving the Poet, than of his fondness for applause; but be this as it will, it is plain that Decimus Brutus highly approved of Accius's Poetry, and Brutus was a very good judge of it [*H*]. I don't find that Tully censures Accius, when he says, *that he affected a little too much to write in a harsh style*; this glancing at another Poet [*I*], which Moreri might easily

(*b*) Vossius, *de Poët. Lat.* p. 7. mentions those two pieces; and the last on the authority of Varro; but I could not find it there.

(*c*) Anno 623. See Sigonius *Fasti*.

jecture I just now mentioned, should not have prov'd from Crinitus's testimony, that the Grammarians mention the Accius of Medea; for he ought to have directly cited Nonius Marcellus. I just now find by the Fragments of the tragic Poets collected by Scriverius, that the verses relating to the ship of the Argonauts (Argo) were borrowed from the tragedy of Medea.

[*E*] *The title of which was Brutus.*] Manutius falsly supposed, that it was represented when the * *Ludi Apollinares* were celebrated, at which Mark Anthony's brother presided in the room of Brutus, who had withdrawn himself from Rome (17); but 'tis evident from Tully's Epistles, that the Tereus of Accius was exhibited on that occasion (18). 'Tis surprizing that most commentators on Cicero should not have known this. Maturantius thought that the tragedy call'd *Atreus* was acted, but Beroaldus and Hegendorphin are for Brutus.

* Games in honour of Apollo.

(17) Paulus Manutius *in Philip. I. Cicer. sub fine.*

(18) Cicero. *Ep. ad Attic.* lib. 16. Epist. 2 and 5.

[*F*] *That he had also writ Comedies.*] Donatus the Grammarian puts this matter beyond all doubt; for he considers it among one of Terence's perfections, that he confin'd himself to comedy, without having once yielded to the temptation of writing tragedy; *which, among other things*, says he farther, *neither Plautus, Afranius, Accius, nor hardly any of the greatest comic Poets were able to do.* As I don't confine myself servilely to a verbal translation, it may be proper to quote my author's words. *Hæc cum artificiosissima Terentius fecerit, tum illud est admirandum, quod & morem retinuit ut Comœdiam scriberet, & temperavit affectum, ne in Tragœdiam transiliret, quod cum aliis rebus minimè obtentum esse à Plauto, & ab Afranio, & ab Accio, & multis ferè magnis Comicis invenimus* (19). One might infer from thence, that at first Accius wrote Comedy only; but as he ow'd his great reputation to his Tragedies, I don't know whether Donatus has been altogether so accurate as he should have been, in ranking him thus among the comic Poets. Mr. Dacier knew very well that Accius was a tragic writer, and declares it expressly in his remark on the following verse of Horace;

(19) Donat. *de Tragœd. & Comœd.*

Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Attî (20) *?*
That is,
"Does not Lucilius Accius's rhimes accuse?
Creech.

(20) Horat. Sat. x. lib. 1. ver. 53.

And yet he translates this line thus; —— *Does Lucilius find nothing to alter in Accius's Comedies* * *?*

* [Mr. Dacier, I suppose, employed the word *Comedie* on this occasion, because the French sometimes give that name to Tragedy, as well as to Comedy.]

[*G*] *Inscribed at the entrance of the temples and monuments &c.*] This Cicero and Valerius Maximus inform us of. *Decimus quidem Brutus*, says the former (21), *summus ille vir & imperator, Accii amicissimi sui carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum.* i. e. "That illustrious General Decimus Brutus, adorned the entrances of the temples and monuments with the verses of his very "dear friend Accius." — And Valerius Maximus relates as follows: *Similiter honoratus animus erga poetam Accium D. Bruti suis temporibus clari ducis extitit, cujus familiari cultu & prompta laudatione delectatus, ejus versibus templorum aditus, quæ ex manubiis consecraverat, adornavit* (22). i. e. "In like "manner the great soul of Decimus Brutus a famous "General exerted itself in favour of Accius the Poet, "whose easy address and ready talent in applauding "gave him so much delight, that he adorned with Accius's verses, the entrances of those temples in which "he had consecrated the spoils of his enemies." Scriverius quotes another passage which runs thus: *Amatus etiamnum in tantum Attius à Decimo Bruto fuisse dicitur, ut Attianis versibus templorum & monumentorum frontes & aditus exornare consueverit* (23). i. e. "We are told, that Decimus Brutus was so very "fond of Attius, that he us'd to adorn the fronts and "entrances of the temples and monuments with "the verses of that Poet." These, he says, are the very words of Cicero in Brutus; but I am certain they are not to be met with there. Possibly some modern author had misled him in the following manner: He had cited *Cicero in Bruto* with regard to the age of Pacuvius and Accius; then related the particulars concerning D. Brutus, and contented himself with giving the sense of Cicero's words, and yet had cited *idem Cicero*. This made Scriverius imagine that Cicero's own words were cited, and had been extracted from the same book which was quoted before, and so did not give himself the trouble to verify that passage. Thus we see that the ablest and most laborious commentators love to have their business done to their hands. Vossius being doubtless misled by Scriverius, cites *Cicero pro Archia & in Bruto*, concerning this action of D. Brutus (24). This mistake may perhaps be of an older date than I supposed it to be. Scriverius might not have it at first hand: Tho' he collected with great care whatever related to Accius, yet he did not cite the passage from *Columella* hereafter mentioned (25).

(21) Cicero *pro Archia Poëta*, cap. xi.

(22) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 14.

(23) Scriver. in *Testimon. de Attio.*

(24) Vossius, *de Poët. Lat.* p. 7.

(25) In the remark [*N*].

[*H*] *Was a very good judge of those matters.*] Velleius Paterculus highly extols, in few words, the military virtues of this Brutus (26); but Cicero makes the following elogium on his erudition. *D. Brutus, M. filius, ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta sum audire solitus, & dicere non incultè solebat, & erat cùm literis Latinis, tum etiam Græcis ut temporibus illis satis eruditus* (27). i. e. "Decimus Brutus, son of "Marcus Brutus, had a very polite way of expressing "himself, as his friend Accius the Poet has often told "me; and was pretty well acquainted, considering the "age he lived in, with the Greek as well as with "the Roman learning.

(26) Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(27) Cicero *in Bruto*, cap. 28.

[*I*] *his glancing at another Poet.*] Namely Attilius, whom Tully mentions, not only in one of his epistles to Atticus, *Hoc enim Attilius, Poëta durissimus* (28); but also in another passage, a great part of which ought to be cited, because it shews what judgment we are to pass on those who despise their native tongue, and the writers of their own nation. *A quibus tantum dissentio, ut cùm Sophocles vel optimè scripserit Electram, tamen malè conversam Attilii mihi legendam putem, de quo Licinius,*

Ferreum scriptorem opinor, verum scriptorem tamen
Ut legendus sit.

(28) Idem, Epist. 20. lib. 14. *ad Attic.*

(29) Vossius has disposed the words of Licinius in this manner, in his book, *de Poët. Lat.* pag. 7.

Rudem enim esse omnino in nostris Poëtis aut inertissimæ segnitiæ est, aut fastidii delicatissimi. Mihi quidem nulli satis eruditi videntur quibus nostra ignota sunt (30). That is, "From whom I differ so far, that tho' the "Electra of Sophocles be very beautiful in the ori-"ginal, I yet think that Attilius's bad translation of "it ought to be read. Licinius says of Attilius,

(30) Cicero *de Finib.* lib. 1. *Circa init.*

"I

(e) *Netatum autoribus & L. Accium Pœtam in Camœnarum ædem maxima fama ſtatuam ſibi poſuiſſe, cùm brevis admodum fuiſſet.* Plin. *Hiſt. Nat.*

eaſily have ſeen, had he not relied too much on thoſe who had writ on that ſubject before him. It is true, indeed, that Accius has been cenſured for the harſhneſs of his diction, tho', in all other reſpects, he was looked upon as a very good Poet *(d)*. We meet in Aulus Gellius with the excellent reflection he made on that reproach [*K*]; nor is the anſwer leſs judicious, which he made to thoſe who aſked him, why he did not plead at the bar, ſince he ſucceeded ſo well in the drama [*L*]. He was but ſhort in ſtature, and yet he cauſed a very large ſtatue of himſelf, to be ſet up in the temple of the Muſes (*e*). He was ſo high in the public eſteem, that a comedian was puniſhed

(d) See the remark [*N*].

" I think him a harſh writer; but yet believe
" He merits our peruſal.

" To be unacquainted with the Poets of our own na-
" tion is owing either to a prodigious careleſneſs, or to
" too refin'd a delicacy. I look upon thoſe as unlearned
" to whom the writings of our own authors are
" unknown." Suetonius mentions the *Electra* of Attilius, as we ſhall ſhew in the article of that Poet. The *Electra* was undoubtedly a Tragedy, and yet Attilius is rank'd among the comic Poets in Volcatius Serdigitus's † catalogue (31); and according to Voſſius's remark, the verſes which Tully, Varro, and Macrobius (32) cite of this author, are of a comic rather than a tragic kind. Whoever ſhould make a difficulty of this, would be deceived; for are not Corneille and Racine tragic writers only, in an abſolute ſenſe, tho' both of them writ Comedies? and in caſe Moliere had taken it in his head to write a Tragedy, as 'tis ſaid Scarron deſign'd at laſt to attempt, would he not ſtill have been call'd a *Comic Poet? A majori parte ſumitur denominatio.* i. e " A
" title takes its name from the greater part." See the remark [*F*]. But to return to the falſe accuſation of Accius's ſtyle; 'tis to be obſerv'd, that Cicero quotes this Poet often; and in his oration for Sextius, he calls him a very great Poet: *Summi Poëtæ ingenium non ſolum arte ſua, ſed etiam dolore exprimebat.* i. e. " He diſplay'd the genius of a Poet, not only by
" his art, but by his grief." This paſſage is curious; for we there find that Æſop the famous Tragedian, employed thoſe verſes of Accius, which bore ſome alluſion to Cicero's baniſhment, to make the people ſenſible of the injuſtice of that ſentence. The Romans uſed often to apply ſeveral ſtrokes in their dramatic pieces, to the times. See Suetonius (33) and Cicero's firſt and tenth Philippic, in which we are told, that whilſt a Tragedy of Accius was playing, the audience were perpetually applauding as a teſtimony how dear Brutus was to them.

† His judgment on the Latin comic Poets.

(31) *Apud* Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 24.

(32) I believe that Voſſius, *de Poët. Lat.* p. 8, is miſtaken with regard to Macrobius.

(33) Sueton. *in Cæſar.* cap 84.

[*K*] *The excellent reflexion he made on this reproach.*] Accius, in his way to Aſia, paſs'd thro' Tarentum, and there ſaw Pacuvius, who had retired to that city in his advanced years. He made him a viſit with the Tragedy of Atreus in his pocket, and read it to him, as it was very natural for a Poet to do. Pacuvius told him, that his verſe was lofty and ſonorous, but at the ſame time a little harſh and crude. Accius confeſs'd his criticiſm was juſt, and thought it a happy omen with regard to his future productions; a genius being like an apple, which, if it be not hard and green before it is ripe, proves good for nought. But 'tis better to conſider the original. *Tunc Pacuvium dixiſſe aiunt, ſonora quidem eſſe quæ ſcripſiſſet & grandia, ſed videri ea tamen ſibi duriora & paulum acerbiora. Ita eſt, inquit Accius, uti dicis; neque id ſane me pœnitet, meliora enim fore quæ deinceps ſcribam. Nam quod in pomis eſt, itidem, inquit, eſſe aiunt in ingeniis, quæ dura & acerba naſcuntur, poſt fiunt mitia & jucunda: ſed quæ gignuntur ſtatim vieta & mollia, atque in principio ſunt uvida, non matura mox fiunt, ſed putria. Relinquendum igitur viſum eſt in ingenio quod dies atque ætas mirificet* (34). This puts me in mind of an advice which Lipſius gives to young people. Tho' he himſelf was extravagantly fond of a certain conciſe ſtyle, which either diſguſts moſt readers of the epiſtles of that great man, or makes them laugh; he yet cenſures ſuch young perſons as affect brevity, and declared, that it was the parent of a dry, jejune way of writing; but that it was neceſſary, youth ſhould have many ſuperfluities which might be prun'd as they grow older. *Adeò*, ſays he (35), *juventutem ad brevitatem non voco, ut etiam abſterream, ſive quia tutò adſumere vix poteſt, & brevitatis imitatio facillimè ætatem hanc decipit; ſive quia nec utiliter poteſt, & juvenili illo brevitatis ſtudio, aridus plerumque & exſuccus ſtylus evadit, nec facile ad laudatam illam temperiem venitur, niſi initio ubertas quædam & luxuries ſit quam ætas paulatim depaſcat.* i. e. " I am ſo
" far from recommending brevity to youth, that I ra-
" ther deter them from it, either becauſe 'tis hardly
" ſafe, and very apt to deceive people of that age;
" or becauſe it is of no uſe; and that by this juvenile
" affectation of brevity, a ſtyle becomes generally
" dry and jejune. Nor is it eaſy to attain to that
" happy medium in writing, unleſs here be at firſt a
" certain copiouſneſs and luxuriance, which age may
" inſenſibly wear off." Balzac was of the ſame opinion. *Amputanda plura ſunt efflorescenti illi ætati quam inſerenti, facileque eſt remedium ubertatis, ſterilia nullo labore ſuperantur* (36). i. e. " The bloom
" of life requires more pruning than ingrafting; re-
" dundancy is eaſily remedied, but ſterility is abſo-
" lutely incurable." But to return to Accius: Charles Stephens obſerves very juſtly, in his Dictionary as well as thoſe who have built on his foundation; that Quintilian excuſes Accius, by imputing his manner of writing to the age in which he lived. *Tragœdiæ ſcriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clariſſimi gravitate ſententiarum, verborum pondere, & autoritate perſonarum. Cæterum nitor, & ſumma in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri poteſt temporibus quàm ipſis defuiſſe. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui eſſe docti affectant, volunt.* i. e. " Among the tragic writers, Accius and
" Pacuvius excel for the grandeur of their ſenti-
" ments, the force of their expreſſions, and the ma-
" jeſty of their characters. The grace and laſt po-
" liſhing they wanted, ſeem'd to be owing to the
" ages they lived in rather than to themſelves. Such as
" pretend to learning, declare that Accius had more
" genius, and Pacuvius more knowledge (37)." One would imagine that Quintilian had copied theſe verſes of Horace,

(36) Balzac. *Epiſt. Selectæ.*

(37) Quintil. *Inſtitut. Orator.* lib. 10. cap. 1.

Ambigitur quoties uter utro ſit prior, auſert
Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Accius alti (38).
That is,
" When Accius and Pacuvius are compar'd,
" Both are eſteem'd, both wrote with great reward;
" Pacuvius all the critick voices gains
" For learning, Accius for his lofty ſtrains. *Creech.*

(38) Horat. Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. verſ. 50.

There is a paſſage in Ovid which ſeems to cenſure the ſtyle of Accius, as ſomething ſavage and fierce; but in the whole, I ſhould think this alluded rather to the cruel actions he deſcribes in his Tragedies. The ſenſe of Ovid's thought is, that if we were to judge of a man's inclinations from his writings, Accius would be ſavage; Terence would be a friend to luxurious entertainments, and thoſe who write of wars, couragious.

Accius eſſet atrox, conviva Terentius eſſet,
Eſſent pugnaces, qui fera bella canunt (39).
That is,
" Accius would cruel be, and Terence blithe;
" And combatants all thoſe who ſing of wars.

(39) Ovid *Triſt.* lib. 2. verſ. 359.

(34) Aul. Gell. lib. 13. cap. 2.

(35) Lipſ. *in Inſtitut. Epiſtola.*

[*L*] *Nor is the anſwer leſs judicious.*] Quintilian relates this little circumſtance. *Aiunt Accium interrogatum cur cauſas non ageret, cum apud eum in tragœdiis tanta vis eſſet, hanc reddidiſſe rationem, quod illic ea dicerentur quæ ipſe vellet, in foro dicturi adverſarii eſſent quæ minimè vellet* (40). That is,
" Accius being asked why he did not plead at the bar,
" ſince his Tragedies were written with ſo much
" ſtrength and fire, gave this reaſon: I may write,
" ſays he, as I pleaſe, in my dramatic pieces; but at
" the bar, my antagoniſts will force me to hear a
" great many diſagreeable particulars." I know a man

(40) Quintil. *Inſtitut. Orat.* lib. 5. cap. 13.

puniſhed [*M*], for only naming him on the ſtage. We ſhall examine in the remarks, whether we may aſcribe to him what Valerius Maximus relates of one Accius a Poet, who would not riſe from his ſeat, to honour Julius Cæſar, when he came into the aſſembly of the Poets. Cicero ſpeaks very contemptuouſly of one Accius, who had written a hiſtory; and as the tragic Poet wrote Annals, ſome inſiſt that he is the perſon whom Tully cenſures; but others are of a quite different opinion [*N*]. There was in the ſame age a tolerable good Orator of the ſame name, againſt whom Cicero defended Cluentius. This Accius was of Piſaurum, for which reaſon he may be looked upon as a relation of our Poet [*O*]. It is falſe to aſſert that Cicero *alſo ſpeaks of another*

man of wit who uſed a like reaſon to divert his ſon from the ſtudy of the law, and to encourage him to ſtudy Divinity. *What*, ſays he, *can be more agreeable than to ſpeak before people who never contradict you! This is the preacher's advantage: And what more grating than to be obliged, the inſtant you have done ſpeaking, to hear all your aſſertions confuted; and to be unmercifully forced to ſhew a reaſon for whatever you have advanced?* Such is the pleader's condition.

This recalls to my mind a thought in Montagne. "With regard to the gift of eloquence, ſome, ſays "he (41), are vaſtly quick; and maſters of ſo great "a flow of words, that they are ready upon all oc- "caſions; others, of a more tardy genius, firſt me- "ditate on what they ſhall ſay, and their words are "always laboured.... Were I to give my opinion "with reſpect to the two different advantages of "eloquence, which the Preachers and Lawyers ſeem "chiefly to poſſeſs, the tardy genius would make the "better Preacher, and the quick genius the abler "Lawyer; becauſe the former may take what time "he pleaſes to prepare himſelf, not to mention that "the thread of his diſcourſe is carried on without "the leaſt interruption: but the Pleader is obliged "to be ready every moment to enter the liſts; and "the unforeſeen anſwers of his antagoniſt either "confound his arguments, or oblige him to ſtrike "immediately into a new courſe of reaſoning..... "The Lawyer, ſays he further (42), has the more "difficult task of the two; and we meet, I believe, "with more tolerable Lawyers than Preachers, at "leaſt in France.

(41) Montagne's *Eſſays*, Book I. the beginning of chap. x. p. 52, 53.

(42) Idem, p. 54.

[*M*] *That a Comedian was puniſhed.*] Being brought before the Judge to give ſatisfaction for this injury, he ſaid, in his defence, that it was lawful to name a man who gave his pieces to be exhibited on the ſtage; but Publius Mutius who tried the cauſe, pronounc'd ſentence againſt him. Lucilius, the ſatyric Poet, was not ſo fortunate, for the player who had offended him, by name, on the ſtage, was acquitted; ſo true it is that all Judges are not of the ſame mind, or that a greater regard is paid to ſome perſons than to others. The author who relates theſe two law-ſuits, expreſſes himſelf thus: *Mimus quidam nominatim Accium poëtam compellavit in ſcena; cum eo Accius injuriam agit; hic nihil defendit, niſi licere nominari eum, cujus nomine ſcripta dentur agenda* (43)..... *Caius Cælius judex abſolvit eum injuriarum, qui Lucilium poëtam in ſcena nominatim læſerat: Publius Mutius eum qui L. Accium poëtam nominaverat condemnavit* (44). That is, "A certain player mentioned Accius "by name upon the ſtage, upon which Accius ſued "him for damages, but the defendant made no other "anſwer, than by ſaying, it was lawful to name any "perſon who wrote dramatic pieces with a deſign "that they ſhould be acted..... Caius Cælius the "Judge, acquitted him who had inſulted Lucilius the "Poet by name upon the ſtage, but Publius Mutius "condemned him who had named Accius." Glandorpius did not know the place where theſe incidents are related; and aſſerts it (45) merely on the teſtimony of a modern author, whoſe falſe commentary he copies, viz. That the defendant was condemned becauſe he had called Accius barely by his name, without prefixing to it any title of honour or reſpect. *Sine præfatione honoris nominaverat* (46).

(43) *Autor Rhetor. ad Herennium.* lib. 1.

(44) Ibid. lib. 2.

(45) Glandorp. *Onomaſt.* pag. 3.

(46) Catenæus, whoſe words are not cited by Glandorpius; but are found in the Commentary on Pliny's *Epiſtles*, lib. 5. Epiſt. 3. p. 291.

[*N*] *Others are of a different opinion.*] Were I to chuſe I ſhould think as theſe do; for, not to mention that as Cicero has ſo often ſpoke of, and cited our Accius, either with applauſe, or without cenſure, he could not with any decency have abuſed him in his firſt book, *De Legibus* (*Of the Laws*); I obſerve farther, that thoſe injurious expreſſions are directly oppoſite to the character of the Poet whoſe article we now write. Sublimity, grandeur and ſtrength, were the characteriſtics of Accius, and we have read (47) the teſtimonies of Horace and Quintilian on that account; to which let us add two verſes from Ovid, and the deciſive decree of Velleius Paterculus.

(47) In the remark [*K*].

Ennius arte carens, animoſique Accius oris,
Caſurum nullo tempore nomen habent (48).

(48) Ovid. *Amor.* lib. 1. Eleg. 15. ver. 19.

Imitated,

"Ennius, whoſe muſe by nature was deſign'd
"Compleat, had art with bounteous nature join'd;
"And tragic Accius, of ſtyle ſublime,
"And weighty words ſhall ſtand the ſhock of time.
Mr. Cromwell.

Clara etiam per idem ævi ſpatium fuere ingenia, in togatis Afranii, in tragœdiis Pacuvii atque Attii uſque in Græcorum comparationem EVECTI, *magnumque inter hos ipſos facientis operi ſuo locum; adeò quidam, ut in illis limæ, in hoc pene plus videatur fuiſſe* SANGUINIS (49). i. e. "At one and the ſame time "ſeveral great genius's aroſe, Afranius for comedy, "Pacuvius and Attius for tragedy; this laſt excelled ſo "much in it, that he was thought to equal the "Greeks, among whoſe works his held a very ho- "nourable place, but in ſuch a manner, that thoſe "of the Greeks ſeem more correct, and his to have "more fire." Were the author I ſhall now quote as conſiderable as the abovementioned, the following character would exceed all we have yet given; for here we ſee Accius raiſed above the famous Euripides. *Accius poëta junior ſuo ingenio præcelluit Euripidem, qui fuit altus & ingenio ſublimis* (50). That is, "Accius, a more modern Poet, had a greater genius "than the lofty, ſublime Euripides." Another declares that Accius and Virgil were the two moſt excellent Poets of Rome. *An Latiæ Muſæ non ſolos adytis ſuis Accium & Virgilium recepere, ſed eorum & proximis, & procul à ſecundis, ſacras conceſſere ſedes* (51)? i. e. "Did the Latin Muſes receive not "only Accius and Virgil into the moſt ſecret part of "their temple, but even indulged the ſacred ſeats "not only to Poets who were next to theſe in "reputation, but even much inferior to them?" What probability is there to think, that a perſon on whom theſe elogiums were beſtow'd, could have written a Hiſtory that deſerves the character which Tully gives of the following? *Nam quid Accium memorem, cujus loquacitas habet aliquid argutiarum, nec id tamen ex illa erudita Græcorum copia, ſed ex librariolis Latinis? In orationibus autem multus & ineptus, ad ſummam impudentiam.* i. e. "Why ſhould I "take notice of Accius, in whoſe loquacity there is "indeed ſome ſtrokes of wit, but they are not taken "from the learned Grecian ſtores, but from the "compoſitions of the Latin ſcribblers. In his "ſpeeches he is too diffuſive and filly, even to the "moſt exalted pitch of impudence (52)." We are to take particular notice, that the Annals of Accius the tragic Poet were in verſe; and that Cicero ſpeaks in that paſſage, of thoſe only, who had written Hiſtory in Latin proſe, for he makes no mention of Ennius. The beſt criticks are of opinion, that this paſſage of Cicero is corrupted; and that we muſt read *Macrum* not *Accium*; ſo that this cenſure would be levell'd at *Licinius Macer* the Hiſtorian. Voſſius gives into this opinion (53); but when he brings for a proof, the friendſhip which was between Siſenna and the perſon whom Cicero ſatyrizes; when, I ſay, he concludes from thence that Cicero did not ſpeak of Accius, he is miſtaken; for, with his leave, Accius and Siſenna were about the ſame age: for Siſenna was old after the civil war between Marius and Sylla (54), that is about the year of Rome 672, and Accius was ſtill living in 665.

(49) Vell. Paterculi. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(50) Acron. *in Horat.* Epiſt. 1. lib. 2.

(51) Columellæ, *de re ruſt.* lib. 1. Præf.

(52) Cicero, *de Legibus*, lib. 1. *initio.*

(53) Voſſius, *Hiſt. Lat.* lib. 1. cap. 10.

(54) Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[*O*] *Look'd upon as our Poet's relation.*] St. Jerom obſerves, that Accius our Poet, was carried to Piſaurum,

other celebrated Orator of this name, ſirnamed Navius. Moreri has here committed an error, not conſidering that this Accius Navius is the ſame perſon with the famous Soothſayer (*f*) whom he ſpeaks of ſome pages after, under the title of ACTIUS NÆVIUS; nor is he leſs miſtaken when he makes the tragic Poet, and the Annaliſt mentioned by Macrobius, two perſons. But what he adds, viz. that Aulus Gellius *ſpeaks likewiſe of Accius the Hiſtorian, as a different perſon from the tragic Poet, in the ninth chapter of the third book*, is doubly falſe; for that author does not mention an Accius in that part of his work; and in all other places of it, wherever he ſpeaks of Accius, the tragic Poet is to be underſtood. Several perſons were ſatyriz'd, for imitating or admiring the Latin of this Accius [*P*], in an age when that tongue was more refined.

(*f*) Cicero, lib. 1. *de Divinatione*, relates his ſtory. Moreri cites, lib. *de Divin. in Verr.* which is a falſe citation.

rum, when the Romans ſent a colony thither; and that there was a ſpot of ground, adjacent to the city, call'd *Fundus Accianus* (55). This ſpot was given to him when lands were diſtributed among the inhabitants of the new colony. Scaliger obſerves on this occaſion, that the colony of Piſaurum was not founded till four years after that of * Bologna, i. e. the year of Rome 568, fifteen years before Accius was born (56). We may therefore conclude that St. Jerom is miſtaken. It was more natural for a Poet, who was the glory of the ſtage in thoſe days, to reſide in Rome, than in one of the colonies; however, we may ſuppoſe that there were ſome grounds for this falſe aſſertion. Poſſibly, Accius's father followed thoſe who conducted the colony to Piſaurum; and perhaps the patron to whom he ow'd his liberty, was one of the principal Commiſſioners of this new ſettlement. In caſe he followed his patron, the land which afterwards was called *Fundus Accianus* might have been given him; and he might have left, among other children, the father of Accius the Orator. Cicero ſpeaks as follows of this Orator: *T. Accium Piſaurenſem, cujus accuſationi reſpondi pro A. Cluentio, qui & accuratè dicebat & ſatis copiosè, eratque præterea doctus Hermagoræ præceptis, quibus etſi ornamenta non ſatis optima dicendi, tamen ut haſtæ velitibus amentatæ, ſic apta quædam & parata ſingulis cauſarum generibus argumenta traduntur* (57). i. e. "Titus Accius of Piſaurum, whoſe accuſation I anſwered in "my play for A. Cluentius, who was a correct ſpeaker "and had a pretty great flow of words, was moreover well vers'd in the precepts of Hermagoras, "which, tho' they were not adorned with the brighteſt flowers of Rhetoric, yet, like javelins hurl'd by "light-arm'd ſoldiers, they furniſh certain proper "and ready arguments for all kinds of cauſes." Scaliger does not cenſure St. Jerom for having confuſedly fix'd the great reputation and death of Pacuvius to the third year of the 156th Olympiad (58); and Accius's great reputation to the ſecond year of the 160th Olympiad. All which can only perplex thoſe who know that Pacuvius was fifty years older than Accius. For, if we were to ſuppoſe that Pacuvius died aged fourſcore and ten years, the year in which S. Jerom fixes his death; we then muſt compute that Accius was about forty, the third year of the 156th Olympiad; and yet, according to St. Jerom, he was born under the conſulſhip of Mancimus and Serranus, which anſwers to the ſecond year of 152d Olympiad. Conſequently we cannot depend very much on this Chronology, as I obſerv'd in my ſecond Remark.

(55) *In Chron. Euſeb.* numb. 1876.

* This was the Bononia of the Old Romans.

(56) Scaliger, *Anim. in Euſeb.* ibid. ex Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(57) Cicero *in Bruto*, cap. 78. See alſo *Orat. pro Cluentio.*

(58) *Pacuvius Brunduſinus tragœdiarum ſcriptor clarus habetur; vixitque Romæ quoad picturam exercuit, & fabulas vendidit. Deinde Tarentum tranſgreſſus propè nona-genarius diem obiit.* Chron. Euſeb. num. 1863. That is, "Pacuvius of "Brunduſium "was looked "upon as a fine "tragic writer. "He lived at "Rome as long "as he follow-"ed painting and "ſold dramatic "poems. After-"wards going to "Tarentum, he "died at near "ninety years "of age.

[*P*] *The Latin of this Accius.*] Perſius and Martial very much ridiculed thoſe whoſe admired or imitated it.

Eſt nunc Briſæi (59) *quem venoſus liber Acci,*
Sunt quos Pacuviuſque & verrucoſa moretur
Antiopa, ærumnis cor luctificabile fulta (60).

In Engliſh,

"Some love to hear the fuſtian Accius roar,
"And ſome on obſolete Pacuvius pore,
"Whoſe harſh Antiope's afflicted heart
"Misfortunes only ſtrengthen——

(59) Caſaubon is of opinion, that we are to read *Briſeis* inſtead of *Briſæi*, and that it was the title of one of Accius's Tragedies. Scriverius *in Teſtimon. de Attio*, is miſtaken, when he thinks that Perſius does not hint at the tragic Poet in this place.

(60) Perſ. Satyr 1. verſ. 76.

Martial expreſſes himſelf thus, in the ninety firſt Epigram of his ſecond book;

Attonituſque legis Terrai Frugiferaï,
Accius & quidquid Pacuviuſque vomunt.

Thus Engliſh'd,

"Amaz'd you read Terrai Frugiferaï,
"And ſuch like words as Accius and Pacuvius
"Pour forth.

Had the Romans imitated thoſe obſolete writers, in the ſame manner as our greateſt Wits now imitate Marot, and other Poets of the ſixteenth Century, in *tales*, * *ballads*, *pindaric odes*, † *rondeaux* &c. written purpoſely in the ancient dialect, methinks no perſon could have juſtly cenſured them for it; but 'tis very probable, they employed this muſty, ſuperannuated ſtyle, in a ſerious way; and thought that the perfection of eloquence, conſiſted either in writing wholly in the obſolete dialect, or in interſperſing the more modern language with ſeveral expreſſions borrowed from the old. See the excellent hints which Favorinus the Philoſopher gives a young man, who was in this taſte § (61). Authors, now-a-days, are very ſeldom guilty in this particular; and more perſons are too ſoon diſtaſted with a word commonly us'd, or ſearch for new-coin'd expreſſions, than too affectedly fond of antiquated words. Theſe are only employed in a humorous, jocoſe way, and in burleſque ſubjects. Some authors only who write in Latin, are ſtill fond of uſing the moſt obſolete expreſſions. When the Latin tongue had attain'd to its perfection, there was doubtleſs another kind of people among the Romans. Theſe were conſtant admirers of the old Poets, but then they never employ'd their ſuperannuated expreſſions, nor would allow others to do it: their only view in this, was to mortify their co-temporary writers, by ranking the old authors above them. Horace ſaw thro' their whole deſign,

Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri ſanxerunt: fœdera regum
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annoſa volumina vatum,
Dictitat Albano Muſas in monte locutas.

Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud
Quod mecum ignorat, ſolus vult ſcire videri,
Ingeniis non ille favet, plauditque ſepultis,
Noſtra ſed impugnat, nos noſtraque lividus odit (62).

That is,

"Thus old lovers do admire the ancient laws,
"The Sabines leagues have their deſerv'd applauſe;
"On muſty leaves at awful diſtance look,
"Age makes it reverend, and exalts the book.
"Give him the Bards old ſongs, oh rare! divine!
"I ſwear 'tis good, a muſe ſang ev'ry line.

"Thoſe that applaud the ſongs of former times,
"The dotiſh Bards old verſes or monkiſh rhimes;
"Who wou'd be thought to have a ſharper eye,
"And in thoſe poems numerous graces ſpy,
"In which they ſee no more fine things than I;
"'Tis not to praiſe the old, but ſcorn, abuſe,
"And hate new books, and damn the modern muſe.

Creech.

This alſo is a taſte which the preſent age does not give into. We are contented with extolling the ages of Greece and Rome above our own, but then we don't prefer the orations and poems of the 15th and 16th Centuries, to thoſe of the preſent.

* A piece of French poetry, not ſo much in vogue now as formerly. The *Ballades* are ſhort, and confined to a certain number of ſtanzas. They are a kind of ballads, and are thus characteris'd by Boileau,

La ballade aſſervie à ſes veilles maximes,
Souvent doit tout ſon luſtre au caprice des rimes.

† An antient kind of French poetry, of which Boileau ſays;

---Villon le premier,
A des refrains reglez aſſervit les rondeaux.

Menage is of opinion that it was called ſo from its conſtruction; and becauſe the beginning of the firſt verſes always muſt be repeated, by which means it runs round, as it were.

§ Favorinus's advice above, is both humorous and judicious. *Sed antiquitatem tibi placere ais, quòd honeſta & bona, & ſobria, & modeſta ſit. Vive ergo moribus præteritis; loquere verbis præſentibus.* i. e. "But you de-"clare, (ſays he "to the Youth) "that you are "pleaſed with "antiquity, be-"cauſe it is "juſt, good, ſo-"ber and mo-"deſt.... Live "therefore like "the antients; "but ſpeak like "the moderns.

(61) *Apud* Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 10. *quem vide etiam*, ibid.

(62) Horat. *Ep.* 1. lib. 2. ver. 23.

† Acco might have ſaid with the Lady who offers her looking-glaſs to Venus;

Venus, take my votive glaſs,
Since I am not what I was,
What from this day I ſhall be,
Venus, let me never ſee. Prior's Poems, Vol. 1.

ACCO. Charles Stephens tells us, that ſhe was an * old woman, who ran diſtracted, when ſhe found by her glaſs, that old age had deformed her † features; to which purpoſe he quotes Cælius Rhodiginus Book VI. chap. 15, but we don't meet

* Charles Stephens ſays, *jam decrepita*, i. e. "decrepit, or "very old.

with any ſuch paſſage in that work (*a*). The author of the *Supplement* to Moreri, ſays further, that this woman *took a pleaſure in ſpeaking to her image in the glaſs; and that ſhe would often pretend to refuſe, what ſhe longed for very much.* Plutarch, ſays he, adds, *That Mothers uſed to frighten their young children with her name, and keep them from being naughty*, and quotes the 16th book of Cælius Rhodiginus, and Cicero 2d *ad Atticum*. I ſhall give the critique of this paſſage hereunder [*A*], and in the mean time ſhall ſet down what Cælius Rhodiginus relates in another paſſage which is not cited (*b*). Acco was ſo unaccountably whimſical, that whenever ſhe uſed to view her ſelf in the glaſs, ſhe would diſcourſe with her image, as though it had been a living woman; would nod, promiſe, threaten, ſmile, and employ the ſeveral geſtures and actions which are uſed in converſation. Others write, that ſhe would ſometimes take up a ſpunge, and endeavour to drive a nail with it, as though it had been a hammer: this is all we find in Cælius Rhodiginus. With regard to Plutarch, all he obſerves is, that Chryſippus did not approve that men ſhould be terrified by God's juſtice, to prevent their falling into ſin (*c*). *For*, would he ſay, *Men have arguments enough to oppoſe what is advanced with regard to Divine Puniſhments; arguments which ſhew that ſuch diſcourſes are like thoſe of our old women, who terrify children by calling out upon Acco and Alphito* [*B*], *when they are naughty.* Plutarch ſhews that Chryſippus contradicted himſelf.

(*a*) Lloyd has not made any alteration in that paſſage, except that he cites Cæl. Rhodig. book 16. chap. 2.

(*b*) Book 17, cap. 2, he tells us that he read this in the epitome of the Adages or Proverbs of Tarræus and Didymus.

(*c*) Plutarch, *de Stoicorum repugnant.* pag. 1040. B.

[*A*] *I ſhall give the critique of this paſſage hereunder.*] Firſt, none of the three authors who are cited, relate that Acco ran diſtracted, upon finding herſelf ſo ugly in the glaſs; or that ſhe pretended to refuſe, what ſhe long'd for very much. Plutarch is expreſly quoted for this; ſince, after taking notice of Acco's diſtraction, her chimæra with regard to her image, and her diſſimulation, 'tis further ſaid, that Plutarch *adds*; which is as much as to ſay, I. That Plutarch related thoſe three circumſtances, which conſequently, is an impoſition upon the reader, ſince that author relates thoſe particulars only, which I quoted from him. II. How negligent is that writer, to quote only *Cicero 2d ad Atticum?* Does he mean the ſecond epiſtle, or the ſecond book? And muſt the reader be left to gueſs which? Muſt he be at the trouble to examine which letter and book it is? But if he has the patience to do this, 'twill be loſt labour. In the nineteenth epiſtle of the ſecond book are theſe words; *Certi ſumus periiſſe omnia; quid enim ἀναζώμεθα tamdiu.* i. e. "It is certain all is loſt, what ſignifies "then our ſhuffling any longer? III. Cicero is falſely quoted, for he does not ſay any thing of Acco. The Greek word which he, and ſeveral other authors employ to denote what we call cajoling, ſhuffling, and pretending to refuſe what one paſſionately deſires: this word, I ſay, which Eraſmus (1) inſerted among his proverbs, has made ſome perſons ſuſpect that Acco was a hypocrite; but as this is only a conjecture, a writer ought not to cite Plutarch, Cicero, or even Cælius Rhodiginus, for conjectures which other perſons have advanc'd.

(1) See Acciſſare, *in Adagior*, Chil. 2. Cent. 2. numb. 99.

[*B*] *Who terrify children by calling out upon Acco and Alphito.*] I believe that this is a cuſtom all the world over; but then I heard ſeveral perſons of very great learning exclaim againſt it. The Romans had alſo their † *Manducus*, with which they us'd to threaten children, as will be ſhewn under that word.

† This anſwers to our Bulbeggar, or Raw-head and bloody-bones.

☞ACCOLTI (Bernardo) ſon to Laura Federighi, a noble Lady of Florence, and of the famous Benedetto, (brother of Peter the Cardinal) Secretary to the Republic of Florence, was ſirnamed l'Unico, or the Non-ſuch, perhaps for the prodigious extent of his underſtanding, for the variety of ſciences he had acquired, and the excellency of his poetic vein, which gained him a ſeat among the Academicians of the court of Urbino. His ſhining merit procured him ſo much favour with that great Mæcenas Pope Leo the Tenth, that as a proof of the high eſteem he had for Accolti, he generouſly created him in 1520, Prince of the State of Nepi. But though this great Man was raiſed to this high dignity (a happineſs very few Poets meet with) he nevertheleſs continued his compoſitions with as much vigour as ever. He wrote many pieces [*A*]. Several famous writers, and among others Ludovico Arioſti and Baldaſſare Caſtiglione, ſpeak of him with great applauſe (*a*).

(*a*) *Iſtoria de Fiorentini, Scritt.* Folio 1722.

[*A*] *He wrote many pieces.*] Among others are a collection of beautiful Poems, printed at Venice in 1519 and 1553. The liberality of Pope Leo X, a Poem ſtill in manuſcript. Two letters to Peter Aretino from Rome, and inſerted in Francis Marcellini's collection of Letters, written by ſeveral Literati to Peter Aretino, and printed at Venice 1551.

Accolti, of which name there are alſo ſeveral other learned men, made the Epitaph of the famous Poet Seraphino of Aquila, who died in 1500, which runs thus,

Qui giace Serafin. Partirti or puoi:
Sol d'aver viſto il Saſſo che lo ſerra,
Aſſai ſei debitor a gli occhi tuoi (1).

(1) Idem, ibid.

That is,

"Here Seraphim's interr'd. Now thou may'ſt go,
"Happy enough, ſince thy admiring eyes,
"Have ſeen the precious marble where he lies.

☞ACCOLTI, the name of an antient family in Tuſcany, which has produced ſeveral great men. I. Benedict Accolti, the Elder, called ſo to diſtinguiſh him from another of the ſame name, who lived about the year 1450. He was born at Arezzo in Tuſcany, and flouriſhed about the year 1376 (*a*). He wrote the ſame year a Treatiſe, which he dedicated to the Emperor Charles IV, wherein he exhorted him to undertake an expedition into Italy, after he had crowned his ſon Wenceſlaus King of the Romans, in order to quiet the Diſorders there, and to put a ſtop to the deſigns of thoſe, who in Tuſcany had invaded the rights not only of the Roman Empire, but even of the Pope himſelf. We ſhall give ſome account of this Treatiſe in a note [*A*].

(*a*) Caſim. Oudini *Comment. de Scriptorib. & Scriptis Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Sæc. 14. col. 1146.

II. Benedict

[*A*] *We ſhall give ſome account of this treatiſe in a note.*] It is preſerv'd among the Latin Manuſcripts, which were brought from the Ambroſian Library at Milan to that of the Emperor of Germany, *Cod.* 138. as we are inform'd by Lambecius (1), who tells us that the author's name is mark'd only with the initial letters, *B de A*; and that this Treatiſe was never publiſh'd. The title of it is as follows: *Incipit tracta-*

(1) *Comment. Bibliothecæ Cæſareæ Vindobenſis* cap. 8. p. 817.

II. BENEDICT ACCOLTI the Younger, is ſuppoſed to have been the grandſon of the former (*b*), and was born at Arezzo in 1415. He flouriſhed about the year 1450 (*c*), and wrote ſeveral books [*B*]. III. PETER ACCOLTI the ſon of Benedict Accolti a Gentleman of Arezzo and Laura Federica, was born about the year 1455. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, of which he was profeſſor, and taught with great applauſe. He was afterwards made Vicar of Rome by Pope Julius II. who likewiſe created him Cardinal of St. Euſebius in March 1511 (*d*). He was raiſed ſucceſſively to the Biſhopricks of Ancona, Arras, Cremona, and Cales, and to the Archbiſhoprick of Ravenna. He wrote ſeveral Hiſtorical Tracts, and died at Rome the 11th of December 1532. IV. BENEDICT ACCOLTI was born at Florence the 29th of October 1497. He was nephew, or as Leander Albertus tells us [*C*], grandſon to the preceding, and ſon of Michael Accolti, and Lucretia Alemanni. He made a prodigious progreſs in the ſtudy of the law, and became ſo great a maſter of the Latin tongue, that he was called the Cicero of his time. The intereſt of his uncle and his own merit made him very much conſidered at the court of Rome, ſo that Leo X. gave him the Biſhoprick of Cales; Adrian VI. preferred him to that of Cremona, and to the Archbiſhoprick of Ravenna; and Clement VII. created him a Cardinal the third of May 1527. He wrote at the deſire of the laſt of theſe Popes a Treatiſe concerning the *Rights of the Papacy over the Kingdom of Naples*. He left ſeveral other works, and particularly divers pieces of Poetry. He died at Florence in 1549. V. FRANCIS ACCOLTI, Biſhop of Ancona, was brother to the laſt named. He was a perſon of eminent genius and merit, and great things were expected from him: but he died of the Plague when he was very young, under the Pontificate of Adrian VI. VI. BENEDICT ACCOLTI, is famous for being at the head of a conſpiracy againſt Pope Pius IV. which he carried on in conjunction with Peter Accolti his couſin, Count Antonio de Canoſſa, the Chevalier Peliccione, Proſpero d'Ettore, and Thaddeo Manfredi, who were all deeply involved in debt, and men of enterprizing tempers. The motive, or rather pretext of this conſpiracy was, as they affirmed, that Pius IV was not the lawful Pope, and that it was neceſſary to remove him in order to chooſe another in his room. Accolti animated his accomplices with the hopes of very opulent rewards. He engaged to give Pavia to Antonio, Cremona to Thaddeo, Aquileia to Peliccione, and a revenue of five thouſand crowns to Proſpero. But ſome of thoſe who had undertaken to give the blow, having

(*b*) *Oudin.* tom. 3. col. 2582.
(*c*) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* lib. 3. c. 7.
(*d*) Voſſius and Oudin. *ubi ſupra.*

tus de habilitate temporis ad proceſſum verſus Italiam, tum propter electionem Imperatoris Romanorum, tum propter diſcordias Italorum; & primo deprecatio & hortatus ad movendum pectus Cæſareum ſine retardatione debere ingredi Italiam ad paciſcendum diſſidia & ad confutandum rebelles. i. e. "Here begins a Treatiſe, the deſign of which is to ſhew, that it is a proper time to undertake an expedition into Italy, upon the account both of the election of a King of the Romans, and of the diſputes among the Italians; and in the firſt place an exhortation to induce the Emperor to go to Italy without any delay in order to ſtop the diſorders there, and to ſubdue the rebels." Then follows the Preface directed to Charles the fourth, Emperor of Germany, and King of Bohemia. The author immediately after introduces Italy in all the circumſtances of diſtreſs, addreſſing herſelf to him, in order to induce him to defend her cauſe. When this ſpeech is finiſh'd, he brings in another proſopopœia or oration of Italy to the Emperor Charles the fourth; which begins thus: *Sequitur lacrymabilis Arenga Italiæ quærulantis ſuper abſentia ſui naturalis Domini, & eum revocare nitentis. Quæ occaſio meum deſiderabilem Dominum tenuit tot annis? quæ tanta oblivionis licentia à calore cordis ejus miſerabilem me projecit, quemadmodum mei vultus ſibi nunquam innotuiſſet imago &c.* That is, "Here follows the ſorrowful harangue of Italy complaining of the abſence of her natural Lord, and endeavouring to recal him. What affair has detain'd my dear Lord from me ſo many years? What cloud of oblivion has ſeparated me, wretched as I am, from the tenderneſs of his affection, as if he had never known my face? &c." The Preface concludes with a Dedication of the book, and a diviſion of it into twelve chapters. At the end of this treatiſe follows another tract, intitled, *Epiſtola de Succeſſore ipſius, inclyto videlicet Filio Domino Domino Wenceſlao, Romanorum & Bohemiæ Rege potentiſſimo.* i. e. "An Epiſtle concerning the Emperor's Succeſſor, his moſt renowned Son Wenceſlaus, the moſt potent King of the Romans and Bohemia." It begins thus; *Sacri Imperii fidelium univerſitas plenitudine gaudiorum laſciviens hilareſcat, jucundis exultet applauſibus &c.* To this is added, *Notitia ſtatûs Hetruriæ.* i. e. "An Account of the State of Tuſcany;" in which is ſhewn what cities and caſtles at that time had leagued together againſt the Emperor and the Roman Empire; and what on the other hand had continued in their allegiance. Theſe Tracts are written in a very affected and bombaſt ſtyle, as the learned reader will eaſily perceive from what we have tranſcribed of them; and this was the univerſal fault of all the writers of that barbarous age, wherein all true taſte of polite literature was extinguiſh'd.

[*B*] *And wrote ſeveral Books.*] *Libri quatuor de Bello à Chriſtianis contra Barbaros geſto pro Judæâ & ſancto Sepulchro recuperando.* i. e. "Four Books concerning the War which the Chriſtians carried on againſt the Infidels in order to recover Judea and the Holy Sepulchre." This work was publiſh'd at Francfort in Germany in 1574, by Robert Winter in his *Collectaneum Variorum*, *p.* 1171, where it is intitled, *Harangues militaires de la Guerres faicts par les Chretiens contre les Barbares*, i. e. "Military Diſcourſes concerning the Wars carried on by the Chriſtians againſt the Barbarians." It was publiſhed again in Latin at Florence in 1623, in 4to, with notes by Thomas Dempſter, a man of great eminence for learning at that time. We have another piece of Benedict Accolti's *de Præſtantiâ virorum ſui ævi*, i. e. "Of the excellent Perſonages of his time." Written in the manner of a Dialogue, and dedicated to *Coſmus de Medicis*, Duke of Florence, who had a great eſteem for our author. This was printed in 8vo, at Parma in 1692. He likewiſe made a large collection of letters and pieces, that regard public affairs; which is ſtill preſerv'd in manuſcript among the Archives at Florence (2).

(2) Oudin. *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *. . or as Leander Albertus tells us, Grandſon to the preceding.*] We find this paſſage in Voſſius (3); *Ac Leander Albertus in Italiâ ſuâ, cum iſta ſcriberet, (edidit autem opus hoc ſuum anno* 1550) *eundem etiam ſupereſſe ait; atque addit* AVUM *ei fuiſſe Petrum de Accoltis Aretinum, qui Epiſcopus Anconitanus fuit, atque à Papa Julio* II, *anno* 1511, *creatus eſt itidem Cardinalis tituli S. Euſebii.* i. e. "Leander Albertus tells us, that while he was writing his *Italia*, (which was publiſhed by him in 1550,) this Cardinal was living; and adds, that his GRANDFATHER was *Peter de Accoltis* of Arezzo, who was Biſhop of Ancona, and created Cardinal of St. Euſebius by Pope Julius II. in 1511.

(3) *De Hiſt. Lat.* lib. 3. cap. 7.

having failed twice or thrice for want of courage, though they had an opportunity of executing their purpoſe, Accolti, who was accuſed of having lived at Geneva, began to be ſuſpected by the Pope, becauſe he had deſired audience of him too frequently; ſo that he was ſeized with his companions, and puniſhed with them, after they had all confeſſed their crime. This happened in 1562 (*e*).

(*e*) Pier. Valer. *de Intel. Liter.* Thuan. lib. 36. Auberi, *Hiſt. des Cardinaux.*

ACCCORDS (STEPHEN TABOUROT SEIGNEUR DES) Advocate in the Parliament of Dijon, and afterwards the King's Advocate in the Bailiwick and Chancery of that city, was born in 1549 (*a*). He was a man of genius and erudition, but amuſed himſelf too much with trifles, as is plain from his book entitled † *Les Bigarrures*, firſt printed at Paris in 1582 [*A*]; which work I have ſometimes quoted (*b*). This was not his firſt production, he having printed ſome Sonnets before (*c*); a circumſtance which

(*a*) We ſee round the print of his head, that he was 35 years old in 1584.

(*b*) See the table of contents under the word *Accords*.

† *Bigarrures* ſignifies properly colours ill ſuited in dreſs, furniture, &c. and in a figurative ſenſe, a work of wit, compoſed of various unconnected ſubjects, which have no manner of relation to one another, a rhapſody.

(*c*) See the IVth Book, p. 477. of his *Bigarrures*; printed for Maucroy at Paris, in 12°, anno 1662.

[*A*] *His book entitled, les Bigarrures, firſt printed at Paris, in* 1582.] As he himſelf ſets down this date, in his Preface to the ſecond edition, we are to believe him rather than la Croix du Maine, or du Verdier Vau-Privas, who fix it at 1583. The firſt book of the Bigarrures is divided into twenty two Chapters, which treat, among other ſubjects, *Of the Rebuſ's of Picardy, of ambiguous or double meanings, of Antiſtrophes, of* * *Retrograde verſes, of Alluſions, of Acroſticks, of the Echo, of Leonine verſes, of the other kinds of verſe contriv'd waggiſhly and ingeniouſly, of Epitaphs* &c. *Theſe*, ſays la Croix du Maine, *abound with facetious and pleaſant touches* (1). The Printer did not fail to take notice, that he publiſh'd this work without the author's leave, who ſays the Printer (2) *declar'd publickly, that age, time, and his profeſſion, had chang'd his humour and inclination; and that it would very ill become him to own things he had compos'd in the wanton, unripe ſeaſon of life, being then ſcarce eighteen; or ſhould he, after he had given a proof of his abilities, in ſome noble and learned ſubject, pretend not to ſtifle his natural and illegitimate little children, born out of wedlock (for thus he us'd to ſpeak of his three firſt books.) By this I plainly ſaw, that it was a ſtudied excuſe, calculated merely to amuſe us, which prompted me to publiſh all ſuch manuſcript pieces of his, as I had by me.* The author alſo pretended ignorance on this occaſion; "I was "very much ſurpriz'd, ſays he (3), when I ſaw the "firſt impreſſion of this work, imagining that it had "been buried in oblivion. But upon peruſing it, "as a piece that was, in ſome meaſure, entirely new "to me, and on which I had not ſet eyes for fourteen "years; I immediately diſcovered my own genius "and ſtyle, at the time when I drew it up merely "for my own diverſion †; and to make myſelf laugh "firſt, and afterwards other people: ſo that the only "§ order I obſerv'd in it, was, to croud the examples "in a confus'd and irregular method, as they occurr'd "to me. This book being a patch-work piece, no "ways curious, and compos'd on little ſcraps of "paper, tack'd together at various times, a great "many of which I knew however were loſt, inſo-"much, that as every man is fond of his own pro-"ductions, I then reſolv'd to ſend the additions ſince, "which were increas'd ſince that time, with thoſe "which had been omitted." Be this as it will, he owns the ſecond edition; *On which occaſion*, ſays he farther (4), *I read the waggiſh work quite through, which I had never done before; in order that it might be republiſh'd in a faithful and genuine manner. And, as I have ſince recollected ſeveral curious little particulars, and had others on the ſame ſubject ſent me in a very friendly manner, by one of the moſt learned men in France, I have added them to the work as an Appendix.* Pâquier did not approve of Tabourot's enlarging his Bigarrures; ſince it ſhew'd that he continued too long in places which he ought to have but juſt paſt through. Works of this kind ſhould be to authors as inns to travellers, which are proper to bait at, but not to live in. They may be as ſo many excurſions, but not as a fix'd habitation. Such young people may be excus'd, as trifle away a few hours in amuſements of this kind; but when they either correct or augment ſuch productions in their riper years, one would imagine they intended to devote themſelves to this way of writing all their life time, *& tanquam ad Sirenum ſcopulos conſeneſcere*, i. e. "grow old, as "it were, before the rocks of the Syrens." This I take to be the ſenſe of the letter which Pâquier writ to Tabourot in 1584. *I read your beautiful Bigarrures*, ſays Pâquier, *with much pleaſure, not only becauſe of the friendſhip that is between us, but alſo upon account of the ſprightly and agreeable touches with which they abound; or rather, becauſe they are variegated and diverſified with a numberleſs multitude of fine ſtrokes. But I could have wiſh'd they had not been augmented in the ſecond edition. If I may be allow'd to gueſs, methinks a great many of the additions are far from boaſting that eaſineſs and humour, which diſtinguiſh your productions; inſomuch that I could eaſily have perſuaded myſelf, ſome other perſon had lent you thoſe pieces out of a miſtaken charity. Such ſubjects as theſe are to be conſider'd as a kind of ſport, and not as a vow on which all our thoughts are to be fixed. My writing in this manner is a proof that I both love and honour you; ſince I never deliver'd my ſelf with ſo much freedom before* † (5).

* Retrograde verſes, are thoſe which form exactly the ſame words, whether read backward or forward, as is in this, *Signate, ſigna, temerè me tangis & angis.*

(1) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, p. 80.

(2) Andrew Paſquier's advice to the reader, prefixed to the *Bigarrures.*

(3) The author's preamble, concerning the editions of the *Bigarrures*, dated at Verroney, Sept. 25, 1584.

† The author's own words are, *When I built it* (the work) *to tickle my ſelf.*

§ It is plain that this Gentleman's order was nothing but diſorder.

(4) Idem, folio. a. v.

† The French is, *Puiſque pour la premiere fois, je vous parle librement*; which may alſo be tranſlated thus: "Since I "deliver my ſelf "with ſo much "freedom, the "firſt time of "my writing to "you.

(5) Pâquier's *Letters*, book 8. vol. 1. pag. 492, 493.

I believe that *des Accords* made very little uſe of this advice, but publiſh'd his *Bigarrures* with more additions. I have the Paris edition by me, printed in 1614, which contains not only the fourth book of the *Bigarrures*, but alſo the *les* * *Contes facetieux du Sieur Gaulard, a Gentleman of the Burgundian Franche Comté*, and *les* † *Eſcraignes Dijonnoiſes, collected by the Sieur des Accords.* This fourth book is not preceded either by the ſecond or the third, but the author gives ſeveral reaſons, why he nevertheleſs calls it the fourth (6); and among others ſays, *that had he follow'd the common method of writers, his whole work would not be well variegated.* He confeſſes, that he annex'd *the Sieur Gaulard's tales to make it ſell the better. Thoſe perſons*, ſays he (7), *who have purchas'd only the firſt book, purely for the ſake of joking and laughing, will be forc'd to buy this alſo, allured by the wanton touches with which I have interſperſed it, ſuch as the apophthegms, on ſilly jeſts, or rather abſurd reflexions of Mr. Gaulard; on which model, I have been told, ſome perſons in France were for attempting other pieces; but theſe people are in the wrong, to deprive our Burgundian of the glory he juſtly merits. And therefore I'll act as the Caſtilian widow did, who would not ſell her horſe, without her cat.*

* Facetious Tales

† Dijon Stories.

(6) In his Preface to the 4th of the *Bigarrures.*

(7) Ibid. fol. A: iij.

We are to obſerve that the fourth book of the *Bigarrures* is of a more ſerious turn than the firſt, and divided into three chapters. The firſt contains *ſome reflexions, uſeful for the bringing up of children:* The ſecond relates to *the changing one's ſirname*; and the third, *ſeveral particular obſervations on French verſe*; the work concluding with *a diſcourſe on pretended Wizards and their impoſtures:* the whole book being interſper'd with a great number of curious and uſeful particulars. As the particular caſt of this fourth book is very different from the reſt; he gives that as one reaſon why he publiſh'd it before the ſecond and third. But I muſt cite his own words, as they ſhew that he ſtill continued to write in a waggiſh ſtrain, (ſince he apologizes for his ſo doing) after Pâquier had adviſed him to the contrary. *What I have done* (8), ſays he (9), *was chiefly to ſhew by the diſcourſes of this book, that my mind is not always employed on laſcivious matters, in order to ſtop the mouths of a croud of ignorant ſlanderers, who have malicioufly objected this to me, with regard to ſuch as think it indecent in a man of my profeſſon, to wanton ſtill, ſometimes in proſe, and at other times in verſe; I refer them to the celebrated Pâquier's learned prefatory Epiſtle to his French letters, where he ſhews, from the ſtrongeſt reaſons as well as, examples, that the mind muſt not be ſo conſtantly fix'd on one profeſſion, as not to be ſometimes ſuffer'd to rove through the gay regions of fancy. I indeed applaud thoſe who, like the Germans, can be confined wholly to one profeſſion; but then we ſhould not condemn others, who having a genius capable of cultivating ſeveral, exert it ſo happily in all, that they equal or fall but very little ſhort of ſuch as apply themſelves but*

(8) That is with regard to his publiſhing the 4th book of his *Bigarrures*, before the 2d and 3d.

(9) Preface to the 4th book of the *Bigarrures*, fol. A. ij.

which was not known either to *La Croix du Maine*, or *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*. The work entitled, *Les Touches*, was printed at Paris in 1585 [*B*]. 'Tis indeed a collection of ingenious Poems, but moſt of them on obſcene ſubjects, which are worked up in too looſe a manner, according to the depraved cuſtom of that age. His *Bigarrures* are in the ſame ſtrain. He was cenſured for this kind of writing, which obliged him to make his own apology [*C*]. He is ſaid to have written a *Dictionary of French Rhymes*

but to one only. 'Tis well known that the minds of the French, are of ſo ſprightly, ſo various a caſt, that 'tis a pain to them, to be confin'd wholly to one ſcience. Why therefore am I cenſured, for employing thoſe hours which others triſle away in this laudable occupation; which, if ſeriouſly conſider'd, will not be found either idle or fruitleſs?

Here follows another reaſon, which ſhews particularly, that he ſubmitted but for a time to the cenſures of the criticks, and did not intend to ſuppreſs the ſecond book, tho' a little laſcivious. " In the ſe-
(10) Preface to the fourth Book of the *Bigarrures*, fol. A. iij. " cond, ſays he (10), I treat in like manner, of the *periphraſes*, the *hyperboles*, the *metonymias*, the *metaphoras*, the *ſynechdoches* &c. in the moſt proper " French diction I could poſſibly make choice of; " and the examples I have given are ſo entertaining, " that they muſt neceſſarily divert the reader. But " as ſome of theſe are as laſcivious and offenſive to " the ears of our ſtupid criticks, as the firſt, I ſtill " leave them for another opportunity; and have " paſs'd at one leap to the fourth, purpoſely to content the moſt ſerious minds, who will be pleas'd " with me for exhibiting ſome things never touch'd " upon before, that I know of."

[*B*] *The work entitled, les Touches, was printed at Paris, in* 1585.] He divided it into three books, and dedicated the firſt to a Prelate, viz. to *Pontus de Tyard*, Lord of Biſſy, and Biſhop of Châlons. He
(11) In the Dedication. boaſts (11), that the whole was written in two months, at Verdun upon the Soane, in 1585 (12), and
(12) This ſhews that he did not follow Stephen Pâquier's advice. ſays that they are epigrams, which may with the greateſt propriety be called *Touches: for 'tis a ſlight kind of fencing, in which by parrying with the file, I give ſuch a touch or thruſt, as ſcarce raiſes the*
(13) Dedication to the *Touches*. *ſkin, and cannot pierce deep into the fleſh* (13). 'Tis
(14) Preface to the *Touches*, printed with the *Bigarrures*. ſaid in another place (14), *That touches according to the author, is a term borrowed from Fencers, who ſo call the thruſt they give with their ſwords parry'd; the mark of which appears on the clothes of the perſon who is thus hit; the ſword being whited with chalk &c.* The Touches of des Accords, which are commonly annexed to his Bigarrures are different from thoſe I have been ſpeaking of.

[*C*] *He was cenſur'd for this (obſcene) kind of writing, which obliged him to apologize for himſelf.*] I have cited his apology elſewhere (15), and will here add, that
(15) In the remark [*M*] of the article MAROT. his Printer has given him ſuch a character as ſeems to confirm it. " Which occaſioned me, ſays he, to pub-
(16) Andrew Paſquet's advertiſement to the reader, prefixed to the *Bigarrures*. " liſh all ſuch copies of them as I had by me, with the " free addition of words both ſmutty and laſcivious, " as we may ſay, provided they were ingenious: for " notwithſtanding that the author was willing to pay " ſome regard to chaſte ears, and purpoſely omitted " ſeveral particulars; yet as I heard himſelf declare, " that this was *ipſum evitare Priapum*; and that, unleſs this liberty were taken, a great number of fine " thoughts would loſe all their grace; I at laſt choſe " to follow his opinion rather than his advice. He " will excuſe me for thus gueſſing at his real ſentiments, but I ſhall apologize for myſelf in the following verſes of Catullus,

" *Caſtum decet eſſe pium Poëtam*
" *Ipſum; verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt,*
" *Qui tum denique habent ſalem & leporem,*
" *Si ſunt molliculi & parùm pudici* *.

" Carm. xvi. ver. 5.

Tranſlated,

" The Bard himſelf ſhould modeſt be,
" Tho' gay his verſes are, and free,
" Which ever are moſt witty found,
" When they with ſmutty ſtrokes abound.

" And will be ſo bold as to aſſert, that theſe, ſo far " from offending any, (a few hypocrites excepted) " will, on the contrary, be as ſo many hints to young " people, not to amuſe themſelves ſo much in thoſe " curious reſearches, ſince they will here find them " prepared to their hands; and in ſuch abundance as " will give them a ſurfeit, and occaſion them to dip into good books, whence they may gather wholeſome " inſtructions: for I am firmly of opinion, that the " multitude of books which are now publiſhed, and " the eaſy opportunity there is of peruſing them, " deprave the mind, and divert it from enquiring after, and reading carefully good ones; even when " ſuch people fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of collections, which diſcover the whole ſecret, and in " which the viands are ready chew'd for them †. " With regard to the laſcivious touches, I cannot " think they can ſhock thoſe perſons ſo much as the " *Priapeia of Virgil, Catullus and Martial's Epigrams*, the *Amorum of Ovid, Terence's Plays*, " *Petronius Arbiter*, and in a word, the moſt beautiful and rare productions of antiquity, which are " repreſented to them as ſerious things, and worthy " their imitation; whereas the laſcivious deſcriptions " which are here exhibited, repreſent wantonly ſuch " ideas as make but a very ſlight impreſſion. Moreover, every thing in this book is curious, genteel " and ingenious; and the author ought not to have " conceal'd himſelf, upon pretence that the ſubject is " too trifling." The meaning of this, is, that *Des Accords* did not write in ſo licentious a manner, in order to foment the wanton paſſions; but purely to amuſe, and that his verſe might not be barren of thoſe witty touches, which give them a ſprightlineſs and poinancy, agreable to the taſte which had prevailed for ſeveral ages. He was not ignorant of the maxim, that *delicate obſcenity is more dangerous than coarſe ſmut* (17): for in this manner he applies it in his own juſtification,

† i. e. Collections in which the fineſt paſſages of books are inſerted or pointed out.

(17) See my Illuſtration with regard to obſcenities, num. xii.

Des Amadis (18).

" *Qui voudra voir ces Eſcrits,*
" *Les liſe auprès de s'amie,*
" *Car ils donneront envie*
" *A tous deux d'eſtre laſcifs.*

(18) *Des Accords* in the *Touches*, printed with the *Bigarrures*, in 12°, p. 82, for Maucroy; Paris anno 1662.

Imitated

" Of the Amadis's.

" Let him whoſe ſoul is tun'd to love,
" Read theſe to his fond turtle-Dove;
" The lines will warmeſt thoughts inſpire
" Till both diſſolve in Cupid's fire.

" *Of one who read Amadis, and cenſur'd the Bigarrures.*

" *Toi, qui permets les lectures*
" *D'Amadis, & ne veux pas*
" *Qu'on liſe les Bigarrures,*
" *Cauteleuſement tu as*
" *Apperceu que les mots gras*
" *N'entrent vivement dans l'ame,*
" *Pour ſuborner une dame,*
" *Comme les mignards appas.*

In Engliſh.

" When you allow the wanton page
" Of Amadis to pleaſe the age,
" But then with frowning air, forbid
" The Variegations to be read,
" Archly you judge, looſe thoughts inſpire
" (When coarſely drawn) not half the fire,
" In a young Nymph's ſoft-heaving breaſt,
" As thoſe in decent language dreſt.

I here call to mind a reflexion of Sorel. *Thoſe Poets*, ſays he (19), *whoſe compoſitions are liable to the cenſure of the Magiſtrate, and burnt at the* †*Greve, are great fools; for they imagine that ſuch pieces are very pleaſing to thoſe who love to ſport with women; but ſo far from it; that all who read their* * *ſmutty collections, are not prompted to venery for a long time; the reaſon of which is, thoſe pieces abound ſo much with ſmut and ribaldry, that they ſtrike the reader with horror.* But to do juſtice to the author, I muſt obſerve that he qualifies this a little. *However, I am aware*, ſays he (20), *that ſome may object we ought not then to forbid*

(19) Sorel's Remarks on the *Berger Extravagant*, book xi. p. 379. printed at Roan in 1646, in 2 vol 8°.

† Or as we might ſay by the common hangman; the Greve being with regard to Paris, what Tyburn is to London.

* It is in the original *Cabinet Satyrique*, a very obſcene book.

(20) Idem, pag. 379.

Rhymes [D]. By the way, the *Lordſhip of Accords* is an imaginary fief or tenure, founded only on the device of his anceſtors [E]. We are to obſerve, that WILLIAM TABOUROT his father who was Advocate in the Parliament of Dijon, Counſellor to the King, and Maſter Extraordinary of the Chamber of Accompts *, is very much applauded by Peter de St. Julien, in the work entitled the *Original of the Burgundians* (d). He died in the forty ſixth year of his age (e) July the 24th 1561.

(d) See *La Croix du Maine*, p. 156.

(e) See his epitaph in his ſon's *Bigarrures*, pag. 325.

* The Chamber of Accompts is a Sovereign Court of great antiquity, in which the accompts of the monies are kept, &c. to which Preſidents and Maſters belong.

forbid the reading of them, ſince they create an averſion to vice; to which I anſwer, this is to be underſtood of thoſe only who are virtuouſly inclined: for we ought not to enjoin ſuch penances as may expoſe men to temptation, ſince but too many are fond of living in filth.

[D] *He is ſaid to have written a Dictionary of French Rhimes.*] La Croix du Maine declared that he wrote a work entitled, *Of French Rythmes* (21); but he afterwards corrected himſelf, and found (22) that the true author was John le Fevre, born in Dijon, Secretary to Cardinal de Givri, and Canon of Langres. This retractation is juſt, for Des Accords himſelf acquaints the public that it was written by another. Theſe are his words at the cloſe of his chapter of French Poetry. *I ſhall give*, ſays he (23), *my opinion more at large, in the collection I am preparing of the French Poetry, in which Pelletier has laboured with great erudition; Ronſard (as in all other things) divinely and with great propriety; and Quintil the Cenſor well enough conſidering the age he lived in: theſe, and ſome others, have cleared away the thorns; from all whom I ſhall borrow compendiouſly, (quoting their own words, and mentioning their names) in compiling a ſequel to our uncle le Fevre's* Dictionary of French Rhymes, *which I ſhall publiſh one time or other.* I am inclined to believe that Des Accords kept his word, from a paſſage in the Preface to the *Dictionary of French Rhymes*, printed in 1596, by the heirs of Euſtache (Euſtachius) Vignon in 8vo. The author begins thus; *I firſt*, ſays he (24), *compiled this Dictionary (which conſiſted of very near the ſame number of words it now does) by way of amuſement, and to ſupply the defect of my treacherous memory. Afterwards meeting with that of the Seigneur des Accords, enriched with a great many annotations on Rhyme; I took a fancy to reviſe my own, and philoſophize alſo a little on this ſubject, which has been of ſome advantage to me.*

(21) *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 156.

(22) Idem, pag. 222; and it is to be obſerved, that he tells us this Dictionary of French Rythmes was printed at Paris by Galiot du Pré, in 1572.

(23) *Des Accords Bigarrures*, book iv. chap. 3. at the concluſion, pag. 494. of the above cited edition.

(24) Preface to that *Dictionary of Rhymes*.

[E] *The Lordſhip of Accords is an imaginary fief or tenure, founded merely on the device of his anceſtors.*] Let us hear his own account. "Since, ſays he (25), "in the *Diſcourſe on the changing one's firname* (26), "I blame thoſe who do it; and yet by aſſuming the "title of *Seigneur des Accords*, ſeem to declare myſelf "worthy of the puniſhment I would inflict on others; "I muſt inform the reader, that I had not ſo great a "contempt for that kind of writing, ſince I myſelf "expreſt my name by way of *acroſtic* (27) in the "ſeveral chapters of the firſt book; and in the ſecond "have ſet down the year and place where it was com- "poſed. However, as the ſubject was far from be- "ing important, I did not ſet down my own name, "but a Lordſhip borrow'd from my device, the "body of which is a drum (28), and the motto *à "tous Accords*, i. e. *chiming with all*, which my fa- "ther, my grandfather and great grandfather had "taken before me. Thou will find in the chapter of "the particular remarks on French Poetry, on what "occaſion this device was raiſed to a Lordſhip." It may not be improper to ſet down what he relates in the chapter to which he refers. "He had ſent a ſon- "net to a virtuous, agreeable Gentlewoman, daughter "to the late Mr. Begat, the great and learned Preſi- "dent of Burgundy; who, ſays he (29), — did me "the honour to love me. —— And inaſmuch, conti- "nues he, I had ſubſcribed my ſonnet with only "my device, *A tous Accords, chiming with all*; "this Lady firſt nicknam'd me, in her anſwer, *Seig- "neur des Accords*, by which title her father alſo "called me ſeveral times. For this reaſon I choſe "this firname, not only in all my writings compos'd "at that time, but even in theſe books." Baillet aſſures us (30), that he took the name *Torvobatius*, by way of anagram.

(25) Preface to the 4th book of the *Bigarrures*.

(26) The 2d chapter of the 4th book of the *Bigarrures*.

(27) Indeed, the firſt letter of the firſt chapter is E; that of the 2d chapter S; and ſo on to the firſt of the ſixteenth chapter which is T; ſo that the whole form the words ESTIENNE TABOUROT. This had been done before by others. See Baillet's *Auteurs Deguiſés*. That is, "Diſguiſed Au- "thors.

(28) Conſequently the figure in the device was expreſſive of his name *Tabourot*, to which it manifeſtly alluded.

(29) *Bigarrures*, book iv. chap. 3. p. 491, 492.

(30) *Author Diſguis'd*, pag. 440, 607.

† ACCURSIUS a Law-Profeſſor in the thirteenth Century, was born in Florence. The Expoſitions he wrote on the Body of the Law, gained him a very great reputation. It is related that he did not begin till late that ſtudy, and was forty years of age [A] when he attended the lectures of the famous Azo; but that he had applied himſelf before this time to other parts of knowledge. He made ſo great a progreſs in the civil law, that he was afterwards a celebrated profeſſor in that ſcience. He taught in Bologna, and afterwards devoting himſelf to retirement, he wrote a *Continued Gloſs on the whole Body of the Law*; a work which was found ſo commodious and uſeful to young ſtudents, that it quite eclips'd all the former Expoſitions; and indeed none of them were either ſo complete, or ſo well digeſted. Some tell us, that the contradictions which occur in Accurſius, were not the effect of inconſtancy, or a weakneſs of memory, but owing to his having diſtinguiſhed only by the firſt letter of their names, the ſeveral authors his predeceſſors in that way of writing, whoſe opinions he quotes: and that as many of theſe initial letters afterwards faded away, the readers were thereby miſled, they taking ſeveral particulars which Accurſius quotes, as the doctrines of other writers, to be his own ſentiments. His authority was formerly ſo great [B], that ſome have call'd him

† The Italians call him *Accorſo*.

[A] *And was forty years of age.*] Others ſay he was but twenty eight. *Jam quadragenarius vel, ut alii ſcribunt, xxviii. annos natus, jus civile ab Azone audivit.* Theſe are Panzirolus's words, in the 147th page of his ſecond edition printed at Venice in 1655 (1). Sir Thomas Pope Blount, citing Panzirolus and Konig, make him thirty ſeven and not twenty eight years old (2). Konig's citation is juſt, but that of Panzirolus is erroneous, unleſs my edition differs from the firſt. Foſterus had better have been cited, for he tells us, that Accurſius was Azo's pupil at thirty ſeven years of age (3). See the remark [F].

(1) Panzirol. *de Clar Leg. interpret.* lib. 2. cap. 29.

(2) Pope Blount, *Cenſ. Celeb. Autor.* p. 286.

(3) Forſter. *Hiſt. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. cap. 12.

[B] *His authority was formerly ſo great.*] I cannot cite any thing more diverting, or better adapted to the preſent purpoſe, than a paſſage quoted by one of the modern Civilians, who had very little eſteem for Gloſſographers. *Noſtis quanta ſit autoritas gloſſatoris. Nonne heri dixit Cyn. gloſſam timendam propter præſcriptam idololatriam per advocatos, ſignificans quod ſicut antiqui adorabant idola pro diis, ita advocati adorant gloſſatores pro evangeliſtis. Volo enim potius pro me gloſſatorem quam textum; nam ſi allego textum, dicunt advocati diverſæ partis & etiam judices*, credis tu quod gloſſa non ita viderit illum textum ſicut tu, & non ita bene intellexerit ſicut tu? *Ego recordor, & (ſi illud pro novo) quod, dum eſſem ſcholaris, eram ſatis acutus, & dum ſemel eſſemus multi ſocii in una collatione, auſus fui unum textum allegare contra ſententiam Doctoris mei: tantum audaciam habui. Dixit unus ſotius*, Tu loqueris contra gloſſam quæ dixit ſic. *Et ego reſpondi*; Etſi gloſſa dicit ſic, ego dico ſic; ignarus auctoritatis gloſſatorum. *Credebam enim quod eſſent communes apoſtillæ, quales ſunt in libris grammaticæ, ſicut ſuper Virgilio & Ovidio: ſed*

him the Idol of the Lawyers (a). Moſt interpreters have taken as much (b) or more pains (c) to explain his gloſs, than to comment upon the very text of the laws. Some criticks, who were fond of the beauties of diction, have exclaimed greatly againſt this author's harſh and barbarous ſtile [C]; however, it is almoſt univerſally agreed that he was a great genius; and that the blemiſhes in his manner of writing, are owing to the age he lived in [D]. He was in very happy circumſtances, having a very handſome houſe in that town, and a fine ſeat in the country. His two ſons made a happy progreſs in their ſtudies, as we ſhall ſoon ſhew. Some writers tell us that Accurſius had a very learned daughter [E], who was inſtalled in the profeſſorſhip of the civil law. He died in 1229 [F], aged ſeventy eight years. His monument is ſeen in Bologna in the church of the Franciſcans, on which the following very ſhort inſcription, written with the utmoſt ſimplicity, is engraved; *Sepulchrum Accurſii gloſſatoris legum, & Franciſci ejus filii*

(a) Extracted from Pancirol. *De Claris Legum interpr.* lib. 2. cap. 29. pag. 147 & *ſeq.*

(b) Arth. Duck. *De Uſu & Author. Juris Civil. Rom.* lib. 1. cap. 5. *Apud* Pope Blount, *Cenſ. celebr. Autor.* pag. 286.

(c) Forſteri *Hiſt. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. cap. 12.

ſed tamen non ita eſt; fuerunt enim gloſſatores maximæ ſcientiæ viri & auctoritatis. Etſi aliud non eſſet quam gloſſarum ordinatio, & de quibus poteſt dici id quod arbitror de nullo dici poſſe, videlicet quod totum corpus juris viderunt, magis ergo ſtandum eſt eis qui viderunt, quum nobis qui non vidimus (4). That is, "You know the great authority an interpreter hath. "Did not Cyn. ſay yeſterday, that the gloſs was to "be dreaded, becauſe of the idolatry which the law-"yers will have paid to it, inſinuating, that the "lawyers worſhip the interpreters as ſo many Evan-"geliſts, in the ſame manner as the antients worſhip-"ed idols as ſo many Gods. With regard to my ſelf, "I had much rather have the gloſs, than the text in "my favour: for if I refer to the text, then the "Lawyers of the adverſe party and even the Judges, "ſay, *Do you imagine the interpreter did not ſee as "far into the text as you, and did not underſtand it "as well as you?* I remember (let this be by way "of news) that when I was a Student, I was pretty "acute. One day as ſeveral of my fellow-pupils and "I were diſputing, I was ſilly enough to cite a text "in oppoſition to our maſter's opinion. Says one of "my companions, *What! you ſpeak againſt the gloſs "which ſays ſo and ſo?* I anſwer'd, *Tho' the gloſs "ſay ſo, yet I ſay ſo and ſo*; not knowing the great "authority of the gloſſes, for I ſuppoſed they were "explanatory notes, in a grammatical way, like thoſe "on Virgil or Ovid; but 'tis far otherwiſe, the in-"terpreters being men of the greateſt learning and "authority. 'Twill be ſafer for us therefore to de-"pend on thoſe who ſaw through the whole body of "the law, than on our ſelves who have not." Hottomanus cites ſome other paſſages of the ſame author, which confirm the ſame circumſtance, and inform us, that whenever the gloſs was oppoſed, before a Judge, to the opinion of two Doctors or Interpreters, the former always carried it: *Si ſententia gloſſatoris duobus Doctoribus eſt contraria, profectò in judiciis prævaleret ſententia ipſius gloſſæ* (5).

(4) Raphael Fulgoſius *in L. Si in ſolutum C. De Action. & Oblig. apud* Fr. Hottomannum, *præf. Conſiliorum.*

(5) Idem, ibid. *apud eundem.*

[C] *Have exclaimed greatly againſt this author's harſh and barbarous ſtyle.*] Ludovicus Vives is one of them (6); ſee alſo *Bernartius's Treatiſe on the advantages of reading hiſtory.* A great many authors, among the civilians of the ſixteenth Century, cenſured this barbarous diction. Alciatus ſeems to have led the way; and to have firſt given the taſte of uniting the Belles Lettres with the Civil Law; to which Budæus, one of thoſe who moſt ſtrongly attacked Accurſius, likewiſe contributed (7). It cannot be denied but that through their ignorance of polite literature, the Gloſſographers committed a great many miſtakes. Albericus Gentilis has, on the contrary, declared very much in their favour, and would not own that Accurſius ever employed the ſaying, *Græcum eſt, non poteſt legi* (8). i. e. "'Tis "Greek, and therefore cannot be read," with which he has been reproached (9). This author is of opinion that theſe words are not to be met with any where in Accurſius; and declares that he was better skill'd in Greek than is generally imagined; but, however this be, the proverb, *Græcum eſt, non poteſt legi*, is ſuppoſed to have taken its riſe from the cuſtom of the Gloſſographers, who, as 'tis pretended, whenever they met with a Greek word, uſed to leave the place uninterpreted, and gave this reaſon, that being Greek it therefore could not be read; and after having thus leap'd over this gap, they continued to interpret the Latin.

(6) Ludov. Vives, *De Cauſis Corrupt. Artium.* lib. 1. p. 52. & lib. 7. p. 206. *Vide etiam* Braſſicanum *inter Epiſtol. Eobani Heſſi.*

(7) See Pâquier's *Recherches de la France*, book ix. chap. 39. who ranks Budæus in the firſt, and Alciatus in the ſecond place.

(8) Alb. Gentilis, *de Juris interp.* fol. 29.

(9) *Vide* Sich. *in præfat. ad Codicem* Theodoſianum, & Alciatum, cap. 16. lib. 2, *Diſpunct.*

[D] *That he was a great genius; and that the blemiſhes in his manner of writing, are owing to the age he lived in.*] I ſhall cite but two authors: *Hanc ſignificationem in animo habuit F. Accurſius gloſſatorum veterum Coriphæus, homo ingenii prorſus ſtupendi, qui in tantis diſciplinarum tenebris ipſam diſciplinarum diſciplinam accuratiſſimè intellexit, cum non juriſdictionem, ſed juriſditionem ſcribendum cenſuit* (10). i. e. "In this ſenſe it was underſtood by Francis Accur-"ſius, the Prince of ancient Commentators, a man "of prodigious talents, who, in ſo dark an age of "learning, was extreamly well vers'd in the law, be-"ing of opinion that we ſhould write it, *juriſditio-"nem* and not *juriſdictionem*." Thus a German ſpeaks; let us now hear a Frenchman: *Antiqui, (interpretes juris) inter quos Accurſius & Bartolus principatum tenent; de ſermone non valde anxii, rerum quas tractant curam ſolum habuerunt; quas cum noſſent, quantum in illa barbarie & codicum depravatione noſſe poterant, explicare niſi inconditè & barbarè nequiverunt, quod non tam eis quam ſæculo illi tribuendum, quo linguæ & bonæ literæ prorſus jacebant* (11). i.e. "The an-"cients (the interpreters of the law) among whom Ac-"curſius and Bartolus are conſidered as the chief, being "not very ſolicitous about ſtile, bent all their thoughts "to things only, which they underſtood as well as "the corrupt manuſcripts, and thoſe barbarous times "would permit them to do; but then it was impoſ-"ſible for them not to expound in a rude and barba-"rous manner, which however ought not to be impu-"ted ſo much to them as to the age they lived in, in "which languages and learning were quite eclipſed." We are to obſerve, that Barthius gives the Chriſtian name of Francis to our Accurſius, in which he is not ſingular (12). I my ſelf followed them in the firſt edition, but have not done ſo in this.

(10) Barthii *Animad. ad Claudian in Rufin.* lib. 2. ver. 85. p. 1200, 1201.

(11) Rolandus Mareſius, *Epiſt.* xl. lib. 1. p. 176, 177. edit. Lipſ. A. 1687.

(12) Arthur Duck, and Sir Thomas Pope Blount, have done the ſame. See Pope Blount, *Cenſ. cel. Aut.* p. 286.

[E] *A very learned daughter.*] Panzirolus mentions her only by hear-ſay. *Filiam quoque habuiſſe dicitur, quæ jus civile Bononiæ publicè docuit* (13). That is, "We are told he had a daughter, who taught the "Civil Law publickly in Bologna." When an incident of this kind is doubtful, it is a thouſand to one but 'tis falſe; for ſuch things are ſo ſingular, that they cannot but be well known when they are true. For this reaſon I don't give much credit to what I juſt now read in the *Theatrum* of Paulus Freherus, viz. that Accurſius had two daughters, who for their great erudition, were employed to read public lectures in Bologna (14). Freherus, I hope, will not take it amiſs if I diſtruſt John Frauenlobius, of whom he cites a book in the German language.

(13) Panzirol. *De cl. Leg. interp.* lib. 2. cap. 29. p. 149.

(14) Paul. Freh. *Theatr. Viror. Erudit.* p. 784.

[F] *He died in* 1229.] We ſee nothing like this in the *Theatrum* of Paulus Freherus, which was compil'd during ſo many years, with ſuch prodigious labour. On the contrary, we there find that Accurſius flouriſhed in 1236, died in 1279, and wrote a Commentary on the * *Authenticks* in 1236 (15). He himſelf is cited for this laſt particular by John Fichardus in his *Lives of the Civilians* (16).

This citation however is falſe, as appears from the following remark communicated to me by very good hands (17). "Volaterranus tells us, that Accurſius "began to ſtudy the Law at forty, and died in 1279, "in the 78th year of his age (18); whence it would "follow, that he was born in 1201. Nevertheleſs "Accurſius himſelf informs us, on the *Authenticks*, "*ut præp. nom. Imper.* on the word *Indictiones*, that "he actually wrote in 1220; and on the laſt Law but "one, in the code *De Accuſationibus*, that he wrote "in 1227; which would have been impoſſible, were "Volaterranus's calculation juſt; otherwiſe, Accur-"ſius would have writ on the Law, a long time before "he ſtudied it. Theſe Æras of 1220 and 1227 ex-"clude that of 1236, which is erroneous, and can-"not be admitted by thoſe who fix the death of Ac-"curſius to 1229."

* *Authenticks*; they are the ſame with what is called *Novella Conſtitutio*; theſe are the conſtitutions of ſeveral Emperors, particularly of Juſtinian; and are ſuppoſed to have been ſo called, either becauſe they changed the antient law very conſiderably; or becauſe they were drawn up from new caſes, and after the reviſal of the Code, compiled by the command of the aboyementioned Emperor.... Whenever our Accurſius ſpeaks of the *Novells*, we are to underſtand thoſe which Juſtinian publiſhed in Greek. *Authenticks* are the Latin verſions of theſe *Novells*, and received that name becauſe they were tranſlated very faithfully. *Dictionaire de Trevoux.*

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) *Apud* Freher. ibid.

(17) By Mr. de la Monnoie.

(18) Volater. lib. 21. p. 781. This author obſerves that Accurſius began to ſtudy the law in the reign of the Emperor Frederic the IId. now this Emperor reigned from 1212 to 1250.

filii (*d*). That is, "The ſepulchre of Accurſius, the expounder of the laws; and of "Francis his ſon." Accurſius uſed to ſay, that Theology was not neceſſary for the underſtanding of Divine matters [*G*], the Roman laws inſtructing ſufficiently in the knowledge of them. Moreri quotes Catel to a very wrong purpoſe [*H*]. Francis Hotman miſtook when he ſaid, that Azo and Accurſius were inſtructed by Odofredus; for both Odofredus and Accurſius were Azo's pupils, and afterwards profeſſors at the ſame time in Bologna. Albericus Gentilis has taken notice of this error in Francis Hotman (*e*).

(*d*) Panzirol. *De Clar. Leg. Interpret.* lib. 2. cap. 19.

(*e*) Alberic. Gentil. *in Dialog. de Juris Interpretibus*, fol. 60.

[*G*] *That Divinity was not neceſſary for the underſtanding of divine matters.*] Conringius cenſured him in a proper manner upon that account. *Ridicula eſt Accurſii gloriatio* in gl. ad l. 10. ſect. 2. ff. de J. & J. *nihil opus eſſe Theologiæ ſtudio, ad cognoſcenda divina, ut quæ ex legum Romanarum libris aſtatim queat peti.* i. e. "Accurſius's boaſt (*in his gloſs on book* 10. *ſection the ſecond, ff. de J. & J.*) is ridiculous, viz. that "the ſtudy of Divinity was not neceſſary, in order "for attaining a knowledge in divine things, they be-"ing amply treated in the books of the Roman "Laws (19).

(19) Conring. *De Civili prudent.* cap. 3. *apud* Pope Blount, *Cenſ. Cel. Aut.* p. 286.

[*H*] *Moreri cites Catel to a very wrong purpoſe.*] We need only compare the text of theſe two authors, to ſhew the miſtake. Catel having ſaid that Montpellier is one of the principal cities of France, in which the Roman Law was read publickly, adds: "For we find, that the great, and ancient Civilian "Placentinus, who lived before Accurſius the gloſſo-"grapher read law-lectures publickly in the city of "Montpellier, which he mentions often in his "*Summa* drawn up (as he himſelf tells us in his "Inſtitutes) during his abode at Montpellier, as the "Writers of his life have obſerved. He died in "that city the twelfth of February 1192, and was "buried in St. Bartholomew's church yard (20)." Now hear Moreri: *Catel aſſerts that Accurſius died at Montpellier in* 1192. What he adds is very erroneous. *Others*, ſays he, *as Fichardus and Trithemius, make him flouriſh in the following Century; and even the laſt ſays he had a Profeſſorſhip in Bologna anno* 1240. *But theſe, perhaps, committed a miſtake by confounding this famous man with Francis Accurſius his ſon, a perſon of great worth and erudition; who was a Law-profeſſor in Bologna, and Counſellor to Richard King of England.* The father ſhould have been placed under the thirteenth Century which would have been the direct way not to confound him with his ſon; ſo that Moreri's *perhaps*, has no manner of foundation. There was no King of England nam'd *Richard*, at that time.

(20) Catel's *Memoirs of the Hiſt. of Languedoc*, p. 293.

☞ACCURSIUS or ACCORSO, called *Azzone* becauſe he was diſciple to the famous Azzone, went to Bologna to hear the latter, where he ſtudied, and became ſo eminent in the ſtudy of the Law, that loſing his name and ſirname, he retained that of Accorſo only, ſo called, according to Michael Poccianti, from the celerity or ſprightlineſs of his genius, which enabled him to anſwer with prodigious readineſs, any queſtion that was put to him. He applied himſelf with ſo much vigour under the Emperor Frederick the IId, at thirty ſeven, or according to Francis Bocchi at twenty ſeven years of age, to the civil and canon laws, and maſtered them in ſo ſhort a time, that he was conſidered as the Prince of the Lawyers, ſo that all Bologna being divided into two literary factions, upon account of Bulgario and Martin Creſſi, both very famous Law-profeſſors and competitors, Accorſo, by his penetration and vaſt erudition, drew all the pupils of both to his own ſchool. Being aſked why he began the ſtudy of the Law ſo late, he anſwered, *ſe tardè quidem incipere, ſed eò maturius abſoluturum:* that is, "That indeed he began it late, but ſhould therefore maſter it the ſooner." Verini beſtowed the following elogium on him;

Juris conſultos interpres Accurſius omnes
Excellit, brevibuſque notis ænigmata rerum
Expoſuit; nulluſque error reperitur in illis.

That is,

"Accurſius the commentator ſurpaſſed all the Lawyers, he has explain'd the moſt knotty "points by ſhort notes, and not a ſingle error is found in them (*a*)."

(*a*) *Iſtoria degli Scrittori Fiorentini*, p. 1, 2.

A bold aſſertion this, in contradiction to the univerſally received maxim, *Humanum eſt errare.*

† Or rather *Accorſo Cervoto.*

† ACCURSIUS (CERVOT) ſon to the former, made much greater haſte than his father did to get his degrees: for he deſired to be admitted Doctor of Laws before he was ſeventeen, which was granted, after long debates had paſt, whether it was allowable by the ſtatutes (*a*). He drew up expoſitions, and annexed them to thoſe of his father, but they were not in much eſteem. *Deterior interpres ineptas gloſſas & longè à vero diſtantes paternis addidit, quæ Cervotianæ vocatæ ut plurimum rejiciuntur* (*b*). That is, "A "bad expounder, he added ſilly comments, which were far from being true, to thoſe "of his father; the gloſſes of the ſon, which are called Cervotianæ, are moſtly "rejected.

(*a*) Panzirol. *de Cl. Leg. Interp.* lib. 2. cap. 29.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

* *Accorſo Franceſco.*

* ACCURSIUS (FRANCIS) elder brother to the former, was ſo highly eſteemed by the citizens of Bologna, that upon hearing he was to follow the King of England into France, in order to teach the law in that kingdom, they commanded him not to leave their city, upon pain of having his whole eſtate confiſcated. Accurſius thought to have over-reached them, by ſelling it to a friend, but his artifice did not ſucceed; and his eſtate was nevertheleſs confiſcated, which obliged him to return back when it was reſtored to him. He had taught in Toulouſe, and was one day very much puzzled to explain the ſubject of the intereſt of money; when James of Ravanne, one of the moſt learned Lawyers of his time, mixed incognito with the auditors; and pretending to paſs for a ſcholar,

ſcholar, he raiſed ſeveral objections to Accurſius, which the latter anſwered but indifferently. Some have ſaid that Accurſius, at his return to Bologna, was a Law-profeſſor in that city with Bartolus; and that having a diſpute with him, about the reading of a paſſage in the Pandects, they were obliged to ſend to Piſa, to conſult the old manuſcript of that book: but it is very improbable to ſuppoſe, that Accurſius was living when Bartolus was a Law-profeſſor [*A*] (*a*).

(*a*) Extracted from Panzirol. *de Cl. Leg. Interpr.* lib. 2. cap. 19.

[*A*] *That Accurſius was living when Bartolus was Profeſſor.*] Bartolus was born 1313; and was admitted Doctor of laws at the age of one and twenty, that is, in 1334 (1): ſo that Accurſius the ſon muſt have liv'd 120 years at leaſt, in caſe he had heard Bartolus read lectures on the Law, for he had been emancipated by his father (2). Let us ſuppoſe he was then but fifteen; and that this was done the laſt year of his father's life, i. e. in 1229; he yet muſt have been an hundred and twenty years of age in 1334. Panzirolus's conjecture is pretty probable, viz. that the Accurſius, who was Bartolus's collegue, was ſon to an Accurſius who taught the Law in Reggio his native country, about the year 1273, and likewiſe read lectures in Padua (3). He is often mentioned by Gulielmo Duranti.

(1) Panzirol. *de Cl. Leg. Interp.* cap. 67.

(2) Idem, ibid. cap. 29.

(3) Idem, ibid. cap. 42.

We ſhall here add another of Mr. de la Monnoie's obſervations. "Antonius Auguſtinus mentions in ſe-
"veral parts of his *Emendationes* (4), this diſpute of
"Bartolus concerning the reading of a certain word
"in the laſt paragraph of the Law, *Si creditor* under
"*D. de diſtract. pign.* and is inclined to think that
"Bartolus had Baldus on this occaſion for his anta-
"goniſt, rather than Francis ſon of Accurſius. Alex-
"ander of Imola quoted by the abovementioned An-
"tonius Auguſtinus, was alſo of opinion that the
"conteſt happened between Baldus and Bartolus;
"but as Bartolus himſelf declared expreſly that it was
"with Francis ſon of Accurſius; Panzirolus's expe-
"dient ſeems therefore the moſt natural:" which, as the reader has juſt now ſeen, appeared ſo to me.

(4) Particularly in book 4. chap. 17.

ACCURSIUS (MARIANGELUS) a Critic in the ſixteenth Century, was born in Aquila [*A*] in the kingdom of Naples. His predominant paſſion was the ſearching for, and collating of old manuſcripts, in order to correct the paſſages of antient writers. The *Diatribes* which he printed in Rome in folio, anno 1524, on Auſonius, Solinus and Ovid, are a proof of his ability in that kind of erudition. He had taken vaſt pains with Claudian [*B*]; however, this work was never publiſhed, though he gave out that he had corrected near ſeven hundred paſſages from antient manuſcripts. Barthius expreſſes his diſſatisfaction, that ſo important a work ſhould ſtill be kept in manuſcript (*a*), and that the reſt of his compoſitions were not reprinted (*b*). The writer abovementioned thinks that the wit of our Accurſius is not of the contemptible kind, and declares him to be often judicious. This critic made Latin and Italian verſes [*C*]; underſtood muſic and optics, and travelled into the northern parts of the world [*D*]. The

(*a*) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 2. pag. 399. tom. 3. pag. 1602; in Claudian. p. 826. & Adverſarior. lib. 20. cap. 18.

(*b*) This has been done with regard to Auſonius, in the Amſterdam edition of 1671; but not purſuant to the whole tenor of the title, which promiſes, *Notas integras Accurſii*.

[*A*] *Was born in Aquila.*] Beſides the teſtimony of Toppi, approved by Leonard Nicodemus's ſilence, the following verſes ſhew manifeſtly that he was a native of that city;

* *Ut volucrum regina ſupervolat æthera, & alti,*
Immotum lumen ſolis in orbe tenet;
Sic illa genitus Marianzelus urbe . . . .
Alite quæ à Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felici ingenio ſolers ſpeculatur, &c.

Imitated,

"As to the radiant ſource of light,
"Allur'd by the refulgent blaze,
"The eagle darts his towring flight,
"And on the God does ſtedfaſt gaze.

"So Mariangelus renown'd,
"(Sprung from the town that owes its name
"To Jove's great bird) by learning crown'd,
"Aſpiring ſoars to doubtleſs fame.

* The Poet in theſe lines mentions Accurſius as born in the city (Aquila) ſo called from the King of birds, the eagle; and introduces them with comparing our critick's ſearch after learning, to that bird's ſoaring to the skies, and fixing his eyes on the ſun.

These lines are found in a piece of Francis Arſillus (1), printed at the end of a collection of poems, entitled *Coryciana*, publiſhed at Rome in 1524. There is in that collection a *Protrepticon*, containing eighty ſeven lines, written by our Accurſius *ad Coricium* (2). The title of Arſillus's piece, is, *De Poetis urbanis ad Paulum Jovium*. Pierius Valerianus, co-temporary with Accurſius, ſurnames him *Aquilanus*, not only in his *Commentary on the twelfth Æneid*, but in ſome Latin verſes (3), which he inſcribed to him. Barthius was therefore certainly miſtaken, in declaring that Accurſius was born in Amiternum (4), and Konig, not knowing this to be an error, has affirmed the ſame after Barthius. The following words of Accurſius, *Nec placuit reticere, ne quis (quod Saluſtius civis ait meus) modeſtiam in conſcientiam duceret*, "which I did not
"think proper to conceal, leſt (as my fellow citizen
"Saluſt ſays) any one ſhould think my modeſty the
"effect of my being conſcious of the contrary (5)," miſled Barthius. Now the reaſon why Accurſius calls Saluſt, who was born at Amiternum, his countryman, is becauſe the city of Aquila roſe from the ruins of the former; and was ſubſtituted, in ſome meaſure, in its ſtead. 'Tis but five miles from the ruins of Amiternum. See Baudrand.

(1) L. Nicodemo calls him Arſilius by miſtake, in his *Addizioni alla Bibliotheq. Napolet.* p. 170.

(2) Mr. de la Monnoie informs me he was a German, called Goritz.

(3) Lib. 4. Amorum, *apud* Nicodem. *Add. alla Bibl. Napolet.* p. 170.

(4) *Ipſe Saluſtii civis, Amiternus nempe*, Barth. *in Stat.* tom. 2. p. 399.

(5) Mariang. Accurſ. *in Teſtitudine.*

[*B*] *He had taken vaſt pains with Claudian.*] Since Accurſius, in the midſt of the fatigues of his travels into Germany and Poland, corrected near ſeven hundred errors in this Poet; we may preſume he labour'd very hard at that task, when he had more leiſure. *Talis*, ſays he (6), *non Ales legitur in codicibus* (*Claudiani*) *etiam noviſſimè recognitis. Qui tantum abeſt ut non etiam nunc verſibus ſint claudi ac deformes, ut eos ex vetuſtis exemplaribus, dum Germaniam Sarmatiaſque nuper peragramus, ſeptingentis ferè mendis inter equitandum eluerimus.* That is, "We read *Ta-*
"*lis*, not *Ales* in all the editions of Claudian, even
"thoſe which were laſt reviſed. But the verſes
"of this part are ſtill ſo lame and disfigured, that I
"corrected near ſeven hundred errors by means of
"the old manuſcripts, as I rid on horſeback through
"Germany and Poland."

(6) Accurſii *Diatrib. in* Auſonium. Theſe words are not inſerted in the edition of Auſonius, anno 1671.

[*C*] *Compoſed Latin and Italian verſes.*] Here follows what Accurſius himſelf tells us on this head, in a fable entitled *Teſtudo*, which he annexed to his *Diatribes*. He therein relates, how much he ſuffer'd in Rome, from thoſe who envied him, and how they imputed things to him of the moſt innocent nature as crimes. *Noviſtis*, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to two young Princes of the houſe of Brandenburg, to whom he dedicated his work, *ipſi Principes, quam mihi veſtitum prope* (*ut aiunt*) *militarem probro verterint, tum fidibus ſcire, muſicen callere, philoſopho indignum prædicent, quantumque invaſerint, quod & opticen cum literarum ſtudiis, vernaculoſque cum Latinis numeris conjunxerim.* i. e. "You yourſelves, Princes, are ſen-
"ſible that they declared it was ſcandalous for me to
"appear in a military habit, as they called it; how they
"cry'd, that to play on inſtruments or underſtand muſic
"was unworthy a philoſopher; and how violently
"they inſulted me, becauſe I join'd the ſtudy of op-
"ticks to that of the Belles Lettres, and wrote Italian
"as well as Latin verſes." He there ſays, that he was writing the Hiſtory of Brandenburg, from the memoirs with which he was furniſhed.

[*D*] *And he travelled into the Northern parts of the world.*] We have already heard what he himſelf declares, viz. that he corrected a great number of paſſages on his ſaddle, as he rode through Germany and Poland. The following citation informs us, that he uſed to remark the moſt minute particulars, even to

The writers who inform us of theſe particulars, might have added that he underſtood to perfection the French, Spaniſh and German tongues; that he collected a great number of antiques, which were lodged in the Capitol; and that he ſpent thirty three years in the court of the Emperor Charles the Vth, who was very much delighted with him, and beſtowed conſiderable favours upon him (c). We are not to omit, that in his edition of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, there are five books more than in any of the preceding ones (d)[E]. This addition was printed at Auſburgh in 1533; and Accurſius aſſures us he had corrected five thouſand miſtakes in this hiſtorian (e). That year he publiſhed in the ſame city, the *Epiſtles of Caſſiodorus in twelve books*, with a *Treatiſe on the Soul*; and it is to him we are indebted for the firſt edition of that author (f). As ſome Latin writers, his cotemporaries, affected to uſe the moſt obſolete words, he ridiculed them in a very facetious dialogue printed in 1531 [F]; and annexed to it a little treatiſe written by Voluſius Metianus, a Lawyer of antient date (g). He alſo wrote a book on the invention of printing [G]. He was reproached for being a plagiary, with regard

(c) Nicolo Toppi, *Biblioth. Napol.* p. 206.

(d) Henr. Valeſij *Præf. in* Ammian. Marcellin.

(e) Toppi, *Bibl. Napolet.* p. 206.

(f) Leonardo Nicodemo, *Addizioni alla Biblioth. Napoletan.* p. 170.

(g) 'Tis entitled, *Diſtributio, item vocabula ac notæ partium in rebus pecuniariis, pondere, numero, menſura.*

the very ſongs with which women uſed to lull little children to ſleep; but here he did not draw very juſt conſequences from them, as we ſhall ſee. *Nuper*, ſays he (7), *non in Pannonia ſolum, atque adeo apud Septentrionales pleroſque populos, verum etiam ultra Sauromatas, non ſine admiratione audivimus, ad ſuadendum nutricio more infantibus ſomnum, dici*, Li lu, Li lu; *tum*, & La lu, La lu, & La, la, La, la. *Quod noſtrates ferè* Nan na, Nan na, & Nin na, Nin na, *etiam mora quadam vocem ſuſpendentes paſſim dicere conſueverunt. Movit porro nos majori quadam admiratione, quod infantes ipſi & horriduli & ſordiduli vix dum fari incipientes*, Mammam *atque* Tatam *Latinè balbutiunt, ipſis quoque matribus non intellecti. Ut videri poſſint & hæ quoque voces naturales magis quam arbitrariæ.* i. e. "Lately, ſays he, not only "in Pannonia † and among moſt of the people in the "Northern parts of the world, but even beyond the "Sauromatæ (Scythians or Tartars) I very much wondered to hear children lull'd to ſleep, as is the cuſtom with nurſes, with *Li lu, Li lu, La lu, La lu*, "and *La, la, La, la*, which thoſe of our country "generally expreſs *Nan na, Nan na*, and *Nin na, Nin na*, in a drawling kind of voice. But our wonder was greatly encreaſed, when we heard little "dirty chits who could ſcarce ſpeak, ſtammer out in "Latin *Mamma* and *Tatta*, which their mothers don't "underſtand, ſo that one would imagine, that theſe "ſounds were natural rather than arbitrary." Accurſius was miſtaken, when he fancied the mothers did not underſtand this infant language, for 'twas they taught it them.

(7) *Diatrib. in* Auſon.

† Pannonia contained anciently the eaſtern part of Auſtria, Stiria and Carniola, with the lower Hungary and Sclavonia.

[E] *His edition of Ammianus Marcellinus has five books more than the preceding ones.*] Toppi was wrong informed on this occaſion; he has not declared what he ought to have done, and has advanced what he ought not to have ſaid. He does not tell us that Accurſius added five new books to thoſe which were already extant, and mentions only the ſixth, whereas the ſixth is not yet found. The thirteen firſt books of this Hiſtorian are ſtill wanting. Leonardo Nicodemo has cenſured Nicholas Toppi ſeverely upon this account (8).

(8) Leon. Nicodemo. *Addizioni alla Biblioth. Napolet.* p. 170.

[F] *In a very facetious Dialogue publiſhed in* 1531.] Since all who have my work, will not be poſſeſſed of that of Leonardo Nicodemo, I ſhall give the title of that Dialogue at large. *Oſco, Volſco, Romanoque eloquentia interlocutoribus, Dialogus ludis Romanis actus. In quo oſtenditur verbis publica moneta ſignatis utendum eſſe, priſca verò nimis & exoleta tanquam ſcopulos eſſe fugienda. Si quid itaque, lector optime, antiquitatem amas, ut ſanè debes, libellum hunc ingenti quamvis pecunia à bibliopola te tibi redimiſſe non pœnitebit. Nam præter quam quòd vocibus partim Oſcis, partim Volſcis conſcriptus eſt, Latina quoque iſtuc verba exoletiora nimiſque priſca quibus Aborigenes, Picus, Evandrus, Carmentaque ipſa loquebantur, affatim collata ſunt. Quæque omnia apud Ennium, Pacuvium, Plautum, alioſve hujus notæ priſcos authores abſtruſiora leguntur. Itemque recentiorum cacatas Apuleii & Capellæ chartas, hujuſmodive aliorum. Quæ ut certè ſunt evitanda, ita tamen ab eo qui docti nomen ferat agnoſcenda ſunt, ut cum aliquando in eas offenderit, de illorum ſenſu ei turpiter hæſitandum non ſit* (9). i. e. "A Dialogue ſpoke at the Roman "games, an Oſcian, a Volſcian and a Roman being "the interlocutors; in which is ſhewn, that we "ought to employ ſuch words as are current and "commonly received, and ſhun as rocks, ſuch expreſſions as are too antiquated and obſolete. If "therefore, courteous reader, you have any affection "(as you ought to have) for antiquity, you won't "be ſorry that you purchaſed this book, tho' you "pay ever ſo extravagant a price for it. For not to "mention that it is written, partly in the Oſcian, "and partly in the Volſcian Dialect; a great number of thoſe very ancient obſolete words are "introduced in it, which were uſed by the Aborigines, by Picus, Evander, and even by * Carmenta herſelf; and all the abſtruſe terms, which "are found in Ennius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and other "ancient authors of the ſame character. Alſo the "more modern, contemptible writings of Apuleius "and Capella, and ſuch like; all which, tho' they "ought to be avoided, ſhould yet be ſo far underſtood by him who pretends to the name of a ſcholar, that he may be able whenever any of theſe occur, to explain their ſenſe, without ſhamefully hesitating on them." Andreas Scottus forms the following judgment of this work: *De Apuleio metamorphoſeos ex Lucio Patrenſi, ſeu Luciano, ſcriptore audi, amabo, quæ in Dialogo olim ante hos ipſos octoginta annos à Mariangelo Accurſio (homine, ut illis temporibus pererudito, quique Naſonem, Auſonium ac Solinum, Diatriba illuſtravit.) Oſcè ac Volſcè conſcripto, ut ſæculi degenerantis nimium à prima eloquentia inſaniam veluti aceto aſperſa ſatyra perſtringeret, audi inquam, & riſum contine ſi potes, &c.* (10). That is, "Hear, I intreat you, the account that "is given of Apuleius who writ the *Metamorphoſis* "from Lucian Patrenſis, or Lucian, as introduced in "a dialogue, compoſed above fourſcore years ſince, "by Mariangelus Accurſius, a man of vaſt learning "for the age, who alſo illuſtrated Ovid, Auſonius and "Solinus; a Dialogue, I ſay, written by Accurſius "in the Oſcian and Volſcian dialect, purpoſely to "laſh in a very ſevere manner the folly of the writers of that time, who degenerated too much from "the ancient eloquence; Hear, I ſay, and then refrain "from laughter if you can &c."

* A Propheteſs and mother to Evander.

(9) Extracted from Leonardo Nicodemo, *Addizioni alla Bibl. Napolet.* p. 170.

(10) Andr. Schottus, lib. 1. *Quæſt. Tullianar.* pag. 59. *Apud* Leon. Nicodemum, *Addizion. alla Bibl. Neap.* p. 170.

We are to obſerve, that this work of our Accurſius is in 8vo; but the following remarks which Mr. de la Monnoie ſent me, merit particular notice. "The Dialogue of Mariangelus Accurſius, ſays he, "which was levelled againſt thoſe who corrupted the "Latin tongue, was perhaps printed in 1531; but "then we may naturally ſuppoſe that it had been "made public ſome years before, ſince Geoffry Tory "quotes it in his *Champ fleuri*, (Flowry field) which "he himſelf printed in 4to, anno 1529. *In like "manner*, ſays he, *a thouſand other forms of ſpeech, "which Hieronymus Avacinus, a native of Verona, "gives us in the beginning of his elaborate annotations on the works of the ancient Poet Lucretius; "which I leave to the curious, who are lovers of "antiquity; and which may be ſeen and read at "large, in a dialogue entitled Oſci & Volſci Dialogus "ludis Romanis actus.* This piece is hinted at by "Paulus Jovius in the *Elogium of Battiſta Pio*, againſt "which it was chiefly levelled. The title of this "Dialogue is whimſical enough, and of a decent "length; but I ſcarce underſtand the conſtruction of "the firſt words of it, *Oſco, Volſco, Romanoque eloquentia interlocutoribus*: methinks it ſhould be, "*& eloquentia*, &c."

[G] *A work on the Invention of Printing.*] I don't pretend to have ſeen it, and advance this only on the teſtimony of Toppi (11); however, I am very certain

(11) Toppi, *Biblioth. Napolet.* p. 206.

gard to his *Auſonius*, it being reported that he had appropriated to himſelf the labours of Fabricio Varano Biſhop of Camerino; however, he took an oath to the contrary, and proteſted he had never borrowed any embelliſhments from other authors. The tenor of his oath is remarkable [*H*]. Had his ſon Caſimir, who was a ſcholar [*I*], lived longer (*b*), ſeveral more of Accarſius's works would have been publiſhed.

(*b*) Toppi, *Biblioth. Napolet.* p. 206.

tain of what follows. 'Twas thought that our Accurſius had writ with his own hand, in the firſt leaf of *Donatus's Grammar* printed on vellum; that *this* book *and a work entitled* Confeſſionalia, *were the firſt books ever printed; and that John Fauſtus, citizen of Mentz inventor of the art, had put them to preſs in* 1450 (12). Mr. Chevillier obſerves, that this Accurſius lived in 1500 (13); and yet he makes ſome difference between his teſtimony, and that of *Ulric Zel*, Bookſeller at Cologne in 1499; he makes, I ſay, ſome difference between them with regard to the time. *Donatus*, ſays he, *had been printed longer, when Accurſius wrote this, than when Zel ſpoke of it* (14). 'Tis plain that a year more or leſs, is of no conſequence on this occaſion. Beſides, can we ſay that a man who ſpent thirty three years in the Emperor Charles the fifth's court, lived in 1500?

(12) Chevillier, *Origin. de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, p. 21. He cites the book *de Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ*, written by Angelus Roccha, and printed in Rome 1591. Boxhornius in his *Theatr. Holl.* pag. 138. cites this paſſage of Angel. Roccha at length.

(13) Chevillier, *Origin. de Imprimerie de Paris*, p. 21 and 281.

(14) Idem, p. 284.

[*H*] *The tenor of his oath is remarkable.*] 'Tis this; *Quod dii hominesque, fas, fidesque audiat, ſacramenti religione, ac ſi quid eſt jusjurando ſanctius, affirmo, idque rite pariter ac ſine dolo malo dici, cæteriſque accipi volo, me nec ullius unquam ſcripta perlegiſſe ac ne conſpexiſſe quidem, unde vel tantillum lucubrationes noſtræ redimiri juvarique datum fuerit. Quin immo laboraſſe, quoad ejus fieri licuerit, ut ſi quippiam alterius, poſt obſervationem quoque meam, editum occurrerit, è noſtris protinus aboleverimus. Quod ſi pejerem, tum Pontifex perjurio, malus autem genius Diatribis contingat, uſque adeo ut ſi qua bona aut ſaltem mediocra in ipſis fuerint, imperitorum turbæ peſſima, bonis leviuſcula, triciſque viliora cenſeantur, famæ ſi quæ manent munera, vento evolent proque vulgi levitate ferantur* (15). That is, "I ſolemnly ſwear, before God, men, juſtice and ſincerity, or if any "thing be more holy than an oath, I affirm upon it "and declare what I now atteſt is pure, unfeigned "truth, and deſire it to be received as ſuch by others; "that I never read or even ſaw the compoſitions of any "one perſon, whence I could borrow the leaſt hint "or aſſiſtance for my own writings. So far from it, "that I endeavoured, to the utmoſt of my power, "whenever I found any thing publiſhed like what "I had before written, I expunged it from my "own works. And in caſe I am forſworn, may "the Pope puniſh me for it, and ſo evil a fate "attend my Diſcourſes, that whatever may be valuable or at leaſt indifferent in them, may be judged "abominable by the ignorant many, and very inconſiderable, and even below trifles, by the learned "and judicious; and if I have any fame left, may "the winds carry it away, and may it be declared, "that I ow'd it entirely to the injudicious vulgar.

(15) Mariang. Accurſius *in Teſtudine, ad calcem Diatrib.*

[*I*] *His ſon Caſimir was a man of letters.*] 'Tis he, very probably, whom Vincente Pinelli the learned and celebrated Protector of the *Literati*, entertained for ſome time in his houſe; for tho' Gualdo gives the name of *Francis* to the ſon of Accurſius; he is afraid, at the ſame time, of being miſtaken when he calls him by that name. Theſe are his words; *Præter hos domi habuit Benedictum Octavium, res philoſophicas theologicaſque doctum. . . . Mariangeli Accurſii filium Franciſcum ni fallor, inſignem moribus & doctrinâ* (16). i. e. "Beſides thoſe, he had in his houſe "Benedictus Octavianus, skill'd in Philoſophy and Di- "vinity—Francis ſon to Mariangelus Accurſius, if I "miſtake not, famous for his morals and his learn- "ing."

(16) Gualdus, *in Vita Vincent. Pinelli.*

☞ACEPHALI, a Sect of Heretics, who were called ſo, becauſe they had no head or leader, from the Greek word ἀκέφαλος. Some authors have given this name to thoſe who refuſed to adhere either to John Patriarch of Antioch, or St. Cyril of Alexandria, during the conteſt which they had with each other [*A*], in the time of Pope Sixtus III. after the meeting of the council at Epheſus. But the Acephali were properly that party, which appeared about the year 482, and followed the errors of Peter Mongus Biſhop of Alexandria (*a*). But they abandoned him, when they found that he had ſubſcribed to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, which they abhorred (*b*) [*B*]. Their doctrine was in general the ſame with that of the Eutychians [*C*], and directly

(*a*) Forbeſ. *Inſtruct. Hiſtorico-Theologic.* lib. 3. cap. 14.

(*b*) *Liberatus in Breviario*, c. 18. Nicephorus *Calliſt.* l. 16. c. 13, 17, 20.

[*A*] *Who refuſed to adhere either to John Patriarch of Antioch, or St. Cyril of Alexandria, during the conteſt which they had with each other.*] The origin and progreſs of this diſpute were as follows. This John of Antioch had been educated in the monaſtery of St. Euprepius near Antioch, where he had Neſtorius and Theodoret for his fellow-pupils. Upon the death of Theodotus in the year 427 he was raiſed to the Biſhoprick of Antioch; and about two years after he was prompted by his friendſhip for Neſtorius to oppoſe St. Cyril's writings and anathema's againſt him.

When the council of Epheſus was called together by the Emperor Theodoſius in the year 431, he endeavoured as much as poſſible, that they might not fall upon Neſtorius's opinions, and that no other confeſſion but that of Nice ſhould be ſubſcribed, and that St. Cyril's *Capitula* might be cenſured as contrary to that confeſſion. Five days after the council was opened he came to Epheſus, and finding that Neſtorius was already condemned by them, he held a little council of the Biſhops of his party in his own apartment the ſame day, and depoſed Cyril and Memnon Biſhop of Epheſus. Upon this he was cited before the council, and refuſing to appear, they excommunicated him. At his return to Antioch he continued to defend Neſtorius with the greateſt vigour for a long time, though he ſeemed to reject his opinions; and the reaſon which he alledged why he could never be induced to condemn him, was becauſe he thought that Neſtorius was orthodox in his real ſentiments, though he had expreſſed them a little incautiouſly. At laſt he was reconciled to St. Cyril by means of the Emperor, and condemned Neſtorius (1).

(1) See Dr. Cave's *Hiſtoria Literaria*, p. 265, 266, edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

[*B*] *But they abandoned him when they found that he had ſubſcribed to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, which they abhorred.*] Liberatus (2) tells us, that when Peter Mongus had obtained the Biſhoprick of Alexandria, he wrote to Acacius and Simplicius, that he would agree to the council of Chalcedon; but on the other hand, in order to ſecure his intereſt with thoſe of Alexandria, who were enemies to that council, he aſſured them that he would not ſubmit to the decrees of it. But when this artful conduct of his was diſcovered, a great many of thoſe perſons, who were averſe to the council of Chalcedon, ſeparated themſelves from him, and refuſed any communion with him, even when he had anathematized that council. Nay, they carried their reſentments ſo far, as to divide themſelves from thoſe of his ſucceſſors, who had his name in their Dipticks. Leontius (3) likewiſe tells us, that when Athanaſius ſucceeded Peter Mongus in his Biſhoprick, though he had anathematiz'd the council of Chalcedon, the Acephali refuſed to communicate with him, becauſe he had entertained his predeceſſor. Τὸν δὲ Πίτρον διεδέξατο Ἀθανάσιος. Καὶ οὗτος δεχόμενος τὸ ἑνωτικὸν, ἀνεθεμάτιζε τὴν σύνοδον. πλὴν οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ Ἀκέφαλοι, διότι τὸν Πίτρον ἐδέχετο. A Deacon of Paleſtine, whoſe name was Eſaias, was ordained their Biſhop and ſent to Alexandria, but he was rejected by ſome of them (4).

(2) *Loco ſupra citato.*

(3) Leontius *Scholaſtic. Byzant. Libro de Sectis, Act.* 5.

(4) *Liberatus ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Their doctrine was in general the ſame with that of the Eutychians.*] We find that they were charged

rectly contrary to the deciſion of the council of Chalcedon, which had condemned that opinion (c). But there were four ſeveral ſubdiviſions of this ſect, which were diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiarity in their notions [D].

(c) Forbeſ. *ubi ſupra.*

charged with this doctrine in the council of Conſtantinople, which was held by Monnas Patriarch of that city in the year 536. The Monks of Jeruſalem and Syria preſented a long petition to that council, wherein they gave a full account of the many evils which the church ſuffered from the Acephali; they informed them, that thoſe Heretics had ſpoken in the moſt blaſphemous manner againſt the council of Chalcedon; committed the moſt ſhocking acts of violence, and even murders; had reordained and rebaptized ſeveral perſons, and been guilty of the moſt ſcandalous immoralities. They deſired therefore the council to anathematize in particular Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, Zoaras and their followers. This was immediately complied with, and the Emperor Juſtinian commanded by his edict, that the judgment of the council againſt them ſhould be put in execution; he baniſhed them from Conſtantinople, condemned their writings to be burnt, and prohibited any of the copiers to tranſcribe them, under pain of loſing his right hand. He likewiſe publiſhed a very ſtrict order, that no perſon who was engaged in the opinions of Neſtorius, Eutyches, Severus, or any other Heretics, ſhould dare to raiſe any tumult, or in the leaſt diſturb the peace of the church (5).

(5) Du Pin, *Bibliotb. des Aut. Eccleſ.* tom 5. p. 188. edit. *de Mons* 1691.

John Damaſcenus (6) calls theſe Heretics *Egyptians*, and *Schematici*, and *Monophyſitæ*.

(6) *Libro de Hæreſ.*

There is a long diſcourſe of Ruſticus a Deacon, who lived in thoſe times, againſt the Acephali; wherein he endeavours to ſhew, that "our Saviour "has two perfect and intire natures united in one "perſon; and that he is conſubſtantial with God the "Father with reſpect to his Divinity, and conſubſtan-"tial with us with reſpect to his humanity." *Chriſtum neque Deo Patri, neque nobis eſſe comperſonalem, ſed pro duabus in una perſonâ integris ſeu perfectis naturis, Chriſtum eſſe Deo Patri conſubſtantialem ſecundum Deitatem, & eundem Chriſtum eſſe nobis conſubſtantialem ſecundum humanitatem* (7). Leontius likewiſe, whom we have quoted above, has given a very accurate confutation of the opinions of that ſect (8). Cardinal Baronius tells us (9), that this writer lived in the time of Juſtinian the Elder; but we may obſerve that Leontius himſelf mentions Eulogius the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was undoubtedly contemporary with Pope Gregory the firſt of Rome, and was raiſed to the Biſhoprick of Alexandria under the Emperor Tiberius in the year 581, and died under Phocas in 608, as Baronius himſelf informs us.

(7) Forbeſ. *ubi ſupra.*

(8) *Libr. de Sectis, Action.* 607, and 809.

(9) *Apud Spondanum.* A. D. 553. § 3.

(10) *Libr. de Sect. Action.* 3.

[D] *But there were four diſtinct ſubdiviſions of this ſect, which were diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiarity in their notions.*] They were divided into the *Corrupticolæ*, the *Incorrupticolæ*, the *Agnoetæ*, and the *Tritheitæ*. The *Corrupticolæ* were the followers of Severus of Antioch abovementioned; who being ask'd whether our Saviour's Body before the reſurrection was corruptible or not? anſwered that it was corruptible, and liable to the ſame neceſſities of nature as ours are, and required the ſame ſupplies of food and reſt. Upon this anſwer of Severus, ſome of the Alexandrians deſired Julian the Biſhop of Halicarnaſſus to give his opinion on that point; who replied, that our Lord's Body was incorruptible before the reſurrection, and was not in reality but only in appearance affected with hunger, ſleep, &c. From this Julian ſprung the Sect of the *Incorrupticolæ*, *Phantaſiaſtæ*, or *Aphthardocetæ*, who founded their notion upon this argument, that if we allow that our Saviour's Body was corruptible, we muſt then acknowledge two natures in him, one incorruptible, and the other corruptible (11). Whereas Severus on the other hand aſſerted, that the unity of Chriſt's nature might be maintained, notwithſtanding his Body was obnoxious to corruption. The notion of the *Incorrupticolæ* was confuted by ſeveral of the ancient fathers, as particularly by Juſtin Martyr (12), Athanaſius (13), St. Baſil (14), Gregory Nyſſen (15), St. Chryſoſtom (16), St. Gregory Nazianzen (17), St. Ambroſe (18, and St. Cyril of Alexandria (19).

(11) Leont. ibid. *Actione* 5.

(12) *Oratione contra Gentes.*

(13) *De Incarnatione.*

(14) *De Gratiar. Actione.*

(15) *Contra Eunomium.*

(16) *Hom.* 86. *in Joannem.*

(17) *Orat. in Sancta Lumina.*

(18) *De Fide ad Gratianum.*

(19) *Epiſt. ad Succeſſum.*

While this diſpute concerning the corruptibility and incorruptibility of Chriſt's Body was agitated among the Eutychians, Themiſtius a Deacon, (not Themiſtius the Pagan Philoſopher, who lived in the fourth Century, as Nicephorus falſely ſuppoſed (20) asked Timotheus Aſterius Biſhop of Alexandria, who was one of the Acephali, whether Chriſt was ignorant of any thing, ſince he was obnoxious to corruption? Timotheus determined upon the negative; upon which Themiſtius left his communion, and ſet up the Sect of the *Agnoetæ*, who were likewiſe called *Themiſtiani* from him, and who aſſerted that our Saviour was ignorant of ſome things, and particularly of the end of the world, and the laſt judgment, as Sophronius Patriarch of Jeruſalem affirms in his letter to Sergius Patriarch of Conſtantinople, which was read in the eleventh ſeſſion of the ſixth general council of Conſtantinople in the year 680. He maintained likewiſe, that Chriſt did not know where Lazarus's ſepulchre was, ſince, according to St. John the Evangeliſt (21), he asked his ſiſters, *Where have ye laid him?* This notion of the *Agnoetæ* was confuted by Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, as appears from Photius (22), and his book was declared by Pope Gregory the Great (23) to be agreeable to the ſenſe of both churches.

(20) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 18. c. 49.

(21) c. 11. v. 34.

(22) *Biblioth. cod.* 230.

(23) Lib. 10. Epiſt. 35.

The ſect of the *Tritheitæ* was derived from John Grammaticus, ſirnamed Philoponus, an Eutychian. The foundation of his opinion was this; that he confounded the nature with the hypoſtaſis or perſon, in conſequence of which he argued, that ſince there is but one hypoſtaſis or perſon in Chriſt, there muſt neceſſarily be but one nature, which is his Divine Nature; nay, he carried his reaſoning ſtill further, and aſſerted, that ſince there are three hypoſtaſes or perſons in the Trinity, conſequently there are three natures. He likewiſe denied the reſurrection of the body, and wrote a book againſt it, which was anſwered by Theodoſius, Conon, Eugenius and Themiſtius, who were all of them of the Eutychian party (24).

(24) Photius *Biblioth. cod.* xxi, xxii, and xxiii. See likewiſe Franc. Ignat. Hyacinth. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 59, 60.

☞ACESIUS, a Novatian Biſhop, who was called by the Emperor Conſtantine the Great to the council of Nice in the year 325 (a). Socrates the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian has given us an account of ſome diſcourſe, which paſs'd between that Emperor and Aceſius [A], and cenſured Euſebius and other writers for omitting it [B]. The ſame ſtory

(a) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. 2. p. 317. edit. Paris 1693.

[A] *An Account of ſome diſcourſe, which paſs'd between that Emperor and Aceſius.*] He tells us (1), that he cannot omit mentioning a remarkable fact, which ſhewed Conſtantine's hearty deſire for the peace of the Church; for which purpoſe he ſent for Aceſius to the council. And when the creed, which was drawn up by that council, came to be ſign'd by all the members, he ask'd Aceſius whether he would give his conſent to that creed, and to the determination of the council concerning the time of the celebration of Eaſter; who replied, that there was nothing new determined by that council; ſince this was the faith, which he had received from his anceſtors even as high as the age of the Apoſtles; and with regard to the celebration of Eaſter, he had always obſerved it at the time which the council had appointed. Upon this the Emperor asked him, why he therefore ſeparated himſelf from the communion of the Church? to which he replied, by giving him an account of what paſſed in the time of the perſecution under Decius, and inſiſting upon the ſeverity of the rule then obſerved, that no perſon who had fallen into any crimes after Baptiſm, ſhould ever be received into the communion of the Church; but ſhould be exhorted to ſincere repentance, and warn'd to expect abſolution and forgiveneſs not of the Prieſts, but of God, who alone has the power of remitting ſins; ἐλπίδα δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως, μὴ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων. Upon this the Emperor ſaid to him with a great deal of pleaſantry, "Then ſet up a ladder for your ſelf, Aceſius, and "aſcend to heaven alone." Θὲς, ὦ Ἀκέσιε, κλίμακα, καὶ μόνος ἀνάβηθι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

(1) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 1. cap. 10.

[B] . . . *and cenſured Euſebius and other writers for omitting it.*] He tells us, that neither Euſebius, nor

ſtory is likewiſe related by another Hiſtorian [*C*]; but the truth of it is very much doubted by a critick of great eminence [*D*].

nor any other writer had mentioned this ſtory; but that he himſelf was inform'd of it by a man of veracity, παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἄκρως εὐδοκίμου ψευδομένου, who was very aged, and related what he ſaw tranſacted in that council. From hence, ſays Socrates (2), I conjecture, that the writers, who have omitted this fact, acted upon the ſame views with many other hiſtorians, who are guilty of ſeveral important omiſſions, merely out of prejudice againſt ſome perſons, or affection to others.

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *The ſame ſtory is likewiſe related by another hiſtorian.*] This hiſtorian is Sozomen, who ſeems to have taken it from Socrates, as the learned Valeſius obſerves (3), tho' he has made ſome little alterations in the manner of relating the fact. He quotes no authority for it, as Socrates has done, but begins his account with alledging only a report concerning it: λέγεται δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, i. e. "It is reported that the "Emperor &c. (4)." He informs us that Aceſius urged for a reaſon of his not communicating with the church, the conteſt which had been between Novatus and Cornelius in the time of the Emperor Decius, about excluding thoſe, who had committed a mortal ſin after Baptiſm, from all right to church communion. And he tells us, that Conſtantine's reply to Aceſius was not deſigned as any compliment to him, but rather as a piece of raillery upon him for ſuppoſing that his party were exempt from ſin, ἀναμαρτήτους, tho' they were men as well as others.

(3) *Annotat. in lib.* 1. c. 10. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Socratis.

(4) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 1. c. 22.

[*D*] *The Truth of it is very much doubted by a critick of great eminence.*] This critick is no leſs than the learned Henry Valeſius. His reaſons for doubting of this ſtory are as follows (5); 1. Becauſe we have no authority for it in any ancient writer; 2. Neither Socrates nor Sozomen tell us of what city Aceſius was Biſhop; which circumſtance was neceſſary to render the account credible: 3. It is improbable, that a Biſhop of the heretics ſhould be called by Conſtantine to a council of the church; for if that Emperor ſent for Aceſius in order to reſtore a general conſent and tranquillity in the church, for the ſame reaſon he would have called the Biſhops of other ſects of heretics to the council of Nice: 4. What Socrates affirms, that he had this account from a man who was very aged, and had been preſent in the council, is abſolutely incredible. This old man was Auxano, a Presbyter of the Novatians, who went with Aceſius to the council of Nice, and told him the ſtory of Aceſius, and lived to the time of Theodoſius the Younger, as we find by Socrates himſelf (6). Now it is very certain, that there were eighty three years from that council to the beginning of Theodoſius's reign. If we ſuppoſe therefore that Auxano was twenty years of age, when he was preſent at the council of Nice, and add them to the eighty three years abovementioned, it will appear that he was above an hundred years old, when he told Socrates this ſtory. Let the reader judge then, ſays Valeſius, what regard is to be paid to the teſtimony of a man who was ſuperannuated, and withal an heretic. *Æſtimet igitur lector, quanti faciendum ſit teſtimonium hominis* DECREPITI *&* HÆRETICI. However we ſhall leave the learned and impartial to determine upon the ſtrength of theſe exceptions to the truth of Socrates's ſtory; tho' we cannot but obſerve with regard to Valeſius's laſt objection, that tho' Auxano was an heretic, yet his teſtimony ought not therefore to be abſolutely rejected, as that critick ſeems to ſuppoſe; ſince Socrates aſſures us, that he was *a man of veracity*, ἀνδρὸς . . . οὐδαμῶς ψευδομένου, as we obſerv'd above (7); and Valeſius himſelf owns that this hiſtorian was not of the Novatian ſect (8).

(5) *Annotat. in* l. 1. c. 10. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Socratis.

(6) L. 1. c. 13.

(7) See Note [B].

(8) *De Vitâ & Scriptis Socratis & Sozomeni, præmiſſâ editioni ſuæ Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Socratis, &c.

☞ACHAIÆ PRESBYTERI (*a*), or the PRESBYTERS OF ACHAIA, were thoſe who were preſent at the martyrdom of St. Andrew the Apoſtle, in the year 59, and are ſaid to have written an epiſtle concerning it. This epiſtle is inſerted in Latin in Lipomannus, and Surius in his *Hiſtory of the Lives of the Saints* (*b*). Several eminent writers of the church of Rome, as Bellarmin (*c*) and father Labbe (*d*) receive it as genuine; while Baronius (*e*) on the other hand ſeems to doubt of its authority; and Tillemont (*f*) and Du Pin (*g*) expreſly reject it. A German author (*h*) has very accurately collected the opinions on both ſides of the queſtion. A late writer (*i*) has attempted to evince the genuineneſs of this epiſtle; but with what ſucceſs, we ſhall ſee in the note hereunder [*A*].

(*a*) Dr. Cave, *Hiſtoria Literaria*, p. 17. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720. and Olearius, *Biblioth. Script. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. p. 6. edit. Jenæ. 1711.

(*b*) Ad D. 30 Novembris.

(*c*) *De Scriptor. Eccleſ.*

(*d*) Tom. 1. *Diſſert.* p. 4, *ſeq. & in Append.* p. 677.

(*e*) *Ad Ann.* 44. Sect. 42. *ſeq. & ad Ann.* 69. Sect. 34.

(*f*) *Memoires Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1.

(*g*) *Biblioth. des Aut. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 18. edit. Paris 1693.

(*h*) Chriſtoph. Hendreich *in Pand. Brandeb.*

(*i*) Natalis Alexander. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Sec. 1. cap. 10. art. 8.

[*A*] . . . *but with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee in the note hereunder.*] The main argument which he uſes in proof of his aſſertion, is the authority of the fathers. But he produces no teſtimonies prior to the latter end of the eighth Century, as that of Etherius Axamenſis in the year 789, Remigius Antiſſiodorenſis in 880, Petrus Damianus in 1057, Lanfranc of Canterbury in 1070, St. Bernard in 1115, Ivo Carnotenſis in 1092, who muſt infallibly be very incompetent witneſſes of what was done ſeven hundred or a thouſand years before they were born. But he alledges that the church of Rome reads this epiſtle in the office of St. Andrew; which may be true, and yet no argument for the genuineneſs of it, ſince there are a great many fabulous and ſpurious writings inſerted even in the moſt correct Roman Breviaries (1). The ancients indeed had ſome acts of St. Andrew's martyrdom extant among them, but they had been extremely corrupted by the Manicheans, as appears from St. Juſtin (2), Philaſtrius (3), and Pope Innocent (4); and Gelaſius (5) places them among the Apocryphal books. Nay Euſebius himſelf tells us (6), that the Heretics had forged ſeveral books under the names of the Apoſtles, as particularly the goſpels of Peter, Thomas and Matthias, and ſeveral others, and the Acts of Andrew, John and other Apoſtles; ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις. Theſe books, continues he, none of thoſe who ſucceeded the Apoſtles regularly in the church ever thought proper to cite in their works. Beſides, the very manner of writing in them is extremely different from the ſimplicity of the Apoſtles; and the doctrines contained in them are ſo inconſiſtent with the Catholic faith, that they ſhew them to be the forgeries of Heretics. Epiphanius likewiſe tells us (7), that "the Encratitæ, among their other hereſies, "ranked in their canon of Scripture the Acts of "Andrew and John, and Thomas, and other Apo"cryphal writings." κέχρηνται δὲ γραφαῖς ἀπροσκόποις ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου Πράξεσι, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ἀποκρύφοις τισί. But theſe acts of St. Andrew were very different from thoſe which we have extant now; for the latter ſeem to have been forged by ſome Monk or other of the middle age. There are ſome things in them, which are by no means agreeable to the Apoſtolic ages; nay, the very form of the addreſs is extremely new and ſingular; *Ab univerſis Eccleſiis, quæ ſunt in Oriente & Occidente, & Meridiano, & Septentrione*; i. e. "From all the churches in the "Eaſt, and Weſt, and North, and South." Beſides it is incredible, that St. Andrew in his ſpeech to the Proconſul ſhould make uſe of ſo many florid antitheſes concerning *the Tree of tranſgreſſion and the tree of paradiſe*; *the immaculate earth out of which the firſt man was created, and the immaculate Virgin, of whom Chriſt was born a perfect man*; or that he ſhould ſay ſo many affected and abſurd things to his croſs. It is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſuch a multitude of people would flock together out of the whole Province to kill Ægeas, and reſcue St. Andrew from his impriſonment. Nor can we imagine that this Apoſtle would have uſed ſuch harſh terms to Ægeas the Proconſul, as he ſat upon his tribunal, by calling him *the ſon of death, and ſtubble prepared for eternal*

(1) Dr. Cave's *Hiſt. Literaria*, p. 18. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(2) *Libro de Fide contra Manichæos.*

(3) *De Hæreſ.* num. 40.

(4) *Ep. ad Exuperant.*

(5) *In Conc. Roman.*

(6) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 3. c. 29.

(7) *Adverſus Hæreſes*, lib. 2. tom. 1. p. 400. edit. Colon. 1682.

ACHAN [*A*], the ſon of Carmi of the Tribe of Judah, was preſent at the taking of the city of Jericho [*B*]. He concealed part of the ſpoils in direct contradiction

eternal fire, Filium mortis & ſtipulam æternis paratam incendiis, and have reproached him with impudence. This is abſolutely irreconcileable with the meekneſs of an Apoſtle. I ſhall not inſiſt upon the ſtrange circumſtances, which are there ſaid to have attended his crucifixion; but ſhall obſerve, that the myſtery of the Trinity is explained in ſuch a manner, as renders it ſuſpicious, that theſe acts were invented after the council of Nice. The author ſeems to have embraced the ſame opinion with the modern Greeks concerning the Holy Ghoſt, which he affirms to proceed only from the Father, and to reſt upon the Son. Theſe diſputes were never thought of till ſeveral ages after the Apoſtles time. Baronius indeed tells us, that this clauſe about the Holy Ghoſt is not in ſeveral ancient manuſcripts. But who can tell, as Mr. Du Pin obſerves (8), whether that paſſage was not rather eraſed in ſome MSS. than interpolated in others? And then he adds, with his uſual candor, that this epiſtle ought to be conſidered as a piece of doubtful authority, *which never can be made uſe of,* as St. Jerom ſays, *to prove any article of faith.* In ſhort, we find that the learned Dr. Cave was induced, by the reaſons abovementioned, to reject the whole as a mere pious fraud, and the abſurd production of ſome zealous Monk. *Tota horum actorum compages piam fraudem, & ineptum Monachorum ingenium & zelum manifeſto ſapit* (9).

(8) *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 18.

(9) Dr. Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Achan.*] Achan was *the ſon of Carmi, the ſon of Zabdi, the ſon of Zerah,* as the ſcripture tells us (1). Judah had by Thamar two ſons, Pharez and Zerah. Zerah was the father of Zabdi; and Zabdi the father of Carmi, whoſe ſon was Achan. We ſee here, that there were but five perſons in a ſucceſſion in this family for the ſpace of 265 years; ſo that it is plain neither of them could have had children before the age of fifty or fifty five years. This Achan is called in the Chronicles (2) *Achar,* and there is ſome alluſion made to this particular action of his, for he is ſtiled עכר עכר *Achar Ocher, the Troubler of Iſrael*; and there is the ſame alluſion, tho' expreſs'd more obſcurely in the 25th verſe of the vii. chapter of Joſhua, where the word *Achor* ſignifies *Trouble* (3).

(1) Joſhua vii. 1.

(2) 1 Book ii. 7.

(3) See Le Clerc. *in locum.*

[*B*] *Achan . . . was preſent at the taking of the city of Jericho.*] God gave a particular command to the Iſraelites to uſe the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the inhabitants of this city. He ordered that *the city and all that were therein ſhould be accurſed* (4). This ſhews that it was devoted to abſolute deſtruction without any reſerve. There were ſeveral kinds of theſe devotions in uſe amongſt the Jews; ſometimes all the inhabitants of a city, and all the cattle in it were deſtroyed; at other times the women and children were ſpared; and very often the riches and ſpoils of the city, as well as the people, were preſerved; in ſhort the extent and manner of theſe devotions depended entirely upon the will of him, who had the right of devoting. The Canaanites, who were enemies to God, were all appointed by him for deſtruction (5). He commanded, that they ſhould be exterminated, and put to the ſword; that no alliance ſhould be contracted with them. However we do not find that they were univerſally treated with the ſame rigour as Jericho was; for their cities and the ſpoils of them were preſerved. Tho' Moſes had devoted the Cities of Sihon King of Heſhbon, yet the cattle and the ſpoils were reſerved for the conquerors (6). But in the caſe of Jericho the ſeverity was carried to the utmoſt extent; *all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and ſheep, and aſs, were deſtroyed with the edge of the ſword* (7); *only the* SILVER *and* GOLD, *and the veſſels of braſs and iron were put into the treaſury of the houſe of the Lord* (8). Nay the curſe was perpetuated upon that city; for the ſcripture informs us, that Joſhua adjured the people in the following form, never to rebuild it: *Curſed be the man before the Lord, that riſeth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he ſhall lay the foundation thereof in his firſt-born, and in his youngeſt ſon ſhall he ſet up the gates of it* (9). We find in the ancient Hiſtory ſeveral inſtances of ſuch imprecations as theſe againſt rebuilding the cities of enemies, whoſe power they were jealous of, or whoſe perfidiouſneſs and violence they deteſted. The Romans made a decree full of the moſt ſolemn execrations (10) againſt thoſe, who ſhould rebuild Carthage, which had been the rival of their empire, and the ſituation of which was ſo advantageous, that it muſt inevitably give them the moſt formidable apprehenſions, if ever it was rebuilt. Agamemnon made the ſame imprecations againſt thoſe who ſhould rebuild Troy, and Crœſus againſt thoſe, who ſhould rebuild Sidene; *and this was agreable to the ancient cuſtom,* as Strabo aſſures (11). Ἔτι καὶ κατηραμένην ὑπ' Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐξελὼν τὴν Σιδήνην εἰς ἣν ὁ τύραννος κατέφυγε Γλαυκίας, ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατὰ τῶν τειχούντων πάλιν τὸν τόπον. The Ionians devoted thoſe perſons to the ſevereſt vengeance, who ſhould attempt to rebuild the temples, which had been demoliſhed by the Perſians; the ruins of them might continue to poſterity as an eternal monument of the impiety of thoſe Barbarians, and ſhew how little confidence was to be placed in thoſe people, who had been preſumptuous enough to war even againſt the Gods themſelves (12). The Greeks likewiſe prohibited the rebuilding of the temples, which had been burnt down by the Perſians in their country; and ordered them to continue for ever in the ruins, as a public monument of the hatred between thoſe two nations (13).

(4) Joſh. vi. 7.

(5) Deut. vii. 2.

(6) Idem, ii. 35.

(7) Joſh. vi. 21.

(8) Ver. 24.

Ver. 26.

(10) Zonar. l. 2.

(11) Lib. 13.

(12) Iſocrates in *Panegyr.*

(13) Diodor. l. 11. Pauſan. *in Phocius.*

Theſe imprecations of Joſhua were not in vain. In the time of King Ahab Hiel the Bethelite undertook to rebuild Jericho (14); but he loſt his eldeſt ſon Abiram, when he laid the foundation; and his youngeſt ſon Segub, when he ſet up the gates. In ſome copies of the Septuagint the hiſtory of Hiel is inſerted in the 26th verſe of the 6th chapter of Joſhua; but the names are alter'd: *And Ozan* (or Azozan) *of Bethel having done this, he loſt Abirom his eldeſt ſon when he laid the foundations, and his youngeſt ſon, whom he had remaining, when he ſet up the gates:* Καὶ ἐποίησε οὕτως Ὠσὰν (vel Ἀζαΐζαν) ὁ ἐκ Βαιθὴλ, ἐν τῷ Ἀβιρὰμ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν τῷ διασωθῆναι ἀλλαχόσε ἐπέστησε τὰς πύλας αὐτοῦ. This is a very faulty tranſlation of the paſſage above cited in the firſt Book of Kings, where that fact is related.

(14) 1 Kings xvi. 34.

However it does not appear, that Jericho was entirely abandoned till the time of this Hiel; for we find by ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture, that there were inhabitants there before. Thoſe writers, who ſuppoſe that the city of Palm-trees was the ſame with Jericho, muſt neceſſarily acknowledge, that it was in being ſoon after Joſhuah's time, ſince the children of Jethro, the Kenite, went up out of the city of Palm-trees to ſeek a better ſettlement at the beginning of the government of the Judges (15). King Eglon took the city of Palm-trees from the Iſraelites (16). David's Embaſſadors having been ill treated by the King of the Ammonites, who had ordered half of their beards to be ſhaved off, and their garments to be cut off in the middle, ſtaid at Jericho till their beards were grown (17). So that there was from that time a city of Jericho; but it ſtood very probably near the ruins of ancient Jericho (18). This is confirmed by Joſephus, who obſerves, that there was to be ſeen in his time near the ancient Jericho, which was deſtroyed by Joſhua, a fountain, which was ſufficient to water the whole country: Παρὰ μὲν τὸν τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἥτις πηγὴ διαψιλήσει, καὶ πρὸς ἀρδείας λιπαροτάτη, καρὰ τὴν παλαίαν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν, ἣν Ἰησοῦς πρώτῳ εἶλε δορίκτητον (19). It is plain from this author's mentioning ancient Jericho, near which the ſource of this fountain was, that he conſiders it as diſtinct from the new city, which was ſituated in the middle of the country.

(15) Judges i. 16.

(16) ch. iii. 13.

(17) 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.

(18) Doubdan *Voyage de la Terre Sainte,* ch. 37.

(19) Joſeph. *de Bello Judaic.* l. 5. c. 4.

The ancient city was never rebuilt till the time of Hiel the Bethelite; and tho' the vengeance of God had appeared very eminently againſt him, who had engaged in that work, yet we do not find that any perſon ſcrupled to go and live there, when once it was rebuilt. The Prophets Elijah and Eliſha were there for ſome time: nay our Saviour himſelf honoured it with his preſence; and in the latter times of the Hebrew Republic it was a place of conſiderable importance. At preſent Jericho is almoſt entirely abandoned;

diction to God's expreſs command; which ſin of his was attended with very fatal conſequences to the Iſraelites [C], for three thouſand men whom Joſhua had ſent againſt the city of Ai, were defeated and put to flight by the enemy. Joſhua in this dreadful exigence, proſtrated himſelf upon the earth before the Lord, and deſired him in the moſt moving terms to have mercy upon his people. God immediately acquainted Joſhua with the cauſe of this misfortune, which was their *taking of the accurſed thing*, and commanded him *to ſanctify the people*. Upon this Joſhua aſſembled the people together;

doned; it conſiſts of not above thirty or forty wretched cottages, which ſerve for a retreat to ſome poor Turks. The plain of Jericho, which was ſo much extolled by the ancients for its beauty and fertility is now abſolutely uncultivated, and produces nothing but a few wild trees and fruits (20).

(20) Calmet, *Comment. ſur Joſué*, ch. 6.

It will not perhaps be improper to conſider here ſome objections, which have been ſtarted with regard to the ſevere treatment of the Canaanites. A late author (21) inveighs very ſeverely againſt *the Jews invading them* (by God's command, tho' he does not mention it here) *who were a free and independent nation . . . and on pretence of their being idolaters, deſtroying not only the men and women, but infants incapable of idolatry*. This he repreſents *as an unparallel'd piece of injuſtice and cruelty, and therefore he would be glad to know what our Divines ſay . . to ſhew it is not contrary to the law of nature*. In anſwer to this an ingenious writer (22) obſerves, that altho' a viſible temporal Prince has no authority to puniſh or deſtroy his ſubjects, merely for being idolatrous, the inviſible ſpiritual Lord undoubtedly has. Idolatry is a direct and immediate rebellion againſt God, who might according to the laws of juſtice and equity, extirpate any nation for an incorrigible impiety of this kind. And 'tis the very ſame thing with reſpect to natural reaſon and equity in the caſe, whether God deſtroy'd thoſe nations (whoſe iniquities *were full* and call'd for puniſhment) by *fire, water, plague, peſtilence*, or *famine*, or by the *ſword* of another nation, raiſed up and commiſſioned immediately by himſelf for that purpoſe. The author of *Chriſtianity* &c. offers three arguments to evade the force of this anſwer to his objections.

(21) *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, p. 271, 272.

(22) Mr. Jackſon's *Remarks* on a book entitled, *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, p. 49, *& ſeq.*

1. To the plea of the Jews having God's immediate command to deſtroy the Canaanites, he alledges, *That no man could be as certain he had any ſuch poſitive command from God, as he was, that God had forbid it to him by the light of nature*. In anſwer to which it is urged, that it is abſurd to ſay, that God cannot by his immediate power give men as great a certainty of his will revealed to them, as by the moſt demonſtrative reaſon; and if he can, then, as reaſon tells every man that human life is the undoubted property of God to diſpoſe of as he thinks fit, the ſame reaſon will tell them, that when God commands it to be taken away, it is no more a breach of the law of nature, or revelation, forbidding men to kill one another without cauſe, (for that alone is *murder*,) than it is a breach of the ſame law for a *Civil Magiſtrate* to command a man to be put to death for the moſt heinous crime committed againſt the law of the land. It cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed that God by revelation will command one man or body of men to deſtroy another man or body of men *without cauſe*; but to ſuppoſe, that on no account he can give men a *certainty* of ſuch a command coming from him, is highly unreaſonable and abſurd. Nay the objector might be challenged to ſhew a caſe to juſtify any human Governour in executing death upon a criminal, that will not juſtify the providence of God, as plainly and ſtrongly in his commanding by expreſs revelation a criminal offending againſt the divine laws to be put to death. It is unreaſonable therefore to deny that power to God, which is allow'd to men. The infants ſuffering with their idolatrous wicked parents, muſt be reſolved into the wiſe and good diſpenſation of God, who knew it would be better for them to die, tho' guiltleſs, than to live.

2. The objector urges, that *God has a thouſand ways of puniſhing wicked nations with death, without commanding men to do any thing, which by the law of nature he had forbid them — If God deſigned what he did to be a terror to others, would he not act after ſuch a ſignal and ſupernatural manner, as all ſhould ſee it was his own doing?* In anſwer to this, 'tis ſaid, that God might deſign what he did by the hands of the Jews, to be a teſtimony to them of his diſpleaſure againſt *idolatry*, by making them the ſignal inſtruments of puniſhing it in another nation, in order more effectually to deter them and their poſterity from it by the memorial of ſo miraculous a judgment, executed by their hands againſt the enemies of true religion and the worſhippers of falſe Gods. So that the reaſon of the deſtruction of the Canaanites was evident; and the effecting it by the Jewiſh armies tended to fulfil the end for which God deſigned it: And the proner the Jews themſelves were to idolatry, which is made another objection in the caſe, the more likely was the method of God's making them the inſtruments of extirpating it, to reform their pronenеſs to it; when they both ſaw the vengeance, which God by their hands executed againſt it, and were alſo at the ſame time aſſured from God himſelf that no leſs vengeance in like manner ſhould fall upon them and their children, if they ſhould forſake the worſhip of him the true God, and devote themſelves to the ſervice of idols.

3. The third argument of the author of *Chriſtianity* &c. (23) in ſupport of his objection, is, *If the Iſraelites had a Divine commiſſion to extirpate the Canaanites, the Canaanites ought to have known it, to prevent their reſiſting men acting by a divine commiſſion; otherwiſe there would be two oppoſite rights at the ſame time; a right in the Jews to take away the lives of the Canaanites, and a right in the Canaanites by the law of nature to defend their lives*. In anſwer to this it is ſaid (24), that this argument is exactly of the ſame form with the following one, viz. If God by any immediate or providential judgment from himſelf, deſigned to kill any one, as by fire, water, plague, &c. he ought to let him know it, that he might not reſiſt, by endeavouring to eſcape the fire or water, or by taking medicines to cure the plague; *otherwiſe there would be two oppoſite rights at the ſame time*; a right in God to take away the life of a man his creature, when and how he pleaſed, and a right in man by the law of nature to uſe all reaſonable means in his power for the preſervation of his life. The caſe is parallel; and it ſeems unreaſonable to urge an argument from two oppoſite rights, which is apparent in the daily thoughts and actions of men. Have not I a right to think for my ſelf, and to act according to my judgment? And has not another perſon the ſame right to think for himſelf, and to act in oppoſition to me, according to his judgment alſo?

(23) P. 274, 275.

(24) Mr. Jackſon's *Remarks*, &c. p. 52.

[C] ..... *which ſin of his was attended with very fatal conſequences to the Iſraelites.*] We are told in Scripture, that *the children of Iſrael committed a treſpaſs in the accurſed thing*, becauſe Achan had taken of it; and that *the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt them* (25). Now it will be asked, how it can be properly ſaid, that the Iſraelites had *committed a treſpaſs*, ſince Achan only was guilty of it? and how the *anger of the Lord* could juſtly be kindled againſt all Iſrael, ſince there was but one man who had offended? To this it is anſwered, I. That it is an uſual manner of expreſſion in the Scripture as well as in common converſation, to aſcribe that to the whole community which belongs only to one or a few perſons. Thus St. Matthew (26) tells us that the Diſciples murmured at Mary Magdalen's pouring out the precious ointment upon our Saviour's head, though it was Judas only who was diſpleaſed at it; and the ſame Evangeliſt applies that to both the thieves who were crucified with Chriſt, which related only to one of them (27). The ſame manner of ſpeaking is frequently uſed by the moſt exact profane authors, as appears from Donatus upon Terence (28).

(25) Joſh. vii. 1.

(26) xxvi. 8. compared with St. John xii. 4. and St. Mark xiv. 3.

(27) xxvii. 44.

(28) Hecyr. *Act.* 2. *Scen.* 1.

II. Achan's crime was conſidered as that of the whole people, as long as the people permitted it to go unpuniſhed. It is true, neither the magiſtrates nor the people knew any thing of it at firſt, and conſequently

gether; and Achan was taken out from all the tribes by God's appointment [D], and confeſſed that he had ſtolen [E] a rich Babyloniſh garment [F], and two hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and a wedge of gold of fifty ſhekels weight, and had hid them in the ground in his tent. Having made this open acknowledgment of his ſin, Joſhua ordered him

quently it could not be imputed to them, as if they had neglected to puniſh it. But God was willing to ſhew them the danger of violating his commandments by the ſeverity with which he treated them, by inflicting the puniſhment, which was due to Achan only, upon the whole nation. There is no injuſtice in this conduct of his; for the external evils which he chaſtiſes us with, are generally the effects of his mercy rather than of his juſtice; by this means he exerciſes our patience, raiſes our zeal for his ſervice, and awakens our attention to our own behaviour. This manner of reaſoning is juſtified by the good effects, which the misfortune, that attended a few particular perſons had upon Joſhua, and the elders, and the whole nation; and it ſhews the advantages which men of virtue receive from publick evils and calamities (29).

(29) Calmet, *in locum.*

The judicious Monſieur Le Clerc obſerves, that it is probable that a great many perſons were privy to this crime of Achan, or had neglected to prevent the command of God from being broken. It was ſomething of this nature that kindled his anger againſt all the Iſraelites; for though they were guilty of many other ſins which deſerved his vengeance, yet we muſt ſuppoſe, that he had a particular regard to this crime in his puniſhment of them (30).

(30) *Comment. in Joſ.* vii. 1.

[D] *Achan was taken out from all the tribes by God's appointment.*] St. Jerom is of opinion that this was done by caſting lots, and renders theſe words in our tranſlation; *And it ſhall be that the tribe which the Lord taketh*; *Quancumque tribum ſors invenerit.* i. e. "Whatever tribe the lot ſhall fall upon." And Joſephus has repreſented this fact in the ſame manner; κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκλήρου; i. e. "they caſt lots by "tribes (31).

(31) Joſeph. *Antiq.* l. 5. c. 1.

It is plain that there is no mention made of lots in the original; and Le Clerc is of opinion that they were not uſed in this caſe, but that Eleazar ſtood in his pontifical garments, and pronounced what God ſuggeſted to him. The Rabbis tell us, that every tribe was made to paſs before the ark, and that the tribe which was guilty ſtood ſtill before it, without being able to move themſelves out of the place. Others aſſert, that every tribe paſſed ſeparately before the High-Prieſt, who had his breaſt plate on, and that the tribe of Judah was diſcovered to be guilty, becauſe the ſound of the ſtone, on which the name of that tribe was engraven, ceaſed immediately (32).

(32) *See* Vatablus, Muſ. Druſ. Bonfr.

But it is moſt probable that the uſual method was taken upon this occaſion; they caſt lots to diſcover firſt the tribe, then the family, next the houſhold, and laſtly the particular perſon. This method was obſerved in the election of Saul for King (33), and in the caſe of his ſon Jonathan, who had eaten honey contrary to his father's expreſs command (34). The land of Canaan was divided amongſt the people by Lot (35); and the ſcape-goat appointed for an atonement, was choſen in the ſame manner (36).

(33) 1 Sam. x. 20, 21.

(34) xiv. 41, 42.

(35) 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, *& ſeq.*

(36) Levit. xvi. 8.

The uſe of lots is very common in ſcripture; nay it ſeems to be authorized even in things which relate to religion; and God himſelf appears to have approv'd of it upon many occaſions. He directed the lots to diſcover Achan and Jonathan in the caſes above mentioned. And this method ſucceeded when the mariners were in danger of ſhipwreck on account of Jonah (37); and the ſame was obſerved, when the Apoſtles wanted to chuſe a perſon in the room of Judas (38). In ſhort Solomon tells us, that *the lot is caſt into the lap; but the whole diſpoſing thereof is of the Lord* (39); *and that the lot cauſeth contentions to ceaſe, and parteth between the mighty* (40).

(37) Jon. i. 7.

(38) Acts i. 26.

(39) Prov. xvi. 33.

(40) xviii. 18.

But neither theſe examples nor authorities, as Father Calmet obſerves (41), can abſolutely juſtify the uſe of lots; and nothing but the expreſs command of God, and an authority ſuperiour to human laws, could vindicate the conduct of Joſhua with regard to the diſcovery of Achan, or that of Saul with regard to Jonathan. As God has never abſolutely promiſed to diſcover ſecret crimes by that method; we can never make uſe of it for that purpoſe, without a preſumptuous tempting of him, unleſs we had his direct command for it. The uſe of lots is ſtill leſs allowable in the choice of perſons for the government either in civil or religious affairs. We have indeed two inſtances of this kind, one in the choice of the firſt King of Iſrael, and the other in that of an Apoſtle, who was to ſucceed Judas; but this was done by the particular appointment of God. The former election was made by a Prophet, and the latter by the Apoſtles; beſides, the Apoſtles did not proceed to this method till they had before tried all the human means which prudence could ſuggeſt, by fixing upon two men of undoubted merit, and addreſſing themſelves to God in prayer that he would direct them: *Nobis ab Apoſtolis ſors ducta deſignat, quia ubi ex fide integrâ & oratione præmiſſâ ſors ducitur, ea, quæ Dei voluntas continet in occulto, ſors hominibus declarat in manifeſto* (42). The laws of the ancient church condemned very ſeverely the uſe of lots in the election of Biſhops: *Sortis uſum in electionibus perpetuâ damnatione prohibemus*, ſays Pope Honorius. And it is certain, that it would be the ſource of great confuſion, to truſt to chance a point of ſuch importance as the choice of thoſe, who are to fill that character, eſpecially, ſince there are other methods of examining whether they are ſufficiently qualified or not. With reſpect to the caſe of the mariners, who ſucceeded in diſcovering Jonah by caſting of lots; we cannot conclude from thence, that this action of theirs was approved of by God, but it appears to be merely the effect of ſuperſtition; and it is very certain, that the external ſucceſs of any act can never prove the intrinſic goodneſs of it. To conclude, the diviſion of the promis'd land by lot, was made by the command of God, and therefore we cannot doubt the reaſonableneſs and equity of it; and it is acknowledged by Divines, that upon ſuch occaſions the uſe of lots is very juſtifiable.

(41) *Comment. ſur Joſue* vii. 14.

(42) Origen, *Homil.* 23. *in Joſ.*

[E] *Who confeſs'd that he had ſtolen &c.*] As ſoon as the lot fell upon Achan, Joſhua exhorted him in the mildeſt terms imaginable to confeſs his crime. *My ſon*, ſays he (43), *give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion unto him &c.* The gentleneſs, with which he treats Achan as his ſon, tho' he knew him to be the cauſe of all the diſtreſs and confuſion, which they were involved in, is the characteriſtic of a great and generous ſpirit. Grotius (44) obſerves upon this paſſage, that we may draw from hence ſome proofs in favour of the immortality of the Soul. For it is not probable, that Achan would be induced by any other apprehenſion to confeſs a crime, which would inevitably expoſe him to capital puniſhment. For it is the opinion of the Jews, that God will pardon ſuch crimes, when the guilty perſon has confeſſed them and ſuffer'd death for them: *Videtur hinc rectè colligi ſpes aliquâ de animorum permanſione poſt mortem. Quâ enim aliâ ſpe adductus hic homo eſt, ut crimen capitale fateretur? Eſt autem ſententia Judæorum, confeſſione & morte criminum talium veniam à Deo impetrari.*

(43) Joſh. vii. 19.

(44) *In locum.*

[F] *A Babyloniſh garment.*] The Hebrew expreſſion is אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר i. e. "a garment of Sinhar." Aquila calls it φόλην Βαβυλωνικὴν, i. e. "a long Babylo-"niſh garment." Symmachus renders it ἔνδυμα Σενναὰρ, i. e. "a garment of Sennar; and the Septuagint ψίλην ποικίλην, i. e. "a garment of divers co-"lours." Babylon was built in the plains of Shinar, as it is called in our tranſlation (45). We find Σενναὰρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, i. e. "Sennaar of Babylon," in *Hiſtiæus Mileſius*, *Singara* in *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*, and *Singarana* in *Sextus Rufus*. The cloths of Babylon are celebrated amongſt the ancients. The ſcripture ſometimes diſtinguiſhes the garments which are called *Adoret*, by the epithet *hairy*; which would incline one to think, that they were like Turkiſh tapeſtry, which is a very ancient manufacture, and came originally from the Eaſt. Moſes compares Eſau to an *Adoret* or *hairy garment* (46); and Zechariah (47) ſays, that for the future the Prophets *ſhall not wear a rough garment*, (or as it is rendered in the margin of our

(45) Geneſ. xi. 2.

(46) Ibid. xxv. 25.

(47) xiii. 4.

him and his children to be ſeized [*G*], and carried into the valley of Achor, where he was ſtoned to death, and then burnt to aſhes [*H*]; and a great heap of ſtones was raiſed over him [*I*]. This expiation being made, Ai was immediately taken by ſtratagem, and twelve thouſand of the enemies were put to the ſword (*a*).

(*a*) Joſhua vii, viii, ix.

tranſlation *a garment of hair*) *to deceive.* We find likewiſe by other paſſages, that this garment was ſometimes very magnificent, and was worn by Princes. Thus the King of Niniveh *laid his robe* or *Adoret from him*, and covered himſelf with ſackcloth, at the preaching of Jonah (48). Joſephus tells us, that the garment, which Achan took, was a *royal garment all woven of gold*, χλαμύδα βασίλειον ἐκ χρυσοῦ πᾶσαν ὑφασμένην (49).

(48) Jon. iii. 6.

(49) *Antiq.* l. 5. c. 1.

With reſpect to the Babyloniſh garments; the antients agree, that they were of divers colours (50): but ſome writers are of opinion, that they were weaved of different colours; others, that theſe colours were embroidered upon them; and others again, that they were died. Silius Italicus is of the firſt opinion;

(50) *See* Bonfrer. in Joſ. c. 7. v. 21.

Veſtis ſpirantes referens ſub tegmine vultus
Quæ radio celat Babylon (51).

(51) L. 14.

Martial favours thoſe, who ſuppoſe them to be embroidered:

Non ego prætulerim Babylonica picta ſuperbè
Texta, Semiramiâ quæ variantur acu (52).

(52) L. 8. Epigr. 28. *Vide eundem in Apophoretis.*

Pliny ſeems to be of the laſt opinion. *Colores diverſos picturæ intexere Babylon maximè celebravit, & nomen impoſuit* (53). And Apuleius (54) expreſſes himſelf to the ſame purpoſe. The Vulgate tranſlation calls this garment, *pallium coccineum*, i. e. "a "ſcarlet robe," which ſeems not to be very agreeable to the words of the original.

(53) L. 8. c. 48.

(54) Florid. l. 1.

[*G*] *Joſhua order'd him, and his children to be ſeiz'd.*] The Scripture tells us, that *Joſhua and all Iſrael with him took Achan the ſon of Zerah and the ſilver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his ſons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his aſſes, and his ſheep, and his tent, and all that he had; and they brought them into the valley of Achor. . . . And all Iſrael ſtoned him with ſtones, and burned them with fire, after they had ſtoned them with ſtones* (55). This paſſage may admit of this explication, that Achan's ſons and daughters were brought forth in order to receive Joſhuah's exhortations, with the reſt of the people, that they ſhould take care to avoid all ſuch attempts as that, for which Achan was to be puniſhed; and not with any deſign, that they ſhould be put to death with their father. Thoſe writers, who maintain this opinion, underſtand the words, that immediately follow, *And they ſtoned them*, (as it is in the Hebrew, and not *him*, as in our tranſlation,) of Achan and his cattle (56). But it is probable, that his children were privy to his crime, and conſequently deſerved puniſhment. For it would undoubtedly have been a very ſhocking example in ſuch a public judgment as this, to have involved Achan's ſons and daughters in his puniſhment, if they had been innocent; and it is certain the Moſaic Law has expreſly determined the contrary, where it tells us, that *the Fathers ſhall not be put to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers: but that every man ſhall be put to death for his own ſin* (57). The Talmudiſts aſſure us, that Achan's children were accomplices in his crime, ſince it was impoſſible to hide what he had ſtolen in his tent, without their knowing of it. But St. Auſtin (58), and ſeveral other eminent interpreters (59, are of opinion, that tho' the children were innocent of their father's crime, yet the putting them to death may be vindicated from injuſtice, ſince God, who is the ſovereign Judge of all his creatures, and who is determined in his whole conduct by the eternal and invariable rules of juſtice and truth, has always a right to reſume our life, which he has only entruſted us with during his pleaſure, without any preciſe limitation of time. Beſides, the ſeverity of this puniſhment was neceſſary at firſt in order to keep the people in awe, and oblige them to a perfect ſubmiſſion to God's commands.

(55) Joſh. vii. 24, 25.

(56) *See* Grotius *in locum.*

(57) Deut. xxiv. 16.

(58) Qu. 8. *in Joſuam apud* Calmet *in locum.*

(59) Maſ. Cornel. Juni. Menoch. Bonfrer.

[*H*] *He was ſton'd to death, and then burnt to aſhes.*] He was ſtoned firſt in order to mitigate the rigour of his puniſhment; which would have been perhaps more ſevere, if he had been burnt alive. The Rabbins indeed tell us, that the manner of burning was by burying the criminal up to the neck in the ground, then ſtrangling him, and afterwards pouring hot lead into his mouth (60). They tell us likewiſe, that Achan was burnt as a ſacrilegious perſon, and ſton'd to death for having broken the ſabbath, by ſtealing and concealing his theft on that day (61). It is true the breach of the ſabbath was puniſhed in the wilderneſs with ſtoning to death (62); and ſacrilege with the fire: but there ſeems to be no occaſion for theſe ſubtilties; the caſe of Achan was a very ſingular one; and it is highly probable that God commanded Joſhua to inflict this particular puniſhment upon him, without any regard to the ordinary laws.

(60) Joan. Henr. Hottingeri. *Jus Hebræorum*, Leg. 224.

(61) Munſter. *ex Hebr. apud* Calmet, *Comm. in locum.*

(62) Numb. xv. 32, 35.

[*I*] *A great heap of ſtones was raiſed over him.*] Joſephus calls it τάφον ἄτιμον, i. e. "a monument "or ſepulchre of infamy (63). Some commentators (64) ſuppoſe that the ſtoning of Achan, which was mentioned above, was nothing elſe but this heap of ſtones, which was raiſed over his aſhes. But it is much more probable, that he was firſt ſtoned to death, then burnt, and at laſt this heap of ſtones was thrown upon his aſhes as a mark of the deteſtation which the Iſraelites had for his crime. The ſame was done to the King of Ai (65), and a long time after to Abſalom, who died in rebellion againſt his Father David (66) Perhaps Achan might be bound to a ſtake, in order to be burnt, and ſtoned to death in the ſame place, ſo that he was burnt and ſtoned at the ſame time. This is the common method among the Turks to this day (67). When any perſon is condemned to be burnt, they place a great fire near the ſtake, to which he is tied, on that ſide from which the wind blows: ſo that the wind carries the flame and ſmoke directly upon the criminal. In the mean time all the people, who are preſent, caſt ſtones at him; ſo that he is burnt and ſtoned to death at the ſame time.

(63) *Antiq.* l. 1.

(64) Serar. Bonfrer.

(65) Joſ. viii. 29.

(66) 2 Sam. xviii. 17.

(67) Roger, *Terre Sainte*, l. 2. c. 17. p. 326. *apud* Calmet *in locum.*

☞ACHARD [*A*] Biſhop of Avranches in Normandy, flouriſhed in the twelfth Century. There is a great diſpute among authors of what country he was [*B*]. He was a Canon-regular of the order of St. Auguſtin, and the ſecond Abbot of St. Victor at Paris. He ſucceeded Gilduin in the year 1155 (*a*), and was preferred to the Biſhoprick of Avranches in 1162 (*b*) [*C*]. He had a great ſhare in the favour of King Henry II. of

(*a*) Oudini *Commentar. de Scriptoribus Eccleſiæ Antiq.* tom. 2. col. 1298.

(*b*) Id. ibid. c. 1299.

(1) Voſſ. *de Hiſt. Latin.* l. 2. c. 52.

(2) In his *Index Auctorum* prefixed to his *Gloſſarium mediæ & infimæ Latinitatis*, col. 79.

(3) *Hiſt. Literaria Scriptor. Eccleſiaſtic.* p. 579. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] ACHARD.] Arnoul Wion in *Ligno Vitæ* calls him erroneouſly Archardus (1). The learned Monſieur du Freſne (2) tells us of another perſon, whoſe name was Archard, and who was a Monk of the abbey of Clairvaux, and flouriſhed in the year 1140. And Dr. Cave (3) only mentions the latter, and aſcribes to him two books which are generally ſaid to have been written by the former.

[*B*] *There is a great diſpute among Authors of what country he was.*] Voſſius ſays that he was *Bridlingtonenſis*, of Bridlington in England (4) Cæſar Egaſſius du Boulay (5) writes that he was of Northumberland. But the *Sammarthani Fratres* (6) tell us, that he was a Norman by birth, of a noble family in the Earldom of Domfront; and this might give occaſion to his being ſuppoſed an Engliſhman, becauſe Normandy was then ſubject to the King of England.

(5) *Univerſitat. Pariſienſis in Catal.* p. 715.

(6) *In Galliâ Chriſtianâ* tom. 4. p. 925. *in Abbatibus Sancti Victoris Pariſienſis.*

[*C*] *He was preferred to the Biſhoprick of Avranches in* 1162.] He was raiſed to this dignity by the favour of King Henry II. of England; but his promotion diſpleaſed Lewis King of France, who immediately ſent him away, and forbid him for the future to exerciſe

of England, and was godfather to Eleanor, daughter to that Prince, and afterwards wife of Alphonſus IX. King of Caſtile. He died the twenty ninth of March 1172, and was interred in the church of the Holy Trinity belonging to the Abbey of Luzerne, in the Dioceſe of Avranches. His epitaph, which is ſtill remaining, is as follows: *Hic jacet Achardus Epiſcopus, cujus charitate ditata eſt paupertas noſtra:* i. e. "Here lies Biſhop "Achard, by whoſe charity our poverty was enriched." He was a perſon of great eminence for piety and learning. His younger years he ſpent in the ſtudy of polite Literature and Philoſophy, and the latter part of his life he employed in a very intenſe application to Divinity (*c*). He wrote ſeveral books, of which a catalogue ſhall be given hereunder [*D*].

(*c*) Pitſ. *de Script. Angl. ex Lelando & Boſtono MSS. Auctoribus.*

ciſe any authority in the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris; as appears by the following letter to the Prior and Brethren of that Monaſtery. *Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, Prieri & univerſis Fratribus Sancti Victoris ſalutem & dilectionem. Eccleſia iſta & beneficio prædeceſſorum noſtrorum & eccleſiæ Pariſienſis fundata eſt, unde & ſpecialius eam diligimus. Vocatus eſt Abbas veſter ad aliam eccleſiam. Non volumus quod res eccleſiæ, cujus cura ad nos ſpecialiter ſpectat in aliquo minorentur, ſed creſcant. Unde & regiâ authoritate vobis præcipimus, ut Abbas Achardus de cætero nullam alienandi vel accipiendi res eccleſiæ iſtius habeat facultatem, neque eo præſente verbum aliquod electione incipiatis. Valete* (7).

(7) Oudin. *Comment de Scriptorib. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. col. 1299.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral books of which a catalogue ſhall be given hereunder.*] *De Tentatione Chriſti*, i. e. "Of the Temptation of Chriſt;" which is preſerved in MS. in the library of St. Victor at Paris, and begins thus; *Ductus eſt Jeſus in deſertum, ut tentaretur a diabolo*, &c. *De ſerie lectionis evangelicæ ſuffitit hucuſque. In ſermone præſenti non oportet peregrinari, ſed etiam tantillum &c.* He wrote likewiſe another work *De diviſione animæ & ſpiritûs*, which is in MS. in the library of St. Victor, and which begins thus; *Subſtantia interior, quæ una cum corpore conſtituit hominem, &c.* There is likewiſe a copy of it in the library of the univerſity of Cambridge *Cod.* 1558, and another in Bennet College library *Cod.* 291, *num.* 9. with this title, *Magiſtri Achardi Tractatus de diviſione animæ & ſpiritus.* In the library of the Abbey of Clairvaux is a MS. intitled, *Sermones Magiſtri Achardi* (8). He left likewiſe *the Life of St. Geſelin the Monk*, which Bayle has omitted (9). This life was publiſhed at Doway in 1626. in 12. by Arnold Raiſius, but it is aſcribed to Achard or Archard a Monk of Clairvaux by Du Freſne (10), Dr. Cave (11) and Mr. Du Pin (12) who ſay, that he was a Monk of the Ciſtercian Order, and Maſter of the Novices in the abbey of Clairvaux in the time of St. Bernard.

(8) Id. ibid.
(9) Voſſ. *de Hiſt. Latin.* l. 2. c. 52.
(10) *Ubi ſupra.*
(11) *Ubi ſupra.*
(12) *Bibliotheq. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 9. p. 196. edit. Paris 1697.

☞ACHAYUS (or rather ACHAIUS) ſon of King Ethfine (or Ethwin) was raiſed to the crown of Scotland [*A*] after the death of Soluatius A. D. 788 (*a*). When yet but a private man he uſed to converſe familiarly with the Nobles. This gave him an opportunity of being well acquainted with all the cauſes of the hatred and animoſity, which the Nobles had a long time fomented among themſelves; and being apprehenſive leſt they ſhould occaſion new broils, and involve the whole kingdom in a civil war, he was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, but he carefully employed every thing he judged might conduce to reconcile all the Nobles; for this purpoſe he called them together, and by his liberality he firſt ſoftened their hatred, and at laſt entirely ſuppreſſed it (*b*). Having thus united the hearts of his ſubjects, he endeavoured to prevent a war which was likely to break out between the Scots and the Iriſh; the occaſion of it was this. A body of Iriſh robbers having infeſted the county of Cantyr had been entirely defeated by the Hebridians; this was ſo highly reſented by the Iriſh nation, that they reſolved to be revenged. Achaius to pacify them ſent them an Embaſſador, who repreſented to them the dangers of war, and the great benefits of peace; and told them, that the Scots were inclined to preſerve conſtantly the friendſhip and good underſtanding that had long been eſtabliſhed between the two nations: that the intention of making war ſhould be to obtain a laſting peace, which they could now procure without bloodſhed. But the Iriſh depending upon their ſtrength would not ſubmit to the Embaſſador's reaſons: they anſwered, that they would not hearken to any conditions of peace, till they were either revenged of the injury done to them, or till the Scots had made amends for it; hereupon the Embaſſador withdrew, but before he could reach Scotland, a prodigious number of Iriſh landed on an Iſland, called Yla (*c*); plundered and laid it all waſte; but returning home with a large booty, they were all drowned in the ſea. Achaius hearing this, and the anſwer of the Iriſh to his Embaſſador, reſolved not to ſend again to a nation who had acted ſo perfidiouſly as to attack him, at the very time that he courted their friendſhip. He was perſuaded, that after their laſt providential overthrow they would of themſelves ſue to him for peace, in which he was not miſtaken, for after a few days, the Iriſh ſent an embaſſy to him, acknowledging their fault, and humbly requeſting him to make peace with them. The King granted their requeſt [*B*] to

(*a*) Joan. Læſleus, *de Origine & Moribus Scotorum*, p. 173.
(*b*) Boetius *Scotor. Hiſt.* lib. x. fol. 184. *verſo.*
(*c*) The moſt meridional of thoſe Iſlands ſituated on the Weſt of Scotland; it abounds in wheat and cattle, and has alſo very good lead-mines.

[*A*] *Was advanced to the crown of Scotland.*] Thus Hollingſhead tranſlates theſe words of Boetius, *Achaius ad Reipublicæ curam eſt aſſumptus* (1). Læſleus's words are ſtill more remarkable, *Achaius*, ſays he, *unus ex omnibus, & propter prudentiam, qua pollebat acerrima, & propter pietatem, qua excellebat ſingulari, dignus eſt judicatus, qui Scotiæ ſceptra moderaretur* (2). That is, "Achaius alone "who by his great wiſdom and great piety excelled "all others, was thought worthy to ſway the ſcepter "of Scotland." This is a very great encomium on that Monarch; and one might infer from the words of Boetius and Læſley, that the crown of Scotland was at that time not hereditary but elective.

(1) Bœtius, *Hiſt. Scotor.* lib. 10. fol 184.
(2) Læſleus, *de Morib. & Reb. geſt. Scotor.* pag. 173.

[*B*] *The King granted their requeſt.*] He firſt paſſed a very ſevere cenſure on the Iriſh Nation; telling their Embaſſadors that they were a very obſtinate people; who would not learn to be wiſe, except they were laſhed; that they often deſpiſed what was for their intereſt, and wilfully ran into great inconveniencies; that they were ſilly, paſſionate and haughty, at a time they ought to be modeſt and humble. He added, that their laſt defeat was the effect of Divine vengeance, and ſhew'd that God would not permit thoſe to eſcape unpuniſhed, who, without the leaſt provocation, made an unjuſt war upon their neighbours, at the very time that their neighbours ſued to them for peace. That neverthe-

to the great joy both of the Iriſh and of the Scots. A little after this peace was concluded, the Emperor Charlemain ſent an embaſſy to Achaius, deſiring that King to enter into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt the Engliſh [C], whoſe pyrates ſo infeſted the ſeas, that the merchants could not carry on their trade (*d*). As this alliance was an affair of the greateſt importance to the whole kingdom, the King called a council of the chief men of the nation in order to take their advice. In this council the affair of the alliance was warmly debated, ſome oppoſing it, ſome voting for it [D], at laſt it was carried almoſt unanimouſly for the alliance. The King hereupon ſent William his

(*d*) Læſleus, *ubi ſupra*.

leſs he would forget their old as well as late affronts, and conclude a peace with them, to ſhew that he was a true worſhipper of Chriſt. But the reader may perhaps be pleaſed to find here Achaius's own words as they are related by Boetius (3); we having only given the ſenſe of them. *Ad hæc Achaius Hibernicos gentem contumacem non niſi verberibus affectos ſapere, quod conducit, averſari frequentibus, ultroque eligere incommoda, ineptire, furere, inſultare, quum minime oporteret, reſpondit. Vulnus, quo non hominum, ſed æquiſſima Dei ultione recenter eſſent afflicti, documento eſſe mortalibus, quam ſuperos reddat infenſos nulla laceſſitos injuria proximos ſuppliciter petentes pacem impio bello laceſſere. Verum injuriis, & veteribus, & recentibus poſthabitis, ut ſe verum Chriſti cultorem, qui pacem adeo laudavit, extulit, & commendavit tanto opere oſtenderet mortalibus Hibernicoque populo (tametſi id parum merito) petitam pacem libenter concedere.*

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, fol. 185.

[C] *Againſt the Engliſh.*] Theſe were the people who had ſome time before ſettled in England. They were originally of Saxon extraction, as appears by the following paſſage from the harangue of Charlemain's Embaſſador to Achaius. *Tentant plerique populi Galliam, eam impiis armis infeſtantes, Saxones, Friſones, Normani & omnium maximè Angli, qui Saxonici ſanguinis viri nuper in Britannia incolis exactis, aut ſubactis regnum adepti, & maria & terram rapinis piraticis, ac cruentis incurſibus fœdiſſime adimplent* (4). That is, "Moſt "nations attack France and infeſt it with their impi- "ous armies; theſe are the Saxons, the Friſons, the "Normans, and eſpecially the Engliſh, who, (ſprung "from the Saxon blood,) have lately invaded Britain, "and after driving out or ſubduing the inhabitants "have eſtabliſhed a Kingdom there: Theſe fill both "ſea and land with their piracies, and their cruel in- "vaſions."

(4) *Ap.* Boet. *ubi ſupra*, fol. 185. *verſo.*

[D] *Some oppoſing the alliance, ſome voting for it.*] Boetius gives us two fine ſpeeches, as delivered on this occaſion, tho' 'tis very probable he himſelf compoſed them in imitation of the ancient hiſtorians; but as 'tis very likely theſe ſpeeches contain at leaſt the ſubſtance of what was offer'd in the King's council, the reader will perhaps not be diſpleaſed to ſee an abſtract of them here. Coleman Governor of Marr (*Culmanus Præfectus Marriæ*) a man famous for his integrity, repreſented to the King, that the preſent advantages, which might accrue from the intended alliance were not ſo much to be conſider'd, as the evils which were likely to attend it. "For what, "ſaid he, will be the conſequences of this alliance "with the French who are at a great diſtance from us, "againſt the Engliſh, who are our neighbours, "and whoſe friendſhip may be very ſerviceable to "us? Thus we ſhall have an enemy at home, "and as it were within doors; and a friend far off be- "yond the ſeas, at whoſe will and pleaſure we ſhall "be obliged to make war againſt a neighbour. For "we muſt fight for a ſtranger; for his ſake we muſt "go far from home to expoſe ourſelves to blows "and wounds; for his ſake we muſt hazard the loſs "of the whole Kingdom, of our eſtates, and even "our lives. The alliance with the French will in- "deed make the name of the Scots famous thro' all "the world. But in my humble opinion we ſhould "take care when we thus eagerly ſeek after an empty "fame, a frivolous kind of glory, not to bring eternal "ſhame upon our ſelves by provoking the Engliſh, "and loſing that liberty which our anceſtors pur- "chaſed with their own blood; and for which they "ſo often fought againſt the Britons, the Romans, "the Picts, and finally againſt the Saxons themſelves. "What can be more pernicious to a free people, "than to ſubmit tamely to the yoke of a foreigner, "and to make our fortunes and our liberties, for "which the brutes themſelves fight till they die, de- "pend entirely upon the will and pleaſure of a fo- "reign nation? If the French ſhould break their "promiſes; if in the midſt of a war, we ſhall un- "dertake for their ſake, they abandon us and enter "into an alliance with our enemies, to what ſuperi- "or judge muſt we have recourſe? When this al- "liance with France ſhall be ſworn to, we ſhall always "have to deal with enemies, and very ſeldom with "friends. And as to trade, we ſhall receive from "France, Spain and Germany not ſuch goods and "commodities as we deſire, but ſuch only as the "Engliſh will permit to paſs thro' to us. And in a "ſtorm no port will be open to our trading veſſels, "they muſt either be loſt at ſea, or become the prey "of our enemies." For theſe reaſons Coleman maintained that the Scots ought to reject the alliance with France, and entertain a conſtant friendſhip with the Picts and the Engliſh their neighbours. Theſe reaſons of Coleman were anſwer'd by Albian (Albianus) Governor of the Hebrides (5). He ſaid, that if the four nations, that then inhabited Albion (6), viz. the Engliſh, Scots, Picts, and Britons, could be ſtrictly and inviolably united; and if the Engliſh would be faithful in their promiſes and covenants, he would come over to Coleman's opinion. "But, ſaid he, ſince the Scots, the Picts, and "the Britons have ſuffered conſtantly from the "treachery and perfidiouſneſs of the Engliſh, we muſt "chuſe either to be perpetually fighting againſt the "treachery of the Engliſh, or to have ſuch allies "and confederates, whoſe powerful aſſiſtance may en- "able us to reſiſt our falſe and forſworn neighbours. "Behold their faith, or rather their treachery! The "Britons invite the Saxons to aſſiſt them againſt their "enemy; they receive them in an hoſpitable manner; "they load them with preſents; and theſe perfidious "allies become enemies inſtead of being deliverers; "they turn their ſword againſt thoſe they came to "aſſiſt; and having ſlain a great number of them "they drive the reſt out of their country, and poſ- "ſeſs it themſelves. What treaty has ever been ſa- "cred to that nation, when it was their intereſt or "in their power to break it? And how can we ex- "pect that they will be faithful to us, ſince even "among themſelves they uſe fraud rather than fair "dealing? If they don't attack us at preſent, 'tis "not owing to their fidelity, to their love of ju- "ſtice, to the ſacredneſs of treaties, but only to their "domeſtic broils and diviſions. Let them be quiet "at home, and you will ſoon find by ſad experience, "that trampling under their feet all treaties and co- "venants, they will again turn their arms againſt "us. I know therefore of no other remedy againſt "their perfidiouſneſs, but the alliance which is now "propoſed to us. The Embaſſadors of the French "offer us, what we could ſcarce hope for. That "King to whom Spain, France and Germany obey, "courts our alliance againſt the Engliſh. What man "in his ſenſes could deſpiſe ſuch an offer? Muſt we, "who live in the remoteſt part of the world, reject "an alliance with the French, who of their own ac- "cord offer it to us? the French! a people, who, "for their faith towards God and men, have obtain- "ed the empire of the world. This alliance, in "caſe we enter into it chearfully, will alſo unite us "with the Spaniſh, the Germans, and with all the "other nations ſubject to Charles; whence we ſhall be "able to carry on our trade ſafely and ſecurely (7)."

(5) Iſlands ſituated on the Weſt of Scotland.

(6) Great Britain.

(7) Boetius *ubi ſupra*, fol. 186, 187.

Theſe were Albian's arguments, we leave the reader to judge whether he anſwered pertinently to Coleman's objections, and eſpecially thoſe relating to the diſtance of France, and to the trade of the Scots, which could eaſily be interrupted by the Engliſh. We will add but one reflexion on this occaſion: What a happineſs is it both for the Engliſh and the Scots (for the former at leaſt) to be now united under the ſame Sovereign, ſince their union prevents wars which antiently occaſioned ſuch frequent and great havock among them?

his own brother, and Clement, John *, Raban, and Alcuin, four of the moſt eminent men of the nation [E], attended by a body of 4000 men (e), with Charlemain's Embaſſadors into France, where the alliance was concluded, upon conditions that were very advantagious to the Scots [F]. Achaius, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſacred an alliance, added to the arms of Scotland a double field ſowed with Lilies (f). Some time after Achaius ſent a ſubſidy of ten thouſand men to Hungus King of the Picts, to aſſiſt him againſt Athelſtan King of the Weſt-Saxons, who had attacked him unjuſtly, and laid waſte a great part of his dominions (g): Hungus, thus aſſiſted by the Scots, gained ſo complete a victory over the Saxons, that himſelf and Achaius paſt the remaining part of their reign in perfect peace (h); Achaius having reigned thirty two years, died A. D. 819 (i).

* Sirnamed *Scotus*.

(e) Id. p. 175.

(f) Boetius, *ubi ſupra*, fol. 185, 188.

(g) Læſleus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 176.

(h) Boetius, ibid. p. 191.

(i) Idem, ibid. Læſleus, *ubi ſupra*. p. 178. Buchanan. *Rer. Scot. Hiſt.* lib. 5. p. 166.

[E] *Four of the moſt eminent men of the nation.*] Mezeray ſpeaks only of Alcuin and Clement, whom he calls Claude Clement (8), but as he differs eſſentially from Boetius and Læſley it is proper to give his own words. *Cette même année* (790) ſays he, *commença, à ce qu'on tient, l'alliance indiſſoluble d'entre la France & l'Ecoſſe, Charles ayant envoyé un ſecours de quatre mille hommes au Roye Archaye lequel lui fit preſent (diſent les auteurs de ce pais là) de Claude Clement, & d'Alcuin Anglo-Saxon, deux ſavans perſonnages pour le temps. Ils ajoutent, qu'ils vinrent à Paris, & qu'ils y dreſſerent des Ecoles publiques, commencement de cette fameuſe Univerſity mére de toutes celles qui ſont dans l'Europe.* That is, "It is "thought that this year began the indiſſoluble alli- "ance between France and Scotland, Charles hav- "ing ſent four thouſand men to aſſiſt King Archayus "(9), this King in return (ſay the Scots Hiſtorians) "made Charles a preſent of Claude Clement and "Alcuin an Engliſh-Saxon, two learned men, conſi- "dering the age in which they lived. It is added "that they came to Paris, where they founded publick "ſchools, which gave riſe to that famous Univerſity, "the mother of all thoſe which are in Europe." We ſhall obſerve upon this paſſage, 1. That we cannot find whence Mezeray has it, that Charles ſent four thouſand men to Achaius; neither Boetius nor Læſley ſay any thing of it; but the former tells us, that Achaius ſent a ſtrong body of troops to Charles, together with the Embaſſadors (10); and Læſley adds, that this body conſiſted of four thouſand men, which Achaius ſent to aſſiſt Charles, who at that time was engaged in a war againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion (11). 2. Boetius and Læſley tell us, that Raban and Alcuin returned into Scotland, but that Clement and John continued in France (12). Læſley adds, that when theſe two were deſirous of returning home, Charles prevailed with them to ſtay, and that he ſent one of them to Pavia, and the other to Paris, (where he had already laid the foundations of two Univerſities) in order that they might there inſtruct youth in the languages and the ſciences: whence, ſays Læſley, it appears, that if polite literature and the more ſolid ſciences flouriſh in thoſe Univerſities, it is owing originally to the Scots (13). But theſe authors don't ſay, as Mezeray pretends, that the learned men we mentioned, founded ſchools in Paris, *which gave riſe to the Univerſity of that city*. Boetius tells us alſo, that Alcuin had been Preceptor to Charlemain (14); but Buchanan ſays, it was John Scot (*Scotus*, or *Albinus*) (15): we will examine in another place (16) who is in the right. 3. What can Mezeray mean, by ſaying that Achaius made a preſent to Charles of Clement and Alcuin? ſince it appears by what we have quoted from Læſley, that the two learned men who ſtayed in France, were prevailed upon by Charles himſelf. Had Mezeray quoted his vouchers, as an Hiſtorian ought to do, we then ſhould be able to know whether he or they are miſtaken; but as he cites no body through his whole Hiſtory, he is juſtly chargeable with all the errors he may fall into.

(8) Mezeray, *Abregé de l'Hiſt. de France*, t. 1. p. 242.

(9) Thus he calls our Achaius, if it be not an error of the preſs.

(10) Boetius, *ubi ſupra*, fol. 188.

(11) Læſleus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 175.

(12) Idem, ibid.

(13) Læſley, ibid.

(14) Boetius, *ubi ſupra*, fol, 191.

(15) Buchan. *Hiſt. Scotor.* p. 166.

(16) See the article ALCUINUS.

[F] *Upon terms very advantagious to the Scots.*] This will appear from the moſt eſſential articles of that alliance, which are as follow. "I. The friend- "ſhip between the Scots and the French is not to "be limited to a certain time, but ſhall ſubſiſt eter- "nally. II. The injuries and wars, which the En- "gliſh may attempt againſt either nation, ſhall be "accounted common to both. III. If the French "are aſſaulted by the Engliſh, the Scots ſhall ſend an "army to aſſiſt the former, but that army ſhall be "maintained in every thing at the expence of the "French. IV. If the Scots are attacked by the En- "gliſh, the French are to aſſiſt them, and defray the "expence of the troops ſent to their ſuccour. "V. Any private or publick perſon of the two con- "federate nations, who ſhould aſſiſt the Engliſh a- "gainſt either of them, with armour, counſel, am- "munition, or in any other way or manner, ſhall be "reputed a traitor againſt both nations. VI. Nei- "ther of theſe two nations ſhall conclude a peace or "a truce with the Engliſh, without the conſent of "the other (17).

(17) Boetius, *ubi ſupra*, fol. 188. Læſleus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 174, 175.

ACHÆMENES, if Herodotus may be credited (a), was father of Cambyſes, and grandfather of Cyrus the firſt King of Perſia. This author ſeems to ſpeak in ſome part of his works of an Achæmenes, of a much older date than him whoſe article we now write; for he informs us, that the Perſian nation was divided into ſeveral branches, the moſt illuſtrious of which conſiſted of the Paſargadæ, among whom the Achæmenides are included, whence the Kings of Perſia deſcended (b). Herodotus mentions in another place (c) Cambyſes ſon of Cyrus, exhorting on his death-bed the principal Lords of Perſia, and the Achæmenides in particular, never to ſuffer the Medes to reaſcend the throne. This ſeems to hint at an Achæmenes, the ſtock of theſe Achæmenides, of a much more antient date than him whom we now write of, grandfather of Cyrus. Stephanus Byzantinus ſpeaks of one Achæmenes ſon of Ægæus; and tells us that Achæmenia, a Province in Perſia, received its name from him. Others ſay that this Achæmenes was the ſon of Perſeus (d); others infer this, becauſe the Kings of Perſia were deſcended from Perſeus [A]. Moſt of the commentators on Horace are of opinion,

(a) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(b) Idem, lib. 1. cap. 125.

(c) Idem, lib. 3. cap. 65.

(d) Nicholaus, lib. 2. *Hiſt. apud Etymol. magni Auctor.*

[A] *Becauſe the Kings of Perſia were deſcended from Perſeus.*] According to Mr. Chevreau, Herodotus ſays, *that the Perſides*, i. e. *thoſe of the family of Perſis or Perſeus, ſprang from the Achemenides who were related to the Paſargadæ* (1). He aſſures in the ſame page, *that according to the teſtimony of Herodotus, the Kings of Perſia deſcended from Perſeus or Perſis, and that the Perſides deſcended from the Achæmenides; that is to ſay, from the firſt of that family whoſe name was* Achæmenes. All this is very much confuſed. Herodotus does not ſay in general, that the Perſides ſprang from the Achæmenides; but mentions this only of the Kings of Perſia (2), i. e. of Cyrus and his ſucceſſors (3). He divides the Perſians into ſeveral claſſes, one of which he ſpecifies particularly by the name of Perſians; another, which he calls the *Paſargadæ*, among whom he includes the Achæmenides. He obſerves, indeed, in another place (4), that the Perſians were called by that name, from the time that Perſeus, ſon to Jupiter and Danae, left his ſon Perſes whom he had by Andromeda, among them; but then he does not ſay, as Mr. Chevreau ſuppoſes,

(1) Chevreau's *Hiſt. of the World*, Book 1. chap. 5. pag. 95, 96. Dutch edition of 1687.

(2) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 125.

(3) Παρσέων Βασιλέες . . . Ἀχαιμένης ἔσχονοι, i. e. "The Kings of "the Perſians.. "ſprang from "Achæmenes.

(4) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 61.

nion, that the Achæmenes, whom that Poet mentions in the twelfth Ode of his ſecond book as a man of prodigious wealth, was one of the Perſian Monarchs [*B*]; but if that were true, he muſt neceſſarily have reigned before the Medes ſubdued the Perſians; for we don't hear of any King of that name from the time that the Perſians founded that great monarchy, which is looked upon as the ſecond univerſal one. Cyrus has generally been reckoned their firſt Sovereign; and ſuch as tell us that two Kings ſwayed the ſcepter before him, diſtinguiſh them very clearly, both from Cambyſes his father, and Achæmenes his grandfather (*e*). However this be, the epithet Achæmenians is frequently given to the Perſians in the old Latin Poets; and Perſia is called Azemia (*f*) and the Perſians Agemis to this day (*g*).

(*e*) Marſham, *Can. Chron.* p. 605. edit. Lipſ.

(*f*) Bizari, *Hiſt. Perſ.* lib. 1. p. 5.

(*g*) Teixera *in Itiner. Indiæ*, cap. 6. *apud* Pinedo, *in Steph. Byz.* p. 145.

ſuppoſes, that the Kings of Perſia were deſcended from Perſeus. Mr. Chevreau's reaſoning amounts to this viz. that Cyrus was not inferior in birth to the Kings of Media, or of Perſia, ſince theſe as well as Cyrus ſprang from Achæmenes: he proves that they deſcended from him, becauſe the Perſides did. Beſides the falſities I have already obſerved, he ſuppoſes farther, that the firſt who bore the name of *Achæmenes*, was prior to Perſeus ſon of Jupiter. Mr. Dacier had retained perfectly the particulars he cites of this paſſage from Chevreau (5), merely by ſtrength of memory.

(5) Dacier on *Horace*, vol. 2. pag. 243.

[*B*] *Was one of the Perſian Monarchs.*] Moreri is ſo wiſe as to tell us, that *Achæmenes was the firſt King of Perſia, and that all the Princes who governed that Kingdom, to Darius, ſprung from him.* But in the firſt place I would ask him, why, when he ſpeaks of Cyrus, he makes him Founder of the Perſian Monarchy; and why, in his catalogue of the Kings of Perſia, he does not place Achæmenes before Cyrus, but the latter at the head of all the Monarchs? A man ſhould not pretend to miſtake, or he ſhould do it conſiſtently. Then, I wiſh he had told us which of the Darius's he means; for two or three of that name reign'd in Perſia. Does he mean him who was vanquiſhed by Alexander the Great? But in that caſe he'd be too deciſive; for the Ancients are not agreed that this Darius was of the royal family. If he means Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpes, he has not expreſſed himſelf juſtly; the words *all the Princes* are improper, when one ſpeaks of only two out of above twelve. I don't know why Mr. Dacier confines the epithet Achæmenides to the time of Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpes, when he tells us, that *the deſcendants of Achæmenes, King of Perſia, bore his name till that Darius* (6). I don't doubt but they bore it ſtill after him; for beſides that his ſon Xerxes traces his deſcent in a direct line to Achæmenes (7); we find, that in the ſame period one Tigranes General of the Medes, was call'd *Achæmenides* (8): and we meet with one Achæmenes hereunder mentioned, who was brother to Xerxes. I ſay nothing of Sapor, called *Achæmenes* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that paſſage being corrupted (9). Mr. Chevreau, ſurpriz'd doubtleſs to find five generations between this Xerxes and Cyrus, imagin'd that this Monarch enumerates his paternal anceſtors on one ſide, and his maternal on the other; ſo that he makes himſelf ſpring from Achæmenes, only on the mother's ſide; however, this is not found in Herodotus, unleſs we alter the Greek text, agreeable to the very probable conjecture of Salmaſius (10).

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(8) Ibid. cap. 62.

(9) *See* de Valois, *in Amm. Marcel.* book 19. cap. 2. p. 240.

(10) Salmas. *Exercit. Plinian.* pag. 1183.

ACHÆMENES, ſon of Darius I. King of Perſia, and brother of Xerxes both by the father and mother's ſide (*a*), had the government of Egypt beſtowed upon him, after Xerxes had forced the Egyptians, by the power of his arms, to return to their allegiance (*b*). He ſometime after commanded the Egyptian fleet, in the celebrated expedition which proved ſo fatal to all Greece (*c*). Hiſtory does not relate what other employments he poſſeſſed in his brother's life-time, but it is ſaid, that the Egyptians having again taken up arms after the death of that Monarch, Achæmenes was ſent into Egypt to ſuppreſs the rebellion (*d*). This was an unfortunate enterprize, for he was vanquiſhed by Inarus, chief of the Rebels, ſuccoured by the Athenians.

(*a*) Herodot. *Hiſt.* lib. 7. cap. 97.

(*b*) Ibid. cap. 7.

(*c*) Ibid. cap. 97.

(*d*) Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 12. Diod. Sicul. lib. 11.

ACHERI (Luke D') a Benedictine of the congregation of St. Maur, was born at Saint Quintin in Picardy, anno 1609. He made himſelf famous by printing ſeveral works, which till then were in manuſcript, and lay buried in Libraries. The firſt piece he publiſhed (in 1645) was the epiſtle aſcribed to St. Barnabas. Father Hugh Menard, a Monk of the ſame congregation, intended to publiſh the abovementioned epiſtle, and for that purpoſe had illuſtrated it with ſeveral notes; but having been prevented by death, father Luke d'Acheri gave an edition of it in Greek and Latin, with father Menard's notes in 1645, as was before obſerved. Three years after, d'Achery publiſhed the *Life and Writings of* Lanfrank *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, and the *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bec.* In 1651, he gave an edition of the *Life and Writings of Guibert Abbot of Nogent*, and ſome other pieces. Having afterwards collected ſeveral ſcarce and curious pieces, and being in hopes of recovering more of the ſame kind, he had a deſign to compile as large a body of theſe as he could get together, and to publiſh them under the modeſt title of *Spicilegium* (a gleaning). He obliged the publick with the firſt volume in 1655; and this was followed by twelve more, the laſt of which was printed in 1677 (*a*). This collection in thirteen volumes Quarto, is highly eſteemed by thoſe who are deſirous of conſulting the moſt minute particulars relating to eccleſiaſtical affairs; but moſt of the pieces in it were written after the decay of the Roman Empire in the Weſt. Our author publiſhed the *Rule for Anchorites* written by father Grimlaic; and ſome Aſcetic pieces [*A*]. His prefaces and ſhort notes prove him to have been a perſon of ſome abilities. He had ſome ſhare in the critical pieces, inſerted in the firſt volumes of *the Acts of the Saints of the Order of St. Bennet*; and the title of them informs us, that they were collected and publiſhed by him and father Mabillon.

(*a*) See the *Journal des Savans* of Feb. 28, 1678, where the reaſon is given why the *Spicilegium* was not continued.

[*A*] *And ſome aſcetic pieces.*] He did not put his name to the collection which he publiſh'd of them, the title of which I ſhall give, as I find it in Father *Labbe's Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum. Aſceticorum vulgò ſpiritualium, opuſculorum, quæ inter patrum opera reperiuntur, Indiculus Chriſtianæ pietatis cultoribus ab Aſceta Benedictino congregationis ſancti Mauri digeſtus.* i. e. "A catalogue of the Aſcetic, generally call'd ſpiritual tracts, found among the works of the Fathers; digeſted for the uſe of devout Chriſtians, by a Benedictine, of the congregation of St. Maur." *Pariſiis 4to*, 1648. Mr. Teiſſier in his additions to this work of Father Labbe, tells us that Luke d'Acheri publiſh'd *St. Auſtin's Life* in Paris the ſame year.

Mabillon. Luke d'Acheri died at Paris the 29th of April 1685, in the Abbey of St. Germains in the Fields, where he had been Librarian (*b*).

(*b*) See the *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 26, 1685, and Baille, *Jugem. des Sav.* p. 518.

ACHEUS, in Latin ACHÆUS, couſin-german to Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great [*A*], Kings of Syria, became a very powerful Monarch, and enjoyed the dominions he had uſurped for many years; but at laſt he was puniſhed for his uſurpations in a moſt dreadful manner. He at firſt adhered with wonderful fidelity to his Sovereigns, and did them very ſignal ſervices; for having attended upon Seleucus Ceraunus in his expedition againſt Attalus, he put to death the two Captains who had bereaved this Seleucus of his life; recovered the ſeveral Provinces which Attalus had conquered, and refuſed the title of King, when it was offered him by the army, and although he had the moſt favourable opportunity of maintaining it (*a*). Acheus reſiſted theſe temptations with great generoſity, and reſolved that his conqueſts ſhould be only for the lawful ſucceſſor of the Monarch whoſe death he had revenged; that is for Antiochus younger brother of Seleucus. But at laſt his proſperity blinded him; for he no ſooner found himſelf poſſeſſed of all Attalus's dominions, the city of Pergamus excepted, but he aſſumed the title of King. Having thus ſeized upon the crown, he conducted himſelf with the utmoſt prudence and bravery; inſomuch, that no Monarch, on this ſide of Taurus, was ſo formidable as Acheus (*b*). As the ſpacious rich Provinces he poſſeſſed in thoſe parts, could not ſatisfy his ambitious thirſt, he reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of Syria, upon hearing that Antiochus was ſet out to engage Artabazanes (*c*), flattering himſelf that either Antiochus would loſe his life in that expedition, or that the length of it would give him an opportunity of conquering Syria, before that Monarch ſhould return back; not to mention that he had fed himſelf with the hopes that ſeveral Provinces would rebel; a circumſtance on which he laid very great ſtreſs. Accordingly he ſet out for Lydia, at the head of a very numerous army, and being upon his march, he wrote to the ſubjects of Antiochus; but when he was come to the confines of Lycaonia, he perceived that the ſoldiers would not turn their ſwords againſt their lawful King; upon which he declared, that he would lay aſide his enterprize. He thereupon marched back, and having plundered Piſidia, he divided among his ſoldiers the rich ſpoils he there ſeized, by which means he regained their affection (*d*). From what was juſt now ſaid, we may infer that thoſe are miſtaken, who relate that he aſſumed the title of King of Syria. Antiochus having gloriouſly put an end to the war in which he had been engaged againſt Artabazanes, ſent Embaſſadors to Acheus, to complain of his having uſurped the title of King, and his favouring the Egyptians openly (*e*). This reproach was not altogether ineffectual; for we find that Antiochus concluded a truce with their Sovereign (*f*), he being ſenſible that Acheus, his ally in outward appearance, was certainly in their intereſt. This ſhews that the Uſurper paid ſome regard to Antiochus's complaints, and entered ſpeciouſly into a confederacy with him, againſt Ptolemy King of Egypt. The latter endeavoured, in vain, to include him in the alliance, for Antiochus rejected conſtantly the propoſal, and was exaſperated, that the King of Egypt ſhould preſume to addreſs him in favour of rebels (*g*); ſo that he had no ſooner extricated himſelf from all his difficulties, but he vigorouſly attempted to recover all that Acheus had ſeized upon. His deſigns were ſucceſsful, for he obliged the Uſurper to fly to Sardis, where, blocking him up, he took the city after a long ſiege (*h*). Some perſons in Sardis laid a ſnare for Acheus, which proved fatal to him; for theſe having prevailed with that Uſurper to come out of the citadel, they immediately delivered him up to Antiochus, who put him to a moſt cruel and ignominious death, which was as follows. That Monarch firſt cauſed the extremities of Acheus's limbs to be cut off, and afterwards his head, which was ſowed up in an aſs's ſkin, and then he commanded the remaining part of the body to be fixed to a croſs (*i*); all which was executed the 540th year of Rome. Two excellent maxims might be drawn from this example [*B*]. I ſhall not ſpecify Moreri's miſtakes, ſince they may be

(*a*) This happened about the end of the 139th Olympiad, and the 533d year of Rome, Calviſii *Chronol.* p. 278.

(*b*) Extracted from Polybius book 4. chap. 13. pag. 322.

(*c*) The dominions of this Monarch lay near the Caſpian Sea. See Polyb. book 5. chap. 13. pag. 408.

(*d*) Polyb. *Hiſt.* lib. 5. chap. 13.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. cap. 15.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. pag. 418.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. lib. 7. cap. 3.

(*i*) Idem, ibid. lib. 8. cap. 5. and 6.

[*A*] *Couſin-german to Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great.*] He was ſon of Andromachus, brother to Laodicea wife of Seleucus Callinicus, and mother to thoſe two Princes (1). We are to obſerve that he was a dutiful ſon; for hearing that Andromachus was impriſoned in Alexandria, he did all that lay in his power to releaſe him from his captivity. The Rhodians being informed of his inclinations in this particular, ſent Embaſſadors to King Ptolemy, to demand Andromachus of him. Their view in this was to preſent him to Acheus, in order to engage him to break the promiſe he had made, to aſſiſt the Byzantines, who were then engaged in a fierce war with the Rhodians. The King of Egypt made ſome difficulty to deliver up Andromachus, well knowing that a priſoner of his conſequence, might be of advantage to him, at a proper time and place; for he was ſtill at variance with the King of Syria, and ſenſible that Acheus was very formidable. However, to oblige the Rhodians, he at laſt reſolved to deliver up his priſoner, with liberty to ſend him to his ſon, in caſe they thought proper. They did ſo, and by that and ſome other means, ingratiated themſelves with Acheus, and deprived the Byzantines of their principal hopes (2). Take notice that Acheus was married to Laodicea daughter of King Mithridates (3), who had been perfectly well educated by Logbaſis, an inhabitant of Selge, a city in Piſidia (4). This Lady held out the ſiege of Sardis with her husband, and was obliged to ſurrender, after he had been put to death (5).

(1) Polybii, *Hiſtori.* lib. 4. cap. 13. pag. 324. and l. 8. c. 6. p. 531.

(2) Polyb. lib. 4. cap. 13.

(3) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 531.

(4) Idem, lib. 15. cap. 17. p. 425.

(5) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 6. pag. 532.

[*B*] *Two excellent maxims might be drawn from this example.*] Firſt, that it is good to be diffident, and ſecondly, that we ſhould not abuſe the favours of fortune. But we ſhall give Polybius's own words, to whom we owe theſe moral reflections. Κατὰ δύο τρόπους οὐκ ἀνωφελὲς ὑπόδειγμα γινόμενος τοῖς ἀκουομένοις· καθ' ἕνα μὲν, πρὸς τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεύειν ῥαδίως· καθ' ἕτερον δὲ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, πᾶσι δὲ προσδοκᾶν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας (6). That is, "An example that may "be doubly uſeful to poſterity; firſt, that we ſhould "learn not to believe any one raſhly; ſecondly, that "we ſhould not be too much puffed up with proſ"perity, but as men, not be ſurpriſed at any accident, "to which mankind is obnoxious.

(6) Idem, lib. 8. pag. 528. edit. Caſauboni.

be ſo eaſily diſcovered by comparing his account with mine; but as for the errors of Franciſcus Patricius, I will point them out particularly [C].

[C] *As for the errors of Franciſcus Patricius, I will point them out particularly.*] He pretends, that Acheus having overburthened his ſubjects with taxes, they rebelled, and murthered him with his whole family, and threw his body into the Pactolus, that he might drink of its gold-abounding waters. *Achæus, Lydiæ, Mæoniæque rex, gentilitio avaritiæ crimine ardebat; is ſiquidem crebra ac gravia populis tributa ſemper imperabat, in quibus exigendis ſævus, improbus, atque inexorabilis erat; verùm cùm tantam injuriam diutiùs populi ferre nequirent, nocturnâ teſſerâ inter ſe datâ, ſubito hominum concurſu illum cum omni familiâ trucidaverunt, & regiâ incenſâ ejus cadaver unco tractum in Pactolum flumen dimerſerunt, ut auriferas aquas ſemper potaret* (7). That is, "Acheus, King of Lydia "and Mæonia, was inflamed with avarice, a vice "hereditary to him. As he was perpetually loading his ſubjects with taxes, in collecting of "which he was cruel, unjuſt, and inexorable; his "ſubjects at laſt could not bear ſuch tyrannical uſage "any longer, upon which they conſpired together in "the night, when the watch word being given, a "multitude of men aſſembling, they immediately "murthered the King, and all his family, and ſetting fire to the palace, they dragged his body, and "threw it into the river Pactolus, that he might for "ever drink of the gold-bearing waters." Obſerve firſt, that Franciſcus Patricius is miſtaken in making Acheus a Lydian, deſcended from the antient Kings of that country, and that he inherited their avarice. This author was then thinking on the wealth of Crœſus, and Midas's wiſh (8); but he ſhould rather have called to mind that Acheus was a Syrian: however, this is a trifling error in compariſon of the reſt; for all the circumſtances he relates are falſe. Mr. de Boiſſieu is of opinion, that the erroneous expoſitions which have "been given of the following words of Ovid,

Morte vel intereas capti ſuſpenſus Achæi,
Qui miſer auriferâ teſte pependit aquâ (9).

In Engliſh,

"Or may'ſt thou hang aloft, as once Acheus,
"Whom rich Pactolus from his bed ſurvey'd.

led Patricius into an error, Mr. de Boiſſieu obſerves very juſtly, that they ſignify, that Acheus's body was hung up near the banks of the Pactolus (10). He adds, that Zarottus firſt had a glimpſe of the Poet's meaning, and that Leopardus diſcovered it perfectly, and therefore that Lipſius ſhould not have boaſted that he firſt found out the true ſenſe of that paſſage. *Hanc eſſe poëtæ noſtri mentem primus vidit Zarottus, ſed quaſi per nebulam; & omninò Paulus Leopardus emendat, lib. 1. cap. 20. ideo non erat quò Juſtus Lipſius, lib. 1. de Cruce, cap. 4. principem ſibi hujus loci explanationem tribueret. Valeat autem Alciatus cum ſua illa explicatione, quam libro 9. capite 24. Parergon Juris inſeruit* (11). That is, "Zarottus "firſt diſcovered, but through a cloud as it were, "that this was the Poet's meaning, which Leopardus "ſaw perfectly into, in book 1. chap. 20. of his "*Emendat.* Juſtus Lipſius ſhould not therefore have "declared in book 1. chap. 4. *de Cruce*, that he was "the firſt, who explained it. But away with Alciat "and his explication in book 9. chap. 24. of his "*Parergon Juris.*" Be this as it will, Francis Patricius applies his examples wrong; Acheus was puniſhed for his ambition, not for his avarice. Aquilius, who is joined with Acheus (12), becauſe Mithridates commanded melted gold to be poured down his throat, has no affinity with Antiochus's revenge.

(7) Franciſc. Patric. *de regis inſtitutione*, lib. 4. Tit. 9.

(8) Ovidii *Metamor.* lib. 11. ver. 103.

(9) Ovidius *in Ibin*, ver. 301.

(10) Dionyſ. Salvagnii Boeſſii *Notæ in libellum Ovidii in Ibin*, p. 63.

(11) Idem, ibid.

(12) Patricius *de Reg. Inſtit.* lib. 4. tit. 9. p. 243.

ACHILLEA, an Iſland in Pontus Euxinus, which alſo was called the Iſland of Heroes; the Iſland *Macaron* (*a*), or the Iſland of Happy Souls, *Leuce*, &c. was ſituated, according to ſome writers, oppoſite to the Boryſthenes, and according to others, oppoſite to the Danube. It was called Achillea, from the monument of (*b*) Achilles erected therein, and becauſe it was conſecrated to that hero; it was given him by Thetis or Neptune (*c*). Divine honours were there paid to Achilles, and his memory was alſo honoured with a temple, an oracle, an altar, ſacrifices, &c. Some authors relate that this iſland was uninhabited, and that it was not ſafe to paſs the night in it (*d*); for which reaſon, ſuch as uſed to viſit it, returned always on board in the evening, after having viewed the antiquities of the place, the temple, and the ſeveral gifts offered to Achilles. Our hero was not alone in this iſland, it being inhabited alſo by the Manes of ſeveral other illuſtrious warriors [A]; but with regard to Achilles, he muſt have been there both ſoul and body, ſince he married Helen in it, and had a ſon by her called Euphorion, whom Jupiter loved, with a criminal affection, but in vain, and whom the God ſlew, with a thunderbolt, becauſe he refuſed to gratify his wiſhes (*e*). Other writers tell us, that Achilles was there married to Iphigenia, whom Diana had conveyed thither, after having beſtowed upon her immortal youth and Divine Nature (*f*). Others again aſſure, that the celebrated Medea was the wife he married in the other world (*g*); but the moſt general opinion was for Helen, which Philoſtratus and Pauſanias have followed (*h*). The former relates, that ſuch ſtrangers as landed in that Iſland who would not ſet ſail in the day time, were obliged to paſs the night on board of their ſhips, where they were viſited by Achilles and Helen, who carouzed with them, and ſung not only their own amours, but the verſes of Homer (*i*). This author adds, that Achilles here cultivated with ſo much the greater aſſiduity, the poetical genius with which Calliope had inſpired him [B], as he was not diverted from

(*a*) Plinii *Hiſt. Natur.* lib. 4. cap. 12 and 13. Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 102.

(*b*) Mela, lib. 2. cap. 7. Scylax p. 28.

(*c*) *Autor Periplî Ponti Euxini ab* Iſ. Voſſio *editus.* Quintus Calaber, *ſub fin.* lib. 3.

(*d*) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. The reader will meet with his words in the remark [A].

(*e*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. *apud Photium*, p. 480.

(*f*) Anton. Liberalis, cap. 27.

(*g*) Tzetzes *in Lycophr. Scho. Apollon.* lib. 4.

(*b*) Pauſanias, lib. 3. p. 102.

(*i*) Philoſtrat. *in Heroic.*

[A] *It being inhabited alſo by the manes or ſouls of ſeveral other illuſtrious warriors.*] (1) This appears from a paſſage in *Pauſanias*, where 'tis related that Leonymus General of the *Crotoniatæ*, having made a voyage to the iſland of Leuce, in order to learn the remedy which was to cure his wound; declar'd, that he had ſeen Achilles there, the two Ajax's, Patroclus, Antilochus, &c. (2) I wonder that Ammianus Marcellinus ſhould forget this particular, where he tells us that this iſland was a dangerous place. *In hac Taurica*, ſays he (3), *inſula Leuce ſine habitatoribus ullis Achilli eſt dedicata; in quam ſi fuerint quidam fortè delati, viſis antiquitatis veſtigiis temploque & donariis eidem heroi conſecratis veſperi repetunt naves, aiunt enim non ſine diſcrimine vitæ illic quemquam pernoctare.* i. e. "In this Taurica, ſays he, the uninhabited iſland of Leuce is conſecrated to Achilles; "where, whoever happens to go aſhore, after having viewed the remains of antiquity, the temple and offerings conſecrated to the abovemention'd "Hero, they return on board their ſhips in the evening; for 'tis related that no one can paſs the night "there without running the hazard of loſing his life." Perhaps too he never heard of that particular.

(1) Dionyſ. Perieget.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(3) Ammi. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 8.

[B] *The poetical genius with which Calliope had inſpired him.*] Some writers are of opinion, that when Plutarch relates, that Minerva the Goddeſs of the ſciences, dropp'd Nectar and Ambroſia into Achilles's mouth,

from that ſtudy by affairs of war; and farther, that thoſe who ſailed by this coaſt, heard muſic, which filled them with admiration intermixed with horror; and alſo heard a neighing of horſes, a claſhing of arms, and the cries as of ſoldiers engaged in battle. Maximus Tyrius and Arrianus inform us of particulars equally wonderful [*C*]. We are not to doubt but that it was in this iſland Achilles wrought the miracle mentioned by Tertullian [*D*]. He likewiſe performed ſeveral others, whereof that which he employed againſt the impious Amazons [*E*], when they attempted to plunder his temple, was

mouth, when he refus'd every kind of ſuſtenance; he would thereby inſinuate, that our Hero poſſeſs'd the whole circle of knowledge. Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ νέκταρός τι καὶ ἀμβροσίας ἐνέταξε μὴ προσιεμένῳ τροφήν (4). Lorenzo Craſſo (5) has employed this as one of his authorities, to prove that Achilles ought to be rank'd among the Greek Poets. This, among the admirers of witty conceits would be look'd upon as infuſed knowledge, if there ever was any ſuch thing. But be this as it will, the abovementioned words of Plutarch no ways prove what Lorenzo Craſſo would infer from them; they ſpeaking of a real bodily ſuſtenance, as is manifeſt from the 19th book of the Iliad, whence they were taken. Homer tells us, that Jupiter perceiving Achilles would neither eat nor drink after the death of Patroclus, bid Minerva infuſe nectar and ambroſia into him, to prevent his dying of hunger.

(4) Plutarch *de facie in orbe Lunæ* p. 938. edit. Paris, A. 1624.

(5) *Iſtoria de' Poëti Greci*, p. 6. where he quotes the Latin verſion, as if *aluit* and not *alluit*, were there, *aluit* is full as proper.

—— Οἰ νέκταρ, τι καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν·
Στάζον ἰὴ σήθεσσ' ἵνα μὴ μιν λιμὸς ἵκηται (6).

That is,

" E'en thirſt and want his forces have oppreſt,
" Haſte, and infuſe Ambroſia in his breaſt. Pope.

(6) Homer. *Iliad*, lib. 19. ver. 347.

Philoſtratus muſt be conſulted to prove our Hero a Poet (7); and indeed he expreſſes himſelf very clearly on this head.

(7) Philoſtrat. *Heroic. in Achille.* fol. 319. & *in Neoptol.* fol. 338.

[*C*] *Maximus Tyrius and Arian relate things which are altogether as ſurprizing.*] The former tells us, that Achilles inhabited an iſland near Pontus Euxinus, oppoſite to the Danube; and that altars and temples had been erected to his honour there; that it would be very difficult to go on ſhore in it, till after having offer'd up ſacrifices; that mariners had often ſeen Achilles in the form of a fair youth, dancing, in his golden armour, a warlike dance: Some heard him ſing, but did not ſee him, while others both heard and ſaw him. It happen'd that a certain perſon having fallen aſleep inadvertently in this iſland was awak'd by Achilles, and conducted to a tent, where he was entertain'd at ſupper; Patroclus ſerv'd the wine, Achilles play'd on his lyre, and Thetis and the reſt of the Gods were preſent (8). Arrian has been told, and believ'd, that thoſe who were caſt on that iſland by a ſtorm, went and conſulted the oracle of Achilles, in order to know whether it was proper to ſacrifice to him the victim which they themſelves ſhould ſelect in the meadows; that at the ſame time they laid the money which they ſuppos'd it to be worth, upon the altar; that in caſe the oracle rejected their propoſal, they added more money, till by its acquieſcing, they knew the full value of it was depoſited; that this being done, the victim preſented itſelf before them in the temple, and no longer attempted to eſcape; that Achilles appeared in a dream to ſuch as drew near the iſland, and directed them to that part of it, which was moſt convenient for landing; that he ſometimes revealed himſelf to perſons awake, &c. (9). Arrian concluded this to be worthy of credit, and among other reaſons, becauſe Achilles died young, was extreamly handſome, and ſo conſtant in love and friendſhip, that he would even die for the object of his paſſion, ὡς καὶ ἐπαποθανεῖν ἐλέσθαι τοῖς παιδικοῖς. The ambiguity of this laſt word, and the leaſt reflection on the danger to which he expos'd himſelf, in order to revenge the death of Patroclus, will be ſufficient to make many perſons rank Arrian among thoſe, who relate that the paſſion of thoſe two Heroes exceeded the bounds of friendſhip (10). See the remark (*P*) of the article ACHILLES, and one of the wonders related by Arrian hereunder (11), viz. that of thoſe birds, who every day ſwept the temple of the iſland Achillea.

(8) Maximus Tyrius, *Oratione* 27.

(9) Arian *in Periplo Ponti Euxini.*

(10) Some learned men think that Arrian praiſes Adonis, under the name of Achilles, in order to make his court to the Emperor Adrian. Vide Caſaubon. *in Spartianum, Vit. Hadriani*, cap. 14. and Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſtoriques*, tom. 1. *in Adrian.*

(11) In the remark [*F*].

(12) Tertull. lib. *de Anima*, cap. 46.

[*D*] *The miracle mentioned by Tertullian.*] Tertullian, as Moreri obſerves, tells us that Achilles cur'd one Cleonymus an Athletic Champion in a dream (12); that is to ſay, very probably, that Cleonymus fancied he ſaw Achilles in a dream, who taught him the proper remedy. Tertullian employs this incident, and ſeveral others of the ſame caſt, againſt the Epicureans, who would not allow of any thing ſupernatural in dreams. This ſtory is very little known; it not being mentioned in a great many authors, who treat at large of Achilles. Pamelius, in his commentary on *Tertullian*, only refers us to Homer, who, if I forget not, does not once mention this dream. A paſſage cited by Leo Allatius (13), gives ſome light into this matter: 'Tis there declared, that Leonymus, General of the Crotoniatæ in the war againſt the Locri, was wounded without knowing by whom, in attacking a body of the enemy, who never entrench'd themſelves, becauſe they were conſecrated to the Heroes, whoſe bare protection was thought ſufficient; that this general not being able to get his wound heal'd, conſulted the oracle of Delphos, which told him, that Achilles who had wounded him would cure him; that upon this he went to the iſland of Leuce, and there offer'd up his prayers to that Hero; that he ſaw ſome Heroes in a dream, but that Achilles healed his wounds; that the other Heroes commanded him to declare certain particulars to men, and that Helen in particular charged him to tell Steſichorus, that his blindneſs was owing to his having writ againſt her, and therefore that he muſt recant what he had ſaid, if he wiſh'd to have his ſight reſtored. 'Tis plain that this ſtory, and that which Pauſanias (14) and Conon (15) relate, are the ſame as to the principal circumſtances; but in Pauſanias, Ajax ſon of Oïleus wounds Leonymus, and afterwards heals his wounds. In Conon, Ajax does not wound and heal Leonymus, but Autoleon. There are ſome other variations, which I paſs over, and ſhall content my ſelf with conjecturing, that this Cleonymus of Tertullian is derived from Leonymus. To conclude, the author cited by Leo Allatius (16), obſerves one particular which I muſt not omit, viz. that Homer tending his ſheep near the ſepulchre of Achilles, prevailed, by his offerings and ſupplications, upon that Hero to reveal himſelf to him; but he appeared ſurrounded with ſo much ſplendor, as not only dazled the eyes of Homer, but alſo ſtruck him blind.

(12) Tertull. lib. *de Anima*, cap. 46.

(13) Allatius *de Patriâ Homeri*, pag. 145.

(14) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 102.

(15) Photii *Biblioth. Codice* 186, *Narrat.* 18. See Mezeriac on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, p. 332. where he rectifies ſome miſtakes which Vigenere had made, in the paſſage of Pauſanias.

(16) His name is Hermias. The paſſage which Leo Allatius quotes, on this ſubject, is taken from a manuſcript Commentary in *Phædrum Platonis.*

[*E*] *That which he employed againſt the impiety of the Amazons.*] Give me leave to relate this incident according to Vigenere's tranſlation. It has its graces and beauties tho' in old French. In this manner therefore this author ſpeaks, after having told us that the Amazons had got ſhips built, in order to go and plunder the temple of Achilles. *Eſtans abordées en l'iſle*, dit-il (17), *la premiere choſes qu'elles firent fut de commander a ces eſtrangers de l'Helleſponte d'aller coupper tous les arbres plantez en rond aultour du temple; mais les coignées ſe venans rembarrer contr' eux-meſmes les exterminerent là ſur la place, & tomberent tous roiddes morts au pied des arbres. Et là deſſus les Amazones s'eſtans eſpandues à l'entour du temple, ſe mirent à vouloir preſſer leurs montures; mais Achille les ayant regardées felonneuſement & d'un mauvais œil, de la meſme ſorte que quand devant Ilion il s'alla ruer ſur le Scamandre, donna un tel eſpouvante a leurs chevaux, que ceſte frayeur ſe retrouva aſſez plus forte que la bridde, ſi que cabrans ils rebondirent en arriere, eſtimans que ce qu'ils portoient ſur leur dos fuſt une charge extraordinaire & eſtranges; & à guiſe de beſtes ſauvages ſe retournerent contre leurs cavalcatrices, les jettans par terre & foullans aux pieds, les creins heriſſez de la furie où ils eſtoient & les oreilles dreſſées encontremont, ainſi que de cruels lyons les desmembroient, à belles dents, & leur devoroient bras & jambes, faiſans un fort piteux carnage de leurs entrailles. Apres donques qu'ils ſe furent ſaoullez de cette chair, ils ſe prindrent à bondir & à galop-*

(17) Philoſtrat. *in Neoptol* tranſlated by Vigénere, tom. 2. fol. 341. ed. 4.

was not the leaſt remarkable. The miracle relating to the flight of birds [F], has been falſly related by Moreri, who, beſides, makes a ſeparate article of a fountain called Achilleus [G], in which Achilles bathed, and was ſaid to have a wonderful property. Achilles was not the only perſon who wrought miracles in this iſland, his wife Helen having

per à travers l'iſle pleins de rage & forſenerie, & les habines teintes de ſang, tant qu'ils parvindrent au hault d'un cap, d'où deſcouvrans la marine aplanie en bas, & cuiddans que ce fuſt une belle large campaigne, ils s'y jetterent à corps perdu & ainſi perirent. Quant aux vaiſſeaux des Amazones, un impetueux tourbillon de vents eſtant venu donner à travers, d'aultant meſmes qu'ils eſtoient vuiddes & deſtituez de tout appareil pour les gouverner, ils venoient à ſe froiſſer l'un contre l'autre, ny plus ni moins qu'en quelque groſſe rencontre navalle, dont ils ſe briſoient & mettoient à fonds, ſpecialement ceux qui eſtoient inveſtis & choquez en flanc de droit fil par les eſperons & proues des autres, comme il advient ordinairement en des vaiſſeaux desgarnis de leurs conducteurs, de maniere que le bris de ce naufrage ſe venant rencontrer vers le temple où il y avoit force perſonnes à demy mortes reſpirantes encore, & pluſieurs membres horriblement diſperſez çà & là avec la chair, que les chevaux inaccoutumez à telle pature avoient rejettée, ce lieu ſainct devoit eſtre bien prophané : mais Achilles l'eut bientoſt purgé, reconcilié, & expié comme il eſtoit aiſé à faire en une iſle de ſi peu d'eſtenduë où les flots battoient de toutes parts à l'environ, ſi qu'Achilles y ayant attiré le ſommet des ondes tout fut lavé & nettoyé en moins de rien. i. e. "Being come, ſays he, aſhore on this "iſland, the firſt thing they did, was to command "thoſe ſtrangers of the Helleſpont, to go and cut "down the trees which were planted round the "temple; but the axes recoiling upon themſelves, "killed them on the ſpot, and they fell ſtone dead "at the foot of the trees. Upon this the Amazons "who were diſpers'd round the temple, began to "puſh forward their horſes, but Achilles looking at "them with a cruel and evil eye, in the ſame man-"ner as when before Troy he ruſhed upon Sca-"mander, put their horſes into ſuch a dreadful "fright, that their fear proved ſtronger than the "bridle; ſo that prauncing about, they caper'd "backwards, imagining that what they carried up-"on their backs, was a ſtrange and extraordinary "weight; and like wild beaſts, they turn'd upon "their riders; throwing them off and treading them "under their feet; and their manes briſtling up "from the fury they were in, and their ears prick-"ing up, they, like ſo many cruel lions, tore them "to pieces, and devoured their arms and legs, "making a woful ſlaughter of their entrails. "And after having glutted themſelves with this "fleſh, they began to caper and gallop up and "down the iſland, ſwell'd with rage and madneſs, "and their mouths all ſtained with gore, till they "came to the top of a promontory, whence diſ-"covering the ſmooth ſea, and thinking it to be a "beautiful, ſpacious plain, they plung'd headlong "into it, and were drown'd. With regard to the "ſhips of the Amazons, an impetuous whirlwind "riſing, when they were disburden'd, and had no "body to ſteer them; they therefore bulg'd one "againſt the other as in a terrible ſea-fight; where-"upon ſome of them ſunk, particularly ſuch as "were ſurrounded and beat againſt, by the beaks "and prows of the others, as generally happens, "when ſhips have no pilots on board them; ſo "that the wrecks meeting at that part of the "temple, where a great number of perſons were "lying half dead, and ſeveral limbs being horribly "diſpers'd up and down, with the fleſh which the "horſes, unuſed to ſuch paſture, had diſgorged; "this holy place muſt needs have been very much "prophaned. However, Achilles ſoon purg'd, re-"concil'd and expiated it, which it was eaſy for "him to do, as the iſland is of ſo little extent, "and the billows beating on all ſides; ſo that "Achilles having drawn up the ſuperficies of the "waves into it, every thing was waſh'd and made "clean in an inſtant."

[F] *The miracle relating to the flight of birds.*] Moreri has quoted Pliny wrong, when he makes him ſay, that *no bird is ſeen to fly there.* Pliny's words are theſe; *Perdices non tranſvolant Bœotiæ fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponto, inſula qua ſepultus eſt Achilles, ſacratam ei ædem* (18). That is, "Par-"tridges don't fly beyond the confines of Bœotia "in Attica, nor any bird beyond Achilles's temple, "which ſtands in an iſland of Pontus Euxinus where "Achilles was buried." Salmaſius pretends, that by theſe words is to be underſtood, that no bird ever raiſed his flight above this temple; and proves from a paſſage of Antigonus Caryſtius, that this was anciently aſſerted (19). And moreover, he proves by an expreſs paſſage from Arrian, that birds came every morning into this temple, in order to ſcatter the water in it with which they had wetted their wings, and to ſweep it afterwards with them (20). He inveighs againſt Solinus for having ſaid, that *no bird comes into the temple of Achilles; and that in caſe any happens to come near it, it flies off from it, as ſwift as it can.* Salmaſius pretends that whatever we meet with in Solinus is borrow'd from Pliny; and that the latter has ſaid the ſame thing as Antigonus Caryſtius; but 'tis more probable, that Pliny had not the thought of Antigonus Caryſtius in view, and that Solinus elſewhere had met with this incident, related more circumſtantially than Pliny tells it. For how negligent would the laſt nam'd author have been, had he, to denote that birds never flew *over* a certain temple, uſed an expreſſion, which ſignifies, that they never flew *beyond* it? Theſe two circumſtances differ very widely, ſince a bird may fly beyond a houſe, and yet not fly over it; and may fly as high as a houſe, and yet not paſs beyond it. Beſides, the ancients were ſo fond of diverſifying miracles, that 'tis ſcarce probable, (after what was given out in the age of Antigonus Caryſtius) that the ſtory, viz. that birds flew away the inſtant they ſaw the temple of Achilles, ſhould not have been invented till the age of Solinus. But however this be, it cannot be proved from Pliny, in oppoſition to Solinus, that birds enter'd it; and after all Moreri will make Pliny ſay more than he really did, and muſt have been miſled by the following words of Charles Stephens in the two editions abovecited (21). *Achillis inſulam nulla avis tranſvolat.* Pliny 10. 29. i. e. "No bird flies beyond Achilles's iſland." But then Moreri may cenſure Hofman (very advantageouſly to himſelf) for having likewiſe aſcribed the ſame particulars to Strabo, which error proceeded, undoubtedly, from Hofman's ſeeing Moreri cite Strabo immediately after Pliny; and not obſerving, that this quotation from Strabo, and that from Pomponius Mela which follows it, relate to other particulars contained in that article. *Nullam hic avem volare,* (ſays he) *Plin. lib.* 10. *cap.* 19. *habet & Strabo lib.* 13. (22). i. e. "No bird "flies here, (ſays he) Plin. Book 10. Ch. 19. Strabo ſays the ſame thing, Book 13.

[G] *A ſeparate article of a fountain call'd* ACHILLEUS.] I at firſt ſight thought this article a fit ſubject for criticiſm; and imagin'd that this fountain was not ſo call'd as a ſubſtantive proper name, or ſubſtantively; but as an epithet, or noun adjective, common to all things that relate to Achilles; in a word, I look'd upon *fons Achilleus*, and the fountain of Achilles, as the ſame thing. Now, as it would be ridiculous to draw up an article of *Jacobeus*, for Jacob's well or fountain mentioned in the fourth chapter of St. John's Goſpel (23), which a Latin tranſlator might, if he thought proper, call *fontem Jacobeum*; I ſuppos'd in like manner, that 'twas not proper to form an article of the epithet *Achilleus*, which Freinſhemius uſes in ſpeaking of Achilles's fountain. However, after having conſulted Athenæus (24), I found that this critique would be doubtful, becauſe it appear'd to me that it might be diſputed, whether this fountain was call'd Ἀχιλλεῖον ſubſtantively or adjectively; and whether it may not as juſtly appear in its alphabetical order, as the iſland Achillea. We meet with it in *Ortelius's Theſaurus Geographicus* (25), under the word *Achillæum*, and afterwards under the word *Achilleus fons*; which, however,

(18) Plinii *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. 10. cap. 29.

(19) Salmaſ. *Exercit. in Solin.* cap. 19. p. 215.

(20) *In Periplo Ponti Euxini.* Philoſtratus ſays much to the ſame purpoſe. In this iſland, ſays he, according to the tranſlation (Vigenere, vol. II. fol. 337. *verſo*, of the 4to edition) there is a certain ſpecies of birds, quite white, but of the watry kind, and taſting of the ſea, which Achilles employs to clean his ſacred grove, ſweeping it with the wind of their wings, and watering it from their plumage, which is wet with ſea-water, and for that purpoſe they fly but a little above the ground.

(21) About the middle of the note [L] under the article ACHILLES.

(22) Hofman, *Voce Achilles.*

(23) Thoſe who tranſlate, *There was a fountain of Jacob there,* ſhould rather ſay, *Jacob's fountain was there*; or as the Port-Royal, *There was in that place a well which was called Jacob's well.*

(24) Ἐν Μιλήτῳ χώρην εἶναι Ἀχιλλέιον καλουμένην. Athenæus, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(25) Edit. Hanov. an. 1611, in 4°.

having alſo exerted her power this way (k), as will be ſhewn under the article STESICHORUS. It is better to be ſhort than diffuſive on this occaſion [H].

(k) See the remark [D].

however, is better than the Achillea, *fons Mileti*, i. e. "Achillea a fountain of Miletum," of Hofman.

I don't examine whether Freinſhemius has given a juſt explication of the paſſage of Athenæus, relating to the ſingularities of this fountain (26); all I ſhall obſerve is, that at leaſt Athenæus ought to have been cited, as Freinſhemius has done, that is, the ſixth chapter, and not the ſecond of Book ſecond. Hofman cites after the ſame manner as Moreri, which is as Ortelius had done before. But this is a trifling overſight, when compared to that of Moreri, who gives us Ariſtobulus ſon of Caſſander, inſtead of Ariſtobulus a native of Caſſandria.

(26) Freinſhem. *Supilem. in Q. Curt.* 2. 7. 24.

ADVICE to thoſe who enlarge Dictionaries.

We cannot complain too much of the negligence of thoſe who enlarge Dictionaries; for theſe often interweave particulars, directly repugnant to thoſe which were originally inſerted; and, in general, they don't take care to ſuit their additions to the foundations on which they build them, ſo as to make no diſſonance reſult from them,

Primo ne medium, medio ne diſcrepet imum (27).
That is,
"That all ſeem uniform and of a piece.
Roſcommon.

(27) Horat. *de Arte Poetica*, verſ. 152.

As for inſtance, thoſe who enlarg'd *Charles Stephens's Dictionary*, have not ſcrupled to thruſt, under the word *Achillea*, the following paſſage of Ortelius, directly as he left it, without the leaſt alteration: *Video à Nebriſſenſi Cicearium, & à Carolo Stephano Cacariam in ſuis Dictionariis poni, ſed pro Ponti inſula, quam dicunt apud Melam Colliſaria dici, ex depravata forte lectione, &c.* i. e. "I find *Cacearia* in the "Dictionary of Nebriſſenſis, and *Cacaria* in that of "Charles Stephens, for an iſland of Pontus, which, "they ſay, is call'd *Colliſaria* in *Mela*, perhaps "from a corrupt reading, &c." This period is pleaſant enough, for it makes Charles Stephens ſpeak of his own Dictionary in the very Dictionary it ſelf, as tho' he quoted another work; not to mention that he appears doubtful when he quotes himſelf, of things he had related without the leaſt appearance of uncertainty, in the place which he cites.

[H] *'Tis better to be ſhort than diffuſive on this occaſion.*] If the reader ſhould meet with the relation of ſeveral prodigies, and miraculous traditions in the courſe of this work, he is not, therefore, to ſuppoſe that I look upon them as true. I am not afraid that this will be objected to me, otherwiſe I ſhould inſert but a very few of that caſt. I am very ſenſible, that in ſubjects of this kind, credulity is the ſource of multiplication, and that there is not a better nurſery for them, than the foible abovemention'd (28); but as 'tis ſo much abus'd, that all are undeceived, who are not incapable of being ſo. Credulity is a mother, who is ſure one time or other to be ſtifled by her own fruitfulneſs, in the minds of thoſe who make uſe of their reaſon. It would therefore have been to the advantage of the Heathens, in the deification of their Heroes, to have aſcribed but few miracles to them. The maxim πλέον ἥμισυ παντός, i. e. "The half is more than the whole;" and that other, *Ne quid nimis*, i. e. "Too much of one thing is good "for nothing," would have been ſeaſonable on this occaſion. They who have ſo greatly multiplied the holy handkerchiefs, the images of the bleſſed Virgin made by St. Luke, the hair of that Saint, the heads of St. John Baptiſt, the pieces of the true Croſs, and an hundred things of this nature, ought alſo to have called to mind the two maxims abovementioned. For theſe, by ſtrengthening the doſe, have thereby weakned the force of their venom, and adminiſtred at one and the ſame time the poiſon and the antidote. *Ipſa ſibi obſtat magnitudo* (29), i. e. "Its greatneſs is a prejudice to itſelf." Achilles, in the iſland of Leuce, had the ſame fate as in his going to Troy: thoſe very miracles which impoſed upon the readers, may have undeceiv'd them, as the ſame ſpear with which Achilles wounded Telephus, furniſh'd him with a balſam which completely heal'd the wound,

(28) *Prodigia eo anno multa nunciata ſunt, quæ quo magis credebant ſimplices ac religioſi homines, eò etiam plura nunciabantur*, T. Livius, lib. 34. cap. 45. That is, "Many prodigies were told "that year; and "the more theſe "were credited "by the ſimple "and ſuperſtitious, the more "were ſpread.

(29) Florus, in *Procm.*

Vulnus Achillæo quæ quondam fecerat hoſti,
Vulneris auxilium Pelias haſta tulit (30).
Nyſus & Æmonia juvenis qua cuſpide vulnus
Senſerat, hac ipſa cuſpide ſenſit opem (31).
In Engliſh,
"Such was the cure th' Arcadian hero found,
"The Pelian ſpear, that wounded, made him ſound.
Tate from *Ovid.*
"The valiant Telephus a balſam found,
"From the ſame ſhining ſpear that gave the wound.

(30) Ovid. *Remed. Amor.* lib. 1. ver. 47.
(31) *Propert.* lib. 2. Eleg. 1. ver. 64.

But I don't conſider that the number of thoſe who undeceive themſelves by the multiplication of prodigies, is ſo ſmall, when compared to ſuch as do not, that 'tis not worth a writer's while to change his courſe, and to make the two maxims abovementioned his Poleſtar, in ſteering the fleet of his merchandize (32). In remark [Q] of the article of PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, we ſhall take notice of an error of Camerarius, concerning a pretended miracle of our Achilles.

(32) The reader will excuſe the harſhneſs, or rather nonſenſe of this metaphor.

ACHILLES. There are a great many of this name. The firſt who was ſo called had no other mother but *Terra* or the Earth, and did Jupiter a very ſignal piece of ſervice; for Achilles having ſheltered the goddeſs Juno in his cave, when ſhe fled from the amorous purſuits of the abovementioned God, he addreſt her in ſuch perſuaſive language, that ſhe conſented to conſummate their marriage [A]. We are not told in what manner ſhe rewarded the hoſpitable Achilles, for inſpiring her with ſuch tractable ſentiments; but it is related that Jupiter, in return for the favour which Achilles had done him, promiſed, that from this period, all perſons of his name ſhould be celebrated in the world. For this reaſon the ſon of Thetis became very famous. Chiron had one Achilles for his tutor, which made him beſtow that name on his pupil the ſon of Thetis. This circumſtance alone is ſufficient to deſtroy the ſeveral trifling and forced etymologies of the word *Achilles*, which are made to depend on the perſonal qualities of the ſon of Thetis [B]. The inventor of the Oſtraciſm among the Athenians was

(1) Father Schottus tranſlates them wrong, when he tells us they ſignify *ad Jovem redire.*
(2) *Græcia Mendax* (Lying Greece) Juvenal Sat. 10. ver. 174.
(3) Μυθοτόκος Ἑλλας *Fabularum parens Græcia* (Greece the parent of fictions) Nonn. Dionyſ. lib. 1.
* One who whiles away his time unſeaſonably.

[A] *She conſented to conſummate their marriage.*] Theſe words of Photius, συνελθεῖν τῷ Διΐ, bear that ſignification (1), as appears from what follows; καὶ πρῶτην μίξιν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ταύτην γένεσθαι φασὶν; *and 'twas then, we are told, Jupiter firſt enjoy'd Juno.*

[B] *Etymologies.... which are made to depend on the perſonal qualities of the ſon of Thetis.*] Nothing can poſſibly be more whimſical, than what the Greeks have invented on this occaſion. Their wild flights merit not only the epithet of *lying* (2), and of fabulous (3), but alſo that of *malè* * *feriata*, which our French word *oiſeuſe*, (idle, unemployed) does not yet fully ſignify.

If we enquire of the Greek Grammarians why this Hero was called ACHILLES; ſome will tell us 'twas, becauſe he filled his mother and his enemies with great diſquiet; others, becauſe he very much exaſperated the Trojans; others, becauſe having learnt the ſecret of Phyſic, he ſooth'd pain; others, becauſe he had but one lip; others, becauſe he had the qualities requiſite for commanding; others, becauſe he had never ſuck'd; and others again, becauſe he had never eat of the fruits of the earth, till after he was gone from under Chiron's tuition. Were I to ſhew by what grammatical analyſes, theſe diſcover ſo many different etymologies in the word *Achilles*, the page would ſwell

was called ACHILLES. A ſon of Jupiter and Lamia bore the ſame name, and was ſo exquiſitely handſome, that by the judgment of the God Pan, he won the prize of beauty from all his rivals; but Venus was ſo exaſperated at this deciſion, that ſhe made Pan fall in love with Echo, and wrought ſuch a change in his whole perſon [C], that he became a moſt frightful object. Another Achilles ſon of Galatea was born with white hair. We are told of fifty four Achilles's beſide, all very renowned, though two of them were diſtinguiſhed only for their groveling, ſcandalous actions (*a*). We ſhall give an article apart of that Achilles who acquired the greateſt glory among thoſe who were ſo called.

(*a*) Extracted from the 6th book of Ptolomy ſon to Epheſtion, *Novæ ad variam eruditionem hiſtoriæ apud Photium*, num. 190. p. 488, 489.

ſwell extravagantly with Greek; and therefore I ſhall refer my readers to the great *Etymologicum*, to Euſtathius (4), to Tzetzes (5), &c. Lloyd and Hofman in imitation of Fungerus and many others, crouded the article of the ſon of Peleus with ſo many etymologies; they ſhould at leaſt have inform'd us, that great pains had been taken to no purpoſe by thoſe who will abſolutely have it that the word *Achilles* depended on the perſonal qualities of the hero of the Iliad. They might at once have refuted this, by ſhewing that there were other Achilles's before him in queſtion; and have given us a reaſon infinitely more natural than thoſe above, why he was call'd *Achilles*, I mean that I gave in the text, viz. becauſe the preceptor of his preceptor was ſo called.

(4) Euſtath. *in Iliad*, lib. 1.
(5) Tzetzes *in Lycophron.*

[C] *Wrought ſuch a change in his whole perſon.*] Photius, who has preſerv'd a few fragments of the ſeven books, which Ptolemy ſon of Æpheſtion had fill'd with the moſt curious trifles concerning the fabulous ages; has maim'd what relates to Achilles ſon of Jupiter and Lamia (6) in ſuch a manner, that we are forc'd to conjecture, that it was with Venus he diſputed for the prize of beauty. This conjecture is grounded on the indignation of Venus, againſt him (Pan) who decreed the prize to Achilles; Venus, to puniſh Pan, the Judge, on this occaſion, inſpired him with a paſſion for Echo; and at the ſame time made him ſo ugly, that his bare aſpect created averſion. Thus Schottus underſtood the words of Photius: but Mr de Meziriaç divides the effect of Venus's anger between Pan and Achilles; the former, ſays he, fell violently in love, and the latter was changed to the *ugliеſt man in the world* (7). 'Twould be to no purpoſe to conſult the original, to ſee whether Schottus's tranſlation is better than that of Meziriac; for if on one ſide it may be ſaid, that the rules of juſt Grammar favour Schottus's verſion; it may be ſaid on the other, that the Greek writers did not ſubject themſelves to ſuch rules; and that 'tis not ſo uncommon, when ſeveral perſons are mentioned in the ſame period, for the pronoun *he* or *him* do refer indifferently either to the perſon who is neareſt it, or to that furtheſt off: nor are the Latins more accurate on this head. The Grammar of the French tongue is wonderful exact in this caſe; for it requires us to repeat the ſame proper name two or three times, in the compaſs of a very few lines, rather than to perplex and embarraſs the reader. If we conſult reaſon, either for or againſt Meziriac and Father Schottus, we ſhall ſtill find it difficult to ſettle the point. It may happen, that a perſon upon loſing his cauſe, may revenge himſelf upon his judge only; for Apollo was contented to puniſh Midas for cenſuring the ſentence of ſuperiority which had been pronounced in his favour, and in prejudice of Pan (8), which would make againſt Meziriac. But then, ſometimes a perſon revenges himſelf both on his judge and his rival (9); in which caſe Schottus's tranſlation would be wrong; for, according to him, Venus, upon her being exaſperated, does not injure him who is declared victorious. 'Tis true indeed, that according to the other interpreter, ſhe does no great harm to the unjuſt judge, but is ſatisfied with inſpiring him with love for a nymph, who, according to the traditions of the ancients (10), brought him a daughter. On the whole, Meziriac ſeems to be in the wrong; but in caſe he were not, then either Photius or the Ptolemy he quotes, would be to blame, for not declaring that the ſame Venus who inſpired Pan with a paſſion for Echo, made him unhappy in his love. This circumſtance ought abſolutely to have been mentioned, which would have been agreable to the opinion of ſome, who take notice of the cruel returns that nymph made to Pan's fond paſſion. There is not perhaps a more difficult province in the republic of letters, than to epitomize juſtly; and a great diſcerment is required to know the circumſtances, the ſuppreſſion whereof render an epitome obſcure or not. Juſtin is not the only writer who wanted this diſcerning faculty. I have employ'd this reflexion in another part of this work.

(6) Photius, *Bibliothecæ*, num. 190.

(7) Meziriac, Ovid's *Epiſt.* pag. 253.

(8) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 11. ver. 175.

(9) Arachne, Marſyas, Thamyris, the daughters of Pierus, prove that vengeance is ſometimes taken of a competitor.

(10) There is a tradition different from this, which we mention under the article PAN.

* Theſe are Mr. Bayle's words, inſerted by him in the ſecond edition of his Dictionary, printed 1702.

* *In the firſt edition of this Dictionary, I had inſerted a kind of preface to the following article, containing an elogium of the late Mr.* DRELINCOURT, *Profeſſor of phyſic at Leyden, which I now ſuppreſs with regret. The public was ſo unanimous in their opinion, that I deviated ſo ſtrangely from the general practice, and placed a piece of this kind ſo very improperly, that I am forc'd to omit it, in order to put a ſtop to this general cenſure. But I declare it my intention, that this teſtimony of my gratitude and eſteem for him, ought to be conſidered here in the ſame manner as if that elogium had been repeated verbatim.*

ACHILLES, the ſon of Peleus and Thetis, was one of the greateſt heroes of antient Greece. He was a native of Phthia in Theſſaly (*a*), and being dipt when a child in the Styx, in order to make him invulnerable, he would have been ſo in every part, had his mother but firſt held him by one heel, and then by the other (*b*); but as ſhe was not ſo cautious as to do this, one of her ſon's heels became obnoxious to wounds; and it was by this part that death made him his prey. However, we are not to believe that authors are univerſally agreed in this particular; for ſome relate that Achilles was wounded in ſeveral parts of his body (*c*). I ſhall relate in the remarks, another precaution which Thetis employed in order to render him immortal, viz. her anointing him with Ambroſia, and ſetting him under burning coals (*d*). He was brought up under Chiron the Centaur, whoſe diſcipline was the beſt in the world at that time. Chiron gave him a very ſingular kind of diet, for inſtead of milk, bread, and ſuch like aliments, he fed him with the marrow of lions, or other wild beaſts [A]. Etymologiſts

(*a*) Servius, *in Æneid*, lib. 2. ver. 197.
(*b*) See the remark [A], num. (V).

(*c*) Dictys Cretæ lib. 2. *Dares*; Ptolom. Hephæſt. lib. 6. *apud Photii Bibliotb.* num. 190. Euſtath. *in Odyſſ.* 11.
(*d*) See the remark [A] num. V.
(7) Statii *Achilleid*, lib. 2. ver. 382.
(8) Philoſtrat. *in Heroic.* p. 705. B. and in Icon II. p. 181. C.
(9) Tertullian *de Pallio*; *Vide* hereunder, N° VIII.
(10) Euſtath. *in Iliad.* lib. 1 pag. 11. verſ. 28.
(11) Suidas, *verbo* χιλὼν.

[A] *With the marrow of lions and other wild beaſts.*] Libanius in three places (1), and Priſcian in one (2), mention only the marrow of lions; Gregory Nazianzen adds that of ſtags (3); the Scholiaſt on Homer, that of bears (4); the author of the great *Etymologicum*, ſpeaks only of ſtags marrow (5); and Apollodorus of that of wild boars and bears, and the entrails of lions (6); Statius ſays he fed on the marrow and entrails of lions; or, according to the reading of ſome old manuſcripts, the entrails of lions, and the marrow of ſhe-wolves (7). *Vide N.* II. hereunder. Philoſtratus adds to honey and milk, the marrow of young fawns and of roe-bucks (8). Tertullian barely mentions, and that after an indeterminate manner, the marrow of wild beaſts (9): Euſtathius ſpeaks in a more general and looſe way, ſpeaking only of the marrow of animals (10): Suidas ſays marrow only (11).

(1) Liban. *Progymn.* p. 70. D; P. 97, C; p. 129, A; &c.
(2) *In Præexerc. Rhetor.*
(3) *Orat.* xx. P 324.
(4) *In Iliad.* lib. 16.
(5) *In* Ἀχιλ.
(6) Apollod. *Bib.* lib 3.

mologiſts have exerciſed their talents on this occaſion, and made an advantage of this tradition

I. Girac has, without any reaſon, denied that Achilles was fed with lions marrow.

By the way, the ancient tradition, viz. that Chiron fed Achilles with the marrow of lions, is ſo well known, that 'tis very ſurprizing a man of Mr. Girac's learning ſhould accuſe Mr. Coſtar of the *groſſeſt ignorance* (12), for having writ theſe words: *You had fed, from your infancy, on the juice, the ſubſtance and ſoul of good books, in the ſame manner as Achilles, on the marrow of lions.* Upon this, Mr. Girac makes a query which is far from being agreable to the rules of juſt criticiſm, ſince it changes the ſtate of the queſtion, and makes Coſtar ſay more than he really did. *Where did he find it written,* ſays he, *that Achilles fed upon the* MARROW OF LIONS ONLY? But what follows is much worſe. Having aſſerted among other reaſons, to ſupport his opinion, that according to Plutarch, *Achilles was nouriſhed with ſubſtances which have no blood,* he adds, *that he does not believe any author of credit relates, that Achilles fed on the marrow of lions*; and yet he himſelf cites St. Gregory Nazianzen immediately after, obſerving that St. Baſil never had, like Achilles, *a centaur near him to give him the* FABULOUS MARROW OF LIONS AND OF STAGS. *Which ſhews,* ſays Girac, *that St. Gregory look'd upon this as a fictitious and impoſſible thing.* Be it ſo. But ſtill this will not make him a leſs authentic witneſs, for in order to be ſo in things of this kind, it is not neceſſary that the author ſhould himſelf be perſuaded of the truth of the incidents he relates, nor that they ſhould really exiſt, nor even be poſſible; it is enough that what he advances is not a chimera of his own. Now this doubtleſs is St. Gregory Nazianzen's caſe. He does not advance thoſe particulars, he relates of Achilles, and of the centaur Chiron, without having read them ſomewhere. I confeſs that he does not believe them, but then neither does he invent them, which is ſufficient to make him worthy of credit. On this occaſion, neither a moral or phyſical, but only a relative truth, is neceſſary. Mr. Girac, who thinks that *Homer's Hero fed upon ſtag's marrow only, according to the common opinion of the ancients,* doubtleſs look'd upon ſuch authors as relate this particular to be worthy of credit; tho' there is no reaſon to think, either that they believed it themſelves, or that the thing was true. He undoubtedly conſiders St. Gregory of Nazianzen in the ſame light, with regard to the marrow of ſtags. He therefore cannot cavil at him with reſpect to that of lions; and conſequently he himſelf cited an author worthy of credit, immediately after having ſaid that he did not believe there were any ſuch.

(12) *Reply to Coſtar*, ſect. 7. p. 59. Dutch edition in 8°.

II. Proofs that Achilles fed on lions marrow.

I am, however, leſs ſurprized at his quoting St. Gregory of Nazianzen on this occaſion, than to find him ignorant of what two modern writers, whoſe works are in every body's hands, have proved invincibly. The one is Meziriac, who has proved by the teſtimony of the Scholiaſt of Homer on the XVI Iliad; by that of Libanius in his two ſpeeches, the one in favour of Achilles, and the other in oppoſition to him; and by that of Statius in the ſecond book of his Achilleis: that our Hero was fed with lions marrow. The other writer is Barthius, who, on this paſſage of Statius, has cited for the ſame incident, beſides the two texts of Libanius, the following words of Priſcian; *Deinde ſequitur victus, ut in Achille, quod* MEDULLIS LEONUM *paſtus eſt* (13), i. e. "That "Achilles was fed with the marrow of lions." Theſe teſtimonies are as good, as thoſe which Girac brings, in order to prove that another kind of food was given to Achilles.

(13) *In Progymn. Rhetor. ex Hermogene.*

We muſt not however omit, that Barthius deprives us of Statius's teſtimony, with regard to the marrow of lions; for he, inſtead of *lubens*, pretends we are to read *lupæ*, in the paſſage where Achilles ſpeaks thus;

Dicor & in teneris & adhuc creſcentibus annis
Theſſalus ut rigido ſenior me monte recepit,
Non ullas ex more dapes habuiſſe, nec almis
Uberibus ſatiaſſe famem, ſed ſpiſſa leonum
Viſcera, ſemianimeſque lupæ traxiſſe medullas (14).

(14) Stati *Achill.* lib 2. ver 382. others read *lubens* or *lilens*, in this laſt verſe.

Engliſh'd,

"'Tis ſaid that in my infant, blooming years,
"Chiron (great Sage) receiv'd me on a mountain.
"That I ne'er taſted there of common food,
"Nor ſooth'd my hunger from the balmy Teat;
"But fed on the tough fleſh of furious Lions,
"And ſuck'd th'expiring Wolf's ſtill quiv'ring mar-
"row.

III. A paſſage of Plutarch wrong tranſlated.

The words which Girac makes Plutarch ſay, ſhow that he did not conſult the original Greek; and as he there mentions ſome of the remarks employed by Vigenere in his notes on Philoſtratus; 'tis very poſſible that the following words of Vigenere only, miſled him on this occaſion. Plutarch relates, that *Chiron fed Achilles from his birth with aliments, in which there was no blood* (15). Meziriac ſhewed ſeveral years ſince, in his commentary on the epiſtle of Briſeis to Achilles, that Amiot miſled Vigenere on this occaſion; and that inſtead of ſaying with Amiot, *But this Philinus, like another Chiron, fed his ſon after the ſame manner as Achilles was nouriſhed from his infancy, with aliments whence no blood was drawn, that is to ſay, with the fruits of the earth* (16); we are to ſay, *But this new Chiron fed this youth in a quite contrary manner from Achilles,* (ἀνατιτρόφως τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ) *viz. with meats in which was no blood* (17). Xylander might alſo be ſaid to have committed the ſame miſtake, for his Latin verſion is as follows; *Noſtrum autem quo pacto Achillem Chiron nutriens iſte ſtatim à natalibus* SANGUINE CARENTIBUS. There is a chaſm in this paſſage of Plutarch; but the word ἀνατιτρόφως muſt ſtill be as unintelligible when uſed in the ſenſe *quite contrary*, as 'tis generally explained in Dictionaries.

(15) Vigenere, *Comment ſur Philoſtrat. de la Nourrit: d'Achille*, edit. in 4° p. 544.

(16) Plutarque *des Propos de Table*, liv. 4. ch. 1.

(17) Meziriac, *Epiſtres d'Ovide*, p. 249.

IV. Property of lions bones. If they really have no marrow in them.

What I have here taken notice of, in proving the validity of St. Gregory's teſtimony, ſhows that Girac has improperly cited Ælian, Pliny and Ariſtotle, to prove that lions have no marrow in their bones; or ſo ſmall a quantity as is *next to nothing*. He might likewiſe have cited Galen, in XI book *De Uſu partium*, Chap. xviii. And we wou'd think this fact ſhould not be doubted of, ſince the moderns generally allow it to the ancient naturaliſts, even when they accuſe them of committing ſeveral miſtakes with regard to lions. Conſult Voſſius on the 52d chapter of his 3d book *de Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ*; *Franzius & Bochart de Animalibus Sacræ Scripturæ*; father Hardouin's Commentary on the 37th chapter of the 11th book of *Pliny*, &c. (18). Were we to believe Voſſius, Athenæus has cenſur'd Ariſtotle on this head; but if we look into Athenæus, we find that he does not ſay any thing concerning marrow, and only animadverts on the hardneſs of the bones of lions (19), which Ariſtotle affirms will emit ſparks like a flint, when they ſtrike one againſt the other. A perſon might deny this, and yet believe they have marrow in them. This then might really be matter of fact, and which Furetiere ſhould have inſerted among his other remarks under the word LION, had not the contrary been proved. Borrichius tells us of two lions that were anatomized at Copenhagen; the one, ſixteen years, and the other two, before the time of his writing; and aſſures us that a great quantity of marrow, *copioſam medullam*, was found in moſt of their bones; and he quotes Severinus, who tells us that Tiberius Caraffa brought up a lion, whoſe bones were hollow and full of marrow, like thoſe of other beaſts (20). But had it been proved that lions have no marrow, yet Girac ſhould not have employed that reaſon, ſince ſuch incidents as are borrow'd from the Pagan mythology, are not refuted in this manner; and eſpecially when it has been ſaid that 'tis not mentioned by any authentic writer. The bare teſtimony of ſome ancient authors would be ſufficient to make ſuch aſſertors loſe the cauſe, tho' naturaliſts ſhould even prove the impoſſibility of the thing.

(18) Note that Hofman, *Continuat. Lexic. Univerſal.* tom. 1. p. 1002, declares this only of the teeth of lions, and of their emitting ſparkles when they ſtrike againſt one another.

(19) Athenæi *Deipnoſoph.* lib. 8. cap. 11.

(20) In his treatiſe *pro Hermetis, Ægyptiorum, & Chemicorum Sapientiâ*, printed in Copenhagen in 4° ann. 1674.

V. Remarks againſt Barthius. Deciſive, promptory writers are ſometimes catched.

From this it appears, that Barthius engages in a ſuperfluous refutation, when in commenting on the above-cited verſes of Statius, he cries in a moſt ſerious ſtrain; *'Tis a ſtrange fiction,* ingens fabula; *ſince a child who ſhould take any ſuſtenance of this kind, even in ſucking, would infallibly die; for the very breath of lions is poiſonous, particularly to children of that age.* After which, he quotes a paſſage from Ariſtotle, intimating that lions have no marrow. But all this is labour in vain, ſince ſuch of the ancients themſelves as had examined a little into things, look'd upon all theſe tales as ſo many witty conceits.

tradition; for they declare that the name Achilles owes its derivation to that circumſtance [*B*].

Muſt not that man have very little to do, who ſhould undertake to refute phyſically, the ſeveral particulars that are told us of Achilles's heel, and his burnt lip? 'Tis related that his mother having plung'd him in the waters of Styx, in order to render him invulnerable, could not procure that advantage to the heel, becauſe ſhe held him by that part. Fulgentius in the 7th chapter of his 3d book, and the Scholiaſt of Horace, on the 13th Ode of book the 5th, obſerve that ſhe held him by the heel. Such as relate that he died of a wound in his heel, as Hyginus in the 107th chapter; and Quintus Calaber in the 62d verſe of Book 3d, agree in the main with the other two authors. Servius on the 57th verſe of the 6th Book of the Æneid, tells us, in general, that he was invulnerable, *excepta parte qua à matre tentus eſt*; i. e. "in that part excepted by which his mother held "him." Others tell us, that Thetis, in order to conſume every part of her ſon's body that was mortal, us'd to lay him every night under live coals, and in the day time, anointed him with ambroſia; and that no part of him was burnt but one of his lips, occaſioned by his having lick'd that part.

Several authors relate theſe particulars of Thetis, and tell us farther, that by theſe chimerical experiments ſhe had kill'd ſix of her children, and that Achilles who was the ſeventh, would have met with the ſame fate, had not her husband ſurpriz'd her in the fact, and ſaved the child (21). Nevertheleſs, Tzetzes declares this to be a fiction, and ſays, that *he cannot imagine whence Lycophron drew that falſhood, viz. that Thetis had ſeven children by Peleus* (22). This is another example to add to that of Girac, to ſhew the danger to which thoſe writers expoſe themſelves, who decide of matters with too confident an air; for Meziriac cites *four very grave authors who all agree with Lycophron.* A man has great reaſon to ſay, when he hears ſome uncommon phraſe or expreſſion, or a ſtrange and unheard of ſtory, that *theſe are a good bait to catch wagerers*, that is to ſay, certain raſh Literati, who are always ready on theſe occaſions, to lay a wager, that ſuch and ſuch an incident is not to be met with in any authors. However, theſe Gentlemen are generally loſers. But the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance, is, that they ſometimes deny the exiſtence of ſuch particulars as are eaſieſt met with, of which I ſhall give ſeveral examples in the courſe of this Dictionary.

(21) Apollodor. *Biblioth.* lib. 3. *Scholiaſt. Homeri Iliad.* 2. ver. 36; *Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph.* p. 184.

(22) Meziriac's *Ovid's Epiſtles*, p. 248.

I muſt not leave Barthius without obſerving, that he pretends the correction *lupæ* inſtead of *lubens*, is very much to Statius's honour, ſince he thereby is not found to claſh with Ariſtotle, but obſerves the ſame diſtinctions with Apollodorus, ſince the latter tells us, that Chiron fed Achilles with the entrails of lions, and the marrow of wild boars and bears (23). But a little lower, Barthius aſſuming an air of refutation, rejects the wolf's marrow as a palpable abſurdity; and declares, that were a child to eat of it but once, he would infallibly die the next day. *Wherefore*, continues he, *Gregory Nazianzen orders matters much better, when he adds ſtag's marrow to that of the lion.* Barthius does not here ſeem to be conſiſtent with himſelf, he having declared in the preceding page, that it was judicious in Statius to reject lion's marrow; and that the bare approach of lions is of a very dangerous conſequence to children.

(23) Barth. *Comment. in Achill.* lib. 2. vol. 3. p. 1753.

VI. It was proper to feign that Achilles was fed with lions marrow.

We are alſo to take notice, that what prompted Apollodorus and ſome other writers to mention Achilles's being fed with the entrails, rather than with the marrow of lions, ſeems to proceed from their having heard that thoſe animals have very little marrow in their bones; otherwiſe it would have been more natural to ſuppoſe, that our Hero was nouriſhed with lion's marrow, rather than with any other food, conſidering the character under which he is imaged by the Poets; for theſe don't make valour, (tho' he is ſuppos'd to have been eminently brave) ſo much his characteriſtic, as that of an invincible anger. Homer propoſes chiefly to draw him under that idea in the Iliad, the ſubject of which, according to the obſervation of Horace, is,

(24) Horat. *Od.* 6. lib. 1. ver. 5.

Gravem Peleidæ ſtomachum cedere neſcii (24),
That is,
" The fierce Pelides haughty rage
" That ſtill preſt forward to engage,
" And knew not how to yield: Creech.

and which begins as follows;

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

That is,
" Achilles' wrath, O heavenly Goddeſs, ſing.

Now 'tis certain, that if we trace backward to the cauſe of this character, by ſuch fictions as are adapted to poetry, and ſtampt with the *marvellous* of thoſe remote ages; it will be found that lions marrow was abſolutely the moſt proper food that could have been thought of; for marrow contains the moſt ſucculent parts of the animal; and even, as we are aſſured, the ſpecific and ſeminal parts. Homer inſinuates by the example of Aſtyanax, that this was the dainty morſel, that was given to ſuch children as were ſpoiled with fondling.

Ἀστυάναξ, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς
Μυελὸν οἷον ἔδεσκε καὶ οἰῶν πίονα δημόν (25).
That is,
" Aſtyanax ———
" He, who with tender delicacy bred,
" On marrow and the choiceſt dainties fed. Pope.

(25) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 22. ver. 500.

And wags ſay ſometimes to mothers, that 'tis the kick-ſhaw of the ſon-in-law of the family. Beſides, the lion is the moſt choleric of all animals; and 'tis ſuppoſed, that Prometheus had borrowed from that noble beaſt, the principle which ſubjected the firſt man to the paſſion of anger.

Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Deſectam, & inſani leonis
Vim ſtomacho appoſuiſſe noſtro (26).
That is,
" When bold Prometheus firſt began,
" As ſtory goes, to make a man,
" From every thing he ſnatch'd a part
" To furniſh out his clay,
" And to compleat his rude eſſay,
" And plac'd a lion's fury in the heart. Creech.

(26) Horat. *Od.* xvi. lib. 1. ver. 13.

However, authors might with great propriety have ſuppoſed, that Achilles was nurs'd by a lioneſs. Virgil preſents us with this idea, in a reproach of cruelty.

——— *Duris genuit te cautibus horrens*
Cauſacus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera Tigres (27).
That is,
" Falſe as thou art, and more than falſe, forſworn;
" Not ſprung from noble Blood, nor Goddeſs-born,
" But hewn from hardned entrails of a rock;
" And rough Hyrcanian Tygers gave thee ſuck. Dryden.

(27) Virg. lib. 6. ver. 366. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 11.

And the ſwaggerer in the comedy *des Viſionnaires*, delivers himſelf in much the ſame ſtrain in the following Rhodomontade:

Le Dieu Mars m'engendra d'une fiere Amazone,
Et je ſuçai le lait d'une affreuſe lionne.
Engliſh'd,
" On a ſtout Amazon, God Mars begot me,
" And a fierce lioneſs's blood I ſuck'd.

VII. The reaſon why ſtag's marrow was ſuppoſed to have been Achilles's food. Swiftneſs of foot was anciently an heroic quality. (28) See the prodigious ſwiftneſs which Virgil gives to Camilla, a young Amazon, in the 7th book of his *Æneis*, ver. 807. and father la Cerda's remarks on it.

The reaſon why ſome authors have choſen ſtag's marrow for the food of Achilles preferable to any other, is, becauſe tradition declared him to have been very ſwift-footed, a circumſtance which occaſioned Homer to honour inceſſantly, either with the elogium of πόδας ὠκὺς, *ſwift-footed*, or with ſome other epithet of the ſame import, ποδώκης, ποδάρκης, πόδας ταχὺς, ποσὶ ταχέεσσι, κραιπνοῖσι, &c. A quality which would now be applauded in Biſcayan lacquey; tho' it was anciently an heroic quality (28); ſo that Homer could not be cenſured on this occaſion, but only for having too frequently brought it in by way of expletive, merely to eke out the verſe. 'Twas therefore thought proper to feign, that a Hero who was

circumſtance [*B*]. Chiron not only inur'd his body to the moſt painful exerciſes, but likewiſe informed his ſoul with ſuch ſciences as are moſt worthy of it. However, if we are to believe Homer, Phœnix and not Chiron [*C*] was Achilles's tutor and foſter-father.

ſurprizingly ſwift-footed, had been fed with ſtag's marrow; and writers were ſo far carried away with this notion, that it prevented their reflecting how ill ſuch kind of food ſuited to this thunder of war, this lion-hearted Hero Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα θυμολέοντα (29); who, to ſhew his extreme contempt for the General of the army, among other injurious expreſſions uſes the following,

(29) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 7. ver. 228.

" O monſter mix'd of inſolence and fear,
" Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer.
Pope.

Οἰνοβαρὲς, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλαφοῖο.

Which is thus tranſlated by Vigenere (30):

(30) Vigénere, *Comment. ſur Philoſtrat. de la Nourriture d'Achille*, p. 544.

Va ſac à vin, yeux de chien, cœur de cerf.
Engliſh'd.
" Thou wine-bag, dog's-eye, ſtag's-heart; get
" thee gone.

VIII. Errors of ſome interpreters of Tertullian.

I believe, that were this matter decided by a plurality of voices, it would not be declared that Achilles was fed with the marrow of ſtags; nor that Girac could confirm what he aſſerted too inadvertently, viz. that *according to the moſt generally received opinion of the ancients, Homer's hero fed upon no other kind of marrow but the laſt mention'd.* But granted this were true, yet the author of an old French verſion of the treatiſe *de Pallio* (31), ought not to paſs uncenſur'd, for having reſtrained to this peculiar marrow, what Tertullian had declared of that of wild beaſts in general: Tranſlators are not allowed ſuch liberties. *Ille ferarum medullis educatus* (*unde & nominis conſilium*) (32), *quandoquidem labiis vacuerat ab uberum guſtu:* i. e. " He who had been fed with the marrow " of wild-beaſts, when he was purpoſely named as " having never ſuck'd at the teat with his lips." *Lui, qui avoit eſté nourri de mouelle de* CERF *, (d'où il fut nommé à deſſein, attendu qu'il n'avoit jamais ſuccé mammelle de ſes levres,)* &c. Theodorus Marcilius likewiſe ſtumbled at theſe words, he pretending that Tertullian points out the etymology *fine chilo, ἄνευ χειλῶν* (33), *without chile*, which is manifeſtly falſe, as Salmaſius has ſhewn. Another miſtake of the ſame author might alſo have been taken notice of, which is this, that Achilles, according to Velius Longus cited by Caſſiodorus, had his name given him from the word χεῖλος; as tho' he had been of thoſe who are called *Chilones* or *Labeones*, that is, " Blubber-lipp'd." Theſe are called *Labioſi* by Lucretius (34), who obſerves that a lover to excuſe the imperfections of his miſtreſs, ſays, *Labioſa, φίλημα, a fat, blubber-lipp'd girl is a beautiful and ſpacious field for kiſſes.* But then it is not juſt to aſſert from hence, that Achilles was ſo called from χεῖλος *lip*; it being rather for his having been hurt in that part; though, Salmaſius is of a contrary opinion, notwithſtanding Photius whom I have already mentioned, has a paſſage directly to that purpoſe; as alſo Agameſtor (35), an old Poet cited by Tzetzes. Salmaſius's words are as follows. *Si Chilones dicti à magnis & improbis labris, Achilles dictus fuerit quaſi ἄνευ χειλέων, non quod ſine labris fuerit, ſed quod labiorum miniſterio non uſus fuerit infans* (36). i. e. " If the *Chilones* are ſo " called from their large, monſtrous lips, Achilles " was ſo nam'd *quaſi ἄνευ χειλέων*, not that he had no " lips, but becauſe he made no uſe of them in his infant " years." I don't deny but Apollodorus tells us, that the ſon of Thetis, who before had the name of *Ligyron*, was afterwards by Chiron call'd *Achilles*, becauſe he had never put his lips to the teat. Ὅτι τὰ χείλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσενήνεγκε (37).

(31) Edmund Richer, who publiſhed his tranſlation at Paris in 8°, anno 1600.

(32) Salmaſius would have it read *concilium*.

* Here the French tranſlator ſays *marrow of ſtags*, inſtead of ſaying the *marrow of wild beaſts*, as the original Latin has it.

(33) *Not. Crit. in Tertull. de Pall.* p. 77. edit. Pariſ. an. 1614. in 8°.

(34) Lucret. l. 4.

(55) In his Poem on the Nuptials of Thetis and Peleus; which is ſuppoſed to have been written before that of Heſiod on the ſame ſubject. This Poet is not mentioned either by Voſſius, or Lorenzo Craſſo.

(36) Salmaſ. *in Tertull. de Pallio*, p. 281. edit. an. 1656.

(37) Apollodor. *Biblioth.* lib. 3. p. 235.

[*B*] *That the name Achilles owes its derivation to that circumſtance.*] We have taken notice of the etymologies of this name, in the remark (*B*) of the preceding article; but muſt here ſpeak particularly of that in queſtion. This is always inſeparable from the tradition which declares, that Achilles had no other food but fleſh and the marrow of animals. What occaſioned the joining of theſe two things, is, that the Greek word χιλὸς, ſignifies properly the nouriſhment which the earth affords. But ſome writers have a whimſical notion on this head; which is this, as Father Gautruche expreſſes it in his Poetical Hiſtory; a book I chuſe to quote preferably to any other, becauſe it has gone thro' many impreſſions; has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and is thought to be of general uſe (38). Now no errors ought more to be animadverted upon, than ſuch as may miſlead a great number of people. *Inſtead of milk*, ſays Gautruche (39), *and other common meats, Chiron gave him no other food than the marrow of lions or wild-boars, in order to inſpire him with the ſtrength and bravery of thoſe animals. Whence according to ſome authors, from his not having fed upon any kind of meat, he was call'd Achilles*; i. e. WITHOUT CHYLE. Altho' the laſt period of this paſſage is not inſerted in the latter editions, I ſhall nevertheleſs obſerve firſt, 'Tis an error to ſay, when a perſon has had no other food but the marrow of animals, that he never fed on meat of any kind; marrow being indiſputably included under the head of meat, even in oppoſition to ſuch aliments as are allowed to be eat in Lent. Secondly, 'Tis falſe to ſay that marrow is not converted into *chyle*; and that thoſe who ſhould have no other food but marrow, would have no chyle. Theſe remarks will not be thought ſuperfluous by thoſe who recollect, that this doctrine of Gautruche is found in a multitude of copies of his work, and in other writers (40); and that in the edition which is purged of the errors, no reaſon is given why they were ſuppreſt.

(38) An edition of this work was printed at Utrecht in 1690, with Latin and Fleminſh tranſlations. The Latin verſion had been publiſhed before, and an Engliſh verſion of it was publiſhed in 1671.

(39) *Hiſtoire Poët.* book 2. ch. 15. p. 158; Hague edition, which is the 4th, printed in 1681.

(40) Among others in de Juſſgné's *Dictionaire Hiſtorique.*

What gave occaſion to this miſtake, was, that the word χιλὸς, (us'd by Euphorion in ſome verſes cited by the author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, and by Euſtathius,) has been miſtaken for that ſoft, whitiſh ſubſtance, into which the ſtomach converts aliments, and which is call'd by Phyſicians *chyle*, from the Greek word χυλὸς: whereas by χιλὸς, according to Meziriac (41) after Euſtathius, is to be underſtood, *the nouriſhment that is produced from ſuch ſubſtances as are ſow'd in the ground.* Natalis Comes tranſlates *Euphorion* wrong, when he makes him ſay that Achilles never taſted milk (42). Vigenere and Fungerus, ſupporting themſelves falſly on the authority of Gregory Nazianzen, fall into the ſame miſtake: for theſe aſcribe words to St. Gregory, which are met with only in the Latin verſion of the commentaries of Nicetas Serro, Archbiſhop of Heraclea, in the eleventh Century, on the orations of that Father (43). Fungerus concludes that Achilles was fed *ſine cibo*, (without meat) becauſe ſtag's marrow was his only food. The other declares that χιλὸς ſignifies *juice*; and that Achilles was fed *without juice, becauſe he was nouriſhed, not with meats which men uſe to eat, but with the raw fleſh of wild beaſts* (44). Franceſco Alunno adopts half this laſt error. *Fu nutrito*, ſays he (45), *nel monte Pelio da Chirone Centauro, ne mai in quel tempio, mangio cibo cotto, perche fu nominato Achille, perche a in Greco ſignifica* ſenza; *& chilos* CIBO COTTO. i. e. " He was fed, ſays he, on mount " Pelion, by Chiron the Centaur, and as he never at " that time, eat of dreſs'd meat, he was call'd *Achil-* " *les*; *a*, in Greek, ſignifying *without*; and *chilos*, " DRESS'D MEAT." Some writers, taking the word χιλὸς, ſimply for food, ground the etymology of Achilles upon this circumſtance, viz. that Chiron his Preceptor, at the expiration of a certain time, ceas'd to provide him either with the marrow of wild beaſts, or with any kind of food, inſomuch that he was obliged to ſubſiſt on what he could get by hunting (46). But can this be called living without food? This explication is perhaps worſe than thoſe we have already taken notice of.

(41) Meziriae on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, pag. 248. where the Poet *Euphorion*, is miſcall'd *Euphoron.*

(42) *Natal. Comes, Mythol.* l. 9. cap. 12.

(43) This verſion is printed with St. Gregory's works.

(44) Vigénere's *Commentary on Philoſtratus, of Achilles's food*, p. 543.

(45) In his *Fabrica del Mondo*, which is a Dictionary drawn from Boccace, Dante, Petrarch, &c. printed at Venice in folio, an. 1588.

(46) *Commentary on Alciat's Emblems*, p. 624. of Thuilius's edition, publiſhed in Padua in 4°, an. 1661.

(*C*) *If we are to believe Homer, Phœnix and not Chiron &c.*] Many people don't conſider this. Decimator declares, that Achilles after having been educated by Chiron, who taught him the ſcience of war, muſic and moral philoſophy; was afterwards put under the direction of Phœnix, who taught him to ſpeak

father. Thetis was ſo anxious about her ſon's welfare, that ſhe could not ſuffer him to continue ſo long in Chiron's cave, as ſhe otherwiſe could have wiſhed he had, and took him from thence when he was but nine years of age (*e*). The inſtant Thetis heard of the warlike preparations which were making for the ſiege of Troy, ſhe cloathed him in

(*e*) Apollodor. *Biblioth.* lib. 3. p. 235.

ſpeak well, and inſtilled the principles of virtue into his mind, as he himſelf boaſts (47). He proves his aſſertion with regard to muſic and morality by theſe verſes of Ovid, Lib. 1. verſ. 11. *de Arte amandi.*

† *Phyllyrides puerum citharæ præfecit Achillem,*
Atque animos molli contudit arte feros.
That is,
" As Chiron mollify'd his cruel mind
" With art; and taught his warlike hands to wind
" The ſilver ſtrings of his melodious lyre. Dryden.

(47) Decimator in *Theſauro Linguarum.* This work is a large folio; firſt printed at Leipſic, an. 1606.
† Chiron was called Phyllirides from his mother Phyllira.

I don't change the orthography in theſe verſes, nor the *citharæ præfecit*, which ſhould be *citharâ perfecit*. 'Tis manifeſt that muſic only is hinted at in theſe lines, and that there is nothing in them relating to morality. He endeavours to prove his aſſertion with regard to Phœnix from theſe lines of Homer.

Τοὔνεκά μοι προέηκε διδασκέμεναι ταῦτα πάντα,
Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων (48).
That is,
" He bade me teach thee all the ways of war,
" To ſhine in councils, and in camps to dare.
Pope.

(48) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 442.

But if we read with ſome little attention that book of the *Iliad* whence this authority is borrowed, 'twill appear that Decimator is miſtaken. The words which Phœnix is made to ſay, ſhew that he was the firſt Preceptor of Achilles. *You would not*, ſays Phœnix to our Hero, *eat a morſel, unleſs I ſet you upon my knee, and cut your victuals for you. The wine which you uſed to ſpew on my breaſt, in your ſtubborn infancy, often bedawb'd my coat.*

——— Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοισκες ἅμ' ἄλλῳ
Οὔτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἰέναι, οὔτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι·
Πρίν γ' ὅτε δή σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γούνασι καθίσας,
Ὄψα τ' ἄσαιμι προταμών, καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχών,
Πολλάκι μοὶ κατέδυσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα
Οἴνῳ, ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ (49).
That is,
" Thy infant breaſt a like affection ſhew'd,
" Still in my arms, (an over-pleaſing load)
" Or, at my knee, by Phœnix would'ſt thou ſtand,
" No food was grateful but from Phœnix hand.
Pope.

(49) Id. ibid. ver. 482.

I was obliged to quote the Greek lines, for theſe convey ſuch ſtrange images, that the reader might naturally imagine I had not given a juſt verſion of them. See the XI paragraph hereunder. But be this as it will, it is manifeſt hereby, that if we will make uſe of Homer's authority, with regard to Phœnix, we then muſt reject what others write concerning Chiron; at leaſt, we muſt not allow that Achilles imbibed the firſt principles of education under Chiron; much leſs can we ſuppoſe that he continued to be his pupil, till he had learnt the ſcience of war, muſic and moral philoſophy. A perſon who is capable, by his age, of learning theſe ſciences, does not eat upon his foſter-father's lap, nor throw up wine upon his clothes. Add to this, that thoſe who declare Achilles to have been Chiron's pupil, relate that he was taken from under his tutorage, in order to be ſent, (in female apparel) to the court of King Lycomedes; where his diſguiſe ſoon gain'd him very cloſe acceſs to the King's daughter, as was plain from the child ſhe was deliver'd of. Now, we cannot with any probability believe, that a tutor was ſet over him after he was a father; conſequently, we cannot ſuppoſe that Phœnix taught him after Chiron. The errors of Decimator are found in the laſt edition of the *Theſaurus Scholaſticæ Eruditionis*, notwithſtanding that this work had been frequently corrected by men of learning (50). Dempſter likewiſe aſſerts, that Achilles having been educated by Chiron during his childhood, was brought up by Phœnix in his riper years (51). The reader will obſerve, that I don't deny but that, after Achilles was a father, Phœnix might have been deſired to inſtruct him in the maxims of war, and how to behave in the field (52); but I don't call this appointing him a tutor.

(50) This *Theſaurus* was firſt publiſhed by Baſilius Faber, Soranus. He was Rector of a college in Erford, and publiſhed his work in 1571, afterhavingtaught Latin 36 years. The *Theſaurus* was reprinted in 1625, corrected and enlarged by Buchnerus, who died in 1661, aged ſeventy years; having been poetical profeſſor at Wirtemberg, during 45 years. and that of eloquence 30. He likewiſe corrected and enlarged this Dictionary for the edition printed in 1655. Laſtly, Chriſtopher Cellarius corrected it anew; firſt for the edition publiſhed in 1686; 2dly, for that of 1692. and laſtly, for that of 1696.
(51) Dempſteri *Paralip. ad Roſinum* lib. 2. c. 11.

(52) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 440.

I cannot ſay whether Malherbe had ever made this obſervation; but it is manifeſt he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſhews he was perſuaded that Achilles had but one preceptor. That Poet ſpeaks of our Hero in the following manner, Book IV, pag. 106. of his Poems:

De quelque addreſſe qu'au giron,
Ou de Phenix, ou de Chiron,
Il eut fait ſon aprentiſſage.
The ſenſe is,
" How happily ſoe'er, the brave Achilles,
" Might have been taught by Phœnix or by Chiron.

Achilles had no other tutor than Phœnix, if Homer may be credited, who does not once mention Chiron in that quality; but if we rather join with the croud of authors, Achilles was educated by Chiron only. Menage nevertheleſs, declares, in his note on this paſſage of Malherbe, that *Chiron was Achilles's firſt tutor, and Phœnix his ſecond.* I ſhall not lay any ſtreſs on the authority of Tzetzes, who, becauſe he had ſomewhere read that Phœnix having been blinded by his own father, was brought to Chiron, who reſtored him to his ſight, explains this incident allegorically, by ſaying that Chiron put young Achilles into his hands; for not to mention that nothing can be flatter or more forced than this turn, we are to obſerve that Tzetzes does not in any manner prove what he advances. He endeavours to reconcile Homer with Lycophron by his chimerical allegories; but how will he reconcile Homer, who declares that Achilles, in his moſt tender years, was under the direction of Phœnix; how, I ſay, will he reconcile this aſſertion with what ſome writers tell us, viz. that Achilles was educated by Chiron from ſix years of age till he arrived at puberty (53), till he had not only learnt to ſit aſtride on his tutor's back (54), but alſo till he had inured himſelf to the moſt violent exerciſes (55); not to mention ſo many other things which Chiron taught him, viz. the ſcience of War, Muſic, moral Philoſophy, (as Decimator juſt now obſerved) Phyſic, and particularly Botany and Law, as Staphylus, an antient author (56), and ſeveral others inform us? Statius in the ſecond book of his *Achilleis*, Claudian in his Panegyric on the third conſulate of Honorius; Sidonius Apollinaris in his ninth Poem, ſpecify the ſeveral things Achilles learnt of Chiron. We are to obſerve, that in the Commentaries on *Alciat's Emblems*, ſeveral things are aſcribed to Chiron, and that on Homer's teſtimony, which ſuit only with Phœnix, if Homer is to be credited. Nothing is more common among writers, than ſuch *qui-pro-quo's*.

(53) Pindar. *Nem.* Od. 3.
(54) Τῷ αὐτῷ παλῳ καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος. *Eodem utens & pullo & præceptore.* Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 23.
(55) Statii Achill. lib. 2. ver. 382.
(56) He is cited by Natal. Comes, book 9. c. 12. and in the commentaries on Alciat's *Emblems*.

IX. Examination of a paſſage in which Homer mentions Chiron.

As I have aſſerted that Homer does not mention Chiron to have been Achilles's tutor, it will be objected, what conſtruction are we to put on theſe words of Eurypylus to Patroclus in the eleventh book of the *Iliad*.

. . . . Ἐπὶ δ' ἔπια φάρμακα πάσσε
Ἑσθλὰ, τά σε πρότι φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος διδάχθαι,
Ὃν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε δικαιότατος Κενταύρων (57).
That is,
" With healing balms the raging ſmart allay;
" Such as ſage Chiron, ſire of pharmacy,
" Once taught Achilles, and Achilles thee. Pope.

(57) Homer. *Iliad*, lib. 11. ver. 829.

To this I anſwer, that they ſignify only, that Chiron gave Achilles ſeveral medicinal receipts, but not that he was his preceptor. It is plain that there is a very wide difference between theſe two things. Monconis in his Travels, mentions the names of a great number of perſons who gave him ſeveral medicinal receipts and noſtrums; but then thoſe were not his tutors, nor had brought him up from his infancy. Such profeſſors of Phyſic, as either publickly point out

in female apparel, and hid him among the maidens, at the court of Lycomedes, King of the Iſland of Scyros. The reaſon of her acting in this manner was as follows; in the firſt place ſhe was ſenſible, that in caſe her ſon went to the ſiege of Troy, he would never return back from it; and ſecondly, ſhe knew Calchas had foretold, that Troy would never be taken unleſs Achilles were preſent at it. However, Thetis's ſtratagem proved ineffectual, for Calchas the Soothſayer told the Greeks where Achilles was in diſguiſe (*f*), after they had long ſought for him to no purpoſe, in a great many places, and thereupon, Ulyſſes having been deputed to the court of King Lycomedes, he ſoon diſcovered Achilles [*D*], and got him very eaſily from among the girls, though the ſon of Thetis ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the affections of Deidamia

(*f*) Statius, *Achilleid.* lib. 1. ver. 493. *ſeq.*

out an hundred valuable medicinal receipts to their auditors, or diſcloſe ſome very choice ſecrets in Phyſic to their diſtinguiſhed friends, are not therefore called their preceptors or tutors. And, to confine our ſelves to the paſſage above of Homer, is it not declared, that Achilles had taught Patroclus ſome medicinal remedies, though it is well known that he had never been Patroclus's tutor? To enter therefore into Homer's thought, we muſt ſuppoſe that Phœnix educated Achilles from three or four years of age to that time, when a youth is capable of learning the propriety and beauty of ſpeech, and to perform fine actions; but that nevertheleſs, he, during this interval or afterwards, was taught alſo by Chiron. 'Tis in this ſenſe an old Scholiaſt underſtands Homer; for he obſerves that Apollonius, who feigns that Chiron went to the ſea-ſide, in order to wiſh the Argonauts a good voyage; and that his wife followed him with Achilles in her arms, and ſhewing him to Peleus; he obſerves, I ſay, that Apollonius has followed the Poets who came after Homer; and ſuppoſes with them that Chiron brought up Achilles when an infant; a circumſtance that Homer had not once mention'd. Ἠκολούθησεν Ἀπολλόνιος τοῖς μετ' Ὅμηρον ποιηταῖς, ὑπὸ Χείρωνος λέγων τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τραφῆναι. Ὅμηρος δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον λέγει (58).

However, Apollodorus is very excuſable, ſince he does no more than follow the multitude; for which of them has not mentioned Chiron as the tutor of Achilles? Have not Orpheus (59), Pindar (60), Euripides (61), and a great many more Poets (62) declar'd this in their poetical compoſitions? As alſo Xenophon (63), Plato (64), Apollodorus (65), Pliny (66), Plutarch (67), Pauſanias (68), Clemens Alexandrinus (69), Philoſtratus (70), Libanius (71), Gregory Nazianzen (72), and ſeveral other leſs ancient authors (73)? But on the other ſide, as great a number mention Phœnix (74) in quality of Preceptor to Achilles. We are therefore not to wonder ſo much even that ſeveral authors ſhould mention both Phœnix and Chiron as Preceptors to Achilles, but content ourſelves with ſaying, that theſe authors either had not examined the matter thoroughly; or had not reflected on the inconſiſtency which reſults from the circumſtances of the tutorage of Phœnix, and thoſe of Chiron's preceptorſhip.

I therefore might aſſert in the Specimen of this Dictionary, that the paſſage in *Statius*, where he ſpeaks both of Phœnix and Chiron as tutors to Achilles, does no way favour Decimator and thoſe who follow his opinion; for, beſides that Statius does not tell us whether they exerciſed this employment jointly, or one after another, or which began to inſtruct Achilles firſt; he cannot be reconciled with Homer, who, in caſe of a competition, ought to be preferr'd infinitely to Statius. Let the reader conſider attentively the two enſuing paſſages of Statius:

Non tibi certaſſet juvenilia fingere corda
Neſtor, & indomiti Phœnix moderator alumni,
Quique tubas acres lituoſque audire volentem
Æacidem, alio frangebat carmine Chiron (75).

Engliſh'd,

" Nor Neſtor, fam'd of old, with thee contended
" To faſhion, tender, wav'ring minds to virtue;
" Nor Phœnix tutor of th' unconquer'd youth;
" Nor Chiron, who with ſofteſt notes beguil'd
" Achilles heart, that lov'd the Clarion's voice.

Here follows the other paſſage,

——— *Tenero ſic blandus Achilli*
Semifer Æmonium vincebat Pelea Chiron.

Nec ſenior Peleus natum comitatus in arma
Troica, ſed caro Phœnix hærebat alumno (76).

That is,

" Thus the fond Centaur Chiron lov'd Achilles
" Much more than Peleus from whoſe loins he ſprung.
" Nor did the ſire attend his mighty ſon
" To Troy's fam'd ſiege, but ſent the prudent Phœnix,
" Who never mov'd from his lov'd pupil's ſide.

As Xenophon (77) and Lucian (78) declare that Achilles had both theſe for his pupils, they are thereby obnoxious to the ſame cenſure, as Statius; but when all comes to all, are theſe authors Homer, whom Decimator calls upon for his voucher? Obſerve farther, that tho' Statius tells us that Phœnix accompanied Achilles to the ſiege of Troy (79), it does not follow from thence that he aſſures him to have been Chiron's ſucceſſor; for he declares clearly enough, that Phœnix had been with Achilles before that expedition: he calls the latter the *Alumnus* (pupil) of Phœnix (80). With regard to Tzetzes, who tells us in his *Commentary on Lycophron*, that Peleus having carried Phœnix to the cave of Chiron, where Achilles was brought up, ſaid to him, *Here is your ſon, teach him as a good father ought to inſtruct his child*; this, I ſay, is no proof againſt what I advance; nor does it any way favour thoſe who would make a diſtinction between the words Governor and Preceptor, which is ſo clear in *Plutarch* with regard to the ſon of Philip of Macedon. See the article LYSIMACHUS. I believe the Poets can't ſhew us ſuch diſtinctions in ages of ſo remote antiquity; but be this as it will, it does not appear that Peleus made Phœnix aſſiſtant with Chiron in the education of his ſon; and in caſe Tzetzes meant this, but expreſt himſelf quite wrong, he would not deſerve the leaſt credit. Tzetzes is a writer of too modern a date, to merit being followed in a fact which cannot be reconciled either with Homer, or with thoſe ancient authors, who relate that Achilles was educated in his infant years by Chiron.

I ſhall conclude this too long remark with an aſſertion which will be thought a very bold one; however, I can't forbear making it. 'Tis this: We need only read the diſcourſe of Phœnix in the 9th book of the *Iliad*, to wonder at thoſe who ſtill admire that Poem. Are ſuch diſcourſes worthy the Majeſty of the Epic Poem? And Horace, whom Moreri tells us (81); boaſts in the ſixth Satyr of book 1ſt, his having learnt the Iliad by heart, had undoubtedly forgot this ſpeech, which is clogg'd with ſo many trifling, empty particulars, when he gave Homer this commendation, viz. that he always runs directly to his mark; that he haſtens to the end *: *Semper ad eventum feſtinat* (82). Were this true, would he amuſe a Deputy of the Grecian army, who had a very important commiſſion which requir'd the utmoſt diſpatch, with an account of his former adventures, fit only for little children to hear?

[*D*] *He ſoon diſcover'd Achilles.*] Moreri aſſerts, but with little accuracy, that Ulyſſes diſcovered Achilles, *by cauſing a merchant to offer him trinkets and military weapons*; for if we may believe what Ulyſſes ſays in his ſpeech to the Generals of the army, he himſelf preſented thoſe *trinkets and military weapons* (83), not only to Achilles but to all the young Ladies of the court. Hyginus and the younger Philoſtratus relate alſo, that they were preſented by Ulyſſes, who was one of the Embaſſadors ſent by the Greeks to Lycomedes, in order to demand Achilles. According, indeed, to Statius, Ulyſſes, who was at the head of the Grecian embaſſy, did not himſelf preſent trinkets and other things that were brought

(58) Schol. *Apoll.* in 1 lib. ver. 558.

X. Authors who mention Chiron and Phœnix as tutors.

(59) Argonaut. ver. 379.
(60) *Nem.* Od. 3.
(61) Iphigen. *in Aul.* ver. 209, 709.
(62) Senec. *Troad.* Act. 3. ver. 833. Stat. Silv. 1. lib. 2. ver. 89; Achil. lib. 1. ver. 196, & *paſſim alibi*; Val. Flaccus, lib. 1. ver. 254 and 407; Auſon. *Protrept.* ver. 20; Claudian *de* 3. *Conſul. Honor.* ver. 61.
(63) *De Venat.* p 973 *A*, and 974 *C*.
(64) Hipp. tom. 1. p. 371 *C*, 3 *de Repub.* tom. 2. p. 391 *B*.
(65) *Biblioth.* lib. 3.
(66) *Hiſt. Natur.* lib. 25. cap. 5.
(67) Sympoſ. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 660. *F*; & *de Muſic.* p. 1146, *A*.
(68) *In Lacon.* p. 197.
(69) *Stromatωn.* lib. 1. p. 306 *B*.
(70) *In Heroic.* p. 682, *A*, and 705, *A*.
(71) *Progymn.* p. 71, *A*; p. 97, *C*; p. 129, *A*; p. 142, *C*; p. 143, *A*; & *Declamat.* 4. p. 259, *D*.
(72) Orat. 20. p. 324.
(73) Euſtath. *in Homer.* p. 11. 34 and 840; Scholiaſt. *Homeri in Iliad.* lib. 1. ver. 50, and lib. 16. ver. 14 and 36.
(74) Here follow the principal; Scholiaſt. *Homeri in Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 168 and 448. Dictys, lib. 2. Xenoph. *Conv.* p. 897 *A*. Plato lib. 2. *de Repub.* tom. 2. p. 390, *E*. Cicero *de Orat.* lib. 3. cap. 15. Strabo, lib. 9. p. 297. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 3. Statius, Silva 3. lib. 5. ver. 191. Plutarch. tom. 2. p. 4, 26 and 72. Lucian. *Dialog. Mort. Philoſt. Lemn.* p. 136. Libanius *Progym.* p. 99.
(75) Statii lib. 5. Silva 3. ver. 191.

(76) Idem, lib. 2. Silva 1. ver. 88.

(77) *In Conviv.*
(78) *In Dial. Achil. & Aut.*

(79) Statius, lib. 2. Silv. 1. ver. 88; and lib. 3. Silv. 2. ver. 96.

(80) Meurſius and Canterus underſtand by the word χειροτροφος, which Lycophron gives to Phœnix, that the latter was Achilles's foſter-father.

XI. Homer cenſured with regard to the diſcourſe of Phœnix.

(81) Under the article HORACE, but it is a miſtake.
* Properly to the principal action.
(82) Horat. *de Art Poët.* ver. 148.

(83) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 13. ver. 179.

Deidamia the King's daughter, that she had let him get her with child [*E*]. This child was Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus as we shall shew in its place. Achilles was engaged in a numberless multitude of glorious combats during the long siege of Troy, and before the Greeks were encamped before the city. The mighty quarrel which broke out between Agamemnon and our hero, about their Wenches (for Agamemnon having restored Chryseis who was his, carried off Briseis, Achilles's darling (*g*), made the latter keep in his tent, and resolve not to concern himself in any manner with the war; all endeavours possible were used to make Achilles change his resolution; but he was inexorable, till news was brought him that Hector had killed his dear friend Patroclus, and stript him of the armour which he had lent that hero (*b*). Vulcan, at the request of Thetis, made a new suit of armour for her son (*i*) [*F*]. The death of Patroclus was soon revenged

(*g*) Homer. *Iliad*, lib. 1. ver. 323. *& seq.*

(*b*) Ibid. lib. 16. ver. 818.

(*i*) Ibid. lib. 18. ver. 462. *seq.*

brought; but then it cannot be said that he got a merchant to do this. Some moderns relate, that Ulysses himself did it in the disguise of a merchant (84). I won't presume to say this is a chimæra of their own; but 'tis certain they have no good authority for it. Langius asserts, that Lycomedes employed the strongest entreaties and tears to prevent Achilles from following Ulysses (85); and censures Cicero for mistaking the son for the father in the following passage: *Nec enim — Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lachrymis iter suum impedientem audire voluisset.* i. e. "Nor could — Neoptolemus have taken Troy, "could Lycomedes, at whose court he was educated, "have prevailed upon him by his tears." But Langius, and not Cicero, is mistaken. See the remark [*A*] of the article PYRRHUS son of Achilles.

(84) Textor, *Officin.* lib. 2. cap. 32; Nat. Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 6. cap. 1. Vigenere on Philostratus, in the summary of Achilles's food; Pomey, *in Pantheo Mythico*, &c.

(85) *Cicero de Amicit.* cap. 20.

• [The passage of Langius which Mr. Bayle refers to is as follows; *Quod de Neoptolemo Lælius ait, omnes de Achille narrant. Itaque vel errat per memoriam Cicero: vel, quod potius credo de industria Lælio, ut illa ætate, Græcanicarum fabularum ignorationem concedit.* Mr. Bayle observes that Langius is here mistaken, and not Cicero; and refers us to the article PYRRHUS, Remark [*A*], where he tells us again that Langius is mistaken. However, such an omission as this is very excusable in a great work. What Mr. Bayle has neglected, I will endeavour to do for him. *What Lælius says of Neoptolemus, is what all others relate of Achilles:* These words of Langius are somewhat ambiguous. Lælius says three things of Neoptolemus: 1. That he took Troy. 2. That he was educated by Lycomedes. 3. That Lycomedes intreated him with many tears not to leave him and go to the siege of Troy. But none of these things can be said of Achilles. For, 1. It is well known, that no one ever said that Achilles took Troy. 2. Nor was it ever said that he was educated by Lycomedes, or in his court. He was educated by Chiron or Phœnix. He was indeed afterwards concealed for some time, under the disguise of a woman, in the court of Lycomedes, where he learned, perhaps, to spin and sew with the girls; nor did he stay there long: so that he could not in propriety of speech be said, *apud Lycomedem educatus.* 3. That Lycomedes was so importunate with Achilles, and endeavoured to keep him from going to Troy, is another piece of unknown history. Statius speaks of Deidamia's tears upon that occasion †. I take it to be very probable, that Cicero had in view some *Latin Tragedy*, wherein Lycomedes was introduced endeavouring by tears and persuasions to detain Pyrrhus. Such a scene was natural, in character, and probable. Lycomedes was an old man; his son-in-law Achilles had been killed at the siege of Troy; his grandson Pyrrhus, who had been bred up with him, was going to Troy; Lycomedes had no son; his affections must be supposed to have been fixed on Pyrrhus. How then could he be willing to let him go upon so dangerous an expedition? 'Tis possible that such a Tragedy was written by Ennius, and called *Neoptolemus.* Cicero *De Orat.* II. 37. — *ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium.* And so again, *Tusc. Disp.* II. 1. A. Gellius V. 15. *Ennianum Neptolemum probamus.*] CRIT. REM.

• Communicated by the learned author of the *Miscellaneous Observations.*

† Achill. II. 255.

[*E*] *She had let him get her with child.*] Achilles was then so young that we have very few examples of a generative faculty, being so forward and ripe as his was. And yet, virtuous principles had been instilled into him before he was engaged in this amour; and the dissoluteness which Montagne complains of in the 25th chapter, book 1st of his *Essays*, did not prevail on this occasion. *We are taught to live*, says he, *when we are past living. A hundred Students get the pox, before they come to Aristotle upon temperance.* But had we a mind to moralize on the Poetical History, we should tell Montagne, that this adventure of Achilles shews, that nature will prevail over education.

I shall observe by the way, that the fictions of the ancients would not appear in so ridiculous a light, had they taken care not to contradict one another so much; but one would think they consider'd their fabulous history as a country, where every man might act as he pleas'd, independent on every body else. Apollodorus relates, that Achilles was but nine years old when he was carried to the island of Scyros; and that the Trojan expedition was spoken of at that time (86). Statius declares, that the military preparations of the Greeks had continued during a year, when Ulysses was sent to the island of Scyros, in order to inveigle Achilles from thence. Before Ulysses was arrived there, Achilles had got a son (87); judge therefore whether nature had not indulged him manhood very early, and if it was long before he exerted it upon fair Deidamia. Statius did not dare to follow the calculation of Apollonius, but supposes that Achilles was twelve years old, at least, before he was taken out of Chiron's cave (88). I can't imagine why Barthius asserts, that according to Statius's calculation, Achilles's son must have been upwards of a year old, when Ulysses arriv'd on his embassy (89); for had our young Hero enjoyed the fair one the very first day, yet his son could have been but three months old, at most, when Ulysses came on shore there. Some authors tell us, that Achilles engaged in wanton dalliance with his mistress after her delivery; and had another son by her (90). But since he was born before the expedition of the Argonauts (91), between which and the Trojan expedition, chronologers tell us there was an interval of thirty years at least (92). Judge, whether the ancient Poets had well settled their chronology.

(86) Ὡς ἠγόρευε γυμνάς. Barthius cites these words, p. 1579, and in the 1685th of Tome 3d of his *Commentary on Statbius*; and yet he tells us, pag. 1584. that Apollodorus does not declare Achilles's age.

(87) Stat. *Achill.* lib. 2. ver. 234.

(88) Ibid. ver. 396.

(89) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 3. p. 1684, 1736.

(90) See Eustathius *in Iliad.* 11. and Ptol. *Hephæst. apud* Photium.

(91) Apollon. *Argon.* lib. 1. ver. 558. Valer. Flaccus, *Argon.* lib. 1. ver. 256.

(92) See Calvisius on the year of the world 2727 and 2767; and father Labbe's *Chronol. Franc.* tom. 1. p. 127.

[*F*] *Vulcan . . . made a new suit of armour for her son.*] No one ought to censure Charles Stephens, Lloyd, Hofman, &c. for telling us that Thetis got Vulcan to make a suit of impenetrable armour for her son, against he went to the siege of Troy. For, altho' she had before rendred his body invulnerable, by dipping it in the river Styx, yet this was not thought sufficient; few precautions appearing superfluous to maternal tenderness. Malherbe intended to express this double precaution of Thetis in these verses:

Bien que sa mere eût à ses armes
Ajouté la force des charmes (93).

(95) Malherbe, book 3. p. 75.

Englished,

"Tho' his mother, to his armour,
"Had join'd the mighty force of charms.

However, he has not exprest them; for by these verses one would conclude, that Thetis had given him a suit of fairy armour, rather than imagine, that she not only enchanted his body, but that his armour was impenetrable. Menage justly censures this equivocal expression, but at the same time acknowledges that Thetis employed the double expedient, which in the main is not improbable (94). Besides, a Dictionary-writer is not to suppress a circumstance, upon pretence that it was needless:

(94) Menage's *Observations on Malherbe*, p. 372.

revenged [G]; Achilles fought with Hector (*k*), and having killed him, he fastened the corps to his chariot, and dragg'd it round the walls of Troy [*H*]. King Priam went in person, and desired Achilles to deliver him the corps of his son, which was restored to him, upon paying a large ransom (*l*). Authors are very much divided on the manner of Achilles's death; some relate that he was slain by Apollo (*m*), or that this

(*k*) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 22. ver. 312.
(*l*) Ibid. lib. 24. ver. 555.
(*m*) Quint. *Calaber.* lib. 3. ver. 62. Euripid. *in Philoctet.*

'Tis enough for him if it occurs in books, he being at liberty to arm us with his prudent reflexions upon occasion. Now 'tis certain that an ancient author call'd *Philarchus* or *Phylarchus*, had written, that Thetis finding it impossible for her to prevent Achilles from going to the siege of Troy, went to Vulcan, and entreated him to make a suit of armour that should be proof against human force (95). Vulcan forg'd the suit of armour, but protested that Thetis should not have it, unless she would indulge him the most precious favour she cou'd grant. Thetis would not comply, but offered him any other service in her power; but finding the God would accept of personal service only, she promis'd to deliver up herself to his embraces, provided the armour would fit Achilles; and for that purpose said that it might be tried on her, her son and she being of a like stature. Vulcan approving the bargain, gave the suit of armour to Thetis, who put it on, and immediately run away; when the limping God knowing he could not overtake her, flung his hammer after her, and wounded her in the heel.

(95) *Apud* Natal. Comitem, *Mythol* lib. 9. cap. 12. Tzetzes upon Lycophron, p. 36. has something of this. What I have quoted (which is not taken notice of by Natal. Comes) is found in the Scholiast of Pindar *in Nem.* Ode 4.

It may then have been asserted in general, that Thetis procured her son a suit of impenetrable armour for his first campaign. But since Homer is chiefly to be consulted upon this article, it should not have been forgot, that after the death of Patroclus, whom Hector stript of Achilles's armour, Thetis prevailed with Vulcan to forge him another suit. This is one of the most beautiful episodes in the *Iliad*; and the copy which Virgil took of it, forms one of the finest passages of the *Æneid*; it deserves therefore to be touch'd upon. Observe that according to Servius, the armour which Patroclus wore when he was kill'd, had been forged by Vulcan for Peleus (96).

(96) Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 483.

[G] *The death of Patroclus was soon reveng'd.*] Moreri is in the right to say, that Achilles soon unsheathed his sword, which the loss of Briseis had made him put up. And indeed, since the whole Iliad takes up but a year (97), according to Father Mambrun, in his *Treatise on Epic Poetry*; but a few months must have past between Achilles's withdrawing from the army, to his return to it after the death of Patroclus: consequently Malherbe is guilty of a strange oversight, in declaring as certain fact, that Achilles lay nine years before the city of Troy, without fighting.

(97) Menage's *Observations on Malherbe*, pag. 441, is of opinion that it does not include near so much time.

Achille, à qui la Grece a donné cette marque,
D'avoir eu le courage aussi haut que les cieux,
Fut en la même peine, & ne pût faire mieux,
Que soupirer neuf ans dans le fonds d'une barque (98).

Englished,

" Renown'd Achilles, whom the Greeks declar'd
" In valour high, as is the starry way;
" Puzzled as much, nine years as hardly far'd,
" And deeply-sighing in a cabbin lay.

(98) Malherbe's *Poetical Works*, book 5. p. 125.

Sarazin, who probably was misled by this passage in *Malherbe*, whom he attempted to imitate, has said in a very beautiful Ode,

Achille, beau comme le jour,
Et vaillant comme son épée,
Pleura neuf ans pour son amour.
Comme un enfant pour sa poupée.

Englished.

" Achilles, beautiful as light;
" Brave as the sword that grac'd his thigh;
" Bewail'd, nine years, his soul's delight,
" Just as a child for doll wou'd cry.

But Menage corrected this error (99), in the edition he procured of Sarazin's works, and inserted *nine months* instead of *nine years*. By the way, this comparison of Achilles to a child who is sobbing and crying for its *doll*, has its foundation in the *Iliad*,

(99) Menage's *Observations on Malherbe*, pag. 441.

where Achilles, after his concubine Briseis was taken from him, runs, with eyes brimful of tears, to complain to his mother, who comforts him just as tho' he had been a baby.

Χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε,
Τέκνον, τὶ κλαίεις; τὶ δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;
Ἐξαύδα, μὴ, κεῦθε νόῳ ἵνα εἰδόμεν ἄμφω (100).

(100) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 1. ver. 361.

" She seiz'd his hand, ——
" And thus the sorrow of his soul explores.
" Why grieves my son? Thy anguish let me share,
" Reveal the cause and trust a parent's care.
Pope.

In those ages, such plain and unaffected strokes, suited the majesty of the Epic-poem, and therefore we shall not animadvert upon them; let us allow Homer to have had a very fine genius, and that his Muse was fruitful and eloquent, but let us observe at the same time,

—— —— *Sed ille,*
Si foret in nostrum fato dilatus in ævum, &c. (101).

(101) Horat. Satyr 10. lib. 1. ver. 68.

" But did he live in this corrector age, &c.

[*H*] *Dragg'd him round the walls of Troy.*] Virgil was, perhaps, the first who takes notice that Hector's body was dragged thrice round the walls of Troy.

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros (102).

(102) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 483.

" Thrice round the Trojan walls Achilles drew
" The corps of Hector. Dryden.

Homer took notice of three tours, only with regard to Patroclus's tomb; and it is not improbable, that Virgil changed the three rounds which Homer (103) expressly mentions to have been made about the sepulchre into three rounds about the walls; that Virgil, I say, changed these after this manner, either out of forgetfulness, or to give the greater beauty to his verse. Very few authors have followed Virgil in this particular: nor do the writers who lived after Virgil, mention the three rounds any more than those who were prior to him. Sophocles (104), Euripides (105), Ovid (106), Seneca (107), Statius (108), Dictys Cretensis (109), Plato (110), Cicero (111), Hyginus (112), Philostratus (113), Libanius (114), Servius (115), Tzetzes (116), Eustathius (117), all these mention Hector's having been dragg'd round the walls, but don't tell us how many times. To the best of my remembrance, none but the author of the little *Iliad* in Latin verse, mentions expressly three turns about the walls, and as many round the tomb. This author was called *Pindarus Thebanus*, and is cited by the old Scholiast upon Statius; a circumstance Vossius did not know (118). Barthius mentioned him often in his *Adversaria* and elsewhere (119). I am not ignorant that Ausonius, in the summary of the 22d book of the *Iliad*, relates that Hector was dragg'd thrice round the walls of Troy; but then he has been censured for it; which made one of his commentators think, that Ausonius did not write all the summaries which pass under his name (120). To conclude; the dragging of Hector's body, the opprobrious words with which Achilles branded him in his dying moments; the liberty he allowed every one, to insult and strike his dead body; his venal soul, which at last was prevailed upon by rich presents, to restore the body to his father Priam; all these circumstances are so repugnant, not only to heroic virtue, but even to the most common generosity; that we must conclude, either that Homer had no idea of heroism, or that he designed to draw the character of a brutal wretch. He represents Achilles, wishing himself brute enough, to devour Hector's raw flesh.

(103) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 23. ver. 13; and 24. ver. 16.
(104) *In Ajace*, ver. 1045.
(105) *In Andromed.* ver. 108, 399.
(106) *Metam.* lib. 12. ver. 501. *Amor.* lib. 2. Eleg. 1. ver. 32. and *in Ibin*, ver. 333.
(107) *In Troad. Act.* 3. ver. 413; and *in Agam. Act.* 3. ver. 447.
(108) *Achilleid.* lib. 1. ver. 6.
(109) Lib. 3.
(110) *De Repub.* lib. 3. tom. 2. p. 391. *B.*
(111) Tuscul. 1.
(112) Cap. 106.
(113) *In Heroic.* p. 697.
(114) *Progymn.* p. 100, *D.*
(115) *In* Virgil. Ecl. 9. ver. 6.
(116) Pag. 75.
(117) *In Homeri Iliad. χ.* ver. 401.
(118) Vossius, *Histor. Lat.* pag. 819.
(119) *Vide* his Commentary on Statius, tom. 1. p. 340. and tom. 3. p. 393, 1609.
(120) See the *Diatribes* of *Mariang.* Accursius on Ausonius.

this God assisted Paris in killing him *(n)*, by directing the arrow to the vulnerable part of him; others again say, that Paris murthered him treacherously, in a temple whither Achilles was come, in order to treat about his marriage with Philoxena daughter of Priam *(o)*. The Greeks solemniz'd his funeral with great magnificence, some particulars of which Moreri has related in his Dictionary, but very inaccurately [*I*], not to say worse. He was buried on the Promontory of Sigæum [*K*]; and after Troy was taken, the Greeks sacrificed Philoxena on his tomb as his ghost had requested. This warrior, the most fiery that ever drew sword, and so brave, that his name was used to denote supreme valour [*L*]; was

(n) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 6. ver. 57. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 12. ver. 580. *seq.*

(o) Dictys *Cretens.* lib. 4. Dares *Phryg. Hygin.* cap. 110. Servius *in Æneid.* 6. ver. 57.

Αἲ γάρ πως αὐτόν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνίπ
Ὧ μ' ἀποδαμνόμενον κρέα ἐδμεναι (121).

(121) *Iliad* χ. ver. 346.

" Cou'd I my self the bloody banquet join!
" No! — to the dogs thy carcase I resign. Pope.

Homer did not even consider, that his Hero would have appeared in a much more honourable light, had his enemy been represented less weak and mean-spirited.

[*I*] *His funeral . . . some particulars of which Moreri has related in his Dictionary, but very inaccurately.*] This writer says, that the Gods wept the death of Achilles during seventeen days; but he ought not to have quoted *Homer*, without citing the place where this circumstance is mentioned. It cannot be in the Iliad, the author having so well observed that law, which will not allow the Hero of an Epic Poem to be buried in the Poem it self. Virgil has also observed this law. He therefore should have said, that Homer mentions the interment of Achilles in the 24th book of the *Odyssey*, where this episode is introduced, upon occasion of Penelope's wooers whom Ulysses killed. In the Amsterdam edition of Moreri, the continuators of Homer are wrongly substituted for Homer himself. But this is not all: they should not have said the *Gods* in general, without specifying what Homer observes, viz. that Thetis accompanied by the sea-goddesses, came to the camp of the Greeks, in order to assist with them at the obsequies of her son; and that the nine Muses also bore a part in the solemnity by singing in mournful strains. Pindar might have been cited for this last circumstance.

Τὸν μὲν οὔτε θανὼν' ἀοιδαὶ
ἐλίπον'. ἀλλά οἱ
παρά τε πυρὰν, τάφον
θ' Ἑλικάνιαι παρθένοι
ἔσαν, ἐπὶ θρῆνοις πε-
λώφαμον ἔχευαν, ἔδο-
ξεν ἄρα δ' ἀθανάτοις
ἐσλόν γε φῶτα καὶ φθίμεν' ὑ-
μνοις Θιᾶν διδόμεν (122).

(122) Pindar, *Isthm.* Od. 8. p. 753.

Imitated,

" Tho' death had clos'd the Hero's † eyes,
" Prais'd by the Muse his virtues rise;
" For round his pile, his silent tomb,
" The Heliconian Virgins come:
" With down-cast eyes, they weep, they groan,
" And pour forth memorable moan,—
" To brave Achilles snatch'd from earth
" The Gods thus gave a second birth,
" Bid the Pierians sound his fame,
" And mid' the stars inscribe his name.

† Achilles.

What is added in the Dictionary, on the authority of Homer also, viz. that at the expiration of these seventeen days, *The Thessalian youth, crown'd with garlands of amaranths, performed the obsequies of Achilles, and wept over him*; should naturally be found in that part of the Iliad, where the seventeen days lamentation is mentioned, and yet we don't meet with any thing like it. I therefore am very much afraid, that Moreri made use, on this occasion, of some book, that gave a wrong account of the ceremony related by Philostratus in the picture of Neoptolemus: viz. That the Oracle of Dodona having commanded the Greeks, to celebrate the anniversary of Achilles every year; the Thessalians first appointed the wearing crowns of amaranth.

[*K*] *He was buried on the promontory of Sigæum.*] Most Dictionaries take notice of this circumstance. Lloyd rejecting the other citations of Pliny, which he had found very incorrect in Charles Stephens, preserves that of chap. 12th, book 4th, which however he should not have done: for Pliny does not speak there of the tomb which was erected in Sigæum, but of that which was said to be in an island of Pontus Euxinus. 'Tis in chapter 30th of book 5th, that he tells us, a city called *Achilleon* had stood, near the sepulchre of Achilles, on the coast of Sigæum. 'Tis surprizing that after this passage was thus corrected, Isaac Vossius should take it into his head to censure Pliny, as having placed the tomb of Achilles on the shore of Rhoeteum, and the sepulchre of Ajax on that of Sigæum (123): for Pliny declares the very contrary. Solinus, thro' an error he too often is guilty of, has convey'd this sepulchre to another neighbouring promontory, viz. that of Rhoeteum, where the tomb of Ajax stood (124). This mistake often occurs in *Alciat's Emblems*:

(123) Vossius *in Melamp.* p. 98.

(124) Solini *Polyhistor.* cap. 40.

Æacidæ tumulum Rhoeteo in littore cernis (25).

(125) Alciati *Emblemata* 135.

" Achilles' tomb is seen on Rhoeteum's shore.

His commentators confess that he is mistaken, except Pignorius, who maintains the contrary. 'Tis manifest however from the unanimous testimony of authors, that the sepulchre of Achilles stood on the shore of Sigæum. We have already observed, that people used to resort thither every year, in order to offer up sacrifices in his honour; and a tradition was current, that his shade dress'd in armour, used to appear here, standing in a threatning posture; notwithstanding which, Apollodorus attempted to speak to it (126). To the best of my remembrance, it is related that miracles were wrought at this tomb. See the foregoing article.

(126) Philostrat. *in Vitâ Apollon.* lib. 4. cap. 3 and 4.

[*L*] *His name was used to denote supreme valour.*] Moreri pretends that Aulus Gellius (but without citing either the book or the chapter) asserts, that it was a common phrase to denote a brave soldier, by saying he was an Achilles; but Aulus Gellius does not relate any thing like it; all he observes is, (chap. xi. book 2.) that * Sicinius Dentatus was called the Roman Achilles, from his having performed several surprizing actions in the field. Moreri relates some circumstances of it, taken from this part of Aulus Gellius, but does not tell us whence they were borrowed; so that he does not quote Aulus Gellius when he should, but when he should not; not, when he borrows from him, but when he ascribes words to him which he never wrote. Had he cited Servius (127), he would have found better proofs. Now, the name of Achilles was bestowed, not only on those who were famous for martial vigour, but on such as distinguished themselves in the feats of Venus, as is manifest from the Debauchee in Petronius, who finding that part of him dead, which shall be nameless, crys out, *Funerata est illa pars corporis quâ quondam Achilles eram.* i. e. " The part of me, by " which I once was Achilles, is buried." He, probably, was more sensibly touched at this loss, than Milo was when the vigour of his arm was gone; and Cicero would have thought him more worthy of censure than that Athletic Champion, for very substantial reasons. *Quæ vox potest esse contemptior quàm Milonis Crotoniatæ, qui cum jam senex esset, athletasque se in curriculo exercentes videret, adspexisse lacertos suos dicitur, illachrymansque dixisse; at hi quidem jam mortui sunt? Non verò tam isti quàm tu ipse nugator, neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus & lacertis tuis* (128). i. e. " What words ought " sooner to raise our indignation than those of Milo " of Crotona, who, in his old age, seeing the Ath- " letic Champions exercising themselves in the ring, " is said to have looked upon his arms, and to have " cried out with tears, but these are already dead! " These men are less triflers than you; for you ne- " ver was ennobled from your self, but from your " loins and your arms.

* So we read it in the last Amsterdam edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary printed in 1730; but it should be *Siccius Dentatus.*

(127) Servius *in Virgilii* Eclog. 3. ver. 79. and in Eclog. 4. ver. 34.

(128) Cicero *de Senectute*, cap. 9.

The

was a great lover of Muſick [M] and Poetry (p); and was looked upon as the handſomeſt

(p) See the remark [B] of the article ACHILLEA.

The Paris edition of Charles Stephens's Dictionary printed in 1620, reviſed and corrected by Francis Morel, Regius Profeſſor; and that of Geneva of 1662, corrected of a numberleſs multitude of faults, as the title declares, aſcribes to Aulus Gellius, who is duly quoted, the following particular, viz. That Captains greatly renowned for their bravery (not *generous ſoldiers*) were called *Achilles*; and that money was called *Achilleon*, becauſe it was inſuperable, and indiſſolvable. *Tantæ fortitudinis, fuiſſe fertur* (Achilles) *ut teſte Gellio, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *inſigni fortitudine duces Achilles appellentur; & argentum vocetur Achilleum, quod ſit inſuperabile & inſolubile.* The Latin text of Charles (129) Stephens may be underſtood theſe two ways; and I even own, that the author of this period, which is viſibly confuſed, and very inaccurate, might clear himſelf from the imputation, of having aſcribed to Aulus Gellius, the particulars relating to this pretended Achillean money. But neither Charles Stephens nor his correctors, nor Lloyd, nor Hofman, who have followed him cloſe, can plead any excuſe for miſtaking *argentum* for *argumentum:* For the epithet Achillea is made uſe of, to denote an indiſſoluble objection; and in the ſchools, the principal argument of a ſect is generally called its Achilles: which does not proceed ſo much from Achilles's being an invincible warrior, as from the puzzling difficulty which Zeno of Elea propoſed in oppoſition to the exiſtence of motion (130). He compared a tortoiſe to Achilles, to ſhow that a body which moves ſlowly got ever ſo little before a quick one, could never be outſtrip'd by it. Calepin, who otherwiſe cites Aulus Gellius very wrong, writes *argumentum* and not *argentum*; which plainly ſhows that the error is of ancient date, whence two branches, as it were, of Copiſts have ſprung. The one having in the midway loſt the word *argumentum*, probably by the miſtake of the printer, who had put *argentum* inſtead of it, occaſioned all their ſucceſſors to preſerve the latter word; the other branch have not degenerated in this reſpect; ſo that thoſe who have recourſe to them, as the correctors of Calepin have done, don't commit the miſtake which the other Branch have fallen into.

(129) Car. Stephan. *Diction. Voc. Achilles.*

(130) Ariſtol. lib. 6. *Phyſic.* cap. 9. *& ibi* Simplicius & Themiſtius. Diogen. *Laert.* lib. 9. *in Zenone.*

[M] *Was a great lover of Muſick.*] Moreri is very inaccurate on this head. He tells us, *That Homer often ſhews that the ſound of the lyre had a wonderful power over Achilles's anger, and in calming that furious paſſion which had proved ſo troubleſome to the Trojans.* He adds, *that Athenæus had alſo taken notice of this circumſtance after Theopompus.* However, it is certain that Homer tells us only this, viz. that the deputies of the army found Achilles, diverting himſelf with ſounding the actions of illuſtrious men on his lyre.

* Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 186.
(131) Idem, ib. ver. 189.

Τὸν δ' εὗρον φρένας τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ *
Τῇ ὅγε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν ἄεισε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν (131).

" Amus'd at eaſe, the God-like man they found,
" Pleas'd with the ſolemn Harp's harmonious ſound.
Pope.

" With this he ſooths his ſoul and ſings
" The mighty acts of Heroes.

Achilles, having been offended by Agamemnon, had at that time abandoned the common cauſe out of anger and ſpight, which is all Homer tells us of it. But he does not make any reflections on Achilles's being found entertaining himſelf with his lyre, when the deputies came to him. Athenæus indeed concludes from thence, that Homer would thereby denote, that the lyre of Achilles was of great advantage to him, as it aſſwaged the exceſſive violence of his anger (132). But it is falſe to ſay, that Athenæus makes this remark after Theopompus; and I am very much miſtaken, if Moreri was not miſled by a paſſage in Voſſius's treatiſe on Muſic. This learned man having quoted Athenæus for the obſervation abovementioned, ſays immediately after, that the Embaſſadors from the Getæ, who were commiſſioned to conclude a treaty of peace or a truce, with a people whoſe anger was to be ſoothed, came before them ſounding the lyre (133); and cites Athenæus for this purpoſe, who quotes this particular from the 46th book of Theopompus's Hiſtory. Hofman has almoſt committed the ſame error. But Philoſtratus had better have been referred to on this occaſion; for he obſerves that Chiron, finding that Achilles could not conquer his anger, inſtructed him for that reaſon in Muſic (134).

(132) Athæn. lib. 14. p. 624.

(133) Voſſius *Muſice*, p. 45. The paſſage o Athenæus is 627.

Some authors are of opinion, that Achilles did not ſing to his lyre, the mighty exploits of Heroes, but the pangs which love made him ſuffer.

(134) *In Hero* p. 705, *C. V etiam* Ælian *Hiſt. Var.* l 14. *C.* 23.

Talis cantata Briſeide venit Achilles
Acrior, & poſitis erupit in Hectora plectris (135).

(135) Statius, Silv. 4. lib. 4. ver. 35.

Engliſhed,

" Achilles thus grew fiercer, having ſung
" The bright Briſeis (charmer of his ſoul)
" Then flinging down his lyre, on Hector ruſh'd.

Ille Pelethroniam cecinit miſerabile carmen
Ad citharam, citharâ tenſior ipſe ſuâ (136).

(136) Priapeior. *Carm.* 69.

Engliſhed,

" He ſang ſad ſtrains to the Theſſalian lyre,
" His — more ſtretch'd than the reſponſive ſtrings.

But this I take to be mere calumny, which may be refuted by the anſwer that Alexander the Great made to the perſon, who offered him the lyre of Paris: *I don't value it*, ſays he; *but I would very willingly ſee that of Achilles, on which he uſed to celebrate the acts of heroes of paſt ages.* Plutarch who relates the thing thus in the life of that Prince, aſcribes (137) another anſwer to him elſewhere. It is this. *I don't want the lyre of Paris, for I have that of Achilles, to the ſound of which he uſed to ſleep in ſinging the praiſe of Warriors: but the harmony of that of Paris, to which he ſung love-ſongs, was too ſoft and effeminate.* This is not the only inſtance which ſhews that Plutarch could alter and apply the ſame circumſtance different ways. Certainly Alexander did not make both theſe anſwers; and in all likelihood the latter was invented by the hiſtorian. With regard to thoſe words, *for I have that of Achilles*, we may naturally ſuppoſe that Alexander would willingly have had it; but can any perſon believe that he was really poſſeſſed of it? Ælian relates this incident according to the firſt quotation from Plutarch (138). A commentator upon *Ælian* declares, that Achilles is often repreſented in *Homer*, celebrating the acts of illuſtrious commanders (139): but he is miſtaken, for Homer mentions this but once. However, as this error was committed by a man of much greater learning than Moreri, this would be ſome conſolation to the latter, were he now living. Kuhnius does not correct this miſtake (140). Statius, who in oppoſition to the expreſs words of Homer, ſuppoſes that Achilles in his retirement, ſung his amours and his Briſeis; declares in other places, that from his infancy, he had employed his muſical inſtruments in the cave of Chiron, to celebrate the mighty acts of ancient Heroes.

(137) Plutarch *of the Fortune of Alexand.* book 1. ch. 6.

(138) Æliani *Hiſtor. Var.* lib. 9. cap. 38.

(139) Scheff. *in hunc locum Æliani.*

(140) Kuhnius *in Ælian.* ibid.

——— *Nec major in iſtis*
Sudor, Apollineo quàm fila ſonantia plectro
Cum quaterem, priſcoſque virûm mirarer honores (141).

(841) Statius, *Achill.* lib. 2. ver. 442.

" Nor more I toil'd in theſe, than when I ſtruck
" (Strong with the bow) the loud-reſounding ſtrings
" And ſang th' immortal praiſe of ancient Heroes.

They were the combats of Hercules, of Pollux, and of Theſeus, which he ſung before his mother, when ſhe came to viſit him in the cave above mentioned; to which he added his father's celebrated nuptials:

——— *Canit ille libens immania laudum*
Semina, qui tumidæ ſuperarit juſſa novercæ
Amphitryoniades; crudum quo Bebryca cæſtu
Obruerit pollux: quanto circumdata nexu
Ruperit Ægides Minoi brachia tauri,
Maternos in fine thoros, ſuperiſque gravatum
Pelion (142).

(142) Idem, ib. lib. 1. ver. 188.

ſomeſt man of his age [*N*]. As Achilles's beauty won him the affection of the Fair, he on his part was a ſlave to their charms [*O*]; and it is even ſaid, that he was alſo fond of perſons of his own ſex [*P*]. We have taken notice in the foregoing article of his actions after death; and of a miracle he wrought, mentioned by Tertullian. In caſe the reader is deſirous of peruſing the moſt ample collection of Literature (*q*) relating to this Hero of heathen ſtory, I muſt refer him to a work entitled *Homericus Achilles*, written by the late Mr. Drelincourt.

(*q*) Printed at Leyden in 1693. See the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, May 1693. p. 511.

Engliſh'd,

" Well pleas'd he chaunts the praiſe of glorious men.
" Fam'd Hercules, who at the ſtern command
" Of Juno, undertook his mighty labours.
" He ſings the Cœſtus with which Pollux ſlew
" Stout Bebryx; and how valiant Theſeus circling
" The dreadful Minotaur, broke all his ribs.
" Laſtly his mother's ſoft, connubial joys,
" And Pelion's tow'ring head with Gods oppreſt.

I will nevertheleſs own, that Philoſtratus makes him ſing, whilſt he was under the tuition of Chiron, ſeveral ſubjects which are infinitely more relative to love than to war; ſuch as Hyacinthus, Narciſſus, Adonis, Hilas &c. (143).

(143) Philoſtratus, *in Heroic.* p. 705. calls them, τὰς ἀχαιὰς ἥλικας, which Vigenere tranſlates, *the antients who were in the ſame* (age) *with Achilles.* This is a very equivocal expreſſion; and he had better employed the word *ſiecle* (Century) than that of age. And Philoſtratus undoubtedly meant that theſe were cotemporary with one another, but not with Achilles.

We ſhall conclude this remark with a word or two concerning the lyre itſelf of Achilles. According to ſome, Corybas ſon of Jaſus and Cybele, being in Phrygia with his uncle Dardanus, eſtabliſhed the worſhip of Cybele there; gave his name to the Corybantes, who were the Prieſts of that Goddeſs; and carried Mercury's lyre thither (144). It was kept in Lyrneſſus, whence Achilles carried it, when he took that city; however, Homer is not of that opinion, ſince he tells us, that our Hero's lyre was found in the city of Eetion, that is in Thebes of Phrygia, when the Greeks plundered it (145).

(144) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6.

(145) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 188.

[*N*] *The handſomeſt man of his age.*] Inſtead of this particular, of which here are ſuch authentic proofs, Moreri obſerves only, that Achilles, according to Philoſtratus was of a fine ſtature. Achilles boaſts his own beauty and ſtature in the 21ſt book of the *Iliad*, καλός τε μέγας τε. And Homer ſpeaking of Nireus, tells us that he was the handſomeſt among the Greeks, Achilles excepted;

Νιρεὺς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε,
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα (146).

" Nireus, in faultleſs ſhape, and blooming grace,
" The loveliеſt youth of all the Grecian race
" Next to Achilles. Pope.

(146) Ibid. lib. 2. ver. 673.

See the Scholiaſt on ver. 131ſt, book 1ſt of Homer, where he tells us, that Achilles, the handſomeſt of all Heroes, had ſo effeminate a face, that he might very eaſily paſs for a girl, in the court of Lycomedes (147).

(147) *Vide* Plato's *Banquet.*

——— —— *Plurimus illi*
Invicta virtute decor fallitque tuentes
Ambiguus tenuique latens diſcrimine ſexus (148).
That is,

" Lovely he was, and had a dauntleſs ſoul:
" Ambiguous, he deceiv'd the curious eye,
" And hid ſo well his ſex he ſeem'd of both.

(148) Statii *Achill.* lib. 1. ver. 335. Dictys *Cretenſis*, lib. 1.

With regard to his ſtature, I ſhall not obſerve what Philoſtratus relates in the life of Apollonius, viz. that this Philoſopher having called up the ghoſt of Achilles, it firſt appeared to be five cubits high, and afterwards twelve, and was inexpreſſibly beautiful (149). Neither ſhall I ſay with Lycophron, that Achilles was nine cubits high, which is not what we call a fine ſtature. Such a ſtature is fit only for Quintus Calaber, who has magnified him to a giant (150); and this would not be the way to juſtify Moreri. The truth is, that the author he cites (151) declares, that Achilles was of a beautiful and advantagious ſtature, and that rays ſhot from his face; that * *his noſe was neither Roman nor hooked, but ſuch as it was ever to continue.* 'Tis thus Vigenere tranſlates, probably from the Latin verſion, but I ſhould rather chuſe to tranſlate it, *Tel qu'il devoit etre*, i. e. " *Such as it ought to be*," and give this ſignification to the verb μέλλω.

(149) Philoſtratus in the *Life of Apollonius*, book 4. ch. 5. Vigenere cites Book 3. and relates the ghoſt firſt appeared ſeven cubits in ſtature.

(150) Quint. Calaber, lib. 1. ver. 514; lib. 3. ver. 716, 722.

(151) Philoſtrat. *in Heroic.* p. 705. * The French is, *Un nez, ni aquilin, ni crochu, mais tel qu'il devoit tous jours demeurer.*

[*O*] *He on his part was a ſlave to their charms.*] The laſciviouſneſs of Achilles was a laſting, as well as forward fruit. The reader has heard how he got Deïdamia with child, at ten years of age; and his future exploits were worthy ſo early a ſetting out. It was not long before he played the ſame part with Iphigenia (152); and if Diana imagined that a virgin was offered up to her in the perſon of this daughter of Agamemnon, the Goddeſs was impoſed upon; for Achilles had before taken care, (let the worſt come to the worſt,) not to permit Iphigenia to leave the world, till ſhe had taſted the pleaſures of conception, and the pains of child-birth. Achilles ſaw Helen on the walls of Troy, when he fell ſo furiouſly in love with her, that he could not ſleep; upon which he ran to his mother, and beſought her to find out ſome expedient, that he might enjoy that celebrated beauty (153). A fine employment for a mother! Thetis however accepted of it, and invented a new kind of bawding, which was, to make her ſon fancy he had enjoyed Helen, but then it was in a dream; and yet this viſionary poſſeſſion ſoothed his pangs. It was to no purpoſe that they forced away Briſeis from him, he would not lie alone for all that. He had taken too much care to provide females for his bed, and had always ſupplies enough of that kind at home, in caſe of need. Diomeda ſupplied the place of Briſeis (154); and the inſtant he ſaw Polyxena, daughter of Priam, he wanted to marry her; but not being able to do this in his life time, he required that, after his death, ſhe ſhould be ſacrificed to him that he might enjoy her in the Elyſian fields (155). He had ſo juſtly deſerved to be called, in this world (156), ἱμερόεις, ἀσέλγης, ἀκρατὴς, ἐρωτικώτατος (157); i. e. " amorous, laſcivious, intemperate, exceedingly amorous," that it was ſuppoſed he would want women even in the other, for which reaſon authors have married him there to Medea and to Helen. He was accuſed of falling in love with Penthefilea the Amazon a little after he had kill'd her; and of ſatiating his brutal paſſion on her body juſt after ſhe expired (158). We ſhall take notice of this in the article THERSITES. See alſo the article TENES.

(152) *Vide* Tzetzem *in Lycophron.*

(153) Tzetzes, *in Lycophron.*

(154) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 9. ver. 660.

(155) Seneca *in Troad.* ver. 945.

(156) Libanius, *Progymn.* p. 101. *B*, and p. 127. *A*, Declam. 4. pag. 256, *B*; and Orat. 9. p. 258, *C.*

(157) Plutarch. *in Amator.* pag. 761, *D.*

(158) Tzetzes *in Lycophr.* Libanius, *Progymn.* p. 101, *C*; and p. 153, *A.*

[*P*] *That he alſo was fond of his own ſex.*] According to ſome writers, Troilus ſon of Priam, was ſtifled in the arms of the luſtful Achilles, who would have forced him to his criminal embraces, but met with too great a reſiſtance (159). A very malicious turn has been given to the choice which Ajax adviſed Menelaus to make, viz. to ſend the beautiful Antilochus to Achilles, in order to acquaint him with the death of Patroclus. Philoſtratus, who hints plain enough at the ſtrict intimacy which might have been between our Hero and the choſen meſſenger, is miſtaken with regard to the perſon who appointed the latter (160); for it was not Menelaus as he ſays, that fixed upon Antilochus, but Ajax who propoſed him to Menelaus (161). But it is principally with Patroclus, that Achilles is ſaid to have indulged a criminal flame. Plato defends him on this head againſt Æſchylus (162), and Xenophon agrees with Plato in this particular (163). Sextus Empiricus treats this ſubject like a profeſſed ſceptic as he was (164); but Lucian and Philoſtratus (165), diſcharge their utmoſt venom on this occaſion. The former pretends that Achilles was a little too unguarded, in bewailing the death of his friend; and ſuffered truth to eſcape him in theſe words, μηδὲν τε τῶν σῶν ἐυσεβὴς ὁμιλία καλλίων (166), *femorum & tuorum ſancta converſatio melior.* What ſhall we ſay of theſe lines of *Martial* in *Epigram* 44th, book 11th?

(159) Servius *in Æneid. Lycophr.* ver. 307, & *ibi Tzetzes.*

(160) *In Antil.* p. 670, and *Icon.* p. 789, *D.*

(161) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 16. ver. 628, 651, 653, 655.

(162) *In Conviv.* tom. 3. p. 180, *A.*

(163) *In Conviv.* pag. 898, *A.*

(164) Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hyp. 3. p. 152, *A.*

(165) Philoſtrat. *in Epiſt.* p. 903. *A.*

(166) Lucian. *in Amorib.* p. 1071. tom. 1. edit. Salmurienſis.

Bryſeis multum quamvis averſa jaceret
Eacidæ propior levis amicus erat.

" The Fair neglected lay (how hard her caſe!)
" Whilſt a young, ſmooth-fac'd He, ſupply'd her
" place.

☞ ACHILLES TATIUS [*A*] was of Alexandria in Egypt, and author of a famous Romance. The time when he lived is very uncertain [*B*]. He appears to have been a Pagan when he wrote his Romance, from ſeveral paſſages of it, and particularly that where he indulges himſelf in a very looſe digreſſion concerning the love of boys [*C*]. But at laſt he became a Chriſtian, as we are informed by Suidas, and was even raiſed to a Biſhoprick. We ſhall give the reader the judgment of Photius, and of an ingenious modern author upon his Romance [*D*]; and ſome remarks upon the title and editions of it [*E*]. He wrote ſeveral other works [*F*].

[*A*] *Achilles Tatius.*] Perhaps he was the ſon or freedman of one Tatius, as Voſſius ſuppoſes (1).

(1) *De Hiſt. Latin.* l. 3. p. 151. edit. Amſt. 1690. in fol.

[*B*] *The time when he lived is very uncertain.*] Voſſius places him among the writers of a doubtful age. The learned Mr. Huet (2) tells us that Photius places Heliodorus after Jamblichus, and before Damaſcius, who lived in the time of the Emperor Juſtinian, and that according to this account, Achilles Tatius muſt have preceded; though he owns, that he can find no certain account to juſtify his opinion.

(2) Original of Romances.

[*C*] *And particularly that, where he indulges himſelf in a very looſe digreſſion concerning the love of boys.*] This paſſage has been retrenched in the Engliſh tranſlation of that Romance, which was publiſhed at London in 24° in 1720, and intitled, *The Amours of Clitophon and Leucippe illuſtrated in ſix Novels. 1. Force of Love deſcribed. 2. The diſappointed Bride. 3. The diſtreſs'd Lovers. 4. Virtue its own Reward. 5. The laſcivious Widow. 6. The happy Conſummation.*

[*D*] *We ſhall give the reader the judgment of Photius, and of an ingenious modern author upon his Romance.*] The former tells us, that the diction and compoſition of it is excellent, and the periods clear and flowing. But the ſentiments are extremely obſcene and groſs, ſo that the reading of this romance is very dangerous. But if we except the names of perſons, whoſe adventures are related, and the ſhocking obſcenity that runs through it, it has a great affinity with Heliodorus's Æthiopics with reſpect to the conduct of the ſtory (3). He acquaints us likewiſe in another place (4), that Jamblichus's Romance, which was intitled the *Babylonicks*, Βαβυλωνικὰ (5), was written with a little more decency than Achilles Tatius's, though with much leſs than that of Heliodorus. For theſe three writers had very near the ſame deſign in view in the compoſition of their Love-Tales. But Achilles Tatius's ſtyle and manner of writing are very ſoft and flowing, though too luſcious.

(3) Photii *Biblioth.* Cod. 87. pag 206. edit Rhotomag. 1653.

(4) Ibid. Cod. 94. p. 235.

(5) *See* Suidas.

The modern author is no leſs than the celebrated Mr. Huet Biſhop of Avranches, who has obliged the polite world with a curious diſcourſe concerning *the original of Romances.* He tells us, that Achilles Tatius is not to be compared to Heliodorus, either for the regularity of his manners, the variety of events, or the artifice of unravelling his plots. His ſtyle indeed is preferable to that of Heliodorus, becauſe it is more ſimple and natural, whereas the other's is more forced and affected. Some ſay, that he was a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop. It is ſtrange that the obſcenity of his book ſhould be ſo eaſily forgot; and more ſo, that the Emperor Leo ſirnamed the *Philoſopher* ſhould commend the modeſty of it in an epigram, which is yet extant; and not only permit but recommend the reading of it with the cloſeſt application to all thoſe who profeſs the love of chaſtity. Thus far Mr. Huet. But Voſſius is in doubt, whether to aſcribe this epigram to Photius the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, or to the Emperor Leo (6).

(6) Voſſius, *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] . . . *and ſome remarks upon the title and editions of it.*] Suidas tells us, that he wrote Ἐρωτικὰ, i. e. *Love-Tales*; and amongſt them τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα, i. e. *The ſtory of Leucippe and Clitophon.* The title of that work is, περὶ Λευκίππης καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα λόγος, i. e. *The Hiſtory of Leucippe and Clitophon.* This work was tranſlated into Latin by Annibal Cruccius of Milan, but very erroneouſly, as appeared when the Greek was publiſhed by Commeline at Heidelberg from a MS. in the Palatine Library. The learned Salmaſius publiſhed a more correct edition of it at Leyden in 1640, with notes and emendations in 12°.

[*F*] *He wrote ſeveral other works.*] As particularly a *Miſcellaneous Hiſtory*, Ἱστορίαι σύμμικτοι, in which he gives an account of a great many illuſtrious men; and likewiſe a work upon *Etymology*, and a book concerning the *Sphere* (7). There is a fragment of this laſt work ſtill extant, and publiſhed with Hipparchus Bythynus by Petrus Victorius from the Medicean Library at Florence. The title of this fragment ſhews that it was part of his book of the *Sphere*, and is as follows: Ἐκ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν εἰς τοῦ Ἀράτου φαινόμενα, i. e. *Extracts from Achilles by way of introduction to the Phænomena of Aratus.*

(7) Suidas.

☞ ACHILLINI [*A* ALEXANDER] born at Bologna, of an ancient and noble family [*B*], ſon of Claudius Achillini, was Doctor of Philoſophy and Phyſic, and one of the College of the ſaid Faculties in that Univerſity. He was the moſt celebrated Philoſopher in the fifteenth and ſixteenth Centuries [*C*], a ſtedfaſt follower, and accurate interpreter

[*A*] *Achillini.*] In Latin *Achillinus*, by the Italians is commonly called *Achillini*; but (1) Leandro Alberti (2), Hippolito Orio, and Pompeio Vizani call him *Achillino*, which variety of terminations of the ſame name is very familiar to the Italians in the names of families. I cannot but take notice, that *Alberti's deſcription of Italy* printed at Bologna 1550, in fol. which is the firſt, and the moſt curious edition, inſtead of Achillini, or Achillino has by a groſs fault of the Printer Achlino; but the edition of Venice in 4to by Lorenzo degli Avanzi 1567, has Achilino with a ſingle *l*; and ſo he is alſo called by Vizani (3). I find him alſo called by the name of *de Achillinis*, in the title of a book of Bartholomæus Cocles, viz. *Chiromantiæ ac phyſionomiæ Anaſtaſis cum approbatione magiſtri Alexandri de Achillinis.*

(1) *Deſcript. of Italy.*

(2) In his tranſlation of the *Eleg. of Jovius.*

(3) *Hiſt. of Bologna.* l. 10. p. 511.

[*B*] *Of an ancient and noble family.*] I ſay this upon the authority of John Vittorio Roſſi, known by the name of *Janus Nicius Erythræus* (4), who in the life of Claudio Achillini, ſpeaking of the gifts of nature beſtowed upon him, among others he mentions *antiquam generis nobilitatem, utpote in Achillina familia nato*; i. e. "the ancient Nobility of the "family, as being born in that of the Achillini."

(4) Pinacoth. 1. p. 100.

[*C*] *The moſt celebrated Philoſopher in the 15th and 16th Centuries.*] Philip Thomaſinus (5) calls him, *Primi nominis Philoſophus*, i. e. *a Philoſopher of the firſt rank.* Simler (6), *Philoſophus eminentiſſimus*, i. e. *a moſt eminent Philoſopher.* Jo. Ant. Bumaldus, whoſe true name is *Ovidius Montalbanus*, in his *Bibliotheca Bononienſis* ſays of our Achillini, that he got the name of the great Philoſopher, *Magni Philoſophi cognomentum adeptus*; and that all the writers of the laſt age give him, without all diſpute, the pre-eminence among the Philoſophers; *omneſque anteacti ſæculi ſcriptores eidem palmam Philoſophorum facile concedentes.* And Caſius quoted by the ſaid Montalbanus, calls him *another Ariſtotle, un altro Ariſtotele.* Leandro Alberti gives him the ſame epithet, that Alexander King of Macedon is known by *quel magno Aleſſandro Achilino, nobil Filoſofo*, i. e. *that great Alexander Achilino, a noble Philoſopher.* By Orlandi (7) he is ſaid to have been *Filoſofo famoſo, acerrimo Cattedratico, & acutiſſimo Argomentatore*, i. e. "a famous Philoſopher, a moſt quick Modera-"tor, and a moſt acute Diſputant." Roſſi gives him this elogium; *Vidit paulo hac noſtra ſuperior ætas Alexandrum Achillinum docentem Patavii philoſophiam, & admiruta eſt hominis ingenium, eruditionem, doctrinam.* i. e. "The age juſt before ours ſaw A-

(5) *Illuſt. Vir. Vit.* p. 114. in the *Life of Ludi Buccaferr.*

(6) *Biblioth.*

(7) *Notizie degli Scritt. Bologn.*

interpreter of Averroes upon Ariſtotle's Philoſophy [*D*]: but what he was admired for as a prodigy, was the accuteneſs and ſtrength of his arguing in private and public diſputations [*E*]. He made ſuch a quick progreſs in his ſtudies, that he was very early promoted to a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity [*F*], in the diſcharge of

" lexander Achillini, teaching philoſophy at Padua, " and admired the wit, erudition and learning of " that man." And Comnenus (8), *Vir doctiſſimus, & inſignis utroque ſæculo 15mo & 16mo Philoſophus.* i. e. " A moſt learned man, and a famous Philoſopher in " the 15th and 16th Century.

(8) *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Patav.* tom. 1. lib. 3. Sect. 2. c. 8.

[*D*] *A ſtedfaſt follower and accurate interpreter of Averroes.*] Averroes was the firſt, that made a commentary on upon all the works of Ariſtotle; hence it is, that Dante in his *Inferno*, cap. 4. ſaid of him,

Averrois, ch' il gran commento feo.
That is,
" Averroes, who made the great commentary.

By this he acquired in the Schools an authority almoſt, nay with ſome equal to that of Ariſtotle himſelf. *Quem*, ſays Ludov. Vives (9), *Philoſophi de noſtra ſchola, qui poſt eum ſcripſere, ita ſunt amplexati, ut pene auctoritate Ariſtoteli adæquarint.* i. e. " Whom the Philoſophers of our ſchool, who wrote " after him, ſo followed, that they made him almoſt " equal in authority to Ariſtotle." And in another place (10): *Hic eſt Averroes, quem aliquorum dementia Ariſtoteli parem fecit.* i. e. " This is Averroes, " whom the madneſs of ſome people has made equal " to Ariſtotle." Among his followers, who from his name were called *Averroiſts*, none has been ſo much renowned as our Achillini; he was by the teſtimony of Jovius (11), *Accuratus Averrois interpres*, i. e. " an exact interpreter of Averroes," to whoſe opinions he ſtedfaſtly adhered, by which he became ſo famous: *Secutus*, ſays the ſame Jovius, *opiniones Averrois, quibus totius ingenii ſui fama nitebatur.* The literal ſenſe of which words is, that the fame of all his judgment was built on the opinions of Averroes; that is to ſay, that all the renown he had of an ingenious man was for adhering to the opinions of Averroes; but the Italian tranſlator Hippolito Orio has given them another ſenſe by rendring them thus: *Haveva ſeguito Averroe, con le cui opinioni ei difendeva la chiara fama del nobile ingegno ſuo.* That is, " He followed Averroes, with " whoſe opinions he defended the ſhining fame of " his ſublime judgment." As if Jovius had ſaid, *totius ingenii ſui famam tuebatur*, it ſeems he did not underſtand the true meaning of the verb *nitebatur*. Claudio Achillini, grandſon to our Achillini's brother, in a letter to Giacomo Accariſio mentions him by the name of *that great Averroiſt, quel grande Averroiſta.* And Ghilini (12), *Famoſo Averroiſta, che con tanta fama, e gloria del ſuo nome publicamente leſſe filoſofia nello ſtudio di Padoa.* i. e. " A famous Aver- " roiſt, who in the univerſity of Padua read philoſo- " phy with ſo much fame, and glory of his name."

(9) Quoted by Poſſevinus *in Bibliotb. Select.* tom. 2. p. 52.

(10) Pag. 54.

(11) *In Elog.*

(12) *Teatr. d'uom. Illuſtr. in Claud. Achillini.*

[*E*] *Arguing in private and public diſputations.*] Achillini went wherever diſputations were kept, giving proofs of his extraordinary ability in arguing; but more particularly he frequented thoſe public diſputations, that are called the *general chapters*, or convocations among the Friars. Montalbanus is my author. *Philoſophiam*, ſays he, *ſumma celebritate docuit Patavii, & Bononiæ, ubique diſputando, in capitulis præſertim generalibus Franciſcanorum, Dominicanorum, aliorumque.* i. e. " He taught philoſo- " phy at Padua and Bologna with great applauſe, diſ- " puting every where, particularly in the general " chapters, or convocations of the Franciſcans, Do- " minicans, and others." Scholaſtic diſputations chiefly conſiſt in getting the better of the adverſary by puzzling and intangling him with a form of ſyllogiſm, and ſo obtaining the victory. To this ſort of Philoſophers and Diſputants may be juſtly applied what I remember to have read, but do not know where at preſent, of the Hibernians very much renown'd for able Logicians and Metaphyſicians.

Gens ratione furens, & mentem paſta chimeris.

Our Achillini was a perfect maſter of this way of arguing, for which he was admired as a genius ſuperior to human nature. I have this from Orlandi, who reports that he was a very acute Diſputant; on which account in the *circoli* (13), where he did argue, and was not known, there went current as a proverb that ſaying, *Either the Devil, or Achillini. Fù acutiſſimo argumentatore, onde ne' circoli, dove argomentava, e non era conoſciuto, paſsò in proverbio qu'ell' aut Diabolus, aut Achillinus.* He is not the only one, who for his extraordinary parts has been compared to the Devil. I have heard the ſame reported of Eraſmus the firſt time he met Sir Thomas More, to whom he was only known by fame; and the like of ſome others. That a ſubtil Diſputant as our Achillini, or a very cunning fellow ſhould be praiſed with this expreſſion, is no wonder to me; ſince the notion we have of the Devil, is of a ſpirit, who uſes all his knowledge, which is very far above the human, to deceive and to ſeduce us by ſubtil and fallacious arguments; and we know by a very dear bought experience, that his artifices and arguments ſeldom fail to get the better of our reaſon. According to this notion the ſerpent, that deceived Eve, of whom the ſcripture ſays, that *he was more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field*, is generally taken for the Devil. What I wonder at, is, that a man renowned for his excellency in a profeſſion, ſhould be rather honoured with the name of Devil, than Angel. True it is, that the Devil is of an angelic nature, and the ignorant people ſeem to give him a knowledge and power ſuperior to Angels; yet all know and agree, that his knowledge and power is to do evil. Why then ſhould a man endued with extraordinary gifts of nature, which are reputed heaven's bleſſings, and for which the poſſeſſors of them are admired, be rather compared to the Devil, whoſe nature is to do evil, than to an Angel whoſe nature is to do good? And what reaſon can be given of the origin of this expreſſion? either the Devil, or ſuch a man. I will propoſe to the reader a conjecture, which ſeems to me not altogether improbable. The ancients gave the name of Δαίμων to the Divinity, to ſpiritual beings, and to men admired for wiſdom, or virtue; but the ſignification of the word Δαίμων being afterwards changed, and by the Chriſtians given in a peculiar manner to the Devil, the expreſſion ſtill remained, tho' the ſignification of the word Δαίμων was applied to a bad Angel inſtead of a good one; or, the Divinity: ſo that, what formerly would have been expreſſed by either *God, Angel, or ſuch a one*, was changed into the preſent proverb, *Either the Devil, or ſuch a one.*

(13) *Circoli* are diſputes kept in the ſchools of thoſe monaſtical and regular orders, that teach Philoſophy and Divinity, to exerciſe the ſcholars. The Italian name anſwers the Latin *Corona*, both names expreſſing a number of people ſtanding, or ſitting round.

[*F*] *To a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity.*] If we give credit to Orlandi (14), our Achillini began to read lectures at Bologna in 1484; from which it appears, that he was then but twenty years old, ſince the ſame author tells us, that he died in the forty eighth year of his age in 1512. So that according to this account he muſt have been born in 1464. Jovius takes no notice of his being Profeſſor at Bologna before he went to Padua. At the end of his books *de Intelligentiis* and *de Elementis*, he is ſtiled a public and ordinary Profeſſor of the theory of phyſic: *Publicè theoricam medicinæ, & ordinariè docente.* And at the end of the book *de Orbibus: Philoſophiam publicè & ordinariè docente.* And in the book *De ſubjecto phyſionomiæ & chiromantiæ: Ambas ordinarias & philoſophiæ & medicinæ theoricæ publicè docente.* Montalbanus and Orlandi ſay only in general terms, that he was public Profeſſor of philoſophy in both places. But Tomaſinus * and Comnenus † do not agree about the chair he had at Bologna. Tomaſinus ſpeaking of him when called to Padua, ſays: *Alexander Achillinus, qui diu Bononiæ docuerat primo loco philoſophiam.* i. e. " Alexander Achillini, " who for a long while had taught philoſophy at Bo- " logna in, or from the firſt place," that is, the firſt chair. Comnenus on the contrary ſays, that he taught Ariſtotle's and Averroes's doctrine: *Primùm Bononiæ è minoribus exedris, mox è prima philoſophiæ Patavii.* i. e. " Firſt at Bologna from the inferior " chairs,

(14) *Notizie degli Scritt. Bologn.*

* *De Gymnaſ. Patav.*
† *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Patav.*

of which duty he acquitted himſelf with general applauſe and admiration, ſo that his name became famous all over Italy. He continued at Bologna till the year 1506, when the Univerſity of Padua made choice of him to ſucceed Antonio Francatiano in the firſt chair of Philoſophy [*G*]. Achillini went to Padua, where his reputation drew a vaſt number of ſtudents to his lectures, which expoſed him to the envy of his collegue in the chair, Peter Pomponatius [*H*], a Philoſopher and Averroiſt too of very great repute, but ambitious of glory, who could not but look upon the number of ſcholars as a mark of the maſter's reputation, beſides the advantage that Achillini had over him in the diſputations; he therefore by practices underhand endeavoured to withdraw the ſcholars from him; and in the diſputations, to elude the force of his arguments, which he was not able to anſwer, he had recourſe then to an artifice, which never fails of ſucceſs with the multitude, but is a certain proof of the badneſs of his cauſe, who makes uſe of it; I mean to get himſelf off by raillery and ſharp jeſts. But the malice and artifices of Achillini's antagoniſt did not leſſen his reputation, or weaken the ſtrength of his arguments. He did not continue long at Padua, the dangerous war, in which the State of Venice was engaged againſt the league of Cambray, put a ſtop to the readings of the Profeſſors of that Univerſity [*I*]. This obliged Achillini to retire to his native country [*K*], where he was received with the ſame marks of honour and diſtinction, that he had before he left it, being made a ſecond time Profeſſor of Philoſophy in that Univerſity [*L*]. He ſpent the reſt of his

(15) *Oper. & di.* ver. 25.

(16) This ſeems to me the moſt natural and obvious ſenſe of Heſiod's words, tho' by the common opinion of interpreters they are underſtood not of envy, but of that laudable emulation of which Heſiod is ſpeaking. Indeed the connexion of the diſcourſe requires this ſenſe, but the words, as I ſay, do not expreſs it; and I am apt to think, that theſe two verſes are miſplaced, and ought to be put after the ſixteenth verſe, where he deſcribes that ſort of contention, which is the cauſe of war and diſſention among men. If the reader will take the trouble to look upon the whole paſſage, I believe he will not diſapprove my conjecture. I will add, that according to the common interpretation I can't underſtand what πτωχὸς has to do here, ſince it is very plain, that the Poet is ſpeaking of artiſts and induſtrious people among whom no body will reckon the beggar. I cannot but take notice alſo of the different way, that I find this paſſage quoted by Priſcian according to the edition of Hanow 1605, which was procured by Putſchius, who collected all the ancient Latin Grammarians, and corrected them according to the MSS. In this edition, which is reckoned the beſt, out of the two verſes is made one, and inſtead of φθονέει 'tis φθονέει· καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων. But in a very ancient edition made at Venice in 1476, which I have now before me, both verſes with part of the antecedent, and the beginning of the ſubſequent are quoted as we read them in Heſiod.

" chairs, afterwards from the firſt of philoſophy at " Padua." By which words is to be plainly ſeen the difference he puts between the chair of Bologna and that of Padua; calling the firſt *minor exedra*, the ſecond *prima exedra*; and that Achillini, whilſt he profeſſed philoſophy at Bologna before his going to Padua, had not the firſt chair. He was indeed Profeſſor at Bologna for a great while, by which we might very probably ſuppoſe, that ſome time before he was called to Padua, he had the firſt chair at Bologna. This conjecture is very conſiſtent with what Tomaſinus ſays, but Comnenus's words will by no means admit of it. As for his being Profeſſor of Philoſophy even in the firſt chair at twenty years of age, it is not to be much wondered at, if we conſider, that in thoſe times the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin tongue, and in general good literature was neglected, and that a young ſcholar from the Latin Grammar was immediately ſent to ſtudy what they called Philoſophy.

[*G*] *In the firſt chair of philoſophy.*] I am ſurprized not to find Achillini mentioned among the Profeſſors of the univerſity of Padua by Antonius Riccobonus in his book *De Gymnaſio Patavino.* Tomaſinus, out of the regiſters of the ſaid univerſity, marks all what we have advanced on this particular *Anno* 1506, 7. *Novembris, Alexander Achillinus, qui diu Bononiæ docuerat primo loco philoſophiam, ad hanc ſedem ſucceſſit Francatiano.* That this chair was the firſt is evident by the title of the chapter, which contains a catalogue of the Profeſſors of Philoſophy in that chair. *Profeſſores philoſophiæ ordinariæ in primo loco ab anno* 1500 *uſque ad* 1653. The ſame is confirmed by Comnenus in the paſſage quoted in the precedent note.

[*H*] *To the envy of his collegue in the chair, Peter Pomponatius.*] What Heſiod ſays of the Artiſts, that

(15) Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

That is,

" The Artiſt envies what the Artiſt gains,
" The Bard the rival Bard's ſucceſsful ſtrains:
Cook.

the ſame may be ſaid of all profeſſions in general. A Philoſopher, a Divine &c. will envy (16) another of his profeſſion as much, nay more than a low mechanic will another of his trade. Which is not only becauſe Profeſſors are mercenary as well as tradeſmen, but alſo becauſe ambition and pride are paſſions common to mankind, which make men act againſt the rules of their own profeſſion. Philoſophy and Divinity ſhould inſpire their Profeſſors with meekneſs, charity, patience, and the reſt of moral virtues; but experience ſhews the contrary, and we ſee very often that thoſe Profeſſors are no better men than others, nay ſometimes worſe. Such is the power of human paſſions, which is not to be thought ſtrange, ſince they are the gifts of nature, altho' we pay very dear for them; but arts and profeſſions are acquired by application and induſtry; and as arts and profeſſions can never reach the perfection of nature, ſo they can never entirely ſubdue her paſſions.

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret.

[*I*] *Profeſſors of the Univerſity of Padua.*] Paulus Jovius, who had been a diſciple of Pomponatius, gives this account of Achillini: *Quum Patavii*, ſays he, *philoſophiam profiteretur, ſolidæ, conſtantiſque doctrinæ famam obtinuit, vel ipſo Pomponatio acri æmulo inſidioſa ambitione ſcholam ejus depopulante.* i. e. " When he was Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Padua, " he gained himſelf the reputation of a man of ſo" lid and real learning, tho' Pomponatius himſelf " was his rival, and endeavoured to leſſen his ſchool " by all the artifices imaginable." And ſpeaking of Pomponatius. *In coronis, conſeſſuque doctorum, quem exercitatione perutili ad prætoriam porticum diſputaretur, ita mirus evadebat, ut ſæpe ancipiti, & cornuto Achillini enthymemate circumventus, ſuperfuſo facetiarum ſale adverſarii impetum ex illis, gyris & mæandris explicatus eluderet.* i. e. " In the circles " and meetings of the men of learning, when the " uſeful exerciſe of diſputing was held as the præ" torian porch, he exerted himſelf wonderfully, ſo " that very often, when he was ſurprized by " ſome ſubtle argument of Achillini, he would readily " elude the force of it by ſome merry jeſt or other." But notwithſtanding this, the ſame Jovius ſays of Achillini: *Sed æmulum*, (that is, Pomponatius) *in corona veteratorie diſputantem, & riſum ſalſa dicacitate ſæpius excitantem, ipſo invicto doctrinæ robore ſuperabat.* i. e. " But he gained the advantage over " his rival Pomponatius by the invincible ſtrength " of his learning, tho' the latter uſed to diſpute " in a very artful manner, and raiſe mirth in the " audience by his agreeable jeſts." Mr. Bayle in the article POMPONATIUS has a remark upon this conduct of his anſwering Achillini's arguments, which the reader may conſult.

[*K*] *To retire to his native country.*] Achillini continued at Padua in the firſt chair of philoſophy from the latter end of 1506 till 1509, in which he left it. I fix this date by what Jovius ſays: *Concidente autem Patavius gymnaſio inter exorti belli ſtrepitum Bononiam reverſus.* i. e. " But on the " ruin of the univerſity of Padua, as the noiſe of " the war then broke out, he returned to Bolog" na (17)." The year 1509, was the firſt of the war, that the Venetians had with the confederates of Cambray, when Padua was in a very dangerous condition, ſome time in the hands of the Germans, then recovered by the Venetians, and after beſieged and attacked but without ſucceſs. So that it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Profeſſors then continued to read lectures. A particular account of this war may be ſeen in an Italian book written by Andrea Mocenico, intitled *La guerra di Cambrai*, and printed at Venice 1562, in 8vo.

(17) Jo. Bapt. Verus *rer. Venet.* lib. 3.

[*L*] *A ſecond time Profeſſor of philoſophy in that univerſity.*] Jovius in the elogium of Achillini does

his life at Bologna, where he died [*M*], and was interred with great pomp in the church of St. Martin the Great, which belongs to the Carmelite Friars (*a*). John Vitalis made the verſes that were put upon his tomb-ſtone [*N*]. Peter Pomponatius his former collegue and antagoniſt ſucceeded him in the chair. I ſhall give in the notes his character [*O*], and the catalogue of his books [*P*], all which

(*a*) Geand. Albert. *Deſcript. of Italy.* Orland. *loc. cit.*

(*b*) Jov. Pomponat. *Comnen. Hiſt. Gym. Pat.*

not mention his having been Profeſſor a ſecond time at Bologna, that is, after he retired thither from Padua; but in the elogium of Pomponatius he ſays, that the Venetian war being broke out, Pomponatius taught philoſophy at Bologna after the death of Achillini. *Exorto bello Veneto poſt Achillini mortem Bononiæ profeſſus eſt.* The import of which words is, that he ſucceeded Achillini in the profeſſorſhip, which is confirmed by Comnenus in expreſs words, as you'll find in the next note.

[*M*] *Where he died.*] Orlandi expreſly tells us, that he died in 1512, the forty eighth year of his age; but Simler makes him a year older. *Ætatis ſuæ quadrageſimo nono*, i. e. "in the forty ninth year "of his age. And Jovius ſays, that he died, *quum nondum quinquageſimum expleviſſet annum*, i. e. "not "having yet completed his fiftieth year." Comnenus has ſaid the ſame thing: *Nondum quinquagenarius obiiſſe dicitur*; but he places his death about the year 1525, which if true, he muſt have been born about the year 1475, and then he could not have begun to read philoſophy in 1484, as Orlandi relates, being then but nine years old, an age incapable of it. Comnenus is certainly miſtaken, and ſeems to contradict himſelf. *Patavino gymnaſio*, are his own words, *ſilere juſſo per bellorum, & fœderis Cameracenſis tumultus ſe recepit in patriam, in qua iterum aliquandiu docuit, nempe ad annum* 1525, *circa quem nondum quinquagenarius obiiſſe dicitur.* i. e. "The univerſity of Padua having been forced "to be ſhut up on account of the troubles of the "war, and the league of Cambray, Achillini "retired to his own country, where he taught again "for ſome time, that is, till the year 1525, about "which time it is reported he died, being not yet "fifty years of age." The word *aliquandiu* imports a ſhort ſpace of time; and indeed Jovius, whom Comnenus follows, expreſſes himſelf ſo as to make us believe, that Achillini died a little time after his retirement to Bologna. *Bononiam reverſus exceſſit è vita*, i. e. "having gone back to Bologna he "died." He went back to Bologna in 1509, as we have proved in the note [*K*]. Now if Achillini had lived till the year 1525, he would have been Profeſſor thirteen or fourteen years at leaſt, ſuppoſing either that he was not made Profeſſor immediately after he returned to Bologna, or that he did not leave Padua till after the year 1509. Which long ſpace of time cannot be properly underſtood by the word *aliquandiu*, "for ſome "time." Neither is it to be ſuppoſed, that ſo renowned a Profeſſor as Achillini ſhould have been for ten or twelve years without a place in the univerſity of his native country. I am confirmed in this opinion by Orlandi's expreſſion, that he was *publico lettore in Padoa, e in Bologna dall' anno* 1484, *ſino al* 1512; i. e. "public reader at Padua and "Bologna from the year 1484 till 1512." Which manner of ſpeaking imports, that Achillini was Profeſſor all that time; he would not have ſaid this, had he been without a profeſſorſhip ſo many years within that ſpace of time. But there is no reaſon to doubt of Orlandi's date. Vizani a Bologneſe, who wrote an accurate hiſtory of his own country, confirms it. *In quel tempo* (1512) *morì Aleſſandro Achilino Bologneſe, filoſofo di gran fama, e di acutiſſimo ingegno.* i. e. "At that time (1512) died Alexander "Achillino of Bologna, a Philoſopher of great fame, "and moſt acute genius *."

* Creſcimbeni out of Caferro (*Synth. Vetuſt.* p. 411.) not only fixes his death to this year, but alſo mentions the very day of it, viz. Septemb. 29.

[*N*] *The verſes that were put upon his tomb-ſtone.*] The verſes are related by Jovius, and are as follows:

Hoſpes, Achillinum tumulo qui quæris in iſto,
Falleris, ille ſuo junctus Ariſtoteli
Elyſium colit, & quas verum hic diſcere cauſas
Vix potuit, plenis nunc videt ille oculis.
Tu modo, per campos dum nobilis umbra beatos
Errat, dic longum, perpetuumque vale.

"Reader, in vain you here attempt to find
"Immortal Achillini in this tomb:
"Join'd with his Ariſtotle now he dwells
"In ſweet Elyſium; and diſcovers fully
"All nature and its cauſes, which before
"In this low ſphere, he knew to leſs perfection.
"Then reader, whilſt this mighty ſhade's employ'd
"In this bleſt manner, bid a long farewell."

[*O*] *His character.*] Jovius, who knew him, and had heard his lectures, aſſures us, that Achillini was a man, who by his exceeding honeſty and ſimplicity was entirely unacquainted with addreſs and flattery; inſomuch, that he was a laughing-ſtock of the pert and ſaucy young ſcholars, altho' eſteemed on account of his learning; but he never ſo much expoſed himſelf to their laughter, as by his ſhambling gate when he walked, wearing a ſcarlet gown of an uncommon faſhion, that is, with cloſe ſleeves, and no folds behind, welted with otter's skin; and by a conſtant ſmile upon his countenance and unpoliſhed language diſcovered himſelf to be either of a ſimple or contemplative diſpoſition. This is the character, that Jovius gives of Achillini, which I have rendred into Engliſh the beſt I could. His words are: *Erat enim à ſumma ingenii ſimplicitate ambiendi, adulandique prorſus imperitus, uſque adeo, ut ſalſæ, petulantique juventuti, quanquam doctrinæ nomine in honore eſſet, ridendus videretur; & tum maxime, quum deambularet undulatis paſſibus, coccina in toga exoleti moris, aſtrictas ſcilicet habente manicas, & nullis à tergo defluentibus rugis, lutrina pelle fimbriatas: renidentique ſemper fronte, & ſermone pingui vel inepti, vel contemplantis ingenii vitia fateretur.* By this it appears, that it was an eaſy matter for a cunning and witty man, as Pomponatius was, to ridicule Achillini, and expoſe him to the laughter of the ſcholars and the aſſemblies, and by this means to come off of the argument with credit. Achillini's manners and ſingularities were of great diſadvantage to him, who had to do with young ſcholars generally inclined to ridicule, and to deſpiſe their maſters; and with an adverſary who had all the qualities neceſſary to a Profeſſor. You may ſee his character in *Jovius*. But it is a great mark of Achillini's eſtabliſhed reputation, that altho' under ſo great a diſadvantage, he yet did not loſe it among the young people, who like the multitude are more taken with ridicule, altho' a falſe one, than with real merit, of which they are not proper judges. Merit, except it is ſupported by a general reputation, will not withſtand ridicule, which by making upon the mind a deeper and more agreeable impreſſion than merit, as being the food of the ſtrongeſt of all human paſſions, ſelf-love and pride; Ridicule, I ſay, is ſo powerful as to make us forget the merit of the perſon, and look upon him only as an object of our diverſion and laughter; nay very often merit itſelf is turned into ridicule. A man of poinant wit, who has the gift of agreeably expoſing his adverſary to ridicule is a more formidable enemy, than a bitter ſatyriſt, or a warm declaimer; and I would rather have a Swift on my ſide, than all the Scaligers, Salmaſius's, Grevius's, Gronovius's, and Bentley's put together. As for his merit and reputation, Achillini, as well as many other authors, owe both to the ignorance of the age he lived in, when all philoſophy conſiſted in vain and uſeleſs ſpeculations, and words without real ſignification; not ſearching after truth with ſolid reaſon and accurate experiments, but after the ſentiments of others in order to follow them with an implicite faith. Had not Ariſtotle and Averroes been then in veneration, what would have become of Achillini's merit and fame? I am ſure, that in our days a great Philoſopher and Averroiſt as Achillini was, would make a very different figure in the world from what he did in his time. That ſcholaſtic philoſophy deſerves no better name, than what Rabelais very pleaſantly gives to the doctrine of Scotus, *Barbouillamenta Scoti*; ſo we may ſay *Barbouillamenta ſcholaſtica.*

[*P*] *Catalogue of his books.*] His Philoſophical books are the following: *De intelligentiis*, lib. 5. *De orbibus*, lib. 4. *De univerſalibus. De phyſico auditu.*

which he dedicated to John Bentivogli [2].

De elementis lib. 3. *De ſubjecto phyſionomiæ* (17), *& chiromantiæ. De ſubjecto medicinæ. De prima poteſtate ſyllogiſmi. De diſtinctionibus* (18). *De proportione motuum.* All theſe were printed in one volume in fol. at Bologna *per Benedictum Hectorem* 1494, and afterwards reprinted at Venice in 1545. in fol. *per Hieronymum Scotum, cum annotationibus excellentiſſimi Doctoris Pamphili Montii Bononienſis ſcholæ Patavinæ publici Profeſſoris.* Which laſt edition I have ſeen, and am ſure of the date. But I find in *Simler*, *Montalbanus*, and *Orlandi* this edition with the year 1568; very probably the ſame Printer made two editions, the firſt in 1545, the ſecond in 1568. I have ſeen another edition printed at Venice in 1508, fol. *per Bonetum Locatellum preſbyterum Bergomenſem*, which contains only *De intelligentiis, De orbibus, De univerſalibus, De elementis, De principiis chiromantiæ & phyſionomiæ, De poteſtate ſyllogiſmi, De ſubjecto medicinæ.* The little book *De chiromantiæ & phyſionomiæ principiis* had been before printed at Bologna, *per Jo. Antonium de Benedictis*, 1503, fol. This is the only book, that I find mentioned by Geſner in his *Bibliotheca*, which he publiſhed in 1545, at Zurich.

(17) Montalbanus has *Philoſophiæ* by miſtake.

(18) Orlandi has *de diſtributionibus.*

His books of Phyſic are: *In Mundini anatomiam annotationes*, which are printed in the *Faſciculus medicinæ Johannis de Ketam*, at Venice 1522, *apud Cæſarem Arrivabenum* in fol. and at Bologna in 1524, *per Hieronymum Benedictum.*

Vander Linden mentions another book, which I do not find taken notice of by Montalbanus, Orlandi, and the reſt, who have given us an account of Achillini's works, which is; *De humani corporis anatomia, apud Johannem Antonium, & F. de Sabio* 1521, in 4to. He does not mention the place, where it was printed, but from the Printers names I am apt to think it to be at Venice. He left ſome other works, which are not publiſhed (19): *De ſubſtantia orbis, De mixtis*, lib. 12. *Metaphyſices, Rhetoricæ Ariſtotelis correctæ* lib. 1. *Tractatus de anima.*

(19) Montalbanus and Orlandi.

Orlandi mentions ſome of his Poems, which are in the collection made upon the death of Serafino dall'Aquila, whereby he gives him the name, and ranks him among the Poets of Bologna. But as I never ſaw but one * Sonetto of his, I cannot pretend to paſs a judgment upon all. However, if his poems are no better than his philoſophy, I think he hardly deſerves the name of a Poet.

* In Creſcimbeni.

As for his ſtile, it is like the reſt of the ſchoolmen. *Stilus barbarus*, ſays Geſner; and Comnenus tells us, that he ſo cloſely inſiſted upon the interpretations of Averroes, that the reader often wants a nomenclator, to underſtand his philoſophy. *In his (libris) palam peripateticam ſectam profeſſus, ita obſcuris Averrois interpretationibus inhæret, ut ſæpe nomenclatore opus ſit, quò eum philoſophantem intelligas.* And Montius, who took the pains to make notes upon his philoſophical works, in his dedication to Sebaſtian Foſcarini, tells him: *Et quatenus author locis non paucis obſcurus eſt, quibus intelligendis non parum torqueretur juventus in hujus viri lectione non ſatis verſata, nos ſcholia noſtra in margine adjecimus, quibus rem ipſam quanta potuimus brevitate explicavimus.*

To his obſcurity, as Comnenus rightly obſerves, Latomus had an eye in his epigram upon him, which we read in *Jovius. Eò reſpexit Latomus apud Jovium hoc diſticho* (20):

(20) He ſhould have ſaid more properly *tetraſticho.*

Quiſquis Averroem cenſes habuiſſe cerebrum,
Falleris; haud eſt me paſſus habere meum.
Regula non fallit, propter quod quodlibet unum
Taliter affectum eſt, ſed magis illud erat.

I can't forbear obſerving, that the epigram appears as obſcure to me as the Philoſopher he ſpeaks of.

[2] *All which he dedicated to John Bentivogli.*] This particular I have from Claudio Achillini, in a letter of his quoted before, to Giacomo Accariſio. He ſpeaks of Cardinal Bentivoglio: *Rinuovo alla memoria di ſua Eminenza l'humiliſſima, & antica ſervitù principiata fin al tempo di quel grande Averroiſta Aleſſandro Achillini, fratello di mio avo, che indrizzò tutte le opere ſue al nome di Gio. Bentivogli.* i. e. "I renew to his Eminency's me-"mory the humble and ancient ſervice, which be-"gan from the time of that great Averroiſt Alex-"ander Achillini my grandfather's brother, who "dedicated all his works to John Bentivogli."

(a) Bumald. *Biblioth. Bonon.* p. 136, 137. Orlandi *Notiz. Iſtor. de Scrit. Bologn.* p. 162. Creſcimbeni *Coment. intorno all' iſtor. della Volg. Poes.* vol. 2. p. 2. lib. 3. N° 78.

☞ACHILLINI (*a*), JOHN PHILOTHEUS [*A*], a younger brother of Alexander beforementioned, was Profeſſor of polite learning. Although he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity, yet having a natural inclination for Poetry, and a facility in rhiming, he cultivated them, and writ ſome Poems, for which he is reckoned among the Poets of the fifteenth Century [*B*]; but his reputation in Poetry did not equal that of his brother in Philoſophy, though both were indebted for it to the bad taſte of that age [*C*]. He was a great promoter of learning among his countrymen,

[*A*] *John Philotheus.*] In Italian, Giovanni Filoteo; Bumaldus, or Montalbanus calls him in Latin Joannes Philoteus, he ſhould have ſaid Philotheus with an aſpiration, according to the import and orthography of the Greek name. The Italians, who are no friends to aſpirations, have changed it to Filoteo; but this does not excuſe Montalbanus, who wrote in Latin.

[*B*] *He is reckoned among the Poets of the fifteenth Century.*] Although our Achillini lived a few years after 1500, that is, in the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, yet on the account of his ſtile, which is like that of the Poets of the fifteenth Century, he deſerves to be reckoned among the Poets of that age, which was the reaſon why Creſcimbeni (1) placed him among them. *Quantunque il ſuo ſtile*, ſays he, *il dichiari Poeta del detto ſecolo* (xv) *e dentro eſſo noi il ponghiamo; nondimeno viſſe alcuni anni ancora del ſeguente.* And adds, *Quindi addiviene, che il mentovato Bumaldi metta il ſuo fiorire negli anni* 1513 i. e. "Hence it is that the abovementioned "Bumaldus dates the time of his reputation in the "year 1513;" but I do not find any mention of this in Bumaldus's *Bibliotheca*, which he quotes. Bumaldus only gives a catalogue of his works with the date of their editions, among which the Poem of *Vividarium* printed in 1513, is mentioned *.

(1) *loc. cit.*

* The edition I have of Bumaldus is of 1641, *Bononiæ, typis hæredis Victorii Benatii, in* 24. and I do not know any other edition of it.

[*C*] *Indebted for it to the taſte of that age.*] In what degree of reputation our Achillini was in his time for Poetry, I cannot poſitively ſay. I don't find him mentioned by Gyraldi. Leandro Alberti ſpeaks of him with commendation, but in general terms, calling him *huomo d'elegantiſſimo, & curioſiſſimo ingegno, come facilmente dall' opere da lui laſciate ſi può giudicare:* that is, "A man of a moſt elegant, "and moſt exquiſite genius, as may be eaſily judged by "the works he has left." But ſuppoſe his reputation to have been very great in thoſe times, certain it is, that in the following age he loſt it, when Italian Poetry was revived, and brought to the height of perfection. *Ebbe*, ſays Creſcimbeni, ſpeaking of him, *altresì feconda vena nelle rime volgari, le quali arricchì largamente colle ſcienze, che profeſſava. Contuttociò non molto applauſo eſigè dalla poſterità; perche, ſiccome egli fiorì nel colmo della barbarie del ſecolo xv. cioè circa gli anni* 1490, *quando i ſeguaci del Tibaldeo avevano anche deformata quella ſpuria maniera; così camminando per entro quella, andò ſpargendo gemme tra'l fango.* i. e. "He had alſo a copi-"ous vein of Italian Poetry, which he largely en-"riched with the ſciences he profeſſed; but yet he "did not get much applauſe from poſterity, becauſe "as he flouriſhed in the height of the ignorance of "the fifteenth age, that is about the year 1490, "when the followers of Tibaldeo had even deform-"ed that ſpurious manner (of Poetry); ſo he going "through it, went on throwing here and there "gems among the dirt." I have never ſeen any of his

countrymen, for whom he founded an Academy [*D*]. I could not meet with any other particular of his life, neither can I fix the date of his death; only I find that he was buried in the ſame church with his brother [*E*]. Beſides the Poems, he compoſed other books, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the remark [*F*]. He is not to be confounded with the author of the *Somnium Viridarii*, who concealed himſelf under the name of Philotheus Achillini [*G*].

his Poems, but by what I can judge by ſome of his verſes quoted in different places by Montalbanus in his *Appendix* to the *Bibliotheca Bononienſis*, and the *Specimen* of a *Sonetto* given us by Creſcimbeni, he has no better pretenſion to be reckoned among the good Italian Poets, than the reſt of his cotemporaries. The language in which he wrote his Poems was no better than his ſtile; being, as the ſaid Creſcimbeni judges of it, not a little rough and incorrect. *La lingua delle ſue poeſie e non poco incolta e ſcorretta.* He made uſe of ſeveral words of the common dialect of Bologna, as may be ſeen in Montalbanus's book *Diologogia* (2), in which he is often quoted.

(2) Orlandi calls it *Dialogogia*, but the true title is as we have reported it. I have the book before me, ſo that I can't be miſtaken; it is printed at Bologna in 1652 in 4° by Carlo Zenaro. But let the title be *Diologogia*, or *Dialogogia*, the formation of it is ſtrange to me, altho' the author himſelf explains it thus. *Diologogia, overo delle cagioni, e della naturalezza del parlare, e ſpetialmente del più antico, e più vero di Bologna, &c.* i. e. "*Diologogia*, or "of the cauſes "and nature of "ſpeech, and "particularly of "the moſt anci- "ent and moſt "true, that of "Bologna, defen- "ded, prais'd, and "related to the "Star of Jupiter. But this explanation does not give me a better idea of the formation of the word *Diologogia*, or *Dialogogia*. It was Montalbanus's way to affect a mighty ſhew of learning, which he was not a great maſter of, by giving ſtrange titles to his books, and by numerous quotations of authors; ſo that he may juſtly deſerve in this regard the title of *Dottor Bologneſe*.

[*D*] *He founded an Academy.*] Among the Academies of Bologna, of which Orlandi has given us a catalogue in the beginning of his book, is reckoned the Academy *del Viridario*, which was founded by this Achillini in the year 1511, for the improvement of learning. It took for its device a laurel-tree with this motto: *E ſpe in ſpem.*

[*E*] *He was buried in the ſame church with his brother.*] Alberti informs us of this in his deſcription of Italy, where giving an account of Bologna, and ſpeaking of the church of the Carmelite Friars, he ſays, that there lie buried Alexander Achillini, and his brother John, whom I take to be our John Philotheus. *Nella chieſa di S. Martino del Carmelitani ripoſano l'oſſa del magno Aleſſandro Achilino, & di Gio. ſuo fratello.*

[*F*] *He compoſed ſeveral books.*] Here follows the catalogue of them which I have collected out of Montalbanus and Orlandi.

Epiſtole al Magnificentiſſimo Meſſer Antonio Rodolfo Germanico, oue ſi narrano tutte le ſorti di Pietre, di Sibille, la varietà dell'armi antiche, e moderne, i muſicali inſtrumenti, i Coloſſi, le nove Muſe, la diverſità degli Alberi, le Cavalcature, gli abiti antichi, e moderni, egli accidenti diverſi. This book is in 4° without date, or the name of the place where it was printed, or the printer's name. But Orlandi thinks it was printed at Bologna in 1500. *Senza impreſſione*, this is his expreſſion, *ma ſembra ſtampa di Bologna del* 1500.

Collettanee Greche, Latine, e volgari di diverſi moderni autori nella morte di Serafino dall' Aquila. Bologna 1504. *by Caligula Bazaliero in* 8°. In this collection are his brother's verſes. And I believe alſo the life of Serafino dall' Aquila, of which mention is made by Orlandi.

Viridario. Bologna 1513, by *Girol. Plat.* 4°. This book is a Poem in ſtanza's by the Italians called *Ottava Rima.* I do not doubt but he gave the name of *Viridario* to this Poem upon account of the Academy, which he had eſtabliſhed under that name. In it are mentioned the learned men, and famous painters, ſculptors, and artiſts of Bologna, and other cities. For this reaſon the book is more valuable than the ſtile, and therefore is very often quoted by Montalbanus in his *Appendix Pictorum, atque Sculptorum, ſeu etiam machinamentariorum Bonon. antiquiorum*; which as Orlandi atteſts, is a book quoted by many; *Libro citato da molti.*

Annotazioni della volgar lingua. Bologna 1536. By *Vincenzio Bonardo.* This book muſt be very ſcarce, ſince I find that Creſcimbeni, who has writ ſo much upon the hiſtory of the Italian Poetry, and who had all the advantages that a man can be ſuppoſed to have had for ſuch a work; Creſcimbeni, I ſay, acknowledges that he had not ſeen it.

Il Fedele, a Poem in five books, conſiſting of a hundred ſongs (3), and 15238 verſes. In this Poem the author ſpeaks of many things (4) under the veil of various metaphors as a Poet, as a Philoſopher, and a Divine. Montalbanus talks of it as a MSS. but Creſcimbeni declares he had ſeen it in print. Orlandi mentions alſo *Eneide* and *Rimario* MS. but I apprehend he is miſtaken, ſince by what I can gueſs, he advances this upon finding them quoted in the margin (5) of Montalbanus's *Diologogia*, together with Achillini's Poem *Il Fedele.* But I have obſerved, that Montalbanus very often quotes *a rimario Bologneſe antico* by itſelf, and that the quotation *Æneid.* 1. which comes immediately after Achillini's *Fedele*, is to be referred to this verſe of Virgil in the text, which is the 578. of the firſt book.

Tros, Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur.

Beſides, the quotations in the margin being in great number, and without any mark of reference, and put all together one after another without order; all this conſidered, I ſay, it is very eaſy for the reader to be miſtaken in determining to which word of the text the quotation is to be referred; and whether one or more of thoſe quotations are for the ſame or different parts of the text. This gives me reaſon to ſuſpect the truth of what Orlandi ſays, who notwithſtanding all he reports of Achillini, brings no other authority but that of Bumaldus; that is, Montalbanus, who in his *Bibliotheca Bononienſi* (6) makes no mention of theſe two MSS. but only of the Poem *Il Fedele.* I muſt nevertheleſs acknowledge, that he puts an *&c.* by which it ſeems he gives us to underſtand, that there were other MSS. of Achillini, which either he had not ſeen, or did not remember the titles of them ſo as to ſet them down.

(3) *Montalbanus* calls them *Cantilenas*, and Orlandi after the ſame manner *Cantilene*; but whether the author himſelf gave them that name, or not, I can't tell, having not ſeen the book; neither am I ſure that Orlandi had ſeen it, it being not improbable that he tranſcribed Montalbanus: and I am rather inclined to think he uſed the name *Cantici*, a kind of Poem uſed by the ancients; even in the 16th Century Girolamo Britonio gave this name to a large Poem of his of the like nature. *Vide* Creſcimb. *Coment.* vol. 1. l. 3. c. 20.

(4) *De omnibus ferè diſcurrit rebus*, ſays Montalbanus, *di varie coſe.* Orlandi *d'ogni genere di ſcienze.* Creſcimb.

(5) Pag. 29.

(6) Pag. 137.

[*G*] *The name of Philotheus Achillini.*] In the Supplement of Moreri he is called *John Philotheus Achillini*, but I find in Placcius, and all the authors mentioned by him, that he is called only by the name of *Philotheus*, not of *Jo. Philotheus.*

☞ACHIOR, General of the Ammonites, who ſpoke with great freedom to Holofernes concerning the power of the Jews [*A*], and the peculiar protection, which God had always favoured them with (*a*). He told him that this people were deſcended of the

(*a*) Judith, v. 5, & *ſeq.*

[*A*] . . *who ſpoke with great freedom to Holofernes concerning the power of the Jews, and the peculiar protection, which God had always favoured them with.*] When Holofernes found, that the Jews had ſhut their gates againſt him, and prepared to defend themſelves, he called the Princes of Moab, and the Captains of Ammon together, and ask'd them, who thoſe were, that had preſumed to reſiſt him: *What are the cities*, ſays he (1), *that they inhabit, and what is the multitude of their army, and wherein is their power and ſtrength, and what King is ſet over them, or Captain of their army?* This paſſage has been urged as an objection againſt the authority of the book of Judith. For how is it poſſible, ſay the objectors, that this General and his officers ſhould be ignorant of a people, againſt whom they had waged a war but a few years before, and whoſe King they had carried captive into Chaldea, as it is ſuppoſed, that the King of Aſſyria's Officers had done to Manaſſeh? Nay we are told in the book it ſelf (2), that *they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people of Judea were lately gathered together; and the veſſels, and the altar, and the houſe were ſanctified after the profanation.* This ſeems clearly to intimate, that they were juſt then returned from the captivity of Babylon; and conſequently it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Aſſyrians ſhould know nothing of this people. In anſwer to this objection two things are urged (3); 1. That Holofernes had never been before in that country, tho' the Aſſyrian Kings

(1) Ch. v. 3.

(2) Judith, iv.

(3) See Father Calmet, *Comment. Litteral ſur le Livre de Judith.* v. 4.

the Chaldeans, and that their anceſtors dwelt at firſt in Meſopotamia; but refuſing to worſhip the Gods of the Chaldeans, they were obliged to leave that country, and ſettled in the land of Canaan, which they were then poſſeſſed of. He proceeded likewiſe to inform him of Jacob's journey into Egypt, and the miracles which were performed by Moſes, in order to ſet the Iſraelites free, and of their conqueſt of the land of Canaan. His advice therefore was, that before they attempted the ſiege of Bethulia, they ſhould inform themſelves whether the Jews had offended their God, and provoked his indignation againſt them; for otherwiſe it would be in vain to attack them, ſince he had never failed of defending them againſt their enemies, when they ſhewed themſelves obedient to his laws. This advice of his was received with the utmoſt indignation, and all the principal officers of the army were ſo enraged, that they reſolved to deſtroy him. Holofernes himſelf likewiſe reproached him in the moſt blaſphemous terms [*B*], and commanded his ſoldiers to ſeize him, and carry him to Bethulia, and deliver him up to the Jews [*C*]. But finding it impoſſible to come near that city, becauſe of the ſlingers who caſt ſtones at them, *they bound Achior, and left him at the foot of the hill, and returned to their Lord* (*b*). But the Iſraelites when they ſaw him, came down, and looſed him, and brought him into the city. He then informed them of the occaſion of the Aſſyrians treating him in that manner, upon which Ozias, the ſon of Micha of the tribe of Simeon, one of the Governors of the city, received him into his houſe (*c*). Some time after this Judith having cut off Holofernes's head brought it to Achior, who was ſeized with a prodigious terror at the ſight, and fell down to the ground. But when he recovered, he expreſſed his joy and gratitude to Judith in the ſtrongeſt terms, and immediately abandoned his Pagan idolatry,

(*b*) Ch. vi.

(*c*) Ibid. vi. 21.

Kings might have carried on a war there more than once, either in perſon, as Tilgath-pileſer, Shalmaneſer, and Sennacherib did, or by their Generals, as Eſarhaddon. 2. That he might ask theſe queſtions, not out of ignorance, but raillery and inſult upon the Jews; as if he had ſaid, Who are theſe raſh people, that dare to reſiſt the orders of the King my Maſter, and to oppoſe my army? There are a great many queſtions, which by the manner of asking them, ſhew they they do not reſult from ignorance. However, after all we muſt confeſs, that the care which Holofernes took in calling together the Princes of thoſe countries, which border upon Judea, in order to inform himſelf of the ſtate of the Jewiſh Nation, and Achior's anſwer, ſhew that he was really ignorant of it. But perhaps he wanted to know whether that people were not in a league with the Arabians or Egyptians, and depended upon the aſſiſtance of a Nation, which was more formidable than themſelves.

[*B*] *Holofernes himſelf reproached him in the moſt blaſphemous terms.*] *And who art thou Achior*, ſaid he, *and the hirelings of Ephraim, that thou haſt propheſied amongſt us as to day, and haſt ſaid, that we ſhould not make war with the people of Iſrael, becauſe their God will defend them?* AND WHO IS GOD BUT NABUCHODONOSOR? . . . *they ſhall utterly periſh, ſaith King Nabuchodonoſor,* LORD OF ALL THE EARTH (4). We find likewiſe in the 3d chapter (5), that *he had decreed to deſtroy all the Gods of the land, that all nations ſhould worſhip Nabuchodonoſor only, and that all tongues and tribes ſhould call upon him as God.* This folly of that King was not peculiar to himſelf. Moſt of the Eaſtern Kings required of their ſubjects ſuch a kind of reverence, as approached very near to adoration. The flatterers of Darius propoſed to him a decree, whereby they prohibited any perſon *to ask a petition of any God or man, except of the King for thirty days,* under pain of being caſt in the lions den (6). Darius Codomannus marched in the midſt of his army, and was reverenced as a God, as Quintus Curtius tells us (7); *Rex curru paulo ante vectus, & Deorum à ſuis honoribus cultus.* Alexander the Great having reſolved to procure himſelf the ſame divine honours, which had been given to the Kings of Perſia his predeceſſors, found people about him baſe enough to extol his vanity and impiety, and to aſſert, that the cuſtom of raiſing Kings above the condition of mortality, and ranking them among the Gods, was not only pious, but even prudent and advantageous; *Perſas non piè tantum, ſed etiam prudenter Reges ſuos inter Deos colere; Majeſtatem enim imperii ſalutis eſſe tutelam* (8). The Egyptians had no leſs veneration for their Princes. They conſidered them as greatly elevated above the condition of other Men (9). But the Greeks had generally an abhorrence to theſe kinds of ceremonies. Religion perhaps had but a very little ſhare in this averſion of theirs; but their reaſon and the noble and generous turn of their minds, which were ſuperiour to all baſe and ſervile compliances, ſhewed them the injuſtice and danger of ſuch pretenſions in Kings. For what conſideration could poſſibly reſtrain a Prince, who ſaw himſelf adored as a God, from purſuing the utmoſt exorbitances of his paſſions? We find in hiſtory, that the Athenians condemned Timagoras to death for having adored the King of Perſia in the uſual form (10). And Plutarch tells us (11), that Cimon the Athenian could tranſact nothing with Artaxerxes, becauſe he would not conſent to proſtrate himſelf before him. The two Lacedemonians, Sporchius and Bulis, tho' they were captives, could never be induced to pay the adoration to that Prince, which was required of thoſe, who approach'd him (12). And Martial rallies thoſe, who uſed to give a mortal the appellation of *God* and *Lord*, by telling them, that ſuch mean flattery belonged only to the Perſians:

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me,
Attritis miſerabiles labellis;
Dicturus Dominum Deumque non ſum.
. . . . . .
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos (13).

(4) Judith vi. 2 and 4.

(5) Ver. 8.

(6) Daniel, vi. 7.

(7) L. 5.

(8) *Cleo in Quint. Curtius*, lib. 8.

(9) Diodor. Sicul. l. 1. p. 57.

(10) See Suidas, and Valer. Maximus.

(11) *In his Life of Artaxerxes.*

(12) Juſtin. l. 6. Herod. l. 7.

(13) Epigram. l. 10. Ep. 62.

[*C*] *And commanded his ſoldiers to ſeize him and carry him to Bethulia, and deliver him up to the Jews.*] The noble freedom which Achior uſed in declaring his ſentiments and the ill uſage, which he met with for it, are not without example in hiſtory. We read in *Quint. Curtius* (14), that Darius being upon the point of engaging with Alexander the Great, asked Charidemus an Athenian General, what he thought of his army. He replied, that it was very proper to ſtrike a terror upon the neighbouring countries; but not ſufficiently diſciplined or ſtrong enough to combat with Alexander's forces; which he extolled at the ſame time on account of their admirable diſcipline. He concluded that it was neceſſary to oppoſe the Macedonians with troops of equal ſtrength; and that the beſt uſe, that Darius could make of the gold and ſilver, which ſhone upon the arms of his ſoldiers, would be to liſt other forces in Greece; *Pari robore opus eſt; in illâ Terrâ, quæ hos genuit, auxilia quærenda ſunt; argentum illud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte.* Darius, tho' he was naturally of a mild and generous temper, was ſo diſpleaſed with this free anſwer, that he immediately commanded Charidemus to be put to death. He ſoon after found his error, and repented of it. For he loſt the battle, and then had occaſion to regret the death of a General, who had given him ſuch faithful and prudent counſel.

(14) L. 3. See likewiſe Diod. Siculus, l. 14. p. 577.

latry, and became a proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion (*d*) [*D*]. This happened, according to ſome writers, in the time of Manaſſeh King of Juda, A. M. 3348, before Chriſt 652, and before the Vulgar Æra 656. But according to others after the return from the Captivity of Babylon (*e*).

(*d*) Ch. xiv. 6. *& ſeq.*

(*e*) *See* father Calmet *Diction. de la Bible, in Verbo* ACHIOR.

[*D*] *He became a proſelyte to the Jewiſh Religion.*] We are told in the hiſtory (15), that *when Achior had ſeen all that the God of Iſrael had done, he believed in God greatly, and circumciſed the fleſh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the houſe of Iſrael unto this day.* The Vulgate Tranſlation has repreſented this fact thus; *Tunc Achior videns virtutem, quam fecit Deus Iſrael, relicto Gentilitatis ritu, credidit Deo, & circumcidit carnem præputii ſui, & appoſitus eſt ad populum Iſrael, & omnis ſucceſſio generis ejus uſque in hodiernum diem.* That is, "Then "Achior having ſeen the miracle, which God had "done for Iſrael, abandoning his Pagan ſuperſtitions, believed in God, and circumciſed himſelf, "and was incorporated with the people of Iſrael, as "all his poſterity is to this day." We find that hitherto Achior had conſidered the God of the Jews only as the God of a particular people (16). He never doubted of his power, or of the miracles, which he had done in favour of Iſrael; but he did not imagine, that this power extended beyond the Nation, which he had choſen; or perhaps he thought that the God of Iſrael was one of thoſe *common Deities*, *Dii communes* (17), who receive the adoration of divers Nations, without requiring them to renounce the Gods of their own country. But when Achior ſaw this ſtrange event, he left his former ſuperſtition, and the worſhip of his Pagan Divinities, and applied himſelf to the God of Iſrael alone. Nor was he contented with the mere profeſſion of the true religion, but he ſubmitted likewiſe to circumciſion, which was the grand characteriſtic of the Jewiſh Nation. There were two kinds of proſelytes among the Jews; one of them continued uncircumciſed, and were not obliged to the obſervation of the Ceremonial Law: theſe were called *Proſelytes of the Gate.* We have a famous inſtance of this in Naaman the Syrian (18). Achior might have continued in this rank of proſelytes, if he had thought proper. The Elders of the Jews, when they received him into Bethulia, gave him his choice of it, or of that of a *Proſelyte of Righteouſneſs* (19), who received the circumciſion, and obliged himſelf to obſerve the whole Law; as appears from the Vulgate tranſlation, which is much fuller in the account of that affair, than the Greek, or Syriac, or our tranſlation. It will not be perhaps improper to give the two verſes of the Vulgate, which are omitted in the other editions, and immediately follow the 20th verſe of the 6th chapter of our Engliſh tranſlation, V. 17. *Dicentes; Deus patrum noſtrorum, cujus tu virtutem prædicâſti, ipſe tibi hanc dabit viciſſitudinem, ut eorum magis tu interitum videas.* V. 18. *Cùm verò Dominus Deus noſter dederit hanc libertatem ſervis ſuis, ſit & tecum Deus in medio noſtri; ut ſicut placuerit tibi, ita cum tuis omnibus converſeris nobiſcum.* i. e. "V. 17. Saying, The "God of our fathers, whoſe power thou haſt extolled, will reward thee with this ſatisfaction, "that thou ſhalt ſee the deſtruction of thoſe, (who "intended to deſtroy thee.) V. 18. And when the "Lord our God ſhall have thus ſet his ſervants "free, mayeſt thou then acknowledge him for thy "God in the midſt of us; ſo that, if it pleaſe thee, "thou and all that belong to thee may dwell with "us."

(15) Judith xiv. 10.

(16) *See* father Calmet *in locum.*

(17) *See* Servius upon Virgil, *Æneid.* l. 12. *Et Diis communibus Aras Gramineas.*

(18) 2 Kings v. 17.

(19) Judith vi. 17, 18.

But a queſtion may be ſtarted, how it was poſſible for Achior, who was an Ammonite, to be received into the number of God's people, when it is ſo expreſly commanded in the Law of Moſes (20), that *an Ammonite or Moabite ſhall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation?* I anſwer to this; it may be urged, I. That theſe words are capable of various ſenſes. Sometimes they mean only the entrance into the temple of God; as particularly in the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* (21); where we are told, that *the Heathen entred into the ſanctuary of Jeruſalem, whom thou didſt command that they ſhould not enter into thy congregation.* And Philo Judæus (22) is of opinion, that eunuchs, who were included under the ſame law with the Ammonites and Moabites, were not ſuffered to enter the porch of the temple with the other Iſraelites. In other places of ſcripture, *to enter into the congregation of the Lord*, ſignifies to be received into the ſociety and religion of the Jews, and to become a proſelyte; as appears from the *Book of Exodus* (23), where the words which are rendred in our tranſlation, *When a ſtranger ſhall ſojourn with you*, in the Vulgate tranſlation are, *Quod ſi quis peregrinorum in veſtram voluerit tranſire coloniam.* i. e. "If a ſtranger is willing to enter among "you, and become a proſelyte." The Septuagint, and the Chaldee, and Arabic verſions favour the ſenſe of the Vulgate. Nay the Hebrew original and our tranſlation muſt be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe, as appears from what follows; *Let all his males be circumciſed, and then let him come near, and keep the paſſover*; for no perſon was admitted to the Jewiſh ceremonies and privileges, till he was circumciſed. II. It is generally agreed, that neither the Ammonites, nor Moabites, nor even the Canaanites were ever forbid to turn to the true God, and to enter the congregation of the Lord. But the Jews were expreſly commanded never to give them any ſhare in the offices, or privileges, or honours of their nation. Nay ſome writers have affirmed, that they were not allowed to marry a Jewiſh woman. Achior's zeal therefore was very extraordinary, ſince he joined himſelf to a people, who were treated with general contempt amongſt mankind, and from whence he could expect none of the temporal advantages which were peculiar to that nation, either for himſelf or his poſterity. *Oſtenditur magnus Ammonitæ fervor pro lege Dei, quod populo ſatis contempto ſe aggregavit, in quo ipſe poſterique ejus nihil aliud quam Dei favorem ſperare poterant, ab honoribus & connubiis excluſi* (24). St. Thomas Aquinas (25), and ſeveral other authors imagine, that this law was diſpenſed with in favour of Achior, out of regard to the ſervices, which he had done to the Jews.

(20) Deut. xxiii. 3.

(21) Ch. i. 10.

(22) *De Victim. offerentib.*

(23) Ch. xii. 48.

(24) Grotius *in Judith* xiv. 6.

(25) 1. 2. Qu. 105. Art. 3. ad 1.

☞ACHISH, the ſon of Maoch, King of Gath. David being apprehenſive of Saul's deſigns againſt his life, fled to the King for refuge [*A*]. When the officers ſaw him, they told the King that this was that David who had been ſo much celebrated in

[*A*] *Fled to this King for refuge.*] It may ſeem very ſurprizing, that David, who was unqueſtionably hated by the Philiſtines as their greateſt enemy, ſhould truſt himſelf in the hands of Achiſh, and even carry the ſword of Goliath with him, which muſt neceſſarily be known on account of its uncommon ſize. It will be ſaid perhaps, that he had God's command to do ſo. But it ſeems very probable, that if he conſulted God, it was only in general, whether his journey ſhould ſucceed, and the deſign which he was about to undertake, ſhould proſper; and that the anſwer which he received from God was only in general, without mentioning any particular circumſtances of his journey: for otherwiſe the High-Prieſt and Doeg the Edomite would have known where he had concealed himſelf. It is highly unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he could imagine, that he ſhould not be known at Gath; but he rather thought, that Achiſh would be glad of the opportunity of ſhewing his generoſity to his enemy, and of attaching a man of his importance to his own party. And it is plain that David never had any thought of leaving that King, till he had found the Courtiers were endeavouring to work his ruin. We find that Achiſh knew

in his own country for the repeated injuries which he had done to their nation in war [*B*]. This ſtruck David with prodigious terror, ſo that he counterfeited himſelf mad [*C*], till he had an opportunity of making his eſcape (*a*). This happened A. M. 2944, before Chriſt 1056, and before the Vulgar Æra 1060 (*b*). Three or four years after this he again ſent Achiſh an offer of his ſervice, and deſired him to grant him his protection [*D*]. The King, who was well acquainted with David's valour, and knew the enmity between him and Saul, gave him leave to come to Gath with ſix hundred men and their wives and children. When they had continued there for ſome time, David deſired him to give him a place in ſome town in the country [*E*], which requeſt

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxi. 10, *& ſeq.*
(*b*) Calmet, *Dictionaire de la Bible, in Verbo* ACHISH.

knew what was his true intereſt upon another occaſion; for he gave David the kindeſt reception imaginable, when he fled to him the ſecond time. Hiſtory furniſhes us with divers inſtances of great men, who have been obliged to fly to their enemies for protection, and have been entertained with the utmoſt civility and confidence. Themiſtocles took refuge among the Perſians, Alciabides among the Lacedemonians, and Coriolanus among the Volſcians. And it is certainly the higheſt policy in any party to afford a ſanctuary amongſt them to the great men of the oppoſite ſide, ſince it is a means of ſtrengthening themſelves, and weakening their enemies.

[*B*] *Who had been ſo much celebrated in his own country for the repeated injuries, which he had done to their nation in war.*] *Is not this*, ſaid they (1), *David, King of the land? &c.* The word *King* in this paſſage, Grotius tells us (2), ſignifies *General*, and is ſometimes taken in an improper ſenſe, as in *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 5. where he underſtands theſe words, *And he was King in Jeſhurum*, of Moſes, the Leader of the Jews. Father Calmet obſerves (3), that it is probable, that David's deſignation to the kingdom was not much known among the Philiſtines; but they might imagine, that ſince he had exerted himſelf in defence of that nation with ſo much valour and conduct, if ever the ſovereignty ſhould paſs from Saul's family, it would be conferred upon that of David. Others are of opinion, that the rejection of Saul, and the choice of David, was well known among the Jews, and had even reached the Philiſtines. Others ſuppoſe that theſe words only ſignify, that Saul executed every thing by the means of David, and ſo the Jews conſidered the latter as their King. Vatablus and Piſcator underſtand this paſſage in a quite different ſenſe, and imagine, that the words, *Is not this David King of the land?* mean King of the country of the Philiſtines; ſince they had promiſed by Goliath, that they would become the ſubjects of the Conqueror (4).

(1) 1 Sam. xxi. 11.
(2) *In locum.*
(3) *In locum.*
(4) 1 Sam. xvii. 9.

[*C*] *He counterfeited himſelf mad.*] *He changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himſelf mad in their hands, and ſcrabled on the doors of the gates, and let the ſpittle fall down upon his Beard* (5). The words, which our Engliſh tranſlation has render'd, *He ſcrabled on the doors of the gates*, are in the Hebrew ויתו על דלחות השער [*vajjethau hal dalthoth haſchahar*], i. e. "he drew figures upon the "doors of the gates (6)." The Septuagint render this paſſage, ἐτυμπάνιζεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πόλεως, i. e. "he drumm'd," (if we may uſe that word to expreſs the ſenſe) "againſt the gates of the city." Agreeable to this is what St. Jerom ſays (7), *Tympanizabat ad portam civitatis*, and the Vulgate tranſlation of this paſſage, *impingebat in oſtia portæ*. The learned Ludovicus Capellus (8) imagines, that they read the word in the original ויתף [*vajjathoph*] from the root תפף [*thaphaph*], i. e. "to beat a drum or tym-"panum." The Rabbins tell us (9), that David wrote the following words upon the door, *Achiſh, King of Gath, owes me an hundred millions of pieces of gold* (10). He likewiſe *let the ſpittle fall down upon his beard*. He appeared like an epileptic perſon, who foamed at the mouth; of which we have ſeveral inſtances in the Goſpel (11). The ancients were afraid of perſons in that diſtemper; they imagined that their ſpittle would communicate the diſeaſe; and therefore they treated them as mad-men, as we find Achiſh did David. We have a repreſentation of this in one of Plautus's comedies, intitled *The Captives*.

(5) Ch. xxi. 13.
(6) See *Jonath. Rabbi Salomon. Munſter, Grotius, Junius* and others.
(7) *In præfat. in Pſ.* xxxiii.
(8) *Crit. Sacr.* l. 4. c. 5, 34. *apud Joan. Clericum in locum.*
(9) Abrabanel, &c.
(10) *In Miſdraſch.*
(11) Mark ix. 18. Luke ix. 39.

Heg. *Hic homo rabioſus habitus eſt in Aulide,*
. . . . . .

Nam iſtic haſtis inſectatus eſt domi matrem & patrem,
Et illic iſti, qui ſputatur, morbus interdum venit (12).

(12) Act. 3. Scen. 4.

[*D*] *He again ſent Achiſh an offer of his ſervice, and deſired him to grant him his protection.*] The learned Dr. Patrick tells us (13), that it is not certain that this was the ſame Achiſh, mentioned before in the 21ſt chapter, with whom David took ſhelter at his firſt flight from Saul; but that he ſeems rather to have been another, who is diſtinguiſhed from the former by the name of his father. Father Calmet on the other hand ſuppoſes him to have been the ſame with the former (14). But whoever he was he had either invited David to come thither for his ſecurity, hoping to make uſe of his valour and prudence in his wars; or David ſent Embaſſadors before to treat with him, and had his royal word, that he ſhould be protected by him.

(13) *Commentary upon the firſt book of Samuel*, chap. xxvii. ver. 2.
(14) *In locum.*

But it may be asked here, how could David lawfully enter into an alliance with the enemies of his country and of his God? How could he in point of prudence truſt himſelf with the Philiſtines, who were a nation remarkable for their perfidiouſneſs and hatred to the Jews? He muſt neceſſarily expoſe his religion to the utmoſt danger. Where then is the confidence in God, which is ſo much recommended in his character? If it be allowed that he followed the maxims of human policy in this caſe, yet we ſhall be at a loſs to account for his conduct, as he was *a man after God's own heart*. And in reality we find a prodigious change in his behaviour, as ſoon as ever he came to the court of Achiſh. He acted with a great deal of artifice with regard to that King, who had repoſed the higheſt confidence in him; he went and *invaded the Geſhurites, and the Gezerites, and the Amalekites* by his own authority; he weakened his own Prince by engaging ſo many men of valour in his ſervice (15); in ſhort, he joined the army of the Philiſtines, and prepared to fight againſt his own King and Country. In anſwer to theſe objections, it is ſaid (16), that it is indeed no eaſy matter to juſtify all David's conduct, while he continued among the Philiſtines; tho' on the other hand it may not perhaps be juſt to condemn it in thoſe points, which the Scripture has not diſapproved, and of which we don't know the particular circumſtances. If David reſolved to go over to Achiſh of his own head, and without having conſulted God upon the affair, without doubt he expoſed both his religion and his life to danger. But it is by no means probable, that a man of his character for piety, who undertook nothing without having firſt enquired of God, would have neglected to do ſo upon ſuch an important occaſion as this, or to take the precautions by obtaining Achiſh's ſolemn promiſe for his ſecurity. With regard to the parts of his conduct, which relate to the colluſion with that King which is objected to him, and his invaſion of the Geſhurites and Gezerites, and his preparing to fight againſt Saul; theſe particulars ſhall be examined in the following notes, as they come in order.

(15) 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, *& ſeq.* and 1 Sam. xxvii. 2.
(16) See father Calmet *Comment. Literal ſur le* 1 *Livre des Rois*, xxvii. 1.

[*E*] *To give him a place in ſome town in the country.*] He asked this in order to avoid envy; for perhaps he might have too much of the port of a King, having ſo many men in his ſervice, and being attended very probably with a conſiderable number of them about his perſon. Beſides he might more freely exerciſe his own religion in a private town, without any offence to the Philiſtines, who worſhipped other Gods (17). To which Monſieur Le Clerc adds another reaſon, that he might the more eaſily make excurſions into the adjacent parts for the ſake of plunder; *ſive prædarum de vicinis populis agendarum rationem habeas* (18.)

(17) See Calmet and Biſhop Patrick *in locum.*
(18) *Comment. in* 1 Samuel xxvii. 5.

requeſt Achiſh immediately complied with, and gave him Ziklag [*F*]. While David dwelt in this country, he uſed to make excurſions with his men, and plunder the people who lived in the parts adjacent [*G*], putting all the men and women to the ſword, to prevent any diſcovery; though at the ſame time he made Achiſh believe, that he went out to plunder the land of Judah [*H*]. This induced that King to place the greateſt confidence in him, imagining that by theſe ravages he would render his own nation irreconcileable to him, and ſo he would be perpetually engaged in his ſervice (*c*). Two years after this, when the Philiſtines were going out to fight with the Iſraelites, Achiſh ordered David to attend him to the battle, and told him, that he ſhould even truſt his life with him [*I*]. But the Philiſtines were ſuſpicious of his fidelity to them, and deſired the King to diſmiſs him [*K*], which he did at laſt with great reluctance, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his confidence in him (*d*) [*L*]. David therefore

(*c*) 1 Sam. xxviii.

(*d*) Ch. xxix.

[*F*] *And gave him Ziklag.*] In the diviſion of the land of Canaan it was firſt given to the tribe of Judah (19), and afterwards to that of Simeon, who had a portion out of the land given to Judah (20). But the Philiſtines having taken it, kept poſſeſſion of it, till by Achiſh's gift it became the peculiar inheritance of David and his ſucceſſors, as appears from the firſt book of Samuel (21), where we are told that *Ziklag pertaineth unto the Kings of Judah unto this day*; which paſſage ſhews, that the author of that Book lived after the diviſion of the Kingdom into that of Judah and Iſrael (22).

(19) Joſh. xv. 31.

(20) Ch. xix. 5.

(21) Ch. xxvii. 6.

(22) Le Clerc and Calmet *in locum.*

[*G*] *He uſed . . . to plunder the people, who lived in the parts adjacent.*] Theſe people were the Geſhurites, Gezerites, and Amalekites. We know but little of the former people, except that they were ſituated on the South of Paleſtine, in the country between the Nile, and the land of the Philiſtines *from Sihor which is before Egypt* (23). The Geſhurites and Gezerites were both of them relicks of the Canaanites, whom God commanded to be rooted out (24). The Amalekites, who were near, had been deſtroyed by Saul, but not thoſe, who were afar off; or perhaps theſe were ſome who fled into theſe remote parts, when they heard Saul was coming againſt them. And the following words of David's *ſaving neither man nor woman alive* (25), muſt be underſtood, that he left none alive, whom he found in theſe parts, for there were ſtill Amalekites in other places (26). Theſe people were likewiſe devoted by God to deſtruction. Abarbinel imagines all the people here mentioned were at enmity with Achiſh, and hated him and his people; ſo that when David ſmote them, he made no complaint about it (27).

(23) Joſh. xiii. 2, 3. and xvi. 3.

(24) *See* Grotius *in locum.*

(25) 1 Sam. xxvii. 11.

(26) Ch. xxx. 1.

(27) Biſhop Patrick *in locum.*

[*H*] *He made Achiſh believe, that he went out to plunder the land of Judah.*] When that King ask'd, *Whither he had made a rode that day?* he replied, *Againſt the South of Judah, and againſt the South of the Jerahmeelites, and againſt the South of the Kenites* (28). Theſe countries lay on the South of Judah; the Jerahmeelites were a part of Judæa, the Kenites of the family of Jethro, were their neighbours and confederates. We find that David's anſwer to Achiſh was very artful, and expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous terms, that he might underſtand him, as if he had invaded the land of Judah. Such equivocations are certainly very unjuſtifiable, and inconſiſtent with David's general character in Scripture. Grotius refers us to the following paſſage of Diphilus, a Comic-poet a little later than Menander, which he applies to David's conduct upon this and another occaſion:

(28) 1 Sam. xxvii. 10.

Ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ ψεῦδος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ
Λεγόμενον οὐδὲν περιποιεῖσθαι δυσχερές (29).

(29) *Apud* Grot. *ad lib.* 1. *Regum*, xxi. 1.

That is,

"I think, the man,
"Who ſpeaks a falſhood to ſecure his life,
"Commits no crime."

He quotes likewiſe two verſes of Euripides to the ſame purpoſe. But as that excellent author obſerves, how culpable ſoever ſuch prevarication may be, ſome allowances ought to be made to thoſe ages, wherein a future ſtate was not ſo clearly revealed; *condonandum aliquid illis temporibus, latente multùm vitâ æternâ* (30).

(30) Idem, ibid.

[*I*] *Achiſh ordered David to attend him to the battle, and told him that he ſhould truſt his life with him.*] When he told David, that he and his men ſhould go with him to the battle, David anſwered him, *Surely thou ſhalt know what thy ſervant can do* (31). The natural ſenſe of theſe words is, that he would give the King a proof of his ſincere attachment to his intereſt, by exerting all the ſtrength and valour he was maſter of in the battle. In this manner Achiſh and every unprejudiced perſon muſt neceſſarily underſtand him. But the queſtion is, whether this was David's meaning, and whether he ſpoke ſincerely upon that occaſion? If he uſed any equivocation, or had any reſervation in his thoughts, and if by ſuch an ambiguous anſwer he intended only to amuſe Achiſh, at the ſame time that he was reſolved to do nothing, which the other might reaſonably expect of him; and to wait for ſome proper opportunity of diſengaging himſelf from the obligation of his promiſe, and ſaving his honour; if this was his deſign, where was his ſincerity in the mean while? If it be ſaid, that by theſe expreſſions David meant nothing but that he would engage on the ſide of his own nation, and abandon the Philiſtines, or at leaſt continue neuter in the battle, this is to repreſent David in a light, which is by no means honourable. The generoſity of Achiſh, and the confidence which he repoſed in him deſerved other returns from him. In ſhort, to ſay that David was reſolved to fight for the Philiſtines againſt his own countrymen, and to plead that this was lawful for him to do, becauſe it was in defence of his ally, in a juſt war, and becauſe he had a right to vindicate his claim to the kingdom of Iſrael againſt Saul, who had unjuſtly perſecuted him; this manner of reaſoning would juſtify him in breaking through the ſtrongeſt obligations of nature, in order to gratify his revenge, and merely to ſecure the honour of being faithful to his ally, it would give him a right to trample upon every thing which was due from him to his country, his brethren, his King, and his own conſcience. It appears evident therefore, that we cannot poſſibly excuſe David upon this occaſion, but muſt acknowledge, that he had engaged too raſhly with Achiſh in this war (32).

(31) 1 Sam. xxviii. 2.

(32) See father Calmet *in locum.*

[*K*] *Deſired the King to diſmiſs him.*] The Princes of the Philiſtines judged very reaſonably, that David might, in order to reconcile himſelf with Saul, abandon them in the heat of the battle, and go over to the Iſraelites. And here there appears to be a peculiar turn of providence in his favour, which reſcued him from the moſt ſhocking dilemma's imaginable. If he had continued in the army of the Philiſtines, tho' he had not drawn his ſword againſt his own countrymen, yet this would have been a great obſtacle to his obtaining the Kingdom. For is it probable, that the Jews would have acknowledged his claim to it, when he had made ſuch a ſtrict alliance with the enemy? or that the Philiſtines would have given him leave to depart, in order to take poſſeſſion of a kingdom, which they were continually at war with (33)?

(33) Biſhop Patrick, Le Clerc, and Calmet in 1 Sam. xxix. 4.

[*L*] *With great reluctance, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his confidence in him.*] He ſwore to David, *as the Lord liveth* (34), that he did not doubt of his integrity. This oath of his was a little extraordinary in him, conſidering he was a Philiſtine. He ſwore by the God, whom David worſhipped, that he might be the more believed; or perhaps he had learned ſomething from him of the true God, tho' he worſhipped other Deities with him. Thus the Prophet Zephaniah (35) reproaches the Jews with *ſwearing by the Lord, and by Malcham, or Melchom*, who was the God of the Ammonites. The Pagans uſed

(34) 1 Sam. xxix. 6.

(35) Ch. i. 5.

therefore returned the next morning to Ziklag, which had been plundered during his abſence by the Amalekites. He ſtaid but a ſhort time with that King after the battle of Gilboa, in which Saul and his ſons were ſlain, for he removed from Ziklag to Hebron in the tribe of Judah (*e*); and from that time we have no account of Achiſh in Scripture.

(*e*) 2 Sam. i. 1, 2, &c.

uſed to ſwear by the Gods of thoſe people whom they had to deal with. But L. Capellus (36) is of opinion, that the Scripture in mentioning the oath of Achiſh, has expreſſed it in theſe terms, *as the Lord liveth*, in order to ſhew, that this King ſwore in his own manner, but as ſolemnly and inviolably, as if a Jew was to ſwear by the name of the Lord or Jehovah. When David began to expoſtulate with him, for refuſing him leave to fight againſt his enemies; Achiſh told him, that *he knew that he was good in his ſight as an Angel of God* (37). The meaning of which is, that he thought David as incapable of betraying him, as if he were an Angel deſcended from heaven. The notion of good and bad angels was propagated over all the Eaſt among the Heathens as well as the Jews (38). And this expreſſion, *Thou art as an Angel of God*, is to be found in many places of Scripture, and intimates the moſt profound reſpect and veneration for a perſon, and the wiſdom, juſtice, and goodneſs of him, to whom it is applied. Thus Jacob tells Eſau (39), that *he had ſeen his face, as tho' he had ſeen the face of God, or of an Angel.* The woman who was ſent by Joab, to obtain Abſalom's return, told David that he was *as an Angel of God* (40), and that *he was wiſe, according to the wiſdom of an Angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth* (41). Mephibosheth likewiſe uſed the ſame compliment to him (42). Such is the genius of the Eaſtern Nations; whoſe expreſſions are generally very ſtrong, elevated, and figurative.

(36) *Not. Critic. ad Exod.* vi. 2. *apud Joan. Cleric.* in 1 Sam. xxix. 6.

(37) 1 Sam. xxix. 9.

(38) See Sanctius *in locum.*

(39) Gen. xxxiii. 10.

(40) 2 Sam. xiv. 17.

(41) Ibid. ver. 20.

(42) Ibid. xix. 27.

ACHMET, ſon of Seirim, has left a book concerning the interpretation of dreams, according to the doctrine of the Indians, Perſians and Egyptians, which was tranſlated out of Greek into Latin, about the year 1160, by Leo Tuſcus (*a*), who dedicated it to Hugo Echerianus [*A*]. It was publiſhed in Latin anno 1577 (*b*), from a very imperfect manuſcript found in the Library of Sambucus (*c*), as a work of Apomaſares (*d*); but the learned Leunclavius informed the public of this miſtake in his *Annals of the Turks* (*e*). Rigaltius firſt publiſhed this work in Greek, and annexed it (becauſe of the ſimi-litude of the ſubjects) to Artimedorus, which he printed at Paris in 1603, but did not make any alteration in the Latin verſion of Leunclavius, or gave any notes on the text (*f*). He is of opinion, that Achmet ſon of Seirim, is the ſame whom Geſner mentions. The latter was ſon to Habramius, and a Phyſician, and wrote a work divided into ſeven books, entitled, *Peregrinantium Viatica*, i. e. *Proviſions for Travellers*, which was in Greek in the Library of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Emperor's Embaſſador at Venice, when Geſner was writing his book (*g*). John Anthony Sarrazin was poſſeſſed of the ſame work (*h*), as he himſelf aſſures us in his notes on Dioſcorides. In the two Greek manuſcripts in the French King's Library, from which Rigaltius publiſhed the book of Dreams, we don't meet with the name of Achmet ſon of Seirim, as author of this work; yet as the beginning is wanting, we may ſuppoſe, that when theſe manuſcripts were complete, our author's name was at the head of them. However, this is but mere conjecture, which may be ſtrengthened from this circumſtance, viz. that Achmet's name has been writ on one of the two copies in a freſher hand. This name was not inſerted in the copy from which Leo Tuſcus, in the twelfth Century, made his Latin tranſlation, which is inferred from Tricaſſo's (*i*) Italian verſion of this work. Rigaltius tranſlated the preface into Latin, although he ſuppoſes that it was written by Leo Tuſcus (*k*), and not by Achmet. Barthius had this Leo's verſion in his poſſeſſion, and thinks this copy was written in that tranſlator's time (*l*). The extracts he gives of this tranſlation, ſhew that it was not a literal one, and that a great many particulars had been omitted. The moſt remarkable circumſtance is, that we find the names of Achmet, and of Seirim, in the title of the manuſcript, with thoſe of Syrnacham, Baram and Tarphan. The firſt of the three laſt mentioned perſonages (*m*), was interpreter of dreams in the court of the King of the Indies; the ſecond in that of Saaniſan King of Perſia; and the third in that of Pharaoh King of Egypt (*n*); whence Barthius conjectures, that both Achmet and Seirim alſo interpreted dreams in the court of ſome barbarian Monarch. Be this as it will, the work in queſtion was compiled by a Chriſtian, for the author begins it in the name of the bleſſed Trinity (*o*). Rigaltius thinks, that the Greek text is only an old tranſlation of this work, and indeed, it was firſt written in Arabic.

According to Lambecius, Achmet lived in the ninth Century, in the court of Mamoun, Khalif of Babylon; but du Cange is of another opinion, for which conſult his Greek Gloſſary, under the word Μαμῶν.

(*a*) Rigaltii *Præf. Libri Achmetis.*

(*b*) By Leunclavius, at Frankfort, in 8°.

(*c*) Barthius, *Adverſ.* lib. 31. cap. 14.

(*d*) i. e. *Abumaſher ſeu Albumaſur. Vide Catal. Oxoniens.* p. 35.

(*e*) Rigaltii *Præf. in Achmet.*

(*f*) 'Tis however ſaid ſo in the Bodleian catalogue, p. 5.

(*g*) Geſn. *Biblioth.* fol. 2. *verſo.*

(*h*) Rigalt. *Præf. in Achmet.*

(*i*) Patrizio Tricaſſo *di* Ceresari, *Mantuan*: ſee the *Bibliotheque de du Verdier*, p. 940.

(*k*) *Ex præfat. Rigaltii.*

(*l*) Barthii *Adverſar.* lib. 31. cap. 14.

(*m*) Syrbacham, *in editione* Rigaltii.

(*n*) This is manifeſt from the beginning of the 2d, 3d and 4th chapters of the book.

(*o*) *Vide* the end of chapter II.

[*A*] *Hugo Echerianus.*] Barthius calls him *Hugo Eteriarius*, and ſays he was an excellent writer, *Scriptorem ævo ſuo luculentum* (1). There is a typographical error in Barthius, as alſo in the following words of Rigaltius, *Hugoni Echeriano dedicavit*; i. e. *He dedicated to Hugo Echerianus*, for it ſhould have been, *Hugonem Eterianum, Hugoni Eteriano.* Allatius in the eleventh chapter of the ſecond book *de perpetuo conſenſu Eccleſiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis*, writes *Hugo Ætherianus*, which is wrong. Baronius, Bellarmine, and ſeveral others write it *Hugo Etherianus*; but *Eterianus* is more correct. He was an Eccleſiaſtical writer in the twelfth Century. This was communicated to me by Mr. de la Monnoie.

(1) Barth. *Adverſ.* lib. 31. cap. 14.

☞ACHMET. The firſt Sultan of that name ſucceeded his father Mahomet III. in the year 1013 of the Hegira, A. C. 1604. Several happy circumſtances concurred to advance him quietly to the Imperial crown. The firſt was that his father did not die

die ſooner, for whilſt Mahmud Achmet's elder brother was alive [*A*], he could have no hopes of aſcending the throne. Secondly, he was not obliged to ſpill the blood of the Royal Family, as is generally the cruel policy of the Sultans; for Achmet had only one brother, who was then but four years old, and whoſe life was ſpared [*B*], becauſe it was yet unknown whether Achmet could ever have any children, he having not yet converſed with women. The third circumſtance favourable for him was, that he was near at hand in the Seraglio when Mahomet his father died, and thus aſcended the throne, the very moment it became vacant. The firſt thing he did after being ſeated on it was, to remove out of the Seraglio the Sultaneſs his grandmother [*C*], who had enjoyed a great power during the reign of Mahomet Achmet's father. Achmet's

[*A*] *Whilſt Mahmud his elder brother was alive.*] Mahomet a little before he died ſacrificed Mahmud his eldeſt ſon to his jealouſy and to reaſons of ſtate; becauſe that young Prince, in concert with his mother, fomented the broils and troubles of the Empire, and ſtirring up the factious humour of the Janiſſaries, he might probably deſign to wreſt the ſcepter out of his father's hands. Mahmud's death was approved by the Muſti and by the grand Viſir, as neceſſary to prevent a civil war that was likely to break out. By his death, Achmet was advanced to the throne, at a time when he could expect nothing but to be killed by his elder brother, who himſelf periſhed unfortunately by the hands of the executioner (1).

(1) Sagredo, *Hiſt. de l'Empire Ottoman, traduit de l'Italien, par Mr.* Laurent. tom. 5. lib. 10. p. 240.

[*B*] *Achmet had only one brother — whoſe life was ſpared.*] This young Prince's name was Muſtapha; as he grew up, his brother began to be jealous of him; his jealouſy increaſed afterwards to ſuch a degree, that he at laſt commanded two Officers to ſtrangle him. He gave that order juſt as he was going to embark on a little pleaſure-boat, to divert himſelf upon the canal of the ſeraglio. But a great ſtorm ariſing ſuddenly, Achmet went aſhore again; and being perſuaded this ſtorm was a ſign that heaven would not approve the death of an innocent Prince, he countermanded the order he had given; thus young Muſtapha was ſaved providentially: and Achmet's fear of him was for ſome time ſuppreſſed. But ſtate-jealouſy can never be entirely eradicated: Achmet ſoon began again to ſuſpect his brother, and gave new orders to have him diſpatched; however he had no ſooner pronounced the words, but he was taken with a violent cholic; this he took again for a ſign, that heaven forbad him to be guilty of ſo cruel an action, and he repealed a ſecond time the command he had given. To this accidental cholic Muſtapha was indebted for his life, and we may affirm (ſays the author from whom we borrow this) that Muſtapha had more obligation to his brother's belly, than to that of his mother. The two accidents we have mentioned, made ſo deep an impreſſion on Achmet's mind, that the hatred and jealouſy he had conceived againſt his brother, were changed into ſo great and ſurprizing love and fondneſs, that Achmet choſe his brother to ſucceed him, preferring him to his own children; an inſtance unheard of in the Ottoman Empire (2).

(2) Id. ibid. p. 304.

[*C*] *Remove out of the ſeraglio the Sultaneſs his grandmother.*] Her name was *Baffa*; ſhe was born at Venice, of the family of the Baffo's. She was taken very young in a ſhip, which was to carry her father into the iſland of Corſou, of which he had been made Governor. As ſoon as ſhe was received in the ſeraglio, Amurath fell in love with her, and had ſeveral children by her, of whom Mahomet Achmet's father was one. As Baffa was exceedingly beautiful, ſhe for ſeveral years had a great aſcendant over Amurath, who during that time loved no other woman but her. But Valida Amurath's mother exaſperated at Baffa's power, reſolved to diſengage her ſon from her; for this purpoſe ſhe endeavoured to make him love ſome other women. There was at that time in the ſeraglio a ſlave, who ſeemed more artful and ſprightly, than beautiful: ſhe danced perfectly well, and had the art of making the harmony of her voice agree with the motions of her feet. Amurath ſhewed ſome inclination for her, but he ſeemed more pleaſed with her good qualities than with her perſon. This did not hinder Baffa to conceive a violent jealouſy againſt that ſlave; and fearing leſt this riſing paſſion ſhould deprive her of Amurath's love, ſhe left no means untried to hinder him from indulging it; ſhe engaged ſome Jewiſh women, with whom ſhe was intimate, to make certain charms which might diſable Amurath from gratifying his paſſion with his new miſtreſs. But unhappily for Baffa the whole intrigue was diſcovered by Valida, who acquainted Amurath with it. This exaſperated him againſt his wife to ſuch a degree that his love was changed into a mortal hatred, and he reſolved never to favour her again with his embraces. The charms, which Baffa made uſe of had a quite contrary effect to what ſhe expected. For Amurath having a mind to try whether theſe charms would prevent his enjoying other women beſides his wife, lay with ſeveral, which he had never done before, and he found ſo much pleaſure in it, that he ſometimes, in one night, gratified his paſſion with two or three women; and as the Mahometan religion does not allow a man to paſs from the embraces of one woman to thoſe of another, without being firſt purified in a bath, Amurath by going often two or three times in one night into it, entirely ruined his conſtitution, and became ſubject to epileptick fits. Thus Baffa loſt her husband's affection, by the very means, whereby ſhe thought to endear him to herſelf only: This made her loſe alſo her power and authority, which by all her arts and ſubtlety ſhe could never recover during the life of her husband (3). But when after his death Mahomet her ſon by him had aſcended the throne, ſhe again obtained great authority, and had the largeſt ſhare in the Government of the empire; ſo that the Sultan himſelf durſt not undertake the leaſt affair without her conſent (4). She had ordered all the Baſſa's to acquaint the Sultan only with good news, and never to let him hear of the misfortunes which befel the empire, leſt the grief it might occaſion ſhould impair his health; or rather leſt the danger of the ſtate ſhould oblige him to command the armies in perſon, by which means ſhe would loſe all her power and authority (5). Thus poor mortals are often delivered up to the ambition or the covetouſneſs of a woman; and the ſovereign power, which was eſtabliſhed for the good of the whole, is abuſed for the benefit of a few only, to the prejudice and often to the deſtruction of whole nations. However, this muſt not be always laid to the charge of Princes, for tho' ſome like Mahomet III, are indolent and neglect the affairs of ſtate, merely to indulge the moſt baſe and ſhameful paſſions, yet there are others, who would exert their authority for the good of their ſubjects, if it lay in their power: but being ſurrounded with ambitious Miniſters and crafty Courtiers they are often left unacquainted with the misfortunes of their people. "There is ſeldom a Prince ſo bad," ſays an ingenious author (6), "but his Miniſter is worſe ſtill: "If the Prince does an evil action, it is at the inſti- "gation of others; ſo that the ambition of Princes "is never ſo dangerous to a nation, as the baſe and "groveling ſouls of his Counſellors. — A Miniſter "acquainted with the paſſions of his Prince has the "art of making them ſubſervient to his own views: "Courtiers inſnare the Monarch with their deceit- "ful praiſes, and the Miniſter flatters him ſtill more "dangerouſly, by the advice he gives him, by the "deſigns and views he propoſes, and by the perni- "cious principles with which he inſpires him." This is particularly found in thoſe countries where the Government is arbitrary as it is in Turky: There an artful woman and an ambitious and covetous Miniſter frequently involve the ſtate in a thouſand calamities, under a laſcivious and indolent Prince. Happy therefore are the people, who have a national Council or a Parliament, who have the liberty

(3) Id. ibid. tom. 4. lib. 8. p. 238-241.

(4) Ibid. tom. 5. lib. 9. p. 2.

(5) Ibid. p. 12.

(6) *Lettres Perſanes*, tom. 2. Let. 112. p. 211.

met's own mother born in Boſnia ſucceeded her in the Seraglio [*D*]. The new Sultan to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects appeared every day in public, and it was given out that he would go and command in perſon the army which was then in Hungary, and the Mufti himſelf declared all thoſe heretics, who would not believe it, though he knew this was ſpread abroad only to amuſe the people. Achmet was circumciſed according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans, who circumciſe their children when they are thirteen years of age, in imitation of Iſhmael, who was circumciſed at that age, and from whom the Arabians pretend to be deſcended. As ſoon as Achmet was healed, ſeveral beautiful women were introduced to him to enjoy his firſt embraces, on which occaſion great rejoicings were made among the people [*E*]. The Turks were then at war with the Emperor of Germany, but they did not carry it on very vigorouſly. This with the great progreſs the rebels made in Aſia [*F*], and the weakneſs of the government, which was in the hands of a woman (*a*), gave the Sophi of Perſia (*b*) a fair opportunity of entering the provinces of the Sultan, and recovering the countries he had formerly loſt. He took the field with a powerful army, and joining with the Georgians, he conquered a great part of thoſe countries, which the Turks had uſurped from the Perſians. It is not to be expreſſed how much the Ottoman court was affected at this, at a time when the whole Empire was in a manner torn to pieces by domeſtic broils and diviſions. However, an able General was ſent againſt the Perſians, but he was ſo unfortunate as to be entirely routed by the enemy in the firſt battle. He acquaintad Achmet with this misfortune, and deſired him to come himſelf as far as Aleppo or Damaſcus, in order to retrieve the affairs of the Empire by his preſence; but the young Prince was ſo much taken with the pleaſures he enjoyed among the fair-ones of the Seraglio, that he did not concern himſelf with the State, and ſeemed to have entirely forgot the glory which his predeceſſors had acquired, and reſolved to follow his father's example, whoſe indolence had almoſt brought the Empire to the brink of ruin. However Achmet was at laſt prevailed upon to advance as far as Burſa, and to declare that he would go in perſon againſt the rebels. Accordingly ſome millions of money were ſpent in making the neceſſary preparations for that journey, as is always the cuſtom, when the Sultan himſelf intends to command his army. Achmet went to Burſa, where he continued four days; but as his bare preſence was not enough to vanquiſh the enemy, a ſtrong army being wanted for that purpoſe, which Achmet had not, he returned to Conſtantinople without having done any thing, except ſpending a large ſum of money. What rendred the condition of the Empire more miſerable and wretched, was that the money, which was levied on the people, inſtead of being brought into the treaſury, was embezzled by the receivers, who grew rich at the public coſt. To raiſe money the Mufti adviſed Achmet to borrow from the treaſurers

(*a*) Achmet's mother.

(*b*) Who was then Abas the Great, of whom we have given an account.

of approaching the throne, and can lay before the Sovereign the misfortunes and hardſhips of the people. But under a bad Prince "ſuch aſſemblies are "always importunate and odious: they addreſs Kings "only to acquaint them with ſad truths; and whilſt "a crowd of Courtiers make them believe that the "people are happy under their Government, they "contradict theſe flatteries, and lay before them "the ſighs and tears of the nation (7)."

(7) Id. ibid. Let. 124. p. 264, 265.

[*D*] *Achmet's own mother ſucceeded her in the ſeraglio.*] She was born in Boſnia; Mahomet Gira a Baſſa had made a preſent of her to the Sultan Mahomet. She was very beautiful, danced extremely well, and played admirably on ſeveral inſtruments: To acknowledge the favour which Gira beſtowed on her by introducing her to the Sultan, ſhe made him ſeveral rich preſents, particularly of jewels and ſumptuous veſts (8). She had almoſt the ſame aſcendant and authority, which Baſſa, whom ſhe ſucceeded in the ſeraglio, had enjoyed (9). When this latter was removed, ſhe could not conceal her grief and reſentment; but went away with her women who with her ſelf burſted into tears, and out of ſpite broke the windows of the ſeraglio. Baſſa earneſtly deſired leave to ſee the Sultan, but could not prevail upon the Prime-Viſir to let her enjoy that conſolation: The Viſir to prevent any interview between her and Achmet, perſuaded him that this Sultaneſs and all her women were witches; that by their enchantments and charms they had uſurped the Government of the empire, and had ruined the ſtate by their male-adminiſtration. And indeed this woman had ſold all the employments both civil and military; favouring only ſuch perſons as were rich, and neglecting men of merit. She had diſſuaded the Sultan from the practice of all military exerciſes, and rendred him effeminate by keeping him conſtantly ſhut up in the ſeraglio; in a word, ſays my author (10), ſhe had done great ſervice to the Chriſtians, and almoſt ruined the Ottoman empire.

(8) Sagredo, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 5. liv. 10. p. 245.

(9) Ibid. p. 247.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 244, 245.

[*E*] *On which occaſion great rejoicings were made among the people.*] Beſides bonfires and other public demonſtrations of joy, there was a kind of a town erected, which they called *Vienna*; this town was beſieged, ſtormed, and finally taken after ſeveral aſſaults; and the Sultan entered it through the breach, with great ſhoutings of all the ſoldiers and of the people, who looked upon this as a very good omen of the future victories of the Sultan (11): but they were unhappily diſappointed in their hopes, ſince the Sultan was unſucceſsful in moſt of his enterprizes.

(11) Vanel, *Abregé nouveau de l'Hiſtoire generale des Turcs*, tom. 3. p. 290, 291.

[*F*] *The great progreſs the rebels made in Aſia.*] They had begun to revolt in Aſia and Caramania under Mahomet III. They gave out that their General was a Prince of the Ottoman blood, called *Selim*, ſon of Amurath and brother of Mahomet. They were joined by a great number of malecontents, who love novelties, and ſubſiſt only in civil broils and troubles. Mahomet employed all poſſible means to ſuppreſs this rebellion in its infancy: Selim was betrayed and delivered up to the Sultan for a ſum of money. This unfortunate man was brought to Conſtantinople, where he was cloſely examined by the Sultan himſelf. He aſſerted conſtantly that he was the Sultan's brother; he told him how he had been ſaved by his mother, when Mahomet ordered nineteen of his brothers to be ſtrangled (12); he declared that he had been hid, and that the Viſir Mahomet had put ſecretly in his place another child, who was very much like him. The Sultan hearing this deſired to know the opinion of the Baſſa's, who anſwered that this ſtory of Selim was very probable; hereupon Mahomet reſolved to ſacrifice this young Prince to his own ſecurity: but this did not ſuppreſs the rebellion, which laſted ſeveral years longer, even till after the death of Achmet, and very much weakened the Ottoman empire (13).

(12) Sagredo, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3.

(13) Id. ibid. p. 104, 105.

rers of the Moſques all their ready caſh [G], which was deſigned for religious uſes, and of which they had vaſt ſums; this was complied with, but in a little time the Sultan again wanted money to carry on the war againſt Perſia; Deruis the Grand Viſir found out an expedient to get money, which coſt him very dear [H]. But this was not ſufficient to reſtore the affairs of the Empire, haraſſed at that time by three different wars, viz. againſt the Emperor, the Perſians, and the Rebels. However, Achmet at laſt reſolved to conclude a peace with the Emperor, who was prevailed upon by his Miniſters to accept the conditions offered him, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of Baſta [I], the Emperor's General in Tranſilvania. This peace with the Emperor, muſt probably have rendered Achmet more ſucceſsful againſt the Perſians; but what could armies ill-paid and worſe diſciplined perform under an effeminate and idle Prince, governed by a woman? The Perſians went on ſucceſsfully, and in the year 1615 they gained a great victory over the Turks, which however did not prevent the Sophi from making that very ſame year a peace with Achmet, after the war had laſted a hundred and fifty years, having been only now and then interrupted by a ſhort peace, or to ſpeak more properly, by a ceſſation of arms. It may ſeem ſurpriſing that the Perſians, though ſo proſperous at that time, could be prevailed upon to make peace with the Turks. But it muſt be conſidered that the countries belonging to the Sophi having been a long time the ſeat of the war, and conſtantly haraſſed either by the armies of their own party, or by the enemy, became barren and uncultivated, and were exhauſted of men; ſo that there was a neceſſity for the Sophi to put a ſtop to a war, which though carried on ever ſo ſucceſsfully, would at laſt ruin his

[G] *The Mufti adviſed Achmet to borrow from the Treaſurers of the moſques all their caſh.*] The reaſons, which the Mufti gave for this extraordinary procedure was this, "It is juſt, ſaid he, that every "part ſhould contribute ſomething to the preſerva- "tion of the whole; and as all the houſes muſt ne- "ceſſarily be involved in the general ruin of a ci- "ty, ſo if the Monarchy be deſtroyed, the law and "the moſques cannot eſcape (14)." The Mufti himſelf did not ſcruple to ſign this opinion with his own hand. And indeed it is but reaſonable, that the Clergy as well as the Laity ſhould pay their quota of the public taxes neceſſary to maintain the ſtate.

(14) Id. ibid. p. 251, 252.

[H] *Deruis the Grand-Viſir found out an expedient to get money, which coſt him very dear.*] He obliged three Jews who were vaſtly rich, to pay a large ſum of money: the pretence he made uſe of to drain them thus was, that they had received ſome casks of oil, without paying the duty. The Jews in Turky were rich, becauſe they farmed ſeveral branches of the public revenue, and had a ſhare in the coining of money; not to mention the riches they amaſſed by trade. Deruis, who was very well acquainted with this, intended to ruin them; but the Jews having ſome hint of it, reſolved to prevent him. They began to cabal ſecretly againſt him; they exclaimed againſt his adminiſtration, and imputed to him all the misfortunes of the ſtate; and diſperſing money among thoſe who approached the Sultan, they gave him artfully to underſtand, that the Viſir was poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures. Achmet eaſily believed it, and ordered the Viſir to come to him. Deruis obeyed, and immediately the Sultan commanded his head to be ſtruck off, and would be himſelf a witneſs of his death, by which he got eight hundred thouſand ſequins. The Jews rejoiced exceedingly at the death of that man, who had vowed their deſtruction (15).

(15) Ibid. p. 271, 272.

[I] *The Emperor was prevailed upon by his Miniſters to accept the peace, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of Baſta.*] Baſta was the ſon of Demetrius a Nobleman of Albania, but he was born in Montferrat*, where his father was Captain of a troop of light-horſe. From his youth Baſta had diſcovered great bravery, and was born for war: he firſt bore arms under the famous Duke of Alba in Flanders, and having paſſed through the ſeveral ſtations in the army, he at laſt was made General of all the forces of the houſe of Auſtria, in which poſt he greatly encreaſed his reputation, and that of the German ſoldiers (16). He commanded the Emperor's army againſt the Turks, over which he gained ſeveral victories; but the glory he acquired raiſed him a great many enemies at court. When the peace we have mentioned in the text of this article was propoſed to the Emperor, he deſired to have Baſta's advice on this occaſion, who anſwered in the following manner: "Chriſtendom "and Turky are two contrary elements; it is im- "poſſible they ſhould reſide near one another with- "out being at war. The Sultan ſees that your Impe- "rial Majeſty is in a condition to reſiſt him, he "therefore propoſes a truce, which is proper only "to damp and extinguiſh the courage of your ar- "mies: Now your ſoldiers are fired; now they ne- "ver fight the Turks without gaining the victory "over them; theſe would have them linger in idle- "neſs and forget the art of war, that they may "the more eaſily overcome them, when they will "be no more inured to the hardſhips of military "diſcipline." He afterwards adviſes the Emperor to ſolicit the Pope to ſend Legates *a latere* to all the Chriſtian Princes, entreating them to join all their forces towards maintaining the Chriſtian cauſe, and to compel them to it by eccleſiaſtical cenſures in caſe they will not readily comply. He then goes on in this manner: "Liberty, tho' bought at ever ſo dear a "rate, is more glorious than ſlavery, tho' it may "flatter us with enjoying peace and tranquillity. "Let us not ſuffer the infidels to oblige us to make "peace or war at their pleaſure: this is a kind of "dependance which will at laſt degenerate into a "perfect bondage. 'Tis not out of kindneſs for us "that they now propoſe a peace; thus they are "forc'd to from the miſerable ſtate of their affairs; "it is to the Perſians and not to them that we owe "the peace they offer us. The Sophi's ſoldiers, who "have gained ſo many victories over them, have "inſpired them with this pacific humour: but this "humour will laſt only as long as their domeſtic "broils and diviſions; when theſe are ſuppreſſed they "will attack us again, and that with ſo much more "fury and rage, that nothing will then reſtrain their "ambition. They ceaſe to make war only to take "breath, and will renew it, when their forces are "recruited, and that ours through indolence and "ſloth ſhall be impaired and weakened. But we "ſhould conſider that thoſe things which are agree- "able to the intereſt of our enemy are inconſiſtent "with our own. In caſe we will not betray it, we "then muſt puſh on the war vigorouſly againſt the "Turks, whilſt they are not in a condition to reſiſt "us (17)." Theſe were the reaſons which Baſta offered to the Emperor's conſideration, to diſſuade him from concluding the peace with the Sultan. But the Emperor's Miniſters, who, as we have ſaid, envied Baſta's reputation, miſrepreſented all his reaſons; they ſaid, That ſoldiers were always for war, and were never tired of it, becauſe it enriched them: That Baſta's advice was owing merely to a principle of ſelf-intereſt; and that in affairs of war, he would never ſay, *it is enough*. They alſo repreſented to the Emperor, that his treaſury was exhauſted, that the Turks were ſtill powerful, and that the peace was neceſſary for the eaſe of his ſubjects who had been harraſſed by a long war, and for that of his provinces, which were deſolate, as having been a long time the ſeat of war (18). What is very ſurprizing in this affair is, that the Emperor ſent preſents to the Sultan

(16) Id. ibid. p. 157.

(17) Ibid. p. 277-281.

(18) Ibid. pag. 282.

* In Italy.

his country. Before this peace was concluded, Naſuf, a very rich and proud man [*K*], and born in Albania, had been ſent againſt the Perſians, but he ſoon returned to Conſtantinople, where Achmet received him with great diſtinction. Naſuf had brought with him a million of money, and began to ſhew openly his haughtineſs and pride; he prevailed upon the Sultan to leave Conſtantinople, and made the people believe that it was to undertake ſome affairs of the greateſt importance; but all this vaniſhed into ſmoke, Naſuf's only view being to govern the Sultan more abſolutely, and probably that he might the eaſier prevail with him to conclude a peace with the Perſians, which he did accordingly, as we have ſaid above; on which occaſion the Sophi ſent an Embaſſador to the Sultan, who out of pride would make a ſhew of his magnificence before that Embaſſador; for which purpoſe he returned to Conſtantinople, and made his entry into that city on horſeback, being followed by all his children. This was a new thing with regard to the Turks, for it was never the cuſtom of the Ottoman Emperors to permit their children to appear in public. This was a contrivance of Naſuf, who then governed the Empire abſolutely and with an inſufferable haughtineſs, which at laſt drew upon him the ruin he deſerved [*L*]. Achmet's death ſoon followed that of this Viſir; he died in the year 1616, being then about twenty ſix years old. He was of a middle ſtature, of a weak conſtitution, and was pitted with the ſmall-pox; he ſquinted, and his countenance was very ſour and ſevere. He had no manner of education, and being very ignorant, was alſo very preſumptuous and vain. He was paſſionate and cruel to the utmoſt degree, which cauſed the death of ſeveral of his beſt officers. A ſlave to his mother and to his favourites, they alone governed or rather ruined the Empire in his name. He had a great depth of thought, and formed ſeveral extenſive projects; but he was always wavering, and wanted courage to proſecute his deſigns; he neglected the moſt important affairs to amuſe himſelf with trifles. In ſhort he degenerated from the glory and virtue of his anceſtors; he led a ſhort and inglorious life, and died in the prime of his years and in the ſtrength of his paſſions and vices (*c*). The only remarkable thing he did, was the building of a Moſque, which he intended to make more ſtately and magnificent than any built by his predeceſſors; for which purpoſe he employed a prodigious number of workmen, and ſpent five millions of gold, which however would have been better beſtowed upon his armies in Perſia and in Hungary. The Turks ſaid that there was a great deal of ſumptuouſneſs but no devotion in that building, becauſe the Sultan ſhould firſt have thought of a fund to maintain it; and ſhould not have built it, till he had won a kingdom from the Chriſtians, the revenue of which might be aſſigned to maintain that Moſque. The Mufti alſo publickly declared, that the prayers offered up in that Moſque would not be acceptable to God, in caſe the conqueſt abovementioned was not firſt made (*d*).

(*c*) Taken from Sagredo, *Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottoman, Traduit de l'Italien, par* Mr. Laurent. tom. 5. liv. 10. p. 242---323.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 303.

Sultan to the value of fifty thouſand florins, tho' the Turks themſelves would have bought the peace very dear (19). But this probably was managed by ſome Courtiers who had their own private views, and court-intrigues are not always eaſily unravelled.

(19) Ibid.

[*K*] *Naſuf a very proud man.*] His pride was very much heightened by his alliance with the family of the Sultan, whoſe daughter he married, tho' ſhe was not five years old. Such an alliance is ſo glorious to Baſſas, and gains them ſuch immenſe riches, that they are all rivals with regard to a Sultan's daughter, and marry them very young, for fear another ſhould get the ſtart of them. Naſuf's view in marrying that young Lady was, that he might have an honourable opportunity of leaving the command of the army, and of being near the Sultan's perſon, in order to ſuperintend the affairs of the empire, which the weak and indolent Achmet could not manage himſelf.

[*L*] *Naſuf's haughtineſs at laſt drew upon him the ruin he deſerved.*] The other Baſſas, who could no longer bear with his pride, accuſed him of keeping the Sultan from being acquainted with the true ſtate of affairs: of concealing from him all bad news, and of telling him only what might be acceptable to him. They ſaid that his covetouſneſs and temerity had been ſo great, that he had reſerved to himſelf half of the hundred balls of ſilk which the Perſian Embaſſador had brought by way of a preſent for the Sultan. Theſe things obliged Achmet to order this greedy Miniſter to be immediately ſtrangled, for fear he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of all the riches of the Empire. Naſuf died poſſeſſed of greater riches than any of the Viſirs his predeceſſors, becauſe he alone had been a greater tyrant than all of them put together. Above a million of ſequins were found hid in different parts of his houſe; beſides one thouſand and eighteen ſables ſet with precious ſtones; and among them one ſet with diamonds, and valued at fifty thouſand crowns. They alſo found in his houſe a vaſt many gold carpets, and all ſorts of rich Perſian ſtuffs. There were in his ſtables above a thouſand horſes, whoſe capariſons were embroidered with gold and pearls; and at his country-ſeats he bred ſix thouſand camels (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 321, 322.

☞ACHMET GEDUC a famous General under Mahomet II. and Bajazet II. was born in Albania (*a*), and lived in the fifteenth Century (*b*). Mahomet II. ſent him in the year 1480 to the coaſt of Apulia with a fleet of an hundred ſhips and twenty thouſand men, upon pretence, as it was then given out, only to plunder the country and to get ſlaves. This fleet coming before Otranto (*c*), and Achmet perceiving that the garriſon did not ſally out, but kept cloſe within the walls, concluded from thence that they were afraid; a circumſtance which encouraged him to land his forces, which he accordingly did, and got an immenſe booty in the adjacent country; and as he had found no reſiſtance, he reſolved to attack the town, being perſuaded that it might be taken at the expence of very little blood. The ſucceſs anſwered his expectation, for the Chriſtians ſcarce making any reſiſtance, the Turks ſoon overpowered them, and took the town ſword in hand (*d*). The Archbiſhop and Francis Zarlo the Governor having taken ſhelter in the Cathedral Church with the principal inhabitants, were all killed by the enemy; the women and children were carried into Greece, and there ſold to the higheſt bidder for

(*a*) Sagredo, *Hiſt. de l'Empire Ottoman, traduit par* Mr. Laurent. tom. 1. liv. II. p. 300.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) A Sea-port town in Apulia, in the kingdom of Naples.

(*d*) Sagredo, ibid. p. 288, 289.

for ſlaves. Achmet being willing to carry the news himſelf of this conqueſt to the Sultan, and to inform him of what was neceſſary in order to make a further progreſs in the kingdom of Naples, ſailed with his fleet to Conſtantinople, having left eight thouſand men at Otranto, and ammunition for a whole year. But Mahomet II. dying a little after, and great diviſions ariſing in the Ottoman Empire, Achmet could not return to Italy as he had propoſed; and the Duke of Calabria having beſieged Otranto, and taken ſome outworks, the garriſon finding they could receive no ſupplies from Turky, ſurrendred the town upon very favourable conditions. Mahomet II. dled in 1482, and left only two ſons, Bajazet and Zezim, Muſtapha his eldeſt ſon dying eight or nine years (*e*) before him [*A*]. Bajazet and Zezim both claimed the Imperial crown, and reſolved to decide their conteſt at the point of the ſword. Achmet ſided with the former [*B*], and by his bravery and conduct fixed the crown on Bajazet's head (*f*). But that brave General found by ſad experience, that too ſhining a virtue and too bright a glory are unpardonable crimes in the eyes of a Tyrant; for Bajazet forgetting how much he was indebted to Achmet, took away his life, by whom he had been raiſed to the throne [*C*] (*g*). We will

(*e*) Id. ibid. p. 295.

(*f*) Id. ib. pag. 295. 297.

(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 300.

[*A*] *Muſtapha his eldeſt ſon dying eight or nine years before him.*] He died a little after the great victory which the Turks gained over the Perſians in the year 1473. This is all that Sagredo (1), and Vanel (2), who barely copies and abridges the former, tell us. And by their manner of expreſſing themſelves concerning the death of Muſtapha, no one would ſuppoſe, that he died a violent death. This however he did, if we may believe Abbé Vertot, who tells us alſo ſeveral curious particulars concerning our Achmet, which we will give in this remark and the next. The occaſion of Muſtapha's death was as follows, according to Monſieur Vertot: "That young Prince, ſays he (3), "the partner of his father's labours and of "his glory, the ſupport of the throne, and the hopes "of the people, was ſoon cut off in the bloom of "youth. Achmet Geduc, one of the principal "Baſſas of the Ottoman port had a very beautiful "wife. Muſtapha had the misfortune to meet her "as ſhe was going into the bath; and notwithſtanding the ſevere precaution preſcribed to the Turkiſh women, not to appear in public without being cloſely veiled, ſhe could not reſiſt the ſecret pleaſure of giving Muſtapha a glimpſe of her beauty. A corner of her veil ſlipt out of her hand, but ſhe got hold of it immediately again; and ſhewed the more reſervedneſs only to excite the young man's curioſity the more. The Courtiers, a ſlaviſh ſpecies of men, did not fail criminally to commend the riſing paſſion of the Prince, who ſince the great exploits he had atchieved thought himſelf above the laws. Muſtapha follows Achmet's wife to the bath, forces into a place forbidden to men, ſurprizes her in an indecent dreſs, and tranſported by his paſſion, gains a victory, which perhaps was not much diſputed. Achmet was ſoon informed of this; and being enraged at the injury, he runs to the ſeraglio, proſtrates himſelf at the Sultan's feet, plucks off his beard, tears his cloaths, and by his tears and cries acquaints the Sultan with his wife's misfortune, or rather with his own. Mahomet had before been uneaſy at the proud and haughty temper of his ſon; however he would not humble himſelf ſo far as to blame his conduct before a ſubject; he therefore diſſembled his reſentment, and looking ſcornfully on Achmet, *Thy wife and thou*, ſays he to him, *are ye not my ſlaves; and is it not too much honour for you to contribute to the pleaſure of my children?* With this hard anſwer he ſent away Achmet; but at the ſame time ordered his ſon to appear before him, when with an air that made the moſt reſolute men of his court tremble, he rebuked him moſt ſeverely, and drove him from his preſence; and hearing afterwards that this young Prince went out of the ſeraglio full of indignation, and murmuring at the hard uſage he had met with, he ordered him to be ſtrangled."

(1) *Hiſt. de l'Empir. Ottoman, Traduit par* Mr. Laurent. t. 1. lib. 2. p. 295.

(2) *Abregé de l'Hiſtoire generale des Turcs*, t. 2. pag. 169.

(3) *Hiſt. des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. 2. liv. 7. p. 277, &c. ed. in 4°.

[*B*] *Achmet ſided with the former.*] It was ſurprizing that Achmet, born a ſoldier, brought up in the army, and who during the life of Mahomet, had been ſo much at variance with Bajazet, ſhould yet prefer him to Zezim a very worthy and couragious Prince; whereas Bajazet was of a very different character. But it is probable Achmet had political views, and conſidered his private intereſt more than that of the public. He flattered himſelf that under an effeminate Prince, who was immers'd in luxury, he would be more conſiderable and powerful, than under the government of a Sultan, who could command his armies in perſon (4). Thus was the fate of one of the greateſt empires at that time upon earth at the will and pleaſure of one man; and Bajazet owed the crown to the ſelfiſhneſs and ambition of Achmet. This, if true, is a ſtain in the character of that great General.

(4) Vertot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 334.

[*C*] *Bajazet...took away the life of Achmet, by whom he had been raiſed to the throne.*] The occaſion or pretence of it was as follows: Zezim, after his army had been routed by Achmet, fled to Rhodes, and put himſelf under the protection of the Great-Maſter (5) of the Knights of Rhodes (6); Bajazet was very uneaſy at it, ſtill fearing leſt his brother ſhould wreſt the ſcepter out of his hands. He therefore ſent Embaſſadors to the Great-Maſter, and under pretence of concluding a treaty of commerce between the ſubjects of the Sultan and thoſe of the Order of Rhodes, endeavoured ſecretly to kill Zezim: this obliged the Great-Maſter to adviſe that Prince to retire into France, which he accordingly did. Then the Grand-Maſter ſent Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople to conclude a peace with the Porte. Bajazet choſe Achmet for one of his Commiſſioners. The whole was very near being broke off by a preliminary upon which Achmet inſiſted, viz. that the Great-Maſter ſhould acknowledge himſelf a Vaſſal of the Grand-Segnior, and pay him a yearly tribute. The Embaſſadors very courageouſly rejected that preliminary; whereupon Achmet, the proudeſt of all men, ſaid, that his Maſter would go himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand men to levy that tribute. The Embaſſadors hearing this declared they would break off the treaty and return home. But Paleologus, the other Commiſſioner on the part of the Porte told Achmet in the Turkiſh language, that the Sultan was reſolved to conclude the treaty at any rate. This made Achmet deſiſt from his preliminary, but as he was perſuaded, that this treaty would diſgrace the Sultan, he left the management of it entirely to Paleologus, who ſoon concluded it, and among other conditions it was agreed, that the Sultan ſhould remit yearly to the Knights of Rhodes thirty five thouſand ducats for the ſupport and guards of Zezim. Achmet could not hear without the utmoſt indignation, that the Sultan had promiſed to pay ſuch a ſum annually, ſo that he complained publickly that by this treaty the glory of the empire had been ſacrificed, and the Emperor ſhamefully diſgraced: and among his reproaches, he happened to level ſome againſt the Sultan himſelf. Bajazet was ſoon acquainted with it. The courts of Princes are never without malicious men, who by falſe, envious and artful reports, endeavour to ruin thoſe who are odious to them. Achmet's greateſt enemy was a Baſſa named *Iſaac*, whoſe daughter he had married, but he was divorced from her on account of what paſſed between her and Muſtapha, as was related in the remark [*A*]. Iſaac was ſo affected with this affront, that he reſolved to be revenged. He therefore embraced the opportunity which Achmet's raſh diſcourſes afforded him: he related them to the Sultan intermixed with that poiſon, which Courtiers

(5) Who was then Peter d'Aubaſſon.

(6) Afterwards call'd the Knights of Malta.

will take notice in its proper place of Zezim brother to Bajazet.

know ſo well how to prepare, and of which they are not ſparing on occaſion: and upon pretence of diſcovering his zeal for the Emperor, he hinted to him, that ſo powerful a Viſir as Achmet, who was adored by the whole army, would not dare to utter ſuch bitter taunts, if he was not underhand contriving ſome plot. On ſuch occaſions as theſe, eſpecially under an arbitrary Government like that of the Turks, the man who is ſuſpected, is thought guilty. Bajazet ever ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, (the common fault of weak Princes) reſolved the death of Achmet. He had alſo another reaſon for it. Ungrateful as he was, it vexed him to ſee conſtantly a man, whoſe ſervices he could not reward as they deſerved. He therefore invited moſt of his principal Officers to a very great entertainment, where, contrary to their law, they all drank very plentifully; Bajazet, who intended to enſnare Achmet by making him diſcloſe his mind freely, turned the diſcourſe to the peace, which had been lately concluded with the Knights of Rhodes. He added, that having now no more enemies to engage with, he intended to leſſen the ſoldiers pay, and even to remove ſuch Officers, as were not well affected to his Government. Achmet the father of the ſoldiery, and a very proud and paſſionate man, was ſo affected at what he heard, that he anſwered immediately that the affection of the ſoldiery was the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the Throne, and that a Sultan who had ſtill a brother (7) living ſhould take care not to exaſperate the army. Some authors maintain that Achmet had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, but he was ſtabbed: Others ſay, that his death was delayed for ſome time, and relate alſo the following circumſtances, viz. That when the company parted, Bajazet made every one of them a preſent of a brocade veſt, and a purſe full of gold coin, but that there was put before Achmet only a black veſt, which he look'd upon as an ill omen. He was confirmed in his ſuſpicion, when going to follow the reſt of the company, he was ordered by the Sultan to ſtay, who ſaid he had ſome important affair to communicate to him. Achmet being now perſuaded that he was to be ſtrangled, cried out in a fury: *Cruel tyrant, if thou didſt intend to make me die, why forcedſt thou me to ſin againſt God, by making me drink of a forbidden liquor.* As Achmet was juſt going to be killed, the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, ſeeing Bajazet was drunk and in a paſſion, fell down upon his knees and ſaid to the Emperor, *My Lord, don't be too haſty in making this man die; doſt thou not know how much he is beloved by thy Janizaries? ſtay till to-morrow to know how they will be affected at the news of his death: then thou may'ſt command according to thy abſolute authority.* Fear, a paſſion extremely powerful in this weak and timorous Prince, had its uſual effect. Bajazet ſuſpended the death of Achmet, and gave orders that he ſhould be thrown into a dungeon half naked and loaded with irons. Achmet's ſon, who waited for his father at the gate of the ſeraglio, not ſeeing him come out, asked the other Officers what was become of him: but they were all ſo drunk, that he could learn only this from them, that the Sultan ſeemed very much exaſperated againſt him. This young man trembling at the danger his father was in, run to the Janizaries, and addreſſed them in this manner: *Dear fellow-ſoldiers, the Sultan has ſeized my father, but will you ſuffer that General to die a cruel death, with whom for ſo many years you have eat bread and ſalt* (8)? The Janizaries hearing this, took up arms, and ran in a body to the ſeraglio, and with great cries required that the gates ſhould be opened. Bajazet was ſoon acquainted with this uproar, and appearing at the window of his apartment, he ſpoke thus to the ſoldiers; *Friends, what is it you deſire? what is the occaſion of all this noiſe? --- Thou ſhalt know it immediately*, they all cried, *drunken Philoſopher as thou art. Where is Achmet? we will ſee him this very moment, or revenge his death.* The timorous Sultan hearing all his Janizaries exclaiming againſt him, anſwered, *Achmet is in my ſeraglio; I detained him for no other reaſon, but to conſult him upon an affair of great importance.* The menaces and fierce countenance of the Janizaries had terrified Bajazet to ſuch a degree, that he ordered Achmet to be immediately brought before them. Accordingly this General appeared at the gate of the ſeraglio, bare headed and bare legg'd, with only a waſt-coat on, as a man condemned to death, and juſt going to be executed. The Janizaries fired with indignation, at the ſhameful treatment this General had met with, pulled off the turbant from one of the principal Baſſas, and put it on Achmet's head. They alſo ordered a veſt to be immediately brought, and having cloathed him with it, they conducted him to his palace with great acclamations, as tho' they had gained a glorious victory.

(7) Zezim, whom we mentioned.

(8) Chalcondile's *Life of Bajazet II.*

Achmet either out of generoſity, or fearing leſt the love of the ſoldiers ſhould be accounted a new crime, entreated them to leſſen the tranſports of their joy. *Bajazet is our Sovereign*, ſaid he, *and who knows, but I have by my own fault drawn his diſpleaſure upon me.* At laſt by his entreaties he quelled that ſedition; but he learnt by ſad experience, that whatever advantage a ſubject may gain over his Prince, it at laſt proves fatal to himſelf. Bajazet diſſembled his reſentment for ſome time; and ſeemingly reſtored Achmet to favour; but when all his fears were removed, the Sultan commanded him to be ſtrangled, in a journey the Court made to Andrianople. Such was the fate of one of the greateſt Generals the Ottoman Empire ever boaſted, who thinking himſelf too neceſſary to his Prince, by that means became ſuſpected by him, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf the hatred of all the other officers (9).

(8) Vertot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 348-357.

ACIDALIUS (VALENS) would have been one of the ableſt critics of the latter ages, had a longer life given him an opportunity of carrying thoſe talents to perfection which nature had given him (*a*). He was born at Witſtoch, in the Marck or March of Brandenbourg; and having viſited ſeveral academies of Germany, Italy, and ſome other countries, where he was very much beloved [*A*], he ſtopt at Breſlaw, the capital of Sileſia. Here he waited a long time for ſome employment, but nothing offering, he turned Roman Catholic, and was ſoon after made rector or principal of a ſchool [*B*]. It is related, that about four months after this a ſtrange accident befel him, for as he was following a proceſſion of the Hoſt, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a frenzy, and being carried home, he expired ſoon after. Some authors ſay that he killed himſelf [*C*]. It was great pity he died ſo ſoon, for he was a man of ſenſe,

(*a*) *Adoleſcens ſummæ ſpei & eruditionis.* i. e. "A youth of "prodigious eru- "dition, from "whom the "greateſt things "might be ex- "pected." *Thuan. Hiſt.* lib. 113. p. 687.

(3) *Niſſa ad fluvium cognominem, Epiſcopi Wratiſlavienſis ſedes.* i. e. "Niſſa "on the river of "the ſame name, "the See of the "Biſhop of Breſ- "law." *Buno in Cluverii Introd.* lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 196. edit. Amſtel. ann. 1697.

[*A*] *Where he was very much beloved.*] The correſpondence he held with Vincenzo Pinelli, Jeromo Mercuriale, Antonio Riccoboni, Aſcagno Perſio, &c. prove the high eſteem the moſt celebrated Literati in Italy had for him. He had lived three years in that country (1).

(1) Valens *Acidal. in Epiſt.* p. 209, 215.

[*B*] *Rector or Principal of a ſchool.*] This Barthius aſſures us, whoſe words are, *Rector ſcholæ Neuſſanæ factus* (2); but I believe it ſhould be *Neiſſanæ* or *Niſſanæ*. Nieſſa, which Acidalius always calls *Nyſſa* in his letters, is three or four leagues from Breſlaw. The Biſhop of this laſt place reſides there (3). He who then filled the epiſcopal chair, had John Matthew Wacker for his Chancellor, a great lover of learning and learned men, who ſent for Acidalius to Neiſſa, and took him into his houſe. See *Acidalius's Epiſtles* (4). I don't find in thoſe dated from that place, any mention made of his being Maſter of a ſchool.

(2) *Apud* Konig. *Bibliothecæ*, p. 6.

(4) P. 228, 318.

[*C*] *That he killed himſelf* (5).] Chriſtian Acidalius, brother to Valens, did not dare to ſpeak out, when he complained of this calumny which had been

(5) Barthius had writ this with his own hand in his copy of Acidalius's Poems. See Konigii *Biblioth. vet. & nov.* p. 6.

ſenſe, and very laborious. His death was owing to his too great application, according to Thuanus (*b*), who informs us, that his ſtudying too hard at nights in compoſing his *Conjectures on Plautus* [*D*], brought a diſtemper upon him [*E*], which carried him off in three days, viz. the 25th of May 1595, being juſt turned of twenty eight [*F*]. He left ſeveral works behind him (*c*); but a little book [*G*] printed anno 1595, the

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) See the remark [*D*].

been ſpread, concerning his brother's death; but we are not to doubt, after what Barthius had writ in one of his books, but that the ſubject of thoſe complaints was, the report which was raiſed of Acidalius's killing himſelf; a circumſtance which occaſioned much exclamation from the pulpit. Here follow Acidalius's words, after having told us that his brother had been buried with great pomp. *Ut mirari ſatis nequeam calida multorum in judicando nimium præcipitantium & temerariorum ingenia, qui & ipſius morbi & loci etiam ſæpe deſignari quicquid maledicendo libido dictavit, vel fama quæ*

Tam ficti pravique tenax quàm nuncia veri,

de obitu ipſius ſparſit propagare porrò in exteras etiam regiones & propugnare, imo neſcio quas non tragœdias etiam in concionibus ad plebem, ubi regnare ſolent, excitare non erubuerunt. i. e. "So that I cannot "enough admire the raſh and precipitate, but ſly "conduct of many perſons, who tho' they often did "not know of what diſtemper, nor at what place, "he died; were yet ſo bold as to amplify and aſ"ſert ſtrenuouſly in foreign countries, whatever ca"lumny ſuggeſted, or fame,

"Who ſpreads around at random, truth or lies,

"publiſhed concerning his death; and to trump up "I know not what tragical ſtories in the pulpits, "where they are much in vogue (6)." He does not deny but that his *brother was ſeized with a delirium. Graviſſimum illud febrium acutarum ſymptoma paraphrenitidem aliquoties ſenſit, quod extremum malorum animam etiam ſua ſede ejecit* (7). i. e. "He ſometimes was ſeized with that worſt ſymptom "of acute fevers, a paraphrenitis, which worſt of "evils throws the ſoul itſelf from its ſeat." But he inſiſts, that very able Phyſicians, and the family of Mr. Wacker, at whoſe houſe he lay ſick, aſſiſted him till he died. Perhaps there is no ſubject on which fame ſpreads more untruths, than on the ſickneſs and death of illuſtrious perſons; for which reaſon Preachers, and all Moraliſts in general, ſhould be very reſerved in their reflexions on theſe occaſions. It is impoſſible to be diffident enough of the raſh credulity, or artful malice of theſe trumpeters.

(6) Chriſt. Acidalius *in Præfat. Epiſt. Valentis Acidalii*, Hanoviæ edit. anno 1606.

(7) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *His conjectures on Plautus.*] On the one ſide he had the ſatisfaction to ſee them advertiſed in the Frankfort catalogue (8), and on the other the vexation to be forced to make an hundred complaints againſt his bookſeller for being dilatory. In a word, they were not publiſhed till after his death. Barthius eſteemed this work. *Pauci*, ſays he (9), *eum Comici locum aſſecuti ſunt..... ſolus Acidalius rectum ſenſum percepit, ut alia multa in Comico.* That is, "Few have underſtood that paſſage of the "Comic-poet.... Acidalius only, thus hit on the "true ſenſe of this, as he has of ſeveral others in "*Plautus*." Teiſſier informs us, that Acidalius's *Commentary on Quintus Curtius* (10) is very much valued. This he dedicated to the Biſhop of Breſlaw, and was well rewarded for it, as appears from his thanks in his 89th epiſtle. He writ *Notes on Tacitus, on the* 12 *Panegyrics*, and *on Velleius Paterculus*; beſides *Speeches, Epiſtles* and *Poems* (11). The laſt mentioned work, inſerted in the *Deliciæ* or *Delights of the German Poets*, conſiſts of epic verſes, odes and epigrams, which Borrichius looks upon but as indifferent (12). Barthius is pleaſed with his diſſertation *De conſtitutione carminis elegiaci* (13).

(8) Valens Acidal. *Epiſt.* 317. 326.

(9) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 1. p. 239.

(10) Teiſſier *Eloges tirez de Monſ. de Thou.* tom. 2. p. 215.

(11) Idem.

(12) Borrich. *Diſſert. de Poët.* p. 125.

(13) *In* Claudian. *apud* Kenigii *Biblioth.* p. 6.

[*E*] *Brought a diſtemper upon him.*] Thuanus does not tell us what his diſtemper was; but we learn from another author, that Acidalius heated his blood to ſo violent a degree, by too often ſitting up late, whilſt he was writing his commentaries on Plautus, that he was from that time ſubject to burning fevers. His brother writes as follows on this ſubject: *Vratiſlaviæ, quæ Sileſiorum metropolis, per ſeſqui-annum plus minus utrumque ſe mihi præſtitit* (præceptorem & patrem;) *donec inde Nyſſam evocatus familiari morbo ſuo, quem ex nimiis vigiliis in adornandis Plautinis Divinationibus ſuis contraxerat, bilioſi alias etiam habitus juvenis,* FEBRI SCILICET ACUTISSIMA *opprimeretur* (14). i. e. "During his abode "for a year and a half, or thereabouts, at Breſlaw "the metropolis of Sileſia, he was both a preceptor "and a father to me; till being called from thence "to Nyſſa, he was there attacked by, and died of his "uſual diſtemper, A VIOLENT ACUTE FEVER, which "he had contracted by his too great and frequent "application to his conjectures on *Plautus*, and that "in the night time." He was more than once very dangerouſly ill in Italy; and we find by his letters to his friends, that a fever was his habitual diſtemper in that country. See his epiſtles, pag. 97 and 112.

(14) Chriſt. Acidal. *Præfat. Epiſtolar. Val. Acidalii.*

[*F*] *Being juſt turned of twenty eight.*] Thus I tranſlate theſe Latin words of Thuanus, *cum vix annum vigeſimum octavum exceſſiſſet*, which du Ryer renders, *n'ayant pas encore atteint ſa vingt-huitiéme année*, i. e. *not having yet attained his twenty eighth year*; I leave the reader to judge, whether his verſion is more juſt than mine. Acidalius, according to Baillet, was but twenty ſeven years and ſome months old (15): poſſibly Baillet diſcovered, that Thuanus had not been exactly informed of the age of this young author.

(15) Baillet *Jugem. ſur les Poët.* num. 1346.

[*G*] *But a little book — was falſly aſcribed to him.*] Geiſler has cleared him from this falſe imputation, as appears from this paſſage of Placcius; *Prioris* (16) *auctor quomodo non ex vero ſit habitus Valens Acidalius, vide apud Geiſlerum, decad* 3. *n.* 8. (17). i. e. "See in Geiſler, Decad. 3. n. 8. how the "former piece was falſly aſcribed to Valens Acida"lius." We ſhall ſpeak of this diſſertation under the article GEDICCUS: but before I proceed farther, I ſhall obſerve on what foundation this piece was ſaid to be written by Acidalius. As he was ſeeking an opportunity to indemnify the Bookſeller who printed his *Quintus Curtius*, and often uſed to complain of his having loſt by it (18), he happened to meet with a manuſcript (the little piece in queſtion) of which ſeveral copies had been taken. Acidalius read it, and finding it very whimſical, tranſcribed it, and offered it to his Bookſeller, as a piece he might get money by. However, Acidalius did not adviſe him to print it; it was undoubtedly ſuppoſed, that the declaring it would indemnify him for the little ſucceſs the *Quintus Curtius* had met with, was ſufficient; but he was told very plainly, that it was his buſineſs to conſider what he had beſt do; whether the too ſevere touches of raillery, which were in that piece, would not be of prejudice to him? But all this made no impreſſion on the Bookſeller, who got it printed with all imaginable expedition. The diſſertation was ſtrongly inveighed againſt, inſomuch that the Bookſeller was ſeized; and he diſcovering the perſon who gave him the manuſcript, a terrible outcry was made againſt Acidalius, who was ſurprized to find that a few ſallies of wit ſhould occaſion ſo much clamour. *Obſtupeſco ad judicia ſæculi noſtri, & tam irritabiles animos illorum* (*bonos non tango*) Θιολογυμένων. *Jocos nemo ferè jam admittit, & ex leviſſima quiſque re gravem calumniandi cauſam, & anſam captat* (19). i. e. "I am aſtoniſhed at the "judgment of our age, and at the warm, captious "temper of Divines (I ſay nothing of the good ones.) "Very few will now bear a joke, but make the "moſt trifling circumſtance a handle for calumny." He intreated his good friend Monavius to intercede with the Magiſtrates and Profeſſors of Leipſic for his Bookſeller; and to prevail with them not to attempt any thing which might ſully his (Acidalius's) reputation. He was afraid that his enemies would not ſtop at defamation, (with which they almoſt oppreſt him) and was under ſome apprehenſions that he ſhould be expoſed to the fury of the populace; but above all, he earneſtly wiſhed that he might have no diſpute with the Preachers. *Nomen ſit traductum*

(16) i. e. *Diſſertationis Mulieres non eſſe homines* i. e. "The "Diſſertation to "ſhew that wo"men are not "of the human "ſpecies.

(17) Placcius *de Anonymis*, p. 72.

(18) *Ut genus hominum lucri cupidum eſt, cum aviditati ejus emolumentum editionis non ſatis reſponderet, queſtum perſæpe de jactura ſua.* i. e. "As this ſet of "men are greedy "of gain, when "the profits of "the edition did "not anſwer his "avaritious ex"pectations, he "often com"plained that he "had loſt by it." Valens Acidal. *Epiſt. apolog. ad calcem Epiſtolarum.*

(19) Acidalii *Epiſtola Apologet. ad calcem Epiſtolar.*

the ſubject of which was, that *Women are not of the human Species, Mulieres non eſſe homines*, was falſly aſcribed to him. I have read ſomewhere that he was a Phyſician [*H*], and that he would have written Notes on Aulus Gellius, had he lived ſome time longer (*d*). We find by his letters, that he had writ upon Apuleius. Baillet has given him a place among his *Enfans célébres*; and ſays, that he *illuſtrated Plautus when he was but* ſeventeen or eighteen years of age; *not to mention ſeveral pieces of his of Latin Poetry ſtill extant, and which he compoſed at the ſame age.* One of his firſt printed works was an edition of Velleius Paterculus, publiſhed by him at Padua in 1591. He himſelf tells us, that he was aſhamed of this too haſty offſpring of his pen (*e*); and was ſurprized to hear that the French intended to reprint it (*f*). Lipſius, who wrote ſome letters to him, filled with teſtimonies of eſteem and friendſhip (*g*), conſidered him as one who would one day be a great man, *Ipſe Valens (non te fallam augur) gemmula erit Germaniæ veſtræ, vivat modo*, i. e. "Valens himſelf (I am almoſt certain) if he does but live, "will be the jewel (ornament) of Germany;" thus he wrote to Monavius in 1594, as we find in the beginning of Acidalius's Epiſtles.

(d) *Niſi juveni illi fata quietem miſerabiliter properaſſent.* i. e. "Had not fate "unhappily haſtened the death "of this youth. *Sciopp. de arte critica*, p. 18.

(e) Val. Acidal. *Epiſtolar.* p. 70, 78, 127.

(f) Idem, pag. 160, 161, 209, 255.

(g) The xth and xxvith of the *Centuria ad Ital. & Hiſp.*

tum jam in vulgus calumnioſis fabulis ſatis ſit, quod eſt nimio plus ſatis; ulterius ne quid furori populari concedatur. In primis à Theologis & Concionatoribus ne quid noceatur mihi, cum quibus nolo committi, nec quicquam magis opto quàm illorum Tribunitiis edictis nunquam miſceri, nec ſcriptis publicis inceſſi (20). i. e. "Let it ſuffice that my name has been thus "falſly traduced in public by calumniators, which "indeed is too much; and let not the populace be "ſuffered to carry their rage farther. But eſpecially "I intreat that no injury may be done me by the Di"vines and Preachers, with whom I will not have any "ſquabble. Nor is there any thing I deſire more, than "to be never mentioned in their Tribunitial Edicts, "nor in printed papers. He died a few months after this, and as the ſcandal which the publication of the work abovementioned gave, was ſtill freſh in every one's memory, people were the more inclined to make a heavy bluſter on the kind of death he died of. *Quæ calumniarum & mendaciorum lerna inde potiſſimum nata eſt, quod recens adhuc eſſet fabula illa in Apologetica Epiſtola ſatis refutata, quæ multorum animis altè nimis inſederat, ut facile eſſet improbis quidvis in invidiam trahere, conviciis proſcindere, & è plauſtro quaſi calumniari* (21). i. e. "Which heap "of lies and calumnies aroſe chiefly from hence, that "this ſtory which I had ſufficiently refuted in my "*Apologetical Epiſtle*, was yet freſh in the minds "of the people, where it had taken too deep impreſ"ſion, ſo that it was an eaſy matter for any worth"leſs perſons to make me odious; to blacken my "reputation by the moſt injurious reproaches; and "to defame me publickly, &c." To conclude; he aſſures us that the little piece in queſtion had been handed about in manuſcript for ſome time; and very probable it had been written in Poland.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Chriſt. Acidal. *Præf. Epiſtolar.* Val. Acidal.

Few people will wonder, that Acidalius was afraid the Preachers, in caſe he ſhould come to a rupture with them, would be too hard for him; for as we are very prone to judge unfavourably of our neighbour, we often figure thoſe Preachers to our minds under the image of Æolus:

Æole namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex,
Et mulcere dedit fluctus, & tollere ventos (22).

That is,

"O Æolus! for to thee the King of Heav'n
"The power of tempeſts, and of winds has given:
"Thy force alone their fury can reſtrain,
"And ſmooth the waves, or ſwell the troubled
"main. Dryden.

(22) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 65.

But in ſuch a manner, that they are more capable to raiſe, than to lay a ſtorm. For this laſt effect, men of a grave character are required:

Tum pietate gravem at meritis ſi forte virum quem
&c. (23)
. . . . . .
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet.

(23) Ibid. ver. 151, 153.

That is,

"If then ſome grave and pious man appear,
"They huſh their noiſe; and lend a liſt'ning ear.
"He ſooths with ſober words their angry mood,
"And quenches their innate deſire of blood.
Dryden.

But leſs is required to produce the other effect.

[*H*] *That he was a Phyſician.*] He is ſo called in a work of Scioppius (24). He at laſt took his Doctor's degree, but it was only *ad honores*, for he never practiſed, nor intended to practiſe, intending only to cure the diſeaſes of manuſcripts. *Medicum τῇ πράξει nec ago, nec agere propoſitum unquam fuit; certo conſilio tamen inter ejus artis candidatos nomen dedi, nec pœnitet, eo quod petii, inde jam ablato,* &c. (25). i. e. "I neither practiſe phyſic, nor ever "intended to practiſe it. Nevertheleſs certain rea"ſons induced me to put down my name among "the candidates for that ſcience, nor do I repent of "it, becauſe I ſought it, having already brought "from thence, &c." A little before he had ſaid, *Dabam illic* (in Italia) *me τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδαις, quorum ſacris & in Italia fueram initiatus:* i. e. "There "(in Italy) I enrolled my name among the Æſculapians, into whoſe myſteries I was initiated even in "Italy." What he ſays elſewhere (26) is more to "the purpoſe; *Inde rediens cum ſolenni illorum* "(ſtudiorum Medicinæ) *honore.* i. e. "Returning "thence with the uſual honour of thoſe ſtudies "(Phyſic).

(24) Scioppius de *Arte Critica*, p. 18.

(25) Val. Acidal. *Epiſt.* p. 215. *ac etiam* p. 194, 209.

(26) Ibid. p. 249.

☞ACILIA, the name of a Roman family, which was divided into three branches, *Aviola*, *Balbus* and *Glabrio*. It produced ſeveral conſiderable perſons; ſome of whom we ſhall mention. I. Marcius Acilius Glabrio was Conſul in the year of Rome 562. Antiochus the Great King of Syria having declared war againſt the Romans, he was ſent to oppoſe him with ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and fourteen elephants (*a*). Antiochus waited for him at the Streights of Thermopylæ in Theſſaly, where they engaged, and the former was obliged to retire with a conſiderable loſs. Acilius then beſieged Heraclea, and took it (*b*). The Ætolians having followed Antiochus's party, he forced them to leave the country open to him, and beſieged them in Naupactum, which is ſituated upon the Gulph of Corinth, and is called at preſent Lepanto. But at laſt he granted them peace at the ſolicitation of T. Quintius Flaminius (*c*). Thus ended the war with Antiochus in Greece under Acilius's conduct. He built the Temple of Piety at Rome in the Herb-Market, in conſequence of a vow, which he made before the battle of Thermopylæ (*d*). The reaſon which is alledged for dedicating of that temple by the name of the Temple of Piety is very remarkable [*A*].

(a) Liv. lib. 36. c. 14. Note that Appian ſays, *de Bello Syriaco*, p. 99. edit. H. Stephani 1592, that he had 20000 foot and ſeveral elephants.

(b) Ibid. c. 25.

(c) Ibid. c. 23, 24, 25.

(d) Valer. Maxim. l. 3. c. 5. § 1. *See* Livy, l. 40. c. 34.

markable [*A*]. It was dedicated by his ſon M. Acilius Glabrio, who likewiſe placed in it a gilt Equeſtrian Statue of his father, which was the firſt of that kind that was ever ſeen in Rome or any part of Italy (*e*). II. Caius Acilius, one of Julius Cæſar's ſoldiers, who performed an action of aſtoniſhing bravery [*B*]. III. Acilius Aviola, Legate of Tiberius in Gaul in the fourth Conſulſhip of that Emperor, and the ſecond of Druſus, ſuppreſſed the commotions which were raiſed in that country by Julius Florus

(*e*) Valer. Max. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *The reaſon which is alledged for dedicating that temple by the name of the Temple of Piety is very remarkable.*] Pliny tells us (1), that this temple was built in the ſame place where a woman had lived, who had ſhewn an extraordinary inſtance of piety to her mother. The ſtory, as it is related by Valerius Maximus (2), is as follows. The Roman Prætor had condemned a Lady of good quality for a capital crime, and committed her to the Triumvir to be put to death in priſon; but the keeper being touched with compaſſion, did not ſtrangle her immediately: nay, he even ſuffered her daughter to viſit her, after he had carefully ſearched her, to prevent her conveying in any food, imagining that ſhe muſt inevitably be ſoon ſtarved to death. But after ſeveral days had paſt, and he found no alteration in her, he begun to conſider with himſelf how it was poſſible for her to be ſupported ſo long; and at laſt, having watched the daughter, he obſerved that the mother was ſuſtained by ſucking the daughter's breaſt. This ſurprizing circumſtance was immediately told by the keeper to the Triumvir, who informed the Prætor of it, and he diſcovering it to the council of the Judges the Lady's puniſhment was remitted, and ſhe was diſcharged. *Sanguinis ingenui mulierem prætor apud Tribunal ſuum capitali crimine damnatam, triumviro in carcere necandum tradidit. Quam receptam, is qui cuſtodiæ præerat miſericordiâ motus, non protinus ſtrangulavit. Aditum quoque ad eam filiæ, ſed diligenter excuſſæ, ne quid cibi inferret, dedit, exiſtimans futurum, ut inediâ conſumeretur. Cum autem jam dies plures intercederent, ſecum ipſe quærens, quidnam eſſet, quod tamdiu ſuſtentaretur; curioſius obſervatâ filiâ, animadvertit illam exerto ubere famem matris lactis ſui ſubſidio lenientem. Quæ tam admirabilis ſpectaculi novitas ab ipſo ad triumvirum, a triumviro ad prætorem, a prætore ad concilium judicum perlata, remiſſionem pœnæ mulieri impetravit.* Pliny has given us the ſame ſtory, though with the alteration of ſome circumſtances. He tells us (3), that the daughter was a woman of low Plebeian rank; and that when this extraordinary inſtance of her piety to her mother was diſcovered, a perpetual allowance was appointed to maintain them both, and a temple built to the Goddeſs Piety upon the place where the priſon ſtood. Julius Solinus has given us the ſame ſtory almoſt in the very words of Pliny; tho' in ſome editions he ſays it was a father and not a mother who was thus ſupported by the daughter (4). But ſome critics have ſubſtituted *parentem* inſtead of *patrem*, becauſe the truth of the Hiſtory requires it; whereas the common reading very probably was occaſioned by a miſtake of the tranſcribers; *quia ratio & fides hiſtoriæ hoc poſtulat, vel matrem vel parentem, unde fortaſſis patrem ex gloſs. in context. irrepſit, legendum videtur* (5).

(1) *Hiſt. Natur.* lib. 7. c. 36.

(2) Lib. 5. c. 4. § 7.

(3) Lib. 7. c. 36.

(4) Solin. *Polyhiſtor.* cap. 7.

(5) M. Ant. Delrio *Not. in locum.*

[*B*] *Who performed an action of aſtoniſhing bravery.*] Suetonius, in order to give us an idea of the reſolution and valour of Cæſar's army, tells us (6), that a ſingle cohort of the ſixth legion, which was employed in defence of a caſtle, bore the ſhock of four of Pompey's legions for ſeveral hours together, tho' all of them were covered with wounds by the prodigious multitude of arrows, which were ſhot at them, 130,000 of which were found within the trench. Nor will this appear at all ſurprizing, if we conſider the exploits of particular men, as that of Caſſius Scæva, or C. Acilius. The former, tho' he had loſt one of his eyes, and was run thro' in the ſhoulder and thigh, and had his ſhield perforated in an hundred and twenty places, yet defended the door of the caſtle to the laſt. And Acilius in the ſea-fight at Marſeilles, having caught hold of one of the enemy's ſhips, had his right hand cut off; notwithſtanding which he leapt into the ſhip, and knockt down every one who met him, with his ſhield. Suetonius upon this occaſion mentions the famous ſtory of Cynægirus an Athenian ſoldier, who in the battle which Miltiades fought againſt the Perſians at Marathon, having killed a prodigious number of the enemies in the fight, and purſuing thoſe that fled to their ſhips, ſeized one of the ſhips with his right hand, which being cut off, he caught hold of it with the left, which met with the ſame fate as the other; ſo that at laſt he held the ſhip with his teeth, with all the fury of an enraged beaſt (7). Valerius Maximus likewiſe gives us an account of Acilius's action; but he varies a little in the circumſtances of it, for he tells us (8), that he caught hold of one of the ſhips of Marſeilles with his right hand, and when that was cut off, with his left, till at laſt he ſunk it. "This action, ſays he, is not ſufficiently known "among us; whereas Greece, which is very ver- "boſe in her own praiſes, has immortalized by her "panegyricks the ſame kind of courage and reſolu- "tion, which Cynægyrus the Athenian ſhewed in "purſuing the enemy." *Quod factum parum juſta notitia patet. Cynægyrum Athenienſem ſimili pertinaciâ in conſectandis hoſtibus uſum, verboſa laudum ſuarum cantu Græcia, omnium ſæculorum memoriæ literarum præconio inculcat* (9).

(6) Sueton. *in Jul. Cæſare*, c. 68.

(7) Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 9. *See* Herodot. l. 6. 114.

(8) Lib. 3. c. 2. § 22.

(9) Id. ibid.

Strada has introduced an account of the valour of two ſoldiers at the ſiege of Zutphen in Flanders, with a reflexion not much different from that of Valerius Maximus. "Their actions, ſays he (10), "would be rank'd with thoſe, which are moſt cele- "brated in antiquity, if we were not too great ad- "mirers of the ancients, while we are envious, or "at leaſt too inattentive and incurious with regard "to the great actions of thoſe of our own age and "country." *Quâ quidem in expugnatione non ego præterierim duorum militum in utriſque partibus facinora, priſcis profecto æquanda, ſi nos, ut veterum admiratores ſumus, ita noſtrorum invidi certè non incurioſi non eſſemus.* The firſt inſtance of bravery, which he mentions, is that of a ſoldier in the Spaniſh garriſon, who having loſt his right hand, retired a little, and bound his halbert to his wounded arm; which he managed ſo well with his left hand, that he kill'd and wounded ſeveral of the enemy, and at laſt obliged the reſt to ceaſe their attacks upon that part of the fort. "Let the fame of this valiant man, ſays the Hiſtorian, "be tranſmitted to poſterity, in "conjunction with Attilius, Cæſar's ſoldier, who is "ſo highly extolled by the ancients. Both of them "ſupplied the loſs of their hands by their valour: "but the latter only transferred the uſe of his "right hand, which was cut off, to his left: where- "as the former would not leave his antagoniſt room "to boaſt of having deprived him of his hand, but "reſtored it to its former employment, and armed "even his wounded limb with new force againſt "the enemy. The ſoldier of Toledo, who was by "no means inferiour to the Roman in the glory "of his action, deſerves to be honoured with the "name of Attilius, as long as his own is concealed "from us." *Eat ad poſteros hujus quoque bellatoris fama cum Attilio Cæſaris milite veterum præconiis decantato.—Nempe uterque miniſterium amputatæ manus virtute ſupplevit; ſed ille uſum dexteræ amiſſæ in lævam tranſtulit; hic ne in amiſsâ quidem relinquens percuſſori locum gloriandi ſuam manui vim reſtituit, vulnuſque ipſum in hoſtem ferociùs armavit. Ut profectò Toletanus non infra Romanum facti gloria, quandiu nomine carebit ſuo, in Attilii cognomentum adoptari meritò poſſit* (11). He then tells us a ſtory of an Engliſh Officer in the Earl of Leiceſter's army, whoſe name was *Edward Stanley*. He was at the head of his men, attacking a fort of the city of Zutphen, when one of the beſieged thruſt at him with his pike, which Stanley caught hold of, and endeavoured to wreſt from the other. But finding he could not do it, he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn up by the pike upon the wall of the fort, where he fought ſo bravely, that the enemy fled from him, and his own men took that

(10) *De Bello Belgico*, Dec. 2. l. 8.

(11) Strada, ibid.

Florus and Julius Sacrovir (f). The manner of his death was very extraordinary (g) [C]. IV. Acilius Butas, a man of Prætorian rank, and famous for his luxury and debauchery under the Emperor Tiberius [D]. V. Acilius Glabrio, Conſul under Domitian with Trajan, who was afterwards Emperor (h). He was baniſhed by that Emperor, and afterwards put to death by his order (i) [E]. Lloyd, Moreri and Collier have been guilty of a great many errors in theſe articles [F].

(f) Tacit. l. 3.
(g) *See* Lipſius *in locum Taciti ſupra citatum.*
(h) J. Xiphilin. *Epitom. Dion. Caſſii*, p. 235. edit. H. Stephani 1592.
(i) Sueton. *in Domitian.* c. 10.

opportunity to mount the wall, and ſo immediately ſeized the fort. For this action he was knighted by the Earl of Leiceſter, and rewarded in a very handſome manner.

[C] *The manner of his death was very extraordinary.*] He was imagined to be dead by the Phyſicians and his ſervants; and having lain ſome time, he was carried to the funeral pile prepared for him; but as ſoon as the fire came to touch his body, he recovered, and cried out that he was alive, and deſired his Tutor, who was the only perſon that ſtaid there, to aſſiſt him; but the flames had by that time ſurrounded him, ſo that he was immediately burnt to death (12). The ſame misfortune happened likewiſe to L. Lamia a man of pretorian quality, who was heard to cry out upon the funeral pile (13). Pliny mentions alſo both theſe ſtories (14).

(12) Id. l. 1. c. 8. § 12.
(13) Ibid.
(14) Lib. 7. c. 52.

[D] *Famous for his luxury and debauchery under the Emperor Tiberius.*] We have a very humorous repreſentation of his character in *Seneca* (15). He introduces it with ſeveral fine reflexions upon the vicious and profligate manner of life, which many perſons led in his time. "As they are reſolved, "ſays he, to act every thing contrary to the dic- "tates of nature, they at laſt entirely abandon her. "If it is day-time, then they go to ſleep; if it "be night, they apply themſelves to the exerciſe "of their bodies, and ſit down to dinner. If "the day is juſt ready to break, then it is the "proper time for ſupper. It is wrong, they "think, to do as other people do. It is baſe and "ſordid, to live after the common and vulgar forms. "Let us leave the day for the uſe of the public; "but appropriate the morning to our own pleaſures. "I conſider ſuch people juſt in the ſame manner "as I do the dead; for where is the difference "between their manner of life and a funeral, when "they live only by torch-light (16)? I remem- "ber ſeveral perſons at one time, who us'd to "live this way; and particularly Atilius (17) Bu- "tas, a man of prætorian rank, who having ſpent "a very large eſtate, and complaining to Tiberius of "his poverty, the Emperor replied, *Ah Butas, you "have waked a little too late.* Montanus Julius, who "was a pretty good Poet, and well known for his "intimacy with Tiberius, tho' he afterwards loſt "his favour, uſed to recite his own verſes. He "was very fond of introducing deſcriptions of ſun- "riſing and ſun-ſet; ſo that when ſome body was "expreſſing his anger, that he ſhould take up the "whole day in reciting, and ſaid that it was im- "pertinent to go to hear him. Natta Pinarius an- "ſwered with a great deal of humour; *Am not I "then very good-natur'd to him? why, I can ſub- "mit to hear him from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet.* When "Montanus, I ſay, was repeating the following "verſes;

(15) *Epiſt.* 122. *Operum* tom. 2. p. 469, 470 edit. Elzevir. 1658.

(16) *Ad faces & cereos vivunt.*
(17) This I preſume ſhould be *Acilius*, as it is generally read.

"*Incipit ardentes Phœbus producere flammas,*
"*Spargere ſe rubicunda dies, jam triſtis hirundo*
"*Argutis reditura cibos immittere nidis*
"*Incipit, & molli partitos ore miniſtrat.*

That is,

"Now Sol begins to urge his beamy carr
"Thro' heaven's expanſe; the ruddy day now
" dawns;
"The melancholly ſwallow to her neſt
"Brings home the food, and with parental fond-
" neſs
"Divides it to her young.

"Varus, a Roman Knight, who was a companion "of L. Vinicius, and a notorious paraſite, and main- "tained himſelf by his buffoonry, cried out; *Why "Butas is then juſt going to ſleep.* But when the "Poet came afterwards to theſe verſes:

"*Jam ſua paſtores ſtabulis armenta locarunt*
"*Jam dare ſopitis nox nigra ſilentia terris*
"*Incipit.*

That is,

"The ſhepherd now within his ſtalls ſecures
"The tender flocks; now night with all her ſhades
"Spreads a deep ſilence o'er the weary world.

"Varus cried out again; *What does he ſay? Is it "night then? I'll go now to Butas's Levee.* No- "thing in the world was better known than his "manner of life, which was the reverſe of all the "common methods; and he had a great many com- "panions at that time, who led exactly the ſame kind "of life.— I have heard Pedo Albinovanus, who had "an excellent talent at telling of ſtories, give an "account of Sp. Papinius, who was one of theſe "men, who have an averſion to day-light (18). "Pedo lived juſt above Papinius's houſe. About "nine a clock at night, ſays he, I hear the noiſe "of whips. Upon this I enquire what the matter "is: they tell me, that he is ſettling accounts "with his ſervants. About twelve a clock I hear a "prodigious noiſe: they tell me, that he is exer- "ciſing his voice. About two in the morning I "ask what is the meaning of that noiſe of wheels? "they tell me, that he is carrying about in a litter. "About day-break there is a ſtrange running to and "fro, and calling of the boys, and buſtling of the but- "lers and cooks. When I ask what that is for? they "tell me, that he is calling for his mull'd wine and "broth, and juſt going out of the bath. But per- "haps you'll ſay, is his ſupper ſo long, that he can- "not finiſh it till after midnight? By no means, for "he lived extremely frugally, and ſpent nothing but "the night. And therefore, when people uſed to "call him miſer and ſordid fellow, nay, ſays Pedo, "you ſhould add too, that he is one, who lives by "candle-light (19)."

(18) *Luciſugæ.*
(19) *Illum & Lychnobium dicetis.*

[E] *Put to death by his order.*] Xiphilin tells us (20), that it was reported, that the ſame prodigies happened to this Acilius Glabrio and to Ulpius Trajanus, who were Conſuls the ſame year; tho' thoſe omens portended very different fates to them, to the latter the empire, and to the former death. The occaſion of Glabrio's misfortune was as follows (21). Domitian had him charged with becoming a proſelyte to the Jewiſh rites, and among other crimes, with having fought with wild beaſts; but the chief reaſon of the Emperor's reſentment againſt him was merely from envy. For he had obliged Acilius even during his Conſulſhip to attend upon him at the youthful games (22), and to fight with a lion of a prodigious ſize in the amphitheatre. But he was ſo fortunate as to eſcape without any wound, and killed the lion upon the ſpot.

(20) *Epitom Dion.* p. 235. ed. H. Stephani 1592.
(21) Idem, ibid. p. 236, 237.
(22) Νεανικὰ μετὰ *Juvenilia.*

Juvenal mentions this Acilius (23):

(23) *Sat.* 4. ver. 94, 95, &c.

Proximus ejuſdem properabat Acilius ævi,
Cum juvene indigno, quem mors tam ſæva maneret,
Et domini gladiis jam deſignata.

"Next him Acilius, tho' his age the ſame,
"With eager haſte to the grand council came:
"With him a youth, unworthy of the fate
"That did too near his growing virtues wait,
"Urged by the Tyrant's envy, fear, or hate.

Dryden.

The old Scholiaſt upon this paſſage tells us, that this Acilius was Conſul under Domitian, who ordered his ſon to be put to death, but kept him alive that he might feel the more exquiſite regret for the loſs of his ſon. *Acilius conſul ſub Domitiano fuit, indignus pati, quæ paſſus eſt. Hujus filium juvenem cum occideret, ipſum Acilium ſervavit, qui pœnas ſentiret orbitatis.*

[L] *Lloyd, Moreri, and Collier have been guilty of a great many errors in theſe articles.*] We ſhall conſider their errors under the particular articles. Under the firſt article, i. e. that of Manius Acilius Glabrio, Moreri tells us, that he went againſt Antiochus *with ſeven hundred horſe and fifteen elephants,* whereas

ACINDYNUS (GREGORY) a Greek Monk, lived in the fourteenth Century. He aſſociated with Barlaam, who, from the time of his joining in communion with the Greek Church, had made it his buſineſs to confound the Heſycaſtes, who were greatly multiplied among the Monks of Mount Athos. The * Heſycaſtes were contemplative devotees, whoſe name plainly ſhews, that there were Quietiſts in the world even in that age. Theſe, in the utmoſt fervency of their prayers, imagined they ſaw a light like to that which ſhone upon Chriſt at his transfiguration on Mount Tabor; and aſſerted, that this light was uncreated, though it was very diſtinct from the eſſence of God (*a*). Acindynus, ſeconding Barlaam's impetuoſity, wrote againſt the illuſions of thoſe fanaticks, and was one of the greateſt ſticklers againſt them in the council of Conſtantinople: but he had the misfortune to meet with antagoniſts more powerful than either himſelf or Barlaam, who cauſed them to be cenſured and condemned in ſeveral councils. Notwithſtanding his ill ſucceſs in that of Conſtantinople about anno 1337, he nevertheleſs ventured to charge publickly of hereſy, the favourers of Gregorius Palamas, for which the Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſummoned him to appear in 1341. Accordingly he came to the council, and was condemned to ſilence, upon pain of excommunication. Six years after this, John Cantacuzenus being Emperor and loving Palamas, he was attacked more vigorouſly than before; and ſo many cenſures and excommunications were fulminated againſt Acindynus at different times, as afterwards reduced him to a calm, but a very obſcure life. James Gretſer, a German Jeſuit, publiſhed at Ingolſtad, in 1616, Acindynus's two books *de eſſentia & operatione Dei.* Leo Allatius alſo publiſhed a Poem (*b*), and ſome fragments of the ſame author (*c*), who having had the fate to be looked upon as a heretic for ſeveral years [*A*], has at laſt met with more learned and more equitable judges [*B*].

* From ἡσυχάζω *quieſco*, to be at reſt.

(*a*) See the authors cited by father Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Schiſme des Grecs.* liv. 5. p. 149, 150, Dutch edit.

(*b*) *Græc. Orthod.* tom. 1. from page 756 to 770.

(*c*) *In Libro* II. cap. 16. *de Conſenſu, &c apud Appendic. Cave, Hiſt. Liter. Script. Eccleſ.* p. 34. Conſult this Appendix with regard to the preſent articles.

whereas both Livy and Appian aſſure us, that he had in his army two thouſand horſe; and the former informs us, that he had but fourteen elephants. He has likewiſe in giving an account of the gilt ſtatue, which was erected to this Conſul by his ſon the Duumvir, falſly tranſlated the word *auratam ſtatuam*, which ſignifies only *a gilt ſtatue*; *une ſtatue* D'OR PUR, *a ſtatue of pure gold.* In relating the ſtory of the woman, who was ſupported in priſon by ſucking her daughter's breaſts, Moreri, Lloyd and Collier have all of them miſrepreſented it, by telling us, that it was a man who was thus ſuſtained by his daughter; and yet they quote Valerius Maximus very particularly for this relation; whereas we have ſhewn, that this author repreſents it in a quite different manner. Nay Mr. Collier has egregiouſly miſtaken one circumſtance, where he tells us, that *the Senate had forbid the man all manner of ſuſtenance*; for it appears that the woman, of whom this fact is related, was ordered to be ſtrangled, but that the keeper having pity on her, would not diſpatch her in that manner, but choſe rather to ſuffer her to periſh with hunger. The occaſion of theſe writers miſtake in this point, aroſe very probably from their confounding a ſtory, which Valerius Maximus relates (24) of Cimon a very aged man, who was preſerved from being ſtarved to death in priſon, by ſucking his daughter Pero's breaſt, with the fact abovementioned. The former ſtory, according to this author, was a very common ſubject amongſt the painters before his time; and has employed ſeveral of the moſt eminent hands amongſt the moderns. Under the fourth article, viz. that of Acilius Butas, Moreri tranſlates the word *prætorius* in *Seneca* (25), *Préfet du pretoire*, i. e. "Prefect of the pre-"torium;" whereas the latter is always expreſſed in Latin by *Præfectus prætorio.* Under the fifth article, viz. that of Acilius Glabrio, who was Conſul under Domitian, Mr. Collier tells us, that *this Emperor killed Acilius's ſon, upon the pretence, that he fought with wild beaſts, but really becauſe he dreaded his ſtrength, having killed a lion in Africa.* He ſeems to have tranſlated this from Lloyd, tho' he differs from him in one circumſtance; for the latter ſays, that *Acilius's ſon killed a lion in the Albanian mount.* Theſe two authors quote no authority for what they

(24) Valer. Max. l. 5. c. 4. *Exempl. Extern.* 1.

(25) *Epiſt.* 122.

mention in that point; and we have ſeen above that Dion Caſſius's account is extremely different from this.

[*A*] *Looked upon as a heretic for ſeveral years.*] As in the heat of a diſpute, a man who thinks of nothing but how to puſh home his adverſary, ſhall often be blinded to ſuch a degree, as not to perceive that he runs from one extreme to the other; or at leaſt carries his reaſons to ſuch a length, that they prove too much: I don't doubt but Barlaam and Acindynus gave Palamas their adverſary an advantage by this means; and that being orthodox at the bottom, they ſometimes argued like heretics. Prateolus has not omitted them in his catalogue; but then, it is impoſſible to make any thing of the ſentence of their condemnation as he has expreſſed it. A circumſtance that is leſs obſcure in his book with regard to Barlaam and Acindynus, is, that the Council which was aſſembled to condemn them, was held in the preſence of the bleſſed and moſt famous Emperor Michael Andronicus Paleologus, and of John his ſon; in the reign of Henry VII, Emperor of Germany, and Pope John XXII, about the year of our Lord 1313. (1). The whole paſſage ſwarms with errors; for 1ſt, In the Century in queſtion (2) no Emperor of Conſtantinople could be called *bleſſed* by a Roman Catholic, but Michael Paleologus, who joined in communion with the holy See, and died in that communion. Now he was not called *Michael Andronicus*; he had no ſon whoſe name was *John*, and he died in 1283. Secondly, the Emperor whoſe ſon was named *John*, is called barely *Andronicus Paleologus*, did not begin his reign till 1328, and was not cotemporary with Henry VII and John XXII. Laſtly, it is an error to ſay that Acindynus was ſentenced about anno 1313. Father Gaultier has not omitted Barlaam and Acindynus in his chronological tables, but has rank'd them among the heretics, and that on the authority of Prateolus.

(1) *Prateoli Elench. Hæret.* p. 86. edit. Colon. an. 1605. in 4°.

(2) Here this word is taken in general for an hundred years, to begin from what date one pleaſes.

[*B*] *At laſt met with Judges who were more equitable.*] See the authors quoted by Moreri; I mean Pontanus on Cantacuzenus, and Spondanus's *Annals.* See alſo thoſe of Bzovius, Gretzer (3), Father Maimbourg (4), and the authors cited by him in the work pointed out in the margin.

(3) Gretſeri *Notæ in Cantacuzenum & in editionem Acindyni.*

(4) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Schiſme des Grecs.* liv. 5.

ACINDYNUS (SEPTIMIUS) was Conſul of Rome with Valerius Proculus, the ſame year that Conſtantine, ſon to Conſtantine the Great, was killed near Aquileia (*a*). He had been Governor of Antioch, and during his government there happened an event (mentioned by St. Auſtin) (*b*), which deſerves our notice. A certain man neglecting to carry to the treaſury the pound of gold he was taxed; Acindynus threw him into priſon, and ſwore he would hang him, in caſe he did not pay the money on a certain day which he appointed. The time was very near expired, when the poor man found it impoſſible for him to ſatisfy the demand of the Governor. He had, indeed,

(*a*) In 340, according to Calviſius.

(*b*) Auguſt. *de Sermone Domini in Mont*, lib 1. cap. 16.

indeed, a beautiful wife, but then ſhe had no money; and yet it was from her only that he could entertain any hopes of liberty. Now it happened that a very rich man, enflamed with the love of this woman, offered her the pound of gold on which her huſband's life depended; and deſired no other recompence but the pleaſure of paſſing away a night with her (*c*). The woman, taught by the Scriptures that her body was not in her own power, but in that of her huſband, acquainted him with the offers which the rich gallant made her, declaring that ſhe was ready to accept of them, provided he would give his conſent, as he had abſolute power over her body, and in caſe he were willing to ſave his life at the expence of her chaſtity, which was entirely at his diſpoſal. The impriſon'd huſband thanked his wife, and ordered her to go and lie with her gallant. She obeyed, giving on that occaſion her body to her huſband, not with reſpect to the uſual carnal gratifications, but to the deſire he had to live (*d*). The ſum agreed upon was given her by the gallant, but then it was ſlily taken away, and another purſe ſubſtituted in its place, filled only with earth. The good woman at her return home (for ſhe had waited upon her gallant at his country-ſeat) no ſooner perceived the fraud, but ſhe complained publickly of it, ſued for juſtice at the Governor's hands, and ingenuouſly told him the whole ſtory. Acindynus began by owning himſelf in a fault, and then declared that his ſeverity and menaces had forced the unhappy pair to have recourſe to ſuch remedies; and thereupon ſentenced himſelf to pay the pound of gold into the treaſury, and afterwards decreed that the woman ſhould poſſeſs the piece of ground whence the earth had been taken which was found in her purſe. St. Auſtin does not dare determine whether the woman's conduct on this occaſion, ought to be cenſured or applauded [*A*]; and he inclines much more to the latter [*B*], which is ſomewhat ſurprizing [*C*]. We have before ſeen (*e*) the ſame looſe morals in St. Chryſoſtom,

(*c*) *Pollicens pro una nocte, ſi ei miſceri vellet, ſe auri libram daturum.* Auguſt. *de Serm. Domini in Monte*, lib. 1. cap. 17.

(*d*) *Illa corpus non niſi marito dedit, non concumbere, ut ſolet, ſed vivere cupienti.* Auguſtinus ibid.

(*e*) In the remark [*A*] of the article ABIMELECH.

[*A*] *Does not dare determine, whether this woman's conduct on this occaſion ought to be cenſured or applauded.*] This is manifeſt from theſe words: *Nihil hinc in alteram partem diſputo; liceat cuique æſtimare quod velit* (1). i. e. "I ſhall not here diſpute "on either ſide, let every one form what judgment "he thinks proper." In another place he makes it a queſtion, whether a woman could properly be called unchaſte, in caſe, to ſave her husband's life, and by his order, ſhe were to lie with another man? *Scrupuloſius diſputari poteſt utrum illius mulieris pudicitia violaretur, etiam ſi quiſquam carni ejus commixtus foret, cum id in ſe fieri pro mariti vitâ, nec illo neſciente ſed jubente permitteret, nequaquam fidem deſerens conjugalem, & poteſtatem non abnuens maritalem* (2). i. e. "It may be the ſubject of a nice diſpute, whether "the chaſtity of a woman would be violated, even "tho' any one ſhould have carnal knowledge of her, "when ſhe allowed of this merely to ſave her huſ"band's life, and that not unknown to him but with "his conſent; and thereby neither relinquiſhing her "conjugal fidelity, nor denying the power of her huſ"band." Rivetus having cited theſe words, adds (3), that St. Auſtin informs us, that this incident happened under the Emperor Conſtantine (4), when Acindynus &c.

(1) Auguſt. *de Sermone Domini in Monte*, lib. 1. cap. 16.

(2) Auguſtinus *contra Fauſt. Manich.* lib. 22. c. 37.

(3) Riveti *Exercit.* 73. *in Geneſ. Oper.* tom. 1. p. 281.

(4) It is *Conſtantius* in the work of St. Auſtin I now cite.

[*B*] *He inclines much more to the latter*] (*to approve her conduct*). This appears very plainly from the following words: *Non ita eſt exiſtimandum ne hoc etiam fœmina, viro permittente, facere poſſe videatur; quod omnium ſenſus excludit. Quamquam nonnullæ cauſæ poſſint exiſtere ubi & uxor mariti conſenſu pro ipſo marito hoc facere debere videatur... Nihil hic in alteram partem diſputo... Sed tamen narrato hoc facto* (*viz. that of the woman, whoſe husband had been thrown into priſon by Acindynus*) *non ita reſpuit hoc ſenſus humanus, quod in illa muliere, viro jubente commiſſum eſt, quemadmodum antea, cum ſine ullo exemplo res ipſa poneretur, horruimus* (5). i. e. "We are not to ſuppoſe, that a wife may ſeem "to be allowed to do that, tho' with her husband's "leave; which is againſt the general opinion. Tho' "there may be ſome caſes in which the wife ought "to do this when her husband conſents to it.... "I pronounce nothing on either ſide... But now I "have told this ſtory (that of the woman whoſe "husband Acindynus had impriſoned.) The action "this woman committed in obedience to her huſ"band's command, is not ſo repugnant to the gene"ral ſenſe, nor ſtrikes us with ſo much horror as "before, when the thing is propoſed without an "example." I therefore don't know on what grounds the Proteſtant Divine, quoted in the preceding remark, aſſerts, that St. Auſtin was inclined rather to cenſure than to juſtify this woman. *Quo facto Acindyni explicato, lib. rum unicuique permittit Auguſtinus æſtimare quod velit, quamvis in eam partem propenſior videatur, quod id fieri non liceat* (6). i. e. "Which ſtory of Acindynus being related, St. Au"ſtin leaves every man to form what judgment he "pleaſes on it; tho' he ſeems rather inclined to "think that this is not a lawful action."

(5) Auguſt. *de Sermone Domini in Monte*, lib. 1. cap. 16.

(6) Riveti *Oper.* tom. 1. p. 281.

[*C*] *Which is ſomewhat ſurprizing.*] Should not ſo great a Divine as St. Auſtin have known, that our life, which is a merely temporal and periſhable bleſſing, ought not to be ſo dear to us, as to be thought worthy of being redeemed, when the law of God muſt be diſobeyed for that purpoſe? For as this diſobedience is a ſin which ſubjects us to everlaſting torments, and a moral evil, which offends an infinite Being; it is no leſs imprudent than irrational, to chuſe to commit a ſin, rather than lay down one's life. I paſs over thoſe abyſſes of corruption, which are open wherever we tread, by telling us, that an action which would be criminal were it not done with a deſign of ſaving life, becomes innocent, when committed with that view. Acindynus's priſoner would have been guilty of ſcandalous pimping, and conſented to the crime of adultery, properly ſo called, had he permitted his wife to lie with the Gallant, purely for the lucre of a pound of gold: but, as he conſents to it, merely in the view of ſaving his life, it is no longer a conſent to adultery, but an allowable action. Is it not manifeſt, that were ſuch a moral principle to take place, there is not a ſingle precept of the ten commandments, which the fear of death might not diſpenſe us from obeying? Where do we meet with any exceptions in favour of adultery? In caſe a woman is not obliged to obey the commandment, viz. not to defile her body, if it gives her an opportunity of ſaving her husband's life; ſhe won't be under an obligation of ſubmitting to it, when her own life lies at ſtake; for God does not require, that we ſhould love another perſon better than our ſelves. One may therefore violate the law of chaſtity with impunity, when it ſaves us from death; why therefore, from a parity of reaſoning, may not murther, theft, perjury, the abjuring of one's religion, &c. be allowed? The greateſt men are apt to go aſtray, and to loſe their way, even in the ſmootheſt roads. Is it not pretty evident, that St. Paul did not pretend, that a husband has the liberty to diſpoſe of his wife's body at random, and to whomſoever he pleaſes: St. Paul, I ſay, when he obſerves, that *the wife has no power over her own body, but her husband?* We nevertheleſs find theſe words of the Apoſtle puzzle St. Auſtin, and that he lays great ſtreſs on the diſtinction, *marito jubente*, i. e. "by her husband's command;" and, *poteſtatem non abnuens maritalem*, i. e. "not de"nying the authority of her husband." We ſhall take notice elſewhere (7), that he has employed this doctrine

(7) In the remark (*L*) of the article SARAH.

Chryſoſtom, with regard to the conduct of Abraham and Sarah.

doctrine of St. Paul, to juſtify Abraham and Sarah, with regard to Hagar's concubinage. Let us hear a Divine, who tho' he lived many centuries after the father abovementioned, was nevertheleſs a better moraliſt on this head. *Quâ in re*, (viz. the incident of the woman, whoſe husband was impriſoned by Acindynus,) *mirum eſt talem ac tantum virum potuiſſe dubitare, cum ex ſacra ſcriptura conſtet apertiſſimè malum aliquod pœnæ nunquam eſſe redimendum malo culpæ, & vitam potius eſſe deponendam, quam ut eam nobis aut aliis ſervemus id facientes ex quo Deus offenderetur. Nullo modo itaque cenſendum eſt licitum eſſe adulterii remedium vel marito, vel uxori vitandæ alterius necis cauſa; quin potius mortem expectare convenit, imo verò ultro expetere quam alterutrius caſtitatem prodere, ob cujus conſervationem multæ pudiciſſimæ fœminæ non ſolum ab aliis occidi ſuſtinuerunt, ſed etiam (quod tamen probare nolim) ſibi ipſis vim intulerunt, non ſolùm inter Ethnicos, ſed etiam inter Chriſtianos* (8). i. e. "It is ſurprizing that ſo "great a man ſhould heſitate in this matter, ſince it "is very evident from the ſacred writings, that no evil "of puniſhment muſt ever be ranſomed with the evil "of guilt; but that we ought to lay down life rather "than preſerve it for ourſelves or others, when "it cannot be preſerved without offending "God We are not therefore in any manner to "imagine that it is lawful for a husband or wife to "commit adultery, to ſave the life of either; but "rather that they ſhould wait for death, nay even "voluntarily ſeek for it, rather than betray each "other's chaſtity; to preſerve which, many of the "chaſteſt women, (not only among the Heathens but "even among the Chriſtians) not only ſuffered others "to kill them, but laid violent hands upon themſelves, an action however I don't approve." He quotes the example of Sophronia, which I ſhall mention in its place. Read Menage's *Amœnitates Juris*, chapter the 10th, entitled *De mariti lenocinio*; *Adulterarum viros ordinari non potuiſſe*. See page 52d of the Leipſic edition in 1680, in 8vo.

(8) Riveti *Oper.* tom. 1. p. 281.

☞ACME, was a Jewiſh Lady, retained in the ſervice of Livia, the wife of Auguſtus Cæſar [*A*]. She was bribed by Antipater the ſon of Herod the Great, to engage in his intereſt [*B*]; but one of her attempts to ſerve him proved very fatal to her ſelf, for having forged a letter in the name of Salome, that King's ſiſter, to her miſtreſs Livia, in order to expoſe the former to Herod's reſentment, the impoſture was detected [*C*], and ſhe was puniſhed for it in the manner, that ſo flagrant a crime

[*A*] *Retained in the ſervice of Livia the wife of Auguſtus Cæſar.*] Joſephus's words are, ἐδούλευε δὲ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ καίσαρος γυναικί. i. e. "She was ſervant to Julia "the wife of Cæſar." We may obſerve that Joſephus and other authors always call her Julia, after ſhe was adopted into the Julian family by Auguſtus's will, as we find by Tacitus (1).

(1) *Annal.* l. 1. See likewiſe Caſaubon *in Sueto-nium*, p. 291.

[*B*] *She was bribed by Antipater the ſon of Herod the Great to engage in his intereſt.*] He was the eldeſt ſon of Herod by a woman of Aſcalon named Doris (2). He exaſperated his father ſo much againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, his ſons by Mariamne, that they were ſtrangled by his order (3). When Antipater had thus removed them, his ambition prompted him to attempt his father's life, that he might obtain the kingdom (4). But this deſign of his was diſcovered at the ſame time that Herod had ſent him to Auguſtus with a large ſum of money and his will, in which he declared Antipater his ſucceſſor in the kingdom (5). Upon his return from Rome he was accuſed of the conſpiracy, and condemned by Herod and Quintilius Varus, who was then Governor of Syria, and kept in priſon till his father had ſent to Auguſtus to acquaint him with the affair (6) At laſt he was put to death by Herod's command, when he found, that upon a rumour of his death, he had attempted to bribe his keeper to let him eſcape (7).

(2) Joſeph. *Antiq.* l. 14. c. 11. p. 719. tom. 1. edit. Havercamp.
(3) Lib. 16. c. 6. tom. 1. p. 822.
(4) Lib. 17. c. 1. p. 826.
(5) Lib. 17. c. 3, 4. p. 832, 833.
(6) C. 3. *& ſeq.*
(7) C. 6.

[*C*] *Having forged a letter in the name of Salome, that King's ſiſter, to her miſtreſs Livia, in order to expoſe the former to Herod's reſentment, the impoſture was detected.*] While Antipater was in priſon for his deſigns againſt his father's life, there was a letter intercepted, written by Antiphilus, who lived then in Egypt, to Antipater, wherein he told him, that he had ſent Acme's letter to him, though with the utmoſt danger of his life. For, ſays he, you know that my ruin will be again attempted by both families, if I ſhould be diſcovered. Upon this Herod asked for the other letter, but it could not be found; for Antiphilus's ſervant, who brought that which had been read, affirmed very confidently, that he had received no other. While the King was in this perplexity, one of his friends imagined, that he ſaw a letter concealed in the foldings of the inner coat of the ſervant, which being examined, they diſcovered it. The letter was to this purpoſe: "Acme to Anti-"pater, greeting. I have written to your father in "the manner, which you deſired; and ſent him a "copy of the counterfeit letter of Salome to my "miſtreſs; which when he has read, I am confident, "that he will puniſh Salome for the ſuppoſed con-"ſpiracy." ΑΚΜΗ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΩ. Ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί σε οἷαν ἤθελες ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ἀντίγραφον ποιήσασα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν ὡς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἔγραψα· ἣν ἀναγνὺς οἶδ' ὅτι τιμωρήσεται Σαλώμην ὡς ἐπίβουλον. With regard to the letter, which was pretended to be written by Salome to Acme's miſtreſs, the ſenſe of it was dictated by Antipater, but Acme wrote it as follows: "Acme to King Herod greeting. "As I have the greateſt ſolicitude to diſcover every "thing, which is done contrary to your intereſt, "I have procured a letter of Salome written to my "miſtreſs; which I have taken a copy of, in order "to ſerve you, tho' with the utmoſt danger to "myſelf; and have here ſent it you. She wrote "this, being prompted by a ſtrong deſire of mar-"rying Syllæus. I deſire therefore you'll deſtroy "this letter, leſt my life ſhould be endanger'd by "the diſcovery (8)." This pretended letter of Salome contained the ſevereſt reproaches imaginable againſt Herod, and accuſed him of the moſt ſhocking crimes (9). When Herod ſaw ſuch a dreadful ſcene of villany opened, he was extremely enraged at his ſon Antipater, and reſolved to put him to death immediately, for having thus attempted his life, and that of his ſiſter, and even bribed Cæſar's family, in order to execute his purpoſe. Beſides Salome added new force to his reſentment, by ſhewing all the marks of ſorrow imaginable, and deſiring him to puniſh her with death, if any proof could be brought againſt her in that affair. Herod therefore ſent for his ſon, and commanded him to declare whatever he knew againſt her without any heſitation. But he continuing ſilent, the King ordered him, ſince his whole conduct appeared ſo extremely criminal, to diſcover immediately, who were his aſſociates and aſſiſtants in theſe villanous deſigns. Upon which he acknowledged that Antiphilus was the only perſon concerned in all theſe tranſactions. Herod being confounded with grief reſolved at firſt to ſend his ſon to Auguſtus, in order to receive the puniſhment due to the crimes, which he had intended. But afterwards being apprehenſive leſt he ſhould be reſcued by his friends, he kept him ſtill in priſon; and ſent Embaſſadors again to Cæſar with letters of accuſation againſt his ſon, and the proofs of the ſhare, which Acme had in carrying on his deſigns, and a copy of the letters, which had been intercepted. Αὖθις ὁ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ υἱέος, ὁπόσα τε Ἄκμη συγκακουργήσειεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν (10). Auguſtus immediately gave orders for the execution of Acme, and left it in Herod's power to puniſh Antipater in what manner he thought proper, either by baniſhment or death (11); and accordingly he ſuffered the latter, as we obſerved above (12).

(8) Lib. 17. c. 5. p. 841. tom. 1.
(9) *De Bello Jud.* l. 1. c. 32. pag. 138. tom. 2.
(10) *Antiq.* lib. 17. c. 5. tom. 1. p. 842.
(11) C. 7. pag. 847.
(12) In the Note [*B*].

crime deſerved (*a*), Moreri has been guilty of ſome errors even in this ſhort article [*D*].

(*a*) Joſeph. *Antiq. Jud.* l. 17. c. 5 and 7.

[*D*] *Moreri has been guilty of ſome errors even in this ſhort article.*] He tells us, that ſhe was *a woman of the higheſt quality among the Jews*; but gives no authority for that aſſertion. Joſephus only tells us, that ſhe was *a Jeweſs by birth*, Ἰουδαία τὸ γένος (13), *and ſervant to Julia, or Livia*, Ἰουλίας Σεραπαίνις (14). Moreri has likewiſe given us a very falſe and unintelligible account of Acme's contrivance againſt Salome; for he tells us, that *ſhe wrote a letter to Herod, as if it came from her miſtreſs, againſt Salome*; whereas it appears, that the letter, which ſhe wrote to him, was in her own name, and incloſed a pretended letter from Salome to Livia, full of complaints and reproaches againſt Herod (15).

(13) *Antiq.* l. 17. c. 5. p. 841. tom. 1.
(14) *De Bello Judaic.* l. 1. c. 32. tom. 2. p. 138. edit. Havercamp.
(15) See above Note [*C*].

☞ACOMINATUS (MICHAEL) CHONIATA, was born in Phrygia, and was Archbiſhop of Athens. He flouriſhed in the year 1204, but was then much advanced in years (*a*). He wrote ſeveral books of Hiſtory, part of which is ſtill extant in manuſcript in the Imperial Library at Vienna (*b*), and contains fifty ſeven leaves. His other writings we ſhall give ſome account of in the Note hereunder [*A*].

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Literar.* Sec. xiii. p. 619, 620. ed. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.
(*b*) *Cod. Hiſtor.* xxvi.

[*A*] *His other writings we ſhall give ſome account of in the note hereunder.*] We have ſtill extant in Latin his *Funeral oration upon the death of his Brother Nicetas*, printed with Nicetas's works at Paris in 1566, and at Francfort in 1568, in fol. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xxv. pag. 180. Leo Allatius (1) has quoted ſome fragments of it in Greek and Latin. His *Treatiſe of the Croſs* is in the King's library at Paris (2), and likewiſe his *Oration*, in which he ſhewed, that *the city of Athens was very much different from what it was anciently* (3). In the Bodleian library (4) are the following manuſcripts under his name; *Protheoria, contra reprehendentes, quod ægrè adduceretur ad ſpecimen ingenii ſui edendum*, i. e. "A reply to thoſe, who blamed him for "not publiſhing ſome work." *Encomium Nicetæ Choniatæ*, i. e. "An elogium upon Nicetas Choniata." *Oratio habita Athenis*, i. e. "An oration "made at Athens." *Cathecheſis prima*, i. e. "The "firſt Catechiſm." *Sermo in mediâ Quadrigeſimâ*, i. e. "A ſermon preached in the middle of Lent." *Sermo in Feſto Palmarum*, i. e. "A ſermon preached "on Palm-ſunday." *Alloquium Nicephori Prætoris*, i. e. "The Speech of Nicephorus the Prætor." *Sermo, cum primum inviſeret Euripum Euboicum*, i. e. "A ſermon preached when he firſt viſited Euripus "in Eubœa." *Epiſtolæ variæ*, i. e. "Divers letters." *Homilia de creatione hominis*, i. e. "An homily up"on the creation of man." *Lamentatio demortui Adyephi*, i. e. "A lamentation upon the death of "Adyephus." *Controverſia judicialis inter animam & corpus*, i. e. "A judicial controverſy between the "ſoul and body," which begins thus, Τὴν δ' λογικὴν μόρφης. *Letters to the Archbiſhop of Naupactum. An oration upon Iſaacius Angelus the Emperor, who aſcended the throne A. D.* 1185, which begins thus, Εἰ ἡ Βασιλίσσα μὲν Νότε. *A funeral oration upon Neophytus the Archimandrite of the Monks of Athens*, which begins, Εἰ Σολομὼν ἔφη πᾶς γνοματίνων. *Ad Euſtachium Theſſalonicenſem monodia*, i. e. "A mono"dy to Euſtathius of Theſſalonica (5)."

(1) *Adverſus Hottingerum*, p. 197.
(2) *Cod.* 143. *See* Labbe *in Specimine Novæ Biblioth. Manuſcriptor. Librorum*, p. 74.
(3) Ibid. *Cod.* 2016. *See* Labbe, p. 135.
(4) Amongſt the Baroccian MSS. num. 131. See the *Catalogue of the Bodleian Library*, p. 15, 16. *apud* Cave *Hiſt. Liter.*
(5) *See* Oudin *Comment. de Script. Eccleſ.* Sec. xii. tom. 2. Col. 1712.

☞ACOMINATUS (NICETAS) CHONIATA, brother to the preceding, when he was but nine years old, went to Conſtantinople to him, and was educated under him. He afterwards applied himſelf to a court-life, and became Secretary to Alexius Comnenus, and to Iſaacius Angelus ſucceſſively. He was raiſed gradually to the dignity of a Senator of Conſtantinople, great Logothete, Secretary of State, and Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor. But his good fortune, which had ſo long favoured him, at laſt deſerted him. For when the Latins took Conſtantinople in the year 1204 [*A*] he was

[*A*] *When the Latins took Conſtantinople in the year* 1204.] The ſtate of the Eaſtern empire and of the Greek church was expoſed to divers revolutions in the thirteenth Century. The Emperor Iſaacius Angelus, after he had held the crown nine years, was obliged to reſign it in the year 1195, to his own brother Alexius, who aſſumed the name of *Comnenus*; and having ordered Iſaacius Angelus to be depoſed, impriſoned him with his young ſon Alexius. But the latter eſcaped from Conſtantinople, and went to Germany to the Emperor Philip his brother-in-law, where he applied himſelf by the Emperor's advice to the army, which was juſt ready to depart for the Holy Land in the cruſade. He deſired them, before they ſailed to Paleſtine, to expel the uſurper from the throne of Conſtantinople, and to reſtore him to it, promiſing to join them in their expedition to the Holy Land with all the forces he could raiſe in his empire. This propoſition being made to the Croiſes, who were aſſembled at Venice, by the Emperor Philip's Embaſſadors and Alexius's Deputies, it was accepted by the Venetians and French, whoſe army laid ſiege to Conſtantinople in the year 1203, and took it in eight days time. The elder Alexius fled by the Boſphorus and the Euxin ſea to Zagora an iſland in Thrace. Upon which Iſaacius was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the crown with his ſon Alexius. This Emperor promiſed to acknowledge the Pope's authority, to put an end to the ſchiſm, and to reunite all his ſubjects with the church of Rome. But not being then in a condition to diſcharge entirely what he had promiſed to the Princes of the cruſade, he perſuaded them to defer their expedition to the Holy Land till Eaſter the year following. During that interval the army of the Latins lay at the gates of Conſtantinople; and the natural averſion which they had for the Greeks occaſioned frequent conteſts between them; in one of which ſome of the ſoldiers of that army being inſulted by the Citizens, ſet fire to the city, and burnt part of it. This accident expoſed not only the Latins, but even the two Emperors, whom they had reſtored, to the hatred of the Greeks, and gave an opportunity to one of their relations, whoſe name was Murzulphle to ſeize the Government (1). It was by his Counſel that Alexius refuſed to perform his promiſe to the Croiſes; which occaſioned an open war between them, in which the Greeks having fail'd of the ſucceſs they expected, the people of Conſtantinople thought they were betrayed by their own Princes, and proclaimed Nicholas Cannabus Emperor. Murzulphle having ſeized the perſon of Alexius, procured himſelf to be acknowledged Emperor by the people, put Cannabus in irons, ſtrangled Alexius in priſon, and haſtened the death of Iſaacius. But this treachery of his was ſoon puniſhed by the Croiſes, who immediately laid ſiege to Conſtantinople, and took it by ſtorm the twelfth of April, 1204. Murzulphle having eſcaped the night before, Theodorus Laſcaris was choſen Emperor in his room by the Greeks. The city was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who committed all the various kinds of cruelty and violence imaginable. The Latins having thus made themſelves maſters of the city, choſe Baldwin Earl of Flanders Emperor, and Thomas Moroſini a Venetian Patriarch; for it was agreed, that if the Emperor was a Frenchman, the Patriarch ſhould be a Venetian. They ſeized all the churches, and filled them with Latin Prieſts; they likewiſe extended their conqueſts into Greece, and reduced almoſt entirely whatever belonged to the Greek Emperors in Europe, and divided it among themſelves. Murzulphle and the elder Alexius falling into the hands of the Latins, the former was put

(1) He was called ſo from his exceſſive large eye-brows.

was obliged to fly with his wife, who was then big with child, and with his children, in order to eſcape the calamities of the war. But at laſt he ſettled at Nice in Bithynia, where he died ſome time after the year 1206, for the particular time is not known (*a*). His Funeral Oration was pronounced by his brother Michael Acominatus, Archbiſhop of Athens, as we obſerved in the foregoing article (*b*). He wrote an Hiſtory in one and twenty books from the death of Alexis Comnenus in the year 1118, where Zonaras ended his, to the year 1203. There have been ſeveral editions of it [*B*]. It has been much applauded by the beſt criticks [*C*]. Beſides this he wrote ſeveral other works, of which we ſhall give an account in the Note hereunder [*D*].

(*a*) Oudin, *Commentar. de Script. Eccleſ.* Sæc. xii. tom. 2. Col. 1709, 1710, 1711.

(*b*) Note [*A*].

put to death, and the latter impriſoned; ſo that there remained only Theodorus Laſcaris, who having eſcaped to Aſia, fix'd the ſeat of his Empire at Nice (2), where our author Nicetas Acominatus at laſt ſettled himſelf, and died. We have a very tragical account of the taking of Conſtantinople in Nicetas's Hiſtory, who has repreſented the ſhocking barbarities, which the Latins were guilty of, in very ſtrong colours. But his teſtimony in this point has been rejected by a Roman Catholic writer (3), becauſe he was a Greek, and *a man of very little credit*, as he aſſerts; *Nicetæ itaque hac in re teſtimonium, utpote viri Græci* (4), *ac ſubleſtæ admodum fidei, contemni merito debet.* Tho' even this author immediately after acknowledges, that *the Latins committed ſeverat crimes and ſacrileges upon that occaſion*; and tells us, that the anonymous writer of the life of Pope Innocent III, ingenuouſly confeſſes the ſame.

(2) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 10. p. 87, 88. edit. Paris 1702.

(3) Fr. Ignatius Hyacinthus *in Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* tom. 5. Collcq. 1.

(4) So I imagine it ſhould be read, and not *Græcæ*, as it is in the 2d edition, *Auguſtæ Vindelic* 1727.

[*B*] *There have been ſeveral editions of it.*] It was printed in Greek with a Latin verſion and notes by Hieronymus Wolfius at Baſil in 1557, in fol. at Paris in 1566, at Francfort in 1568, in fol. at Geneva 1593, in 4to, and at Paris amongſt the Byzantine Hiſtorians in 1647, in fol. with a Gloſſary by Carl. Annabali Fabroti (5). In the year 1702 and 1705, John Boivin publiſhed in two volumes in folio, *The Byzantine Hiſtory of Nicephorus Gregoras*, printed at Paris by John Aniſſon the King's Printer in Greek and Latin; and at the end of the ſecond volume he added, in Greek and Latin from a manuſcript in the King's library, *Nicetæ Choniatæ narrationem de ſtatuis Conſtantinopolitanis, quas Latini captâ urbe confractas, in monetam conflaverant* (6): i. e. "Nicetas Choniata's account of the ſtatues of "Conſtantinople, which the Latins, when they had "taken that city, melted down, and coined into "money." We find by the author of the *Supplement to Lambecius's account of the Emperor's library at Vienna* (7), that there is a Greek manuſcript intitled, *Mich. Chonjatæ Hiſtoria*, i. e. "The Hiſtory of "Mich. Choniata." This unqueſtionably belongs to Michael Acominatus, whom we aſcrib'd it to in the preceding article; but the learned Caſimir Oudin (8) has mentioned it under that of one Nicetas Acominatus; which is certainly an error. But Dr. Cave is right in aſcribing it to the former (9).

(5) Oudin, *ubi ſupra*, and Olearius *in Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 11. edit. Jenæ 1711.

(6) Oudin, ibid. Col. 1710.

(7) Daniel de Neſſel *in Breviario & Supplemento Comment. Lambecii de Biblioth. Cæſareâ Vindobonenſi*, Parte 5. Cod. 26.

(8) *Ubi ſupra.*

(9) *Hiſt. Litt.* Sæc. xiii. p. 620. edit. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.

[*C*] *It has been much applauded by the beſt critics.*] Lipſius tells us (10), that even amongſt the later Greek writers there are two authors, who are not to be contemned. The firſt is Nicetas Choniates, who is at preſent but little known, but well deſerves to be generally read. He was a man of excellent and ſolid ſenſe above any writer of that age. His ſtile is elaborate, and ſhews very often that he affected to imitate the Poets, and particularly Homer. His manner of writing is diſtinct, clear, and without any impertinence; it is conciſe and exact. He introduces many noble obſervations; and the judgment which he paſſes upon things, is always free and ſolid. The learned reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee this paſſage in Lipſius's expreſſive tho' peculiar Latin ſtyle. *Jam inter infimos quoque Græcos duo ſunt, quos non contemno. Prior eſt Nicetas Choniates. Is parùm adhuc vulgo notus fateor; ſed digniſſimus notitiâ; purum rectumque ingenium, ſi aliud illo ævo. Stylus ejus operoſus, Poetas & Homerum ſæpe reſipiens: ut res & narratio ipſa diſtincta, compoſita, ſine vanitate, ſine ineptiis, brevis, quod ſatis eſt, & fida. Crebra apud eum & opportuna monita; judicia non libera ſolùm, ſed ſana.* Voſſius obſerves (11), that he was a diligent reader and imitator of Homer, ſo that the unuſual and poetical turn, which he affects to give his ſtile, renders it ſometimes a little harſh and ſtiff; eſpecially in his preface: but the reſt of his work is much more clear and flowing, as he promiſes in that preface. So that, as that learned writer tells us, he ſeems in his preface to have deſigned to ſhew what a talent he had at coining new words; but if he had done ſo in his Hiſtory, it would not have deſerved near ſo much applauſe, as it now has. *Diligens fuit Homeri lector ac imitator, adeo ut ob poeticam atque inſolentem dictionem quandoque durior fiat: cum primis in præfatione, quæ ſanè ſalebroſa; in cæteris mollius fluit; quod & de ſe in præfatione promittit. Ut mihi videatur præfatione ea oſtentare voluiſſe, quam logodædalus foret: quod ſi pariter in hiſtoriâ feciſſet, profecto quidem multo minus etiam laudis mereretur quam nunc habeat.* If the reader deſires to ſee the judgment of other writers upon this work, he may conſult Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *Cenſura celebr. Autorum* (12).

(10) *Politicor.* l. 1. c. 9. § 12.

(11) *De Hiſtor. Græcis*, lib. 2. c. 28.

(12) P. 404.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral other works, of which we ſhall give an account in the note hereunder.*] *The treaſure of the orthodox faith*, in xxvii Books. The firſt five books of that work were tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed with learned notes by Peter Morell at Paris in 1580, at Geneva in 1592 in 8vo, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xxv. pag. 54. A fragment of the xxth book, concerning *the method obſerved by thoſe, who are converted from the ſuperſtition of the Saracens to the Chriſtian faith*, is printed in Greek and Latin without Nicetas's name amongſt Sylburgius's *Saracenica*, Heidelberg in 1595, in 8vo, p. 74. (13). Dr. Cave tells us, that he ſaw a beautiful copy of this work in Greek in the Bodleian library (14), where it is ſtill preſerved. Acominatus likewiſe wrote *a Confutation of the Mahometan Law*, which is extant in Greek amongſt the manuſcripts in the Colbertine library, cod. 4753, with this title, Τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωάμεθ νομοτεθέντα περὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῶν Τέρκων, παρεκβληθέντα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶ Βίβλου καλουμένης κορὰν, καὶ Χωνειάτου ἀντιῤῥήσεις (15). i. e. "The laws and inſtitu- "tions of Mahomet, with relation to the religion of "the Turks, extracted from the Koran, with Cho- "niata's confutation of them." This Dr. Cave (16) thinks to be a different work from any particular part of his *Treaſure of the orthodox faith*. We have likewiſe his *Compariſon between winter and ſummer, to ſhew that winter is more eligible*, which begins thus, Παλαί ποτε; and *ſix Epiſtles* of his, in Greek among the Baroccian manuſcripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford, num. cxxxi.

(13) Dr. Cave, and Oudin, *ubi ſupra.*

(14) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(15) *Du Freſne in Catalogo MSS. Græcorum*, quem ſubjunxit *Gloſſario mediæ & infimæ Græcitatis*, Col. 30.

(16) *Ubi ſupra.*

ACONTIUS (JAMES) a Philoſopher, Civilian and Divine, was born at Trent in the ſixteenth Century (*a*). He embraced the reformed religion, and coming into England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſhe indulged him the higheſt teſtimonies of her favour, which he acknowledges in a work dedicated by him to that Queen [*A*]. This

(*a*) Moreri places him in the 15th Century, but it is an error.

[*A*] *He acknowledges in a work dedicated by him to that Queen.*] Inſtead of an epiſtle dedicatory, he only inſerted an inſcription in the ſtrain of canonization, which begins thus; DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ, ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, REGINÆ, *To the divine Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland*, He declares that he dedicates his book to her Majeſty, as a teſtimony of his gratitude: *In ſignum memoriamque grati animi, ob partum ejus liberalitate, quum in Angliam propter Evangelicæ veritatis profeſſionem*

This work is the celebrated collection of the *Stratagems of Satan*, which has been so often tranſlated, and borne ſo many impreſſions. It was firſt printed at Baſil in 1565, a little after which the author died in England (*b*). James Graſſerus procured a ſecond edition of it anno 1610, in the laſt mentioned city. In this edition we meet with Acontius's letter *de ratione edendorum librorum*, wherein he gives ſuch good advice to thoſe who intend to ſet up for authors; but his treatiſe *Of the Method*, &c. (*c*), which is a valuable piece [*B*], although the author publiſhed it merely as an Eſſay (*d*), is not inſerted. He had written a work in Italian, on the manner of fortifying cities, which he tranſlated into Latin, during his ſtay in England (*e*), but I believe it was never printed. He alſo was compoſing a Treatiſe of Logic (*f*), and in all probability died before it was finiſhed, which was a loſs to the world. He had a juſt turn of thinking, and was happy in a very diſcerning and penetrating genius. He had formed the moſt rational idea of this work, and fancied himſelf obliged to be ſo much the more careful in writing it, as he foreſaw the ſucceeding age would be more enlightened than that in which he lived [*C*]. His conjecture was juſtly grounded [*D*]. His principles in religious matters did not agree with thoſe of Calvin, for he was a great friend to toleration, and in general maintained certain maxims, which made him very odious to ſome Proteſtant Divines [*E*]. I have met with very few particulars of his life, but he

(*b*) Graſſerus, *in Epiſt. ad Lectorem, initio* Stratagematum Satanæ.

(*c*) See the title of it at the end of the remark [*B*].

(*d*) *Poſt illud tempus, quo excidit nobis inchoatum illud de Methodo opuſculum, ſcis me bis ſedem & locum mutaſſe Argentoratum primo, deinde in Angliam.* i. e. "Since "the time that "this imperfect "work *de Methodo* got out "of my hands, "you know I "have twice "changed my "ſituation, firſt "to Strasburg, "and afterwards "to England." Acontius *in Epiſt. ad Joh. Wolfium Tigurinum, de ratione edendorum Librorum*, p. 410. 'Tis dated at London, 20 Nov. 1562.

(*e*) Acontius, *Epiſtola ad Wolfium*. p. 410.

(*f*) Ibidem, pag. 411.

profeſſionem extorris appuliſſet, humaniſſiméque exceptus eſſet, literarium otium. i. e. "As a ſign and "memorial of his gratitude, for the happy literary "leiſure he was indulged in by her liberality, when, "being baniſhed for profeſſing the Proteſtant Reli-"gion, he withdrew into England, where he was "received with the utmoſt humanity." He obſerves in his letter to Wolfius, that the penſion which was ſettled on him, relieved his wants in ſome meaſure, and gave him ſome opportunity of ſtudying. *Ut autem quicquid eſt operæ id iſtam in artem* (muniendorum oppidorum) *conferrem, ex parte privatis ſum rationibus adductus, etenim in hoc voluntario meo exilio inopiam* UTCUNQUE *ſublevat, & otii ad alia ſtudia ſuppeditat* NONNIHIL, *impetrato mihi ab hujus ſapientiſſimæ atque optimæ Reginæ liberalitate honeſto ſtipendio.* i. e. "I am partly in-"duced by private reaſons, to apply myſelf to the "utmoſt of my power to this art (*of fortify-"ing cities*); for in this my voluntary exile it IN "SOME meaſure relieves my wants, and affords me a "LITTLE leiſure to purſue other ſtudies, by procuring "me a pretty conſiderable penſion from the wiſeſt "and beſt of Queens: So liberal is ſhe to me (1)." What reſtrictions are here! and how plainly they ſhew how vaſtly difficult it is to content the exiled!

(1) Acontii *Epiſt. ad Wolfium de Ratione edendorum Librorum*, p. 411.

The reader may obſerve, that he obtained this penſion, not as a Divine, but in quality of an Engineer: this appears from the reaſon he gives, why he employed his time in compoſing a work, on the fortification of Cities.

[*B*] *Which is a valuable piece.*] A learned Carteſian has given it that character (2), in a letter written by him to father Marſenne, a few days after the publication of Des Cartes's Meditations. "He declared that he was "particularly pleaſed with the method, in which "Des Cartes had treated his ſubject; he admired the "proprieties of it, and extolled the advantages it had "over thoſe of the common ſchools; but above all, "he eſteemed his judgment, and the reaſons which "made him prefer the *analytic* method, or that of "reſolution, to the *ſynthetic* method, or that of "compoſition, as well for teaching as for demon-"ſtrating. He had not met with any thing "hitherto in that caſt, except the little book *Of "the Method, &c.* written by James Acontius; "who, beſides this excellent treatiſe, had alſo pub-"liſhed a beautiful eſſay on the *Analytic method*, in "his work of the *Stratagems of Satan*, which he "recommends to the peruſal of all thoſe, who wiſh "for the peace of the church; notwithſtanding that "Acontius is not therein free from the prejudices "of perſons of his communion, and intended there-"in to favour thoſe of his own party (3)." This little piece of Acontius, whoſe title is, *Methodus ſive recta inveſtigandarum tradendarumque artium ac ſcientiarum ratio*, i. e. "The method and right "way of inveſtigating and treating of arts and ſci-"ences," was inſerted anno 1658, in a collection of diſſertations *De ſtudiis bene inſtituendis*, printed at Utrecht.

(2) Heulnerus His letter is dated Aug. 29, 1641. See Baillet, *Vie de des Cartes*, tom. 2. p. 138.

(3) Baillet, ibid.

[*C*] *The ſucceeding age would be more enlightened, than that in which he lived.*] We muſt hear our author himſelf After having touched upon the other reaſons, which rendered the execution of his plan vaſtly difficult; he proceeds as follows: *Intelligo etiam me in ſæculum incidiſſe cultum præter modum, nec tam certè vereor eorum, qui regnare nunc videntur, judicia, quàm exorientem quandam ſeculi adhuc paulo cultioris lucem pertimeſco. Etſi enim multos habuit habetque ætas noſtra viros præſtantes; adhuc tamen videre videor neſcio quid magis futurum* (4). i. e. "I am alſo ſenſible that I live in "a more than uſual enlightened age; however, I "don't ſo much dread the judgment of thoſe who "now ſeem to have attained the higheſt pitch "of knowledge, as the riſing light of a politer "age than the preſent. For though that we now "live in has given birth to, and ſtill continues to "produce many great men, I yet ſeem to perceive "ſomething, (I know not what) greater, that will "afterwards ariſe."

(4) Acontii *Epiſt. ad Wolfium*, pag. 412.

[*D*] *His conjecture was juſtly grounded.*] I am of opinion, that the ſixteenth Century abounded more with learned men than the ſeventeenth; and yet this latter age was much more enlightened than the former. During the reign of Criticiſm and Philology, ſeveral prodigies of erudition aroſe in all parts of Europe. The ſtudy of the new Philoſophy, and that of the modern languages, having introduc'd another taſte, men were no longer fond of treaſuring up ſo prodigious a ſtock of learning; but to compenſate this, a certain more delicate and refin'd genius, accompanied with a more exquiſite diſcernment, diffuſed itſelf over the republic of letters: In a word, the men of this age are not ſo learned, but their abilities are greater. Acontius therefore might very juſtly perceive, in a diſtant proſpect, an age, when men would be more formidable judges of the logical ſyſtem he was then compoſing, than thoſe of the age in which he lived could be. The reader is to take notice, that it is not I who preſume to aſſert the ſuperiority of our age; for I only agree in opinion with thoſe who are allowed to be the greateſt judges in theſe matters. "In our age, ſays "one of theſe (5), ſenſe and reaſon is more attend-"ed to than any thing elſe. Wherein it may be "ſaid to the praiſe of our co-temporaries, that we "are better acquainted with the character of ancient "authors, and entred more into the ſoul of their "writings, than our predeceſſors. The difference "between them and us, is, that in the laſt age, eru-"dition was much more in faſhion than it is in "ours. . . . It was the genius of thoſe times, in "which nothing was more cried up than a great "capacity and profound literature: languages were "then thoroughly ſtudied: the Literati attempted "to reſtore the text of ancient writers by far-fetch'd "interpretations, to cavil about an equivocal ex-"preſſion, to lay down a conjecture in order to "eſtabliſh well a correction; in fine, thoſe men "confined themſelves to the literal ſenſe of an au-"thor, becauſe they had not genius ſufficient to ſoar "ſo high as his ſpirit or genius, in order to under-"ſtand him thoroughly, as the men of this age, "who are not ſo learned but have more good under-"ſtanding and ſet a much higher value upon plain "good ſenſe, than upon an injudicious capacity."

(5) Father Rapin, in his preface to his *Compariſon of Thucydides and Livy*.

[*E*] *Odious to ſome Proteſtant Divines.*] That the reader may not think I advance this at random, and without

he himſelf informs us tranſiently, that he had ſpent a conſiderable part of it in ſtudying Bartolus, Baldus, and ſuch like barbarous authors, and been ſeveral years at court (g). (g) Idem, ibid.

Acontius's letter publiſhed in 1696 (h), proves that he had an accurate judgment, and was well acquainted with true Logic: It is dated from London the fifth of June 1565, and is of uſe to clear up an aſſertion of his, which had been cenſured, with regard to Sabellius. We are to obſerve, that notwithſtanding moſt Proteſtant Divines have him in the utmoſt deteſtation, he yet has been highly applauded by ſome of them [F]. (h) By Mr. Crenius, in page 131 & ſeq. Part II. of *Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ*.

without authority, I ſhall quote the words of a Miniſter of the Hague. *Jacobus Acontius*, ſays he (6), (*de quo jure quod de Origine dici ſolet*, "*ubi benè, nemo* "*melius*; *ubi malè, nemo pejus*,") . . . *fuit* . . *vir verè doctus, ſed ingenii ut acris quidem, ita & elatioris, & juſto liberalioris: quin à neſcio quali ſcepticiſmo & indifferentiſmo in ipſam Theologiam introducendo haudquaquam alieni, quod tractatu ſuo* De Stratagematis Satanæ *teſtatum ſatis fecit*; *libello* (*Simone Goulartio judice*) *omnium malorum peſſimo* *. *Voetius ei adſcribit* †, *quod vel imperite vel ſubdole communem confeſſionis conceptum molitus ſit, ſub cujus vexillo militari poſſunt & ipſi Ariani*. i. e. "James Acon- "tius, ſays he, (to whom may be juſtly applied what "is ſaid of Origen, viz. *where he is right, no body* "*better*; *and where he is wrong, no body worſe*,) .. "was a truly learned man, of a quick genius, "but bold, and too liberal: He was even too "much inclined to introduce a kind of ſcepticiſm and "indifference into Divinity itſelf, as ſufficiently ap- "pears from his treatiſe of the *Stratagems of Satan*; "(which, according to Simon Goulart, is the worſt "book that ever was written.) Voetius declares, "that he either ignorantly or cunningly attempted a "confeſſion of faith, to which ſtandard the Ari- "ans themſelves might ſubſcribe." I don't remember, that what is related above of Simon Goulart, occurs any where in his works; but I believe that it is borrowed from Uytenbogard, who tells us in ſome part of his writings, that when he ſtudied at Geneva, Simon Goulart reprimanded him for reading Acontius; and aſſured him, that his book of the *Stratagems of Satan*, was the moſt wicked book in the world, *eſſe librum omnium malorum peſſimum* (7), I have met with another paſſage in *Voetius*, relating to the affair in queſtion: This Doctor there ranks Acontius among thoſe hereticks, who left Italy upon pretence of the Reformation (8); and aſſerts, that had the venom which is latent in ſome part of his book * been taken notice of, he would have been excommunicated, or have been conſtrain'd to ſign an orthodox confeſſion of faith. *Judicetur quis anguis in herba latuerit, quòd hic vir in fundamentalibus aſſertionibus nunquam τὸ ὁμοούσιον trium perſonarum ſtatuerit, nec adverſarios, Samoſatenum, Photinum, Arrium, Eunomium, Pneumatomachos, aut eorum errores rejecerit, contentus ſolos illos rejectos, qui negarent filium non eſſe alium a patre* (9). i. e. "Judge "what a ſnake lies hid in the graſs, when this man ne- "ver aſſerted the SAMENESS of SUBSTANCE in the three "perſons in his fundamental aſſertions; nor rejects the "adverſaries, Samoſatenus, Photinus, Arius, Euno- "mius, and the Pneumatomachi *, nor their errors; "being contented with only rejecting thoſe who de- "nied that the Son is not diſtinct from the Father."

[F] *He yet has been highly applauded by ſome Proteſtants.*] Crenius furniſhes us with authorities on theſe two circumſtances. He obſerves (10), that Conrad Bergius declares, that Acontius reaſons in a very prudent aud pious manner. This Bergius was a Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity in Bremen; and the book where he delivers himſelf in this manner, is entitled, *Praxis Catholica divini Canonis contra quaſvis hæreſes & ſchiſmata, &c.* and was printed at Bremen anno 1639 in 8vo. Rivetus having had a copy of this work, *ex dono authoris*, i. e. "preſented him by the author," wrote ſome remarks on it, whence I ſhall borrow that which concerns Acontius. *Miror cur pag.* 524, *tanti faciat vir doctus judicium Acontii, hominis ambiguæ fidei & Socinianorum vel prodromi, vel commilitonis, cujus rei gratiâ ab Arminianis toties recuſus eſt & commendatus, etiam in varias linguas vulgares tranſlatus. Huic homini ſcopus fuit, ut ex toto libro apparet, ad tam pauca neceſſaria doctrinam Chriſtianam arctare, ut omnibus ſectis in Chriſtianiſmo pateret aditus ad mutuam communionem. Vellem doctiſſimum & pium virum à talibus laudandis & imitandis abſtinuiſſe* (11). i. e. "I wonder why, in pag. 524, this learned man "ſhould have ſo great a regard for the judgment of "Acontius, a man whoſe faith is ambiguous, and "either the forerunner or fellow-ſoldier of the So- "cinians; upon which account his works were ſo "often reprinted and extoll'd by the Arminians, "and even tranſlated into ſeveral of the vulgar "tongues. The aim and deſign of this writer, as "appears from his whole book, is to reduce the Chri- "ſtian religion to ſo few fundamentals, as to open "a door to a mutual communion of all the ſects in "Chriſtendom. I wiſh the learned and pious writer "had not applauded and imitated ſuch things." The book whence I copied this paſſage, informs me alſo, that Iſaac Junius (12), Miniſter of Delft, rank'd Acontius, the Remonſtrants, and Socinus in the ſame claſs; and conſidered Acontius as a man who was for reducing all ſects into one, and include them all in one ark, in the ſame manner as Noah ſhut up all ſorts of animals in his; where they were preſerved, tho' they lived upon different food. We meet in the ſame book with the judgment which Peltius paſt on Acontius, viz. that by reducing the points neceſſary to ſalvation, to a ſmall number, and in requiring a toleration for all ſuch opinions as claſhed with the other articles, he thereby opened a door to every individual hereſy (13). To conclude, we find in the ſame work, that Acontius has been very much applauded, not only by Arminius and Grevinchovius, but alſo by Ameſius and George Pauli (14), both Divines of the reformed church. *Jacobo Arminio tamen in Reſponſ. ad Excerpta Theol. Leidenſ. p.* 65. *Acontius eſt divinum prudentiæ ac moderationis lumen*. i. e. "Acontius is a divine Lumi- "nary of prudence and moderation." *Ameſio Præfat. ad Puritan. Anglicanos & Grevinchovio in Abſterſione calumn. Smoutii pag.* 125. *apud B. Hulſemannum in Dedicat. Supplementi Breviarii Theologici pag.* 6. *Idem Acontius eſt δυναστάτος ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, qui ſementem eccleſiæ Anglicanæ calore & rore cæleſti fovit ſedulo* (15). i. e. "The ſame Acontius is very "mighty in the ſcriptures, and diligently cheriſhed the "ſeed-plot of the church of England, with heat "and heavenly dew."

(6) Saldenus *de Libris, &c.* pag. 337, 338.

* Trigland *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 232.

† Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſ.* Part III. *in Indice*, & p. 31, 398.

(7) Uytenbogard, *Hiſt. Belgicè conſcripta*, cap. 1. pag. 7. edit. 4°.

(8) Voetius, *Diſput. Theol.* tom. 1. p. 495.

* Pag. 114, 123, 341. edit. Baſil. An. 1610.

(9) Voetius, *Diſput. Theol.* tom. 1. pag. 501.

* *Pneumatomachi*, ſo called from the Greek πνεῦμα *ſpirit*, μάχοι *oppoſers*, or *combattants*, were a ſect of heretics who declared that the Holy Ghoſt was not one of the three perſons of the Trinity. They aroſe in the time of the Emperor Conſtantine and Pope Liberius, about anno Dom. 359.

(10) Thom. Crenius, *Animadv. Philolog. & Hiſtoric.* Part II. p. 32.

(11) Rivet. *apud* Crenium, ibid. p. 30.

(12) Iſaac Junius *in Examine Apologiæ Remonſtrantium*, p. 45. *apud* Crenium, ibid.

(13) Peltius *in Dedicatione Harmoniæ, apud* Crenium, ibid. p. 31.

(14) *In Reformato Auguſtano, ſeu Apologia pro Dictatis ſuis de Aug. Confeſſ. apud* Crenium, ibid. p. 32.

(15) Crenius, ibid. p. 32.

☞ ACONTIUS (JAMES) [A] was a particular friend of Francis Betti a Roman [B]. Both

[A] *Acontius (James,)*] in Italian Giacomo Contio. That Contio, and not Acontio, was the name by which he was commonly called among the Italians, I have the teſtimony of his deareſt friend Betti, who in a letter (1) to the Marquis of Peſcara his patron, mentions him by that name.

[B] *A particular friend of Francis Betti.*] The expreſſions of friendſhip he uſes in the dedication of his book *De Methodo*, are a convincing proof of what I here advance. *Communes ferè*, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Betti, *quos diu ſuſtinuimus labores, ac ſollicitudines, eadem propemodum ſtudia, idem velle, ac nolle, & quod omnia ſuperat, eadem de religione ſententia, idemque ſumptum relinquendæ ob eam rem patriæ conſilium, ita arcto nos vinculo conjunxerunt, ut conjunctius jam eſſe nihil poſſit. Certè quæ deſiderari à perfecta poſſunt amicitia, ea ſemper abs te in me profecto ſunt omnia; amorem verò erga te meum, & ſi nulla magna in re expertus unquam es, tibi tamen adeo notum eſſe confido, ut planè injurius tibi ſim, ſi illum vel ſuſpicer, ullo indigere teſtimonio.* That is, "The labours we undertook and the cares we long

(1) This letter was printed in 1557 in 8vo, without the Printer's name, or the place where printed. But by what I can judge from the paper and letter, it was printed at Zurich. The letter is dated the 10th Oct. 1557, a little after he left Italy.

Both took the reſolution of leaving Italy for the ſake of religion [C]. Betti left it firſt and went to Baſil, where he waited for Acontius, who repaired thither a little more than two months after, and from thence both retired to Zurich [D]. Not long after Acontius publiſhed his book *de Methodo* [E], which he dedicated to his friend Betti. From Zurich he went to Straſburg, and thence to England, where he died [F], leaving ſome of his papers to John Baptiſt Caſtiglioni, who publiſhed a little piece of his in Italian [G]. Ramus had a great opinion of Acontius's knowledge in the Mathematics, and wrote a very obliging letter to him [H]. His *Stratagemata Satanæ* have been tranſlated

" ſuſtained in common; our almoſt mutual ſtudies, " the ſame will which we ſeemed reciprocally to " have, and a circumſtance which is ſuperior to all " the reſt, the ſame opinion we entertained with re- " gard to matters of religion, and the ſame reſolution " we had formed of leaving our native country for " its ſake; all theſe things bound us by ſuch ſtrict " ties, that it was impoſſible for any to be ſtronger. " Certainly, whatever teſtimonies could be wiſhed " for from the moſt perfect friendſhip, you have " ever indulged me. And though you never ex- " perienced the love I have for you in any af- " fair of great importance, I yet truſt you are " ſo ſenſible of it, that it would be injurious in me " even to ſuſpect that it ſtood in need of any " proof.

[C] *For the ſake of religion.*] The reformation in thoſe times had made a great progreſs in Italy, particularly among men of letters; and had not the court of Rome uſed the greateſt artifices, and the moſt violent methods to ſtop it, or had the Italian Proteſtants been indulged the protection of a powerful Prince, I am perſuaded that Italy would either have followed the example of Germany, Switzerland, &c. or at leaſt that the ſtate of religion would have been upon another foot than it is there at preſent. But the advantages which the Italian Princes and their families might expect from the Papal Court, beſides their own preſent intereſt with regard to other Princes of a higher rank and ſuperior power, were a great check to the reformation in Italy. The perſecutions and dangers to which thoſe who had embraced the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were expoſed, obliged them to quit Italy, and ſeek a refuge among the Proteſtants. Acontius was one of the Literati who left Italy on this account (2). This was in the year 1557, which is the date of Betti's letter quoted in the margin in the remark [A] (3). In this letter Betti ſays, that as ſoon as he left Italy he came to Baſil, where he waited above two months for Acontius, who at laſt came and went along with him to Zurich. From thence Betti wrote a letter to the Marquis of Peſcara his patron, in his own juſtification, and therein gave him an account of the reaſons which had obliged him to leave his ſervice. Now we may naturally ſuppoſe that this letter was writ a little after he had left his patron and Italy; that is to ſay, as ſoon as himſelf and his friend Acontius were out of danger, and in a place where he might freely declare the motives which had prompted him to take that reſolution. This was the reaſon why he did not write immediately upon his coming to Baſil, becauſe, as was ſaid above, Acontius was not yet come to him, and becauſe his writing at that time might very probably have expoſed Acontius to danger, who was well known to be his intimate friend, and perhaps ſuſpected to adhere to the then called new opinions; Betti therefore deferred writing till Acontius came to him, and was out of danger. Now the date of this letter being the 16th of October 1557, it is not to be doubted but that Acontius left Italy that very year. While Acontius was at Zurich he contracted a friendſhip with Friſius, Simler, and other learned men, but particularly with John Wolf.

(2) *Propter Evangelicæ veritatis profeſſionem extorris*, ſays he of himſelf in the dedication of his book to Queen Elizabeth.

(3) I have not the letter by me at preſent, but only an extract of it, which I made ſome years ſince; ſo that I cannot give the reader Betti's ownwords.

[D] *Both retired to Zurich.*] The Griſons, Switzerland and Geneva were then the ordinary refuge of thoſe perſecuted Italians, as being the Proteſtant countries that lay neareſt to Italy, from whence they could more conveniently maintain a correſpondence with their relations and friends by the commerce which was carried on between thoſe people: not to mention that the fame and renown of ſeveral reformers, and men of great learning who were then there, engaged a great number of Italians to ſettle in thoſe countries, and to eſtabliſh Italian churches. There are even to this day, in thoſe countries, many Italian families which are deſcended from thoſe who fled thither at the time of the reformation.

[E] *His book de Methodo.*] He publiſhed this book at Baſil in 1558, the true title of it is this; *Jacobi Acontii Tridentini de Methodo, hoc eſt, de recta inveſtigandarum, tradendarumque ſcientiarum ratione.* It was printed by Peter Perna an Italian Printer who ſettled at Baſil: It is a ſmall octavo volume, conſiſting only of a hundred and thirty eight pages. It was afterwards (in 1582) reprinted at Geneva *per Euſtathium Vignon, multo quàm antea caſtigatius*, as is ſaid in the title; and at laſt, as Mr. Bayle remarks, in 1658, in the collection of diſſertations *de Studiis bene inſtituendis*.

[F] *To England, where he died.*] I do not find when Acontius came into England, but it is certain he was there in 1562, which is the date of his letter to Wolfius. In 1565 he publiſhed his book intitled *Stratagemata Satanæ*, and died a little after. Graſſerus, who was in England in 1607 ſays, that he was informed of this by perſons of good credit; and Simler, though in a doubtful way, fixes his death to 1566. *Obiit in Anglia, ni fallor an.* 1566.

[G] *A little piece of his in Italian.*] This John Baptiſt Caſtiglioni was an Italian Gentleman, who had been chief maſter of the Italian tongue, and afterwards Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, who had a great eſteem for him. Peter Bizari, another Italian, who lived many years in England at that time, and even was a Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, is my author (4). *Ma in particolare*, ſays he, ſpeaking of Queen Elizabeth, *poſſede ella ottimamente la noſtra più terſa, e più elegante favella, di cui ſuo principal precettore è ſtato il Sir Gio. Battiſta Caſtiglioni, hora gentil huomo della camera privata di lei; il quale è coſi ornato di generoſe maniere, e di coſi nobili, & honorate creanze, che meritamente per queſto, e per lo ſuo valore è cariſſimo a coſi gran Reina.* i. e. "But in particular (ſays he, ſpeaking of Queen Elizabeth) " ſhe is a perfect miſ- " treſs of our polite and elegant language, in the " learning of which Signior Giovanni Battiſta Caſti- " glioni (now Gentleman of her Privy Chamber) " was her principal Maſter. This Gentleman is ſo " well verſed in every thing that forms the Gen- " tleman and the man of honour, that upon this " account, and for his great merit in other reſpects, " he is highly eſteemed by ſo great a Queen." Acontius left ſome of his papers to this Gentleman, who having found among them an *Exhortation* (in Italian) *to the fear of God*, written in Acontius's own hand, and judging by the ſtyle that it was compoſed by Acontius, he therefore publiſhed and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. The title of this book is as follows: *Una eſſortazione al Timor di Dio, con alcune rime Italiane, nuovamente meſſe in luce. In Londra appreſſo Gio. Wolfio* (5) *ſervitore delle illuſtriſſimo Signior Filippo Sidnei*, without date.

(4) In his *Hiſtory of the Wars of Hungary, &c.* in Italian, p. 206. printed at Lyons by Rovillio 1568 in 8vo.

(5) This Wolf was an Engliſhman who went into Italy to learn the art of Printing, and printed ſeveral Italian books in thoſe times.

[H] *A very obliging letter.*] The date of the letter is 14. Calend. Januarii 1565, Lutetiæ (6). Ramus ſays, *Jacobi Acontii nomen è præclaris ingenii monumentis jampridem orbi notum atque illuſtre eſt; ſed tamen Jo. Laſcii Poloni è Britannia reditu nobis etiam jucundum, charumque factum eſt. Etenim cum doctos in ea inſula, & mathematis præſertim deditos noſſe cuperem, & ad te forte fortuna Laſcius delatus eſſet, operæ pretium nobis fuit Lutetiam reverſum de humanitate & gratia, de variis & reconditis artibus Acontii narrantem audire, inter quas laudes cum Archimedeam illam de machinis & urbium munitionibus Geometriam audiviſſem, non putavi tantam docti & ingenui animi ſalutandi occaſionem mihi prætermittendam eſſe. Interea Bibliopolæ noſtri Francoforto Lutetiam reverſi, attulerunt octo libros* Stratagematum, *quorum lectione*

(6) Among Ramus's Letters, p. 203.

tranſlated into ſeveral languages [*I*]. He was a man of great penetration and judgment [*K*], and of great modeſty and moderation [*L*] in matters of religion, which expoſed him to the cenſure of ſome Divines [*M*]. It were to be wiſhed that we had all the books he wrote [*N*].

ACOSTA

non ſolùm recreatus ſum vehementer, ſed quibuſdam apud nos melioris & notæ, & literaturæ theologis legendos propoſui, qui modeſtiam orationis, & diſputationis prudentiam mirificè comprobarunt. Libellum autem De Methodo *multò jam ante legeram non abhorrentem quidem ab inſtitutis noſtris, ſed neque plane convenientem. Equidem mirifico deſiderio teneor tua omnia perlegendi ac cognoſcendi, præſertim ſi geometricum aliquid & mechanicum commentatus es; iis enim ſtudiis modo totus deditus ſum: ea de cauſa ſcribo etiam ad Joannem Dium; literas noſtras eodem faſciculo concluſi, ſatis confiſus te protinus ei redditurum: nec dubito utrumque veſtrum, nec unquam dubitabo quemquam veſtri ſimilem provocare gratiâ vel accipiendâ, vel etiam referendâ. Hoc enim liberalis animi commune inter bonos, & humanitati deditos eſſe arbitror.* i. e. "The name of James Acontius has been "long known and celebrated in the world by illuſtri- "ous monuments of learning. It is however made "ſtill more pleaſing and dear to us, by the return "of John Laſicius a Poliſh Gentleman from England. "For whilſt I was wiſhing to get acquainted with the "Learned in that iſland, particularly with the Ma- "thematicians; and Laſicius happening to be intro- "duced to you, I thought it worth my while at his "return to Paris, to hear him diſcourſe of your hu- "manity, affability and knowledge in various and "uncommon arts; among which having particu- "larly heard the praiſe of that Geometry relating "to engines of war and fortifications, after the "manner of Archimedes, I would not loſe the fa- "vourable opportunity of ſaluting a man of ſuch "great abilities and learning. In the mean time our "Bookſellers being returned from Frankfort to Paris, "brought your eight books of *Stratagems*, with whom "I myſelf am not only delighted, but have alſo "propoſed them to the peruſal of ſome of our beſt "and moſt learned Divines, who have highly approv- "ed the modeſty of your diſcourſe, and your pru- "dent conduct in treating it. But I had long ſince "read your little book *De Methodo*, which indeed "does not differ very much from my ſcheme of ſtu- "dies, nor is it altogether conſonant to it. I have "a very great deſire to know and peruſe carefully "all your works, eſpecially thoſe on Geometry and "Mechanicks, in caſe you have writ any thing on "theſe ſubjects, I being now entirely devoted to "ſuch ſtudies, for which purpoſe I am ſending let- "ters to (7) John Dee in the ſame packet, being "firmly perſuaded that you'll deliver them into his "hands. Nor do I, nor ſhall I ever ſcruple to take the "opportunity of troubling either of you, or perſons "who are of your character, or receiving favours from "either. This is a liberty that ought to be reciprocal "among the learned and the virtuous." By this letter the reader may ſee the great eſteem which Ramus had for Acontius, and his works; and what judgment the ableſt French Divines formed of his book entitled *Satanæ Stratagemata*.

(7) The celebrated Engliſh Mathematician in Queen Elizabeth's time.

[*I*] *Into ſeveral languages.*] The very ſame year that this book was printed at Baſil by Perna in 8vo, that is in 1565, a tranſlation of it in French came out, printed at the ſame place, and by the ſame Printer in 4to. No mention is made of the tranſlator, nor is any thing ſaid, by which it could appear that it was a tranſlation; ſo that thoſe who don't know that Acontius writ in Latin, may be eaſily miſtaken, and take it not for a tranſlation, but for an original. By this miſtake la Croix du Maine places Acontius in his *Bibliotheque* among the French authors. I have alſo ſeen a tranſlation of it in Engliſh, but only of the firſt four books, printed in London 1648. The tranſlator did not put his name to it, but promiſed to go on with the reſt, in caſe he met with the approbation of his readers; but whether or not he performed his promiſe I cannot tell.

[*K*] *Of great penetration and judgment.*] His books are a proof of what I aſſert, and whoever will take the pains to read them, will admire both his reaſoning and his method. I will add a particular inſtance of his judgment with regard to books and authors. Francis Patricius of Salò, living in Italy, and being yet a young man, publiſhed ſome Dialogues in Italian concerning Hiſtory and Rhetoric. Acontius by the peruſal of them foreſaw what a great man Patricius would prove in time. *Equidem*, ſays he to Wolfius, after having praiſed Patricius, *ſeriò dico, ex iis, quæ videre licuit, ita conjicio, effecturum eum, ſi vixerit aliquandiu, (vix enim virilem ingreſſus eſt ætatem) ut quod invideat ſeculum noſtrum antiquitati ingeniorum quidem præſtantia habiturum non ſit &c.* It would be too long to tranſcribe all he ſays of him, the reader will find it at the latter end of the abovementioned letter. And indeed he was not miſtaken; Patricius anſwered the expectation which Acontius had conceived of him.

[*L*] *Great modeſty and moderation.*] The manner in which he treats ſo delicate a ſubject as that of the book entitled *Satanæ Stratagemata*, ſhews plainly his modeſty and precaution not to give offence by naming perſons who were living, altho' this would have been an illuſtration of ſome paſſages in his book. He gives in his preface an account of his conduct in writing that work; he alſo promiſes a ſecond edition of it more full and correct, *minus jejuna & incompta*; looking upon what he then publiſhed as an untimely birth, *quaſi abortum*.

[*M*] *By ſome Divines.*] Acontius's moderation in matters of religion might be the ſubject of many reflections, which however would be too prolix, and the readers perhaps would look upon them as foreign to our deſign. I will content my ſelf with only two; the firſt, that in the opinion of many judicious and moderate men, there is no other way to preſerve the peace and unity of the church in the profeſſion of faith, but by not loading the conſciences of people with ſo many articles of faith, and propoſing thoſe only that are expreſly mentioned in the Scriptures, employing no other expreſſions than what the Holy Ghoſt inſpired the ſacred writers with, or words equivalent to them; and by allowing a mutual and charitable toleration with regard to the belief of thoſe points which are ſubject to diſputes, and which depend on the interpretation of ſome obſcure paſſages of the Scripture. This method would entirely baniſh out of the Chriſtian Church the odious name of hereſy with which men charge one another. This, they add, was the practice of the Jewiſh church, wherein there were different ſects, and one in particular called the Sadducees, who held opinions ſo obnoxious, that one of them alone would in our days make a man paſs for a Deiſt at leaſt, if not for an Atheiſt, yet none of them were forbid the temple, or excluded from any eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This right they poſſeſſed becauſe they conformed to the public worſhip of God: ſo that as this practice of the Jewiſh church ſeems to ſome to be a great argument for toleration in point of faith, ſo alſo it ſeems to be a great one againſt thoſe, who not contented with the liberty of believing in their own way, will not join with the reſt in the public worſhip as by law eſtabliſhed, and yet complain of not being admitted into civil and eccleſiaſtical offices. But whatever thoſe judicious and moderate men ſay, I do not find that the great toleration allowed by the Jews prevented quarrels and diſſentions among themſelves: diverſity of opinions in religion having great influence upon mens actions and behaviour towards one another. My ſecond obſervation is, that it is no wonder Acontius was ill treated by ſome Divines, ſince all the moderate men in points of religion have met with the ſame uſage from thoſe Divines, who in matters of religion will only allow men to think according to their own way, or not to think at all. Such Divines are indeed found in every church, as bad men are in every country, but our church has the advantage of all others, in having the feweſt of this kind.

[*N*] *All the books he wrote.*] Simler in his *Bibliotheca* mentions, *Ars muniendorum oppidorum, Italicè primò deſcripta, & poſtea in Latinam linguam tranſlata: Præterea Libri de Dialectica, cœpti quidem ſcribi ſed ut arbitror non abſoluti.* Theſe two books were never printed, neither can I tell in whoſe hands the Manuſcripts are.

ACOSTA (URIEL) a Portugueze Gentleman, was born at Oporto about the cloſe of the ſixteenth Century. He was brought up in the Romiſh religion, of which his father was a ſincere Profeſſor (*a*), although deſcended from one of thoſe Jewiſh families which had been violently conſtrained to ſubmit to the ceremony of baptiſm. He alſo had an education ſuitable to his birth, and was inſtructed in a variety of ſciences, the laſt of which was the Law. He had received very happy diſpoſitions from Nature [*A*], and Religion had made ſo deep an impreſſion on his mind, that he ardently deſired to practiſe all the injunctions of the church, in order to avoid eternal death, which he greatly dreaded. For this reaſon he applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to the reading of the Goſpel, and other ſpiritual books, and conſulted very carefully the abridgments of the Confeſſors; but the more he devoted himſelf to theſe ſtudies, the more difficulties ſtarted up, which at laſt oppreſt him to ſuch a degree, that not being able to ſolve them, he fell into the moſt dreadful agonies of mind. Acoſta did not think it was poſſible for him punctually to diſcharge his duty with regard to the conditions which are required for abſolution, according to good caſuiſts; and thus he deſpaired of ſalvation, in caſe there was no other way of obtaining it: but as it was a difficult matter for him to abandon a Religion he had been accuſtomed to from his infancy, and which the force of perſuaſion had rooted deeply in his mind; all he could do was, to ſeek whether the ſeveral things which are told concerning the other life might not poſſibly be falſe, or whether they are agreeable to reaſon; and he imagined that reaſon furniſhed him inceſſantly with arguments againſt them. Acoſta was then two and twenty, and this was the ſtate in which he fixed; he was oppreſt with doubts, and the reſult of his reflections (be the conſequence what it would) was, that he could never ſave his ſoul in the Religion he had imbib'd. He nevertheleſs ſtudied the Law, and at the age of five and twenty obtained a benefice (*b*). However, as the Popiſh doctrines would never ſuffer his mind to be at reſt, and that he yet reſolved to profeſs ſome Religion or other, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Moſes and the Prophets, which gave him more ſatisfaction than the Goſpel, and at laſt he was perſuaded the Jewiſh Religion was the true one; but, as it would be impoſſible for him to profeſs it in Portugal, he reſolved to leave it. Accordingly he reſigned his benefice, and embarked for Amſterdam with his mother and brothers, whom he had dared to inſtruct in the Jewiſh principles [*B*], and which they indeed had pretty well imbibed. Immediately after their arrival in the laſt mentioned city, they

(*a*) *Pater meus verè erat Chriſtianus.* Uriel Acoſta, in his *Exemplar Vitæ humanæ*, inſerted by Mr. Limborch at the end of his *Amica Collatio cum Judæo de veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ*. i. e. "Friendly Diſpute with a Jew concerning the truth of the Chriſtian Religion." Printed at Amſterdam in 1687 4°.

(*b*) The dignity of Treaſurer in a Collegiate Church.

[*A*] *He had received very happy diſpoſitions from Nature.*] He was ſo tender-hearted and compaſſionate, that he could not forbear ſhedding tears, whenever he heard of any misfortune which was befallen his neighbour. Shame had taken ſuch deep root in his ſoul, that he dreaded nothing ſo much as infamy. Brave and ſuſceptible of anger on a lawful occaſion, he oppoſed thoſe inſolent, thoſe brutal wretches, who delight in inſulting others, and joined to the weak party. This is the character he gives of himſelf. *Infirmorum partes adjuvare cupiens*, ſays he (1), *& illis potiùs me ſocium adjungens.*

(1) Uriel Acoſta, *in Exemplari Vitæ humanæ, init.* p. 346.

[*B*] *Whom he had dar'd to inſtruct in the Jewiſh principles.*] He does not omit the circumſtances, which were proper to heighten the ſacrifice he was making to his religion. He tells us, that he reſign'd an honourable and profitable benefice; and a fine houſe, which his father had built in the beſt part of the city (2). To this he adds the danger he run in embarking; no one of Jewiſh extraction being allowed to leave the kingdom without the King's ſpecial leave. *Navem aſcendimus, non ſine magno periculo, (non licet illis qui ab Hebræis originem ducunt à regno diſcedere, ſine ſpeciali regis facultate)* (3). In fine; he tells us, that had it been known he diſcours'd with his father and brothers, in favour of the Jewiſh Religion, it would have been his utter ruin. However, the love he bore them, made him overlook that danger. *Quibus ego fraterno amore motus ea communicaveram, quæ mihi ſuper religione viſa fuerant magis conſentanea, licet ſuper aliquibus dubitarem; quod quidem in magnum malum meum poterat recidere, tantum eſt in eo regno periculum de talibus loqui* (4). We may here obſerve, by the way, that the Spaniards and Portugueze have uſed every art, which the refin'd and moſt ſevere policy could invent, to maintain a party. All this they have done to ſupport the Chriſtian, and to ruin the Jewiſh religion: and it would be very unjuſt to accuſe them, of having reſigned the church to the protection of heaven, with the frame of mind of thoſe perſons who patiently hope to obtain all they ask for, from the efficacy of their prayers. One would conclude rather, that they had followed the advice which a Heathen Poet has given in an affair relating to huſbandry.

(2) Ibid. p. 347.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

Non tamen ulla magis præſens fortuna laborum eſt,
Quam ſi quis ferro potuit reſcindere ſummum
Ulceris os: alitur vitium, vivitque tegendo:
Dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera paſtor
Abnegat, & meliora Deos ſedet omina poſcens (5).

(5) Virgil. *Georg.* lib. 3. ver. 452.

That is,

" Receipts abound; but ſearching all thy ſtore,
" The beſt is ſtill at hand, to lance the ſore,
" And cut the head: for, till the core be found,
" The ſecret vice is fed, and gathers ground;
" Whilſt, making fruitleſs moan, the ſhepherd ſtands,
" And when the lancing knife requires his hands,
" Vain help, with idle prayers, from Heaven demands. Dryden.

Or elſe one would conclude that they had copied their conduct, from the reproaches which Cato made to the Romans, when he blamed them for truſting in the aſſiſtance of the Gods, who, added he, are ever deaf to the indolent, for idleneſs is a mark of the anger of heaven. *Vos . . . inertia & mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet Diis immortalibus confiſi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis ſæpe periculis ſervavere. Non votis, neque ſuppliciis muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene conſulendo, proſperè omnia cedunt. Ubi ſocordiæ tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam Deos implores: irati infeſtique ſunt* (6). That is,

" You keep things in ſuſpence by your ſluggiſhneſs
" and want of courage, every one waiting till the reſt
" may have taken their reſolution. You truſt in the
" immortal Gods, who have frequently ſaved the
" commonwealth in the moſt imminent dangers:
" However, the aſſiſtance of the Gods is not ob-
" tained by womaniſh vows and prayers, but vigi-
" lance, activity, and taking a proper courſe, give
" ſucceſs to every thing. It is in vain for a man
" who delivers himſelf up to ſloth and faint idle-
" neſs, to implore the Gods, for on theſe occaſions he
" is always ſure to find them impropitious and an-
" gry." Finally, one would conclude, that the leſſon they are the fondeſt of is the laſt part of the axiom, which a modern author gives us as follows:

(6) Saluſt. *in Bello Catilin.* p. 160.

they made themſelves members of the ſynagogue, and were circumciſed according to the uſual cuſtom; and thereupon Acoſta changed his name of Gabriel for that of Uriel. He had been but a few days among the Jews, before he perceived that their morals and rites were not conformable to the laws of Moſes, upon which occaſion it was impoſſible for him to be ſilent. However, the chiefs of the ſynagogue gave him to underſtand, that he muſt obſerve exactly their tenets and cuſtoms, and that he would be excommunicated in caſe he deviated ever ſo little from them. But Acoſta was not terrified at this menace, and thought it would be beneath a man, who had left his native country, and the affluence he enjoyed in it purely for the ſake of liberty of conſcience, to ſubmit to a ſet of Rabbis, who were not inveſted with a judiciary power [C]; and that it would argue either want of courage or piety, in caſe he ſhould betray his ſentiments on ſuch an occaſion as this; and therefore he went on. Upon this he was excommunicated, which had ſuch an effect, that his own brothers, whom he had inſtructed in the

A man muſt, as it were, abandon himſelf to the providence of God, as tho' all human prudence were vain; and muſt regulate his actions by the rules of human prudence, as tho' there were no ſuch thing as providence (7). They would undoubtedly laugh at a writer, who ſhould blame them for treating the Chriſtian religion, as an old palace that is grown ſo crazy, as to require props or ſupporters on all ſides; and the Jewiſh religion as a fortreſs, which cannot be weakened, unleſs it be perpetually bombarded. We may juſtly cenſure certain methods of maintaining the good cauſe; but in ſhort, it requires ſuccour, and diſtruſt is the mother of ſafety. See the note [B] of the article DRABICIUS, and the note [E] of the article LUBIENIETSKI.

(7) Cotin, *Oeuvres Galantes*, tom. 1. in the diſcourſe on the Truth of Dreams, p. 260.

[C] *To a ſet of Rabbis who were not inveſted with a judiciary power.*] There is, undoubtedly, a wide difference between the tribunals, which Acoſta juſtly dreaded in his own country, and that of the ſynagogue of Amſterdam. The latter can inflict canonical puniſhments only; but the Chriſtian inquiſition can puniſh with death; for this tribunal delivers over thoſe whom it condemns, to the ſecular arm. I therefore don't wonder, that Acoſta was not ſo much afraid of the Jewiſh inquiſition, as of that of Portugal. He was ſenſible, that the ſynagogue had no tribunals belonging to it, which took cognizance either of civil or criminal cauſes; and therefore he conſidered their excommunications, as a *brutum fulmen:* he did not obſerve, that this canonical puniſhment terminated either in death, or any chaſtiſement by the executioner; in impriſonment or pecuniary fines. He therefore thought, that as he had been courageous enough not to betray his religion in Portugal, he had much more reaſon not to be afraid of ſpeaking what his conſcience dictated among the Jews, tho' they ſhould excommunicate him; which was the worſt he had to fear from a body of men, who have no power to enact and execute laws. *Quia minimè decebat ut propter talem metum terga verteret ille, qui pro libertate natale ſolum & utilitates alias contempſerat, & ſuccumbere hominibus, præſertim* JURISDICTIONEM *non habentibus, in tali cauſa nec pium nec virile erat; decrevi potius omnia perferre & in ſententia perdurare.* i. e. "As "it would ill become that man to turn his back "through ſuch a fear, who had deſpiſed his native "land and other conveniencies for the ſake of liber"ty, and that it would be neither manly nor pious, "in ſuch a cauſe, to ſink under the oppreſſion of "men, eſpecially ſuch as have no juriſdiction; I "therefore choſe rather to ſuffer all things, and to "perſiſt in my opinion (8)." But it was with Acoſta as with moſt people who form a judgment of complicated evils. Theſe imagine, that the unhappineſs ariſes from the conjunction of two or three evils; and that the caſe of that man would not be very hard, who ſhould ſuffer but one of them. However, theſe perſons experience the contrary, when providence expoſes them but to one of thoſe two or three evils; and they feel it much heavier, than they imagined it would prove. The inquiſition of Portugal appeared in a dreadful light to Acoſta the Jew, and for this reaſon, becauſe he ſaw it joined to an immediate or mediate power of impriſoning, tormenting and burning. Had he conſidered it only with relation to its excommunicatory prerogative, he would have dreaded it but very little. This was the motive of his contempt for the menaces of the ſynagogue at Amſterdam; but experience had taught him, that the bare power of excommunicating is very dreadful, tho' quite unaided by the ſecular arm; for after his excommunication he was look'd upon as an hideous creature *; and his own two brothers did not dare ſo much as to pull off their hats to him. *Ipſi fratres mei, quibus ego præceptor fueram, me tranſibant, nec in platea ſalutabant, propter metum illorum* (9). i. e. "My ve"ry brothers, to whom I had been preceptor, paſt "by me, nor ſaluted me in the ſtreet; ſo great was "their fear of thoſe people." The boys hooted him in the ſtreets; curs'd him to the pit of hell; they gathered in crowds before his houſe, and threw ſtones at it. *Jamque faces & ſaxa volant.* i. e. "They now threw firebrands and ſtones." He could not be eaſy, either at home or abroad. *Pueri iſtorum, à Rabbinis & parentibus edocti, turmatim per plateas conveniebant, & elatis vocibus mihi maledicebant, & omnigenis contumeliis irritabant, hæreticum & defectorem inclamantes. Aliquando etiam, ante fores meas congregabantur, lapides jaciebant, & nihil intentatum relinquebant ut me turbarent, ne tranquillus etiam in domo propriâ agere poſſim* (10). The evils to which the ſentence of excommunication ſubjected him were ſo great, that at laſt he found them inſupportable; for, notwithſtanding the hatred he bore to the ſynagogue, he choſe to return to it by a feigned reconciliation, rather than to be publickly ſeparated from it. And, indeed, he ſaid to ſome Chriſtians who deſign'd to turn Jews, that they did not know what kind of a yoke they were going to lay on their own necks: *Neſciebant quale jugum ſuis cervicibus imponerent* (11). But how great was his perplexity, when, after having refuſed to ſubmit to the ignominious penance which the ſynagogue had enjoined him, he ſaw himſelf excommunicated a ſecond time! He was ſpit at as he paſt along the ſtreets, and even little boys were taught to do ſo. *Multi eorum tranſeunte me in platea ſpuebant, quod etiam & pueri illorum faciebant ab illis edocti; tantum non lapidabar, quia facultas deerat* (12). They would have ſtoned him, had it been in their power; his relations perſecuted him, and not a ſoul viſited him in his ſickneſs. To make ſhort. He was aggrieved ſo many ways, that the Jews at laſt extorted from him the ſubmiſſion they required. *Duravit pugna iſta per annos ſeptem, intra quod tempus incredibilia paſſus ſum* (13). That is, "This combat laſted ſeven years, "during which my ſufferings were incredible." The reader will find in the note [E], the puniſhment that was inflicted on him. Acoſta was then more ſenſible than ever, how formidable thoſe men are who are veſted with the power of inflicting eccleſiaſtical cenſures, tho' they have no civil authority or juriſdiction.

(8) Acoſta, *Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ*. p. 347.

* The original ſays an Owl.

(9) Acoſta, *Exemplar Vitæ Hum.* p. 347.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid. pag. 348.

(12) Ibid. p. 349

(13) Ibid.

I am far from aſſerting, that the arguments of the *independents* are of any weight; they who are ſo offended at the Church, for aſſuming the power of excommunicating, that is, of inflicting puniſhments which are ſometimes more infamous than burning in the hand; and which expoſe a man to a greater number of temporal evils, than the corporal puniſhment to which the ſecular judge may ſentence him. The ſentences of the civil Magiſtrate do not ſuppreſs the acts and offices of humanity, much leſs do they exclude the duties of conſanguinity: but excommunication ſometimes arms a father againſt his children, and children againſt a father: it ſtifles all the ſentiments of nature; breaks the bands of friendſhip and hoſpitality; reduces a man to the miſerable condition of perſons infected with the plague, and even to a more abandoned ſtate.

the Jewiſh Religion, did not dare to ſpeak to, or even ſalute him, whenever they met him in the ſtreets. Acoſta being under theſe circumſtances, writ a book in his own juſtification, wherein he ſhewed, that the rites and traditions of the Phariſees, claſh directly with the writings of Moſes. He had ſcarce begun this work, when he embraced the opinion of the Sadduces, having wrought himſelf to a ſtrong perſuaſion, that the rewards and puniſhments of the old law, relate to this life only; and that chiefly, becauſe Moſes does not any where mention, either the joys of paradiſe or the torments of hell. His adverſaries rejoiced greatly to hear he had imbibed the opinion abovementioned, foreſeeing that this would be a good handle, whereby to juſtify (in the minds of the Chriſtians) the proceedings of the ſynagogue againſt him, &c. Hence it was, that even before his work was printed, they publiſhed (*c*) a book upon the immortality of the ſoul, written by a Phyſician, who uſed all the arguments he could think of, to make Acoſta paſs for an Atheiſt. Children were even ſpirited up to inſult him in the ſtreets, and to throw ſtones at his houſe; but all this did not prevent his writing a treatiſe againſt the Phyſician, in which he did his utmoſt to invalidate the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality (*d*). The Jews had recourſe to the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and impeached him as a man who ſapped the foundations both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religions; whereupon he was thrown into priſon, but was bailed about eight or ten days after; however, all the copies of his work were confiſcated, and he was obliged to pay a fine of three hundred florins. Acoſta nevertheleſs did not ſtop here, for time and experience made him carry matters much farther. He examined whether the law of Moſes came from God, and imagined he had found ſolid reaſons to convince himſelf that it was merely of human invention; but inſtead of drawing the following conſequence from it, *I therefore ought not to return to the communion of the Jewiſh church*, he put the following queſtion to himſelf, *Why ſhould I perſiſt in abſtaining from it all my life time, expoſed to ſo many inconveniencies; eſpecially as I am in a ſtrange country whoſe language I am ignorant of? Will it not be better for me to play the ape among apes?* Having weighed theſe matters, he returned again to the Jewiſh church, fifteen years after his excommunication, and retracting what he had written, ſubſcribed every thing as they directed. Some days after he was impeached by a nephew of his, a young lad, that lived in the houſe with him, who had perceived, that his uncle did not obſerve the laws of the ſynagogue, either with reſpect to eating, or other points. This accuſation was attended with ſtrange conſequences, for a relation of Acoſta, who had reconciled him to the Jews, fancied he was bound in honour to perſecute him with the utmoſt virulence [*D*]. The Rabbis, and all the members of their ſynagogue, were fired with the ſame ſpirit, eſpecially when they heard that Acoſta had adviſed two Chriſtians who were come from London to Amſterdam, not to turn Jews. He therefore was ſummoned to appear before the great council of the ſynagogue, when he was aſſured, that a ſecond excommunication would be fulminated againſt him, in caſe he did not make ſuch ſatisfaction as would be required at his hands; but he found the terms of it ſo hard, that his anſwer was, he could not ſubmit to them, upon which the Jews reſolved to turn him out of their communion. Words could never expreſs the inſults with which he was afterwards loaded, or the injurious treatment he met with from his relations. Having ſpent ſeven years in this melancholy condition, he reſolved to declare that he was ready to ſubmit to the ſentence of the ſynagogue; for he had been given to underſtand, that by making ſuch a declaration, matters might be eaſily made up, becauſe the Judges, ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſion, would ſoften the ſeverity of the puniſhment. However, Acoſta was catched, and was forced to undergo, in its utmoſt rigour, the penance which had at firſt been propoſed to him [*E*]. Theſe are the particulars I have extracted, without the leaſt diſguiſe or alteration,

(*c*) In 1623.

(*d*) The title of this work is, *Examen Traditionum Philoſophicarum ad legem ſcriptam.* i. e. "An Enquiry "into the Philoſophical Traditions compared with the "written law.

[*D*] *A relation . . fancied himſelf bound . . to perſecute him with the utmoſt virulence.*] Here follow the evils he brought upon him. Acoſta was juſt going to marry a ſecond wife; one of his brothers had a great many effects of his in his hands, and it was very much the intereſt of Acoſta, to continue trading with him. Now this relation was his enemy on all theſe occaſions; for he cauſed the intended match to be broke off; engaged Acoſta's brother to keep all the effects that were in his poſſeſſion, and to trade with him no longer. This hard uſage was probably one of the reaſons which confirmed Acoſta in his impious way of thinking; for there is no doubt but he was perſuaded, that thoſe paſſions and unjuſt proceedings might be authorized by ſome paſſages in the Old Teſtament, wherein the law commands brothers, fathers and husbands, not to ſpare the lives of their brothers, children and wives, in caſe theſe apoſtatize (14). And it is to be obſerved, that he made this an argument againſt the law of Moſes; aſſerting, that a law which overthrows the religion of nature, could not proceed from God, the author of that religion (15). *Now*, ſays he, *the religion of nature eſtabliſhes a bond of friendſhip among relations.* See how Limborch anſwers this ſophiſm (16.)

(14) See Deut. xiii.
(15) Acoſta, *Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ*, p. 352.
(16) Philippus à Limborch *in Refut. Urielis Acoſtæ*, p. 361 & *ſeq.*

[*E*] *Forc'd to undergo in its utmoſt rigour, the penance which had been propoſed to him at firſt.*] The deſcription he gives of it is as follows. A great crowd of men and women being come to the ſynagogue to ſee this ſight, Acoſta came in, and at the time appointed went up into the pulpit, where he read with a loud voice a writing, by which he confeſſed that he had deſerved a thouſand deaths, for not obſerving the ſabbath-day, nor the promiſe he had made; and for having diſſuaded ſome perſons from embracing the Jewiſh religion, who had that deſign; that, to atone for theſe crimes, he was ready to ſuffer whatever they ſhould inflict, and promiſed not to be guilty of the like faults. Being come down from the pulpit, he was ordered to withdraw to a corner of the ſynagogue, where he ſtript himſelf to the waiſt; pulled off his ſhoes and ſtockings, when the door-keeper faſtned his hands to a pillar, this being done, the chief chaunter gave him juſt thirty nine laſhes with a whip; for in theſe kind of ceremonies care is taken not to exceed the number preſcribed by the law: Then the Preacher came; who making him ſit on the ground, declared him abſolved from the excommunication; ſo that the gates of Paradiſe were no longer ſhut againſt him, as before.

tion, or without pretending to warrant the truth of them, from a little piece written by Acoſta (*e*), and publiſhed and refuted by Limborch (*f*). It is believed that he drew it up a few days before his death, after having determined to lay violent hands upon himſelf, which ſtrange reſolution he executed a little after he had failed in his attempt to kill his principal enemy (*g*). For the moment that the piſtol with which he intended to ſhoot him, as he paſt by his houſe, miſſed fire, he ſhut the door and ſhot himſelf with another piſtol (*b*). This happened at Amſterdam, but the year is not exactly known [*F*]. Here is an example which favours thoſe that condemn the liberty of philoſophizing on religious ſubjects, the principal ſtreſs of whoſe argument lies in this, that it leads inſenſibly to Atheiſm or Deiſm [*G*]. I ſhall conſider Acoſta's reflection on the following circumſtance, viz. that the Jews, to make him more odious, affected to ſay that he was neither Jew, Chriſtian, nor Mahometan [*H*].

(*e*) Entitled, *Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ.*
(*f*) See the above citation (*a*).
(*g*) This was his brother or couſin. Limborch *in Præfat. Exemplar. Vitæ Humanæ.*
(*b*) Limborch, ibid.

☞ ACREMAH

Et ita jam porta cæli mihi erat aperta, quæ antea fortiſſimis ſeris clauſa me à limine & ingreſſu excludebat (17). i. e. "That thus the gate of Heaven was "open to me, which before being ſhut with vaſtly "ſtrong locks, excluded me from the entrance, and "from going into it." Acoſta after this took up his clothes, and went and laid himſelf on the ground at the door of the ſynagogue, where all thoſe who came out, walked over him.... I imagined that the reader would be pleaſed to meet here with this little ſpecimen of the Jewiſh ceremonies (18).

(17) Acoſta *Exemplar Vitæ Hum.* p. 350.

(18) I extracted it from the *Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ* of Acoſta, p. 349, 350.

[*F*] *But the year is not exactly known.*] It is very probable that he laid violent hands upon himſelf, a little after the ceremony of his abſolution; exaſperated at the treatment he had received, contrary to the hopes he had entertained, that the ſeverity of his penance would be mitigated. However, this cannot fix exactly the date, ſince we don't know the year he underwent this penance. If we knew how long he had been excommunicated when the Phyſician publiſhed his book, viz. in 1623, it would not be difficult to make an exact computation; ſince he obſerves that his firſt excommunication laſted fifteen years; his ſecond ſeven; and that this in queſtion followed ſoon after it. It is ſuppoſed in the *Bibliotheque univerſelle*, that he killed himſelf about the year 1647 (19); but according to others, it was in 1640 (20).

(19) *Biblioth. Univerſ.* tom. 7. p. 327.
(20) Joh. Helvicus Willemerus *in Diſſert. Philologica de Sadducæis*, p. *ult.* He cites Mullerus *Judaiſm. Proleg.* p. 71.

[*G*] *That it leads inſenſibly to Atheiſm or Deiſm.*] Acoſta ſerves as an example to theſe people. He refuſed to comply with the deciſions of the catholic church, becauſe he did not find them conſiſtent with reaſon; and he embraced the Jewiſh religion, becauſe he found it more conformable to the knowledge he had acquired. He afterwards rejected a numberleſs multitude of Jewiſh traditions, becauſe he judged they were not contained in the holy ſcripture; he even denied the immortality of the ſoul, upon pretence that it is not mentioned in the law of God; and laſtly, he denied the Divinity of the books of Moſes, becauſe he thought that the religion of nature was not conformable to the ordinances of that Legiſlator. Had he lived ſix or ſeven years longer, he poſſibly would have denied the religion of nature, becauſe his wretched reaſon would have ſuggeſted a great number of difficulties in the hypotheſis concerning the providence and free will, of the eternal and neceſſary Being. Be this as it will every one who makes uſe of his reaſon, ſtands in need of God's aſſiſtance; for without this, it is a guide that leads us aſtray: and we may compare Philoſophy to powders, which are of ſo corroſive a nature, that they not only eat away the proud fleſh of a wound, but the ſound alſo; rot the bones, and pierce to the very marrow. Philoſophy refutes errors at firſt, but in caſe ſhe is not ſtopp'd there, ſhe attacks truths; and if ſuffered to grow head-ſtrong, ſhe goes ſuch lengths, that ſhe loſes herſelf, and does not know where to fix. This muſt be imputed either to the weakneſs of the mind of man, or to the ill uſe he makes of his pretended ſtrength. Happily, or rather by the wiſe diſpenſation of providence, few men are capable of falling into this abuſe.

[*H*] *Affected to ſay, that he was neither Jew, Chriſtian, nor Mahometan.*] This aſſertion, anſwered Acoſta, was the reſult both of malice and ignorance: Had Acoſta been a Chriſtian, the Jews would have conſider'd him as an abominable idolater, who, with the Founder of the Chriſtian religion, the true God would have puniſhed as an apoſtate; and had he profeſſed the Mahometan religion, he would have been reviled with the ſame odious language: He therefore could not any way eſcape the malice of their tongues, but by adhering devoutly to the traditions of the Phariſees. Let us conſider his own words: *Scio adverſarios iſtos* (21), *ut nomen meum coram indoctâ plebe dilanient, ſolitos eſſe dicere, Iſte nullam habet religionem; Judæus non eſt, non Chriſtianus, non Mahometanus. Vide prius, Phariſæe, quid dices; cæcus enim es, & licet malitiâ abundes, tamen ſicut cæcus impingis. Quæſo, dic mihi, ſi ego Chriſtianus eſſem, quid fuiſſes dicturus? Planum eſt, dicturum te, fœdiſſimum me eſſe idololatram, & cum Jeſu Nazareno Chriſtianorum Doctore pœnas vero Deo ſoluturum, à quo defeceram. Si Mahometanus eſſem, nôrunt etiam omnes quibus me honoribus fuiſſes cumulaturus: & ita nunquam linguam tuam poſſem evadere; unicum hoc effugium habens, nempe ad genua tua procumbere, & fœdiſſimos pedes tuos, tuas inquam nefarias & pudendas inſtitutiones oſculari.* i. e. "I know that "theſe adverſaries, in order to make me ſtill more "odious to the people, uſed to ſay, This man has "no religion; he is neither a Jew, a Chriſtian, nor a "Mahometan. Conſider firſt, thou Phariſee, what thou "ſayeſt, for thou art blind; and tho' thou aboundeſt "with malice, thou ſtumbleſt like a blind man. Pray "now tell me, were I a Chriſtian what would you "ſay then? It is manifeſt you would ſay that I am a "moſt deteſtable idolater, and that I ſhould be puniſhed by the true God, (for apoſtatizing from him) "with Jeſus of Nazareth the teacher of the Chriſtians; were I a Mahometan, every one knows the "honours they would then heap upon me, and thus "I could never eſcape your malicious tongue, having this only refuge left, viz. to fall proſtrate be"fore you, and to kiſs your filthy feet, I ſay your "wicked and ſhameful inſtitutions." Another anſwer he uſes againſt his adverſaries, is his asking them whether, beſides the three religions abovementioned, (the two laſt of which they conſider more as a falling from God, than a religion) they acknowledge any other? He ſuppoſes that they acknowledge a natural religion as true; as a means to pleaſe God, and as ſufficient to ſave all nations, the Jews excepted. It is that comprehended in the ſeven precepts, which Noah and his deſcendants till Abraham, obſerved. *You yourſelves therefore*, ſays he, *acknowledge that there is a religion I may reſt myſelf upon, tho' I am of Jewiſh extraction; for, in caſe my entreaties cannot prevail upon you to ſuffer me to mix in the crowd of other nations, I ſhall preſume to take that liberty of my own accord.* Having ſpoke thus, he makes an encomium on the religion of nature.

(21) Acoſta, *Exemplar Vitæ Hum.* p. 351.

By his firſt anſwer, we may eaſily perceive, that the objection which the Jews ſtarted to him, was ſpecious rather than ſtrong, and more glaring than ſolid; better adapted to ſerve their own ends, than conformable to the laws of juſt reaſoning; in a word, there ſeemed to be a fraud at the bottom of it. The ſpeciouſneſs and glare of it ariſes from hence. The mind of man is ſo formed, that from the firſt impreſſions which are made on it, neutrality with regard to the worſhip of God, is more ſhocking to him than falſe worſhip; whence it follows, that whenever he hears a perſon has forſaken the religion of his fathers, without embracing another, he is ſeized with a greater horror, than if he had been told, that ſuch a perſon had left the beſt religion for the worſt. This firſt impreſſion dazles and agitates him in ſuch a manner, that he makes it a ſtandard whereby to form a judgment of them; and to this

How greatly the idea of neutrality with regard to religion diſguſts and exaſperates the minds of men.

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☞ACREMAH, ſon of Abu Jahl an idolater (a). Acremah was one of the Proſcrib'd (b) whom Mahomet had excepted out of the general pardon, and whom he was reſolved to put to death at the taking of Mecca. Acremah the day the Prophet made his entry into that city, fled towards the ſea; but Omm-Hakim his wife, daughter of Al Hâreth Ebn Heſhâm, who had embraced Iſlamiſm before, having thrown herſelf at the feet of the Apoſtle of God (as the Moſlems call Mahomet) and obtained his pardon, immediately ſet out after her huſband. Being come to the ſea-coaſt, ſhe perceived Acremah was got on board a ſhip which was ready to ſet ſail. Upon this ſhe took boat, and coming up with the ſhip, aſſured her huſband that ſhe had obtained his pardon, and prevailed on him to return back to Mecca. A little after ſhe introduced him into the Prophet's apartment, who gave him a very kind reception, and ſpake to him as follows. Welcome, O fugitive; I pardon you, upon condition that you make the double confeſſion of faith. Acremah obeyed immediately, and holding down his head out of modeſty, ſaid thus to the Prophet: Thou art the father of men, and I truſt that thou wilt keep thy word with me. With regard to my ſelf, as much as I have been thine enemy and have oppoſed the way of God, ſo much will I be thy ſervant, and devoted to the way of God; and I will combat in thy defence to the laſt drop of my blood. The converſion of this idolater was highly pleaſing to Mahomet [*A*]. Acremah had been but very lately married to his wife, when the Prophet, as a teſtimony of his favour to them, made Acremah commander of the body of troops of the tribe of Hawazen, and this was his wife's portion. Acremah engaged afterwards in all the wars, fighting valiantly for the new religion, till at laſt he obtained the glory of martyrdom, he being killed in the battle of Yermuc, under the Khalifat of Abu Becr, with this remarkable circumſtance, viz. that upwards of ſeventy wounds, made by ſabres, lances and darts, were found in his body (c). Abu Jahl his father was one of the moſt bitter enemies to Mahomet and his religion [*B*].

(a) *Abu Jahl*, ſignifies *father of folly*, a nickname his enemies had given him out of deriſion, his true ſirname being *Abu'l Hecm*, that is, *Father of Wiſdom*. His proper name was *Amru Ebn Heſham* the *Makhzumite*.

(b) Theſe were in all eleven men and ſix women according to *Al Bokhari*; but Abul Fedâ computes ſix men and four women.

(c) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet* tom. 2. p. 138, 139. Amſterdam 1732, 8°.

ACRONIUS

he proportions the averſion he conceives againſt them. He does not allow himſelf time to conſider thoroughly, whether in reality it is better for a man to enliſt himſelf under the Devil's banners in ſome of the falſe religions which that enemy to God and man has ſet up, or to be of no religion. It may therefore be ſuppoſed, that the only reaſon why the Phariſees, who perſecuted Acoſta, laid ſo much ſtreſs upon their objection, was merely, becauſe they found it very well adapted to enflame the minds of the vulgar, and engage the Chriſtians in the diſpute. I will indeed own, that they would not have made ſuch an uproar, had he embraced the Chriſtian faith at Amſterdam, or the Mahometan belief at Conſtantinople; but then they would not have thought him leſs undone, leſs damn'd, or leſs an apoſtate; and their forbearance would have been merely the effect of policy, and a juſt dread of the reſentment of thoſe who profeſſed the eſtabliſhed religion. To judge of things from the firſt impreſſions; there are very few Proteſtants, who, upon hearing that Titius had quitted the reformed Church without joining in any other communion, but would aſſert, that he would not have been guilty of ſo great a ſin, had he turned Papiſt: But I would willingly put the following queſtions to ſuch Proteſtants; *Have you thoroughly conſider'd your own hearts? Have you well weigh'd what you would ſay, in caſe he were become a great bigot in the Popiſh religion; that he ſhould be ſeen loaded with relicks, and running after every proceſſion; in a word, that he ſhould practiſe the greateſt extravagancies of idolatrous and Monkiſh ſuperſtitions? Are you ſure you would not change your note, ſhould you hear that he was turn'd Jew, or Mahometan, or worſhipped the Chineſe Pagods?* Once again, ſuch is the frame of the mind of man: the firſt thing that ſtrikes him is the ſtandard of his paſſions; he takes advantage of the preſent ſtate of things, and does not caſt about for what he ſhould ſay, were the ſituation of them to be changed. Such a man, (do theſe people ſay,) has forſaken us, and is not joined with any other body of men; it is on this ſide we muſt attack him: his indifference ſhall be objected to him as his greateſt crime: Had he turn'd Heathen, we would have attack'd him on that ſide; and we would ſay, or at leaſt think thus, *Had he continued neuter, and adhered, in the main, to the religion of nature; this would have been tolerable; but* &c.

Acoſta, by his ſecond anſwer, deprived his adverſaries of a great advantage, for he ſecured himſelf from that ſtrong battery, viz. *that it is better to profeſs a falſe religion than none at all.* But notwithſtanding this, we ſhall conclude with ſaying, that he was a man of a deteſtable character; and was of ſo wrong a turn of mind, that he loſt himſelf miſerably, in the capriciouſneſs of his falſe Philoſophy.

[*A*] *The converſion of this idolater was highly pleaſing to Mahomet.*] The ſatisfaction the Prophet received on this occaſion, aroſe undoubtedly from this, that our Acremah's father, Abu Jahl, had been one of his greateſt enemies. With regard to Acremah's converſion, it is related that Mahomet one day in a dream found himſelf in Paradiſe, and there ſaw an engine * much uſed in the Levant for drawing of water. Mahomet asking whom this engine belonged to, was anſwered that it was Abu Jahl's. The Prophet being greatly ſurprized to hear this name, What has Abu Jahl, ſays he, to do in Paradiſe, which he muſt never enter? It happened however ſome time after this dream, that our Acremah turn'd Moſlem, which gave Mahomet the greateſt ſatisfaction, who then comprehended the meaning of his dream; for Abu Jahl had been as it were the engine which God had made uſe of to draw his ſon from the bottom of the well of infidelity, whilſt he himſelf had plunged into it (1). The reader will no doubt obſerve the great contraſt in theſe images. That of the bucket is as low, as the place it is brought into is exalted.

* I think we call it a Swipe.

(1) D'Herbelot *Bibliotheque Orientale*, p. 21.

[*B*] *Abu Jahl was one of the moſt bitter enemies to Mahomet and his religion.*] He was very conſiderable in his tribe, and had been one of Mahomet's greateſt friends, but afterwards inſulted him upon every occaſion, and invented the moſt inveterate calumnies againſt him ever ſince the Prophet had endeavoured to convert him from idolatry, at a feaſt to which he had invited him and ſome others. However, Mahomet's followers were as zealous in defending, as his enemies were in perſecuting him; an inſtance of which, among many others, we have in this Abu Jahl. One day as Mahomet was ſitting in a houſe on Mount Safâ, call'd afterwards *the houſe of the reed*, whither he was fled to ſhelter himſelf from the tribe of Koreiſh, it happened that Abu Jahl paſt before it and inſulted the Prophet of God; throwing out a numberleſs multitude of injurious reproaches, to which however the Apoſtle of God (as the Mahometans ſtile him) did not make one word of anſwer, upon which Abu Jahl left him, and went to the aſſembly of the tribe of Koreiſh. A little after Hamza Mahomet's uncle being returned from hunting, was told in how ill a manner the Prophet had been treated, upon which being enflamed with anger to think that a man on whom God ſhower'd down ſo many favours ſhould be uſed in ſo unworthy a manner,

ACRONIUS (JOHN) taught the Mathematics and Phyſic at Baſil, with great reputation, and writ ſome books, viz. *de Terræ Motu*, *de Sphæra*, *de Aſtrolabii & Annuli Aſtronomici Confectione*. He was a native of Friezland, and died at Baſil in the flower of his age, anno 1563. This author eſcaped the diligent reſearches of Voſſius (*a*), notwithſtanding that Swertius and Valerius Andreas had given him a place in their *Bibliotheque* of the Low-Countries, in which they alſo have omitted another JOHN ACRONIUS, a Clergyman, and perhaps born in the ſame Province with our Acronius. This Eccleſiaſtic was of a very reſtleſs and ſeditious diſpoſition. He abandoned the church of Weſel, at a time when it was in very great danger. The inhabitants of Daventer found, that had they choſen him for their paſtor, they would have introduced a worthleſs man among them: He left the church of Groningen in a very unhandſome manner: when he intruded himſelf into the Divinity Profeſſorſhip at Franeker, he was found not to be learned enough for that chair. Laſtly, he was Miniſter in Haerlem, where he behaved as uſual, that is, contradicted and criticis'd every thing. The Hiſtoriographer of that city allows him to have been a very learned man, but takes notice at the ſame time, that he had a turbulent ſpirit (*b*).

(*a*) He does not mention him in his book *de Scientiis Mathematicis*.

manner, and exaſperated to find his nephew become the object of the implacable hatred of the tribe of Koreiſh, he proteſted aloud that he would revenge him. Saying theſe words, he immediately went home to take ſome refreſhments a moment; and a little after, (having his bow ſtill over his ſhoulder,) going to the place where the tribe of Koreiſh were aſſembled, he drew near to Abu Jahl, and raiſing his bow, he diſcharged ſo vigorouſly at him, that he made a large and deep wound in his head, ſaying at the ſame time, Is it thou who haſt vented ſo many opprobrious expreſſions againſt Mahomet my Kinſman, and againſt his religion? All thoſe of the family of Malchzum roſe up in order to aſſiſt Abu Jahl, upon which Hamza declared in favour of Mahomet's religion; but Abu Jahl denied the fact, imagining no one had heard what he had ſaid, and the matter went no farther (2). Another time Mahomet being deſired by Habib Ebn Malec to perform a miracle, (to bring ſudden darkneſs at a time that the ſun was in his meridian, &c.) Abu Jahl being then preſent roſe up in tranſport, and clapping his hands, cried out, Admirably well ſaid! O Habib Ebn Malec; you could not poſſibly have done us a greater piece of ſervice. This gives us perfect conſolation, and you have removed the ſorrow of our hearts. However, the Prophet made him a very ſharp reply; Sit down again, ſaid he to him, thou dog of thy people; the moſt deſpicable, the moſt abject of thy family and of thy fellow-citizens (3). Upon Mahomet's retiring to take a little breath to the main body of the Haſhemites, before he performed the great miracle abovementioned which Habib required from him; the Arabians imagining he was confounded began to hoot, and declared that the Haſhemites would be put to confuſion. And Abu Jahl riſing from his ſeat, ordered his ſervants to prepare immediately a mixture of coal-duſt and camel's urine*, and to keep it ready in a great baſon againſt the next morning, in order to black the faces and clothes of the Haſhemites with it, the inſtant they ſhould appear (4). However, the Prophet ſet about the miracles demanded of him, and immediately wrought the firſt, which was to bring ſudden darkneſs upon the earth. This being done, he ſet about the ſecond miracle, viz. to bring the moon into his ſleeve. Which it is ſaid Mahomet effected. That this planet afterwards skipped thro' his gown with wonderful agility, and then dividing itſelf into two equal parts, ſoared up to the heavens. The learned Mr. Gagnier has given us the particulars of this miracle at large in his *Life of Mahomet* (5), but the whole is a moſt ſilly legend, not believed by the Mahometans themſelves of any underſtanding, and contradicting hiſtory in ſeveral points. A little time after Mahomet had given an account of his wonderful nocturnal journey to heaven, as he was ſitting at the threſhold of the door of the moſque, Abu Jahl, who kept as cloſe to him as his ſhadow, went up and ſat down by him out of deriſion. Is there any thing new, ſaid he to Mahomet? The Apoſtle of God replied, I performed a nocturnal journey laſt night. And whither replied Abu Jahl? To the houſe of Jeruſalem anſwered Mahomet. Admirable! ſays Abu Jahl; thou madeſt a journey to Jeruſalem this night, and art return'd hither this morning to us. The Prophet after having related ſome particulars of his journey to Jeruſalem, and declaring that he had there ſeen Jeſus ſon of Mary, Ibrahim (Abraham) the friend of God; Abu Jahl asked him whom he had ſeen beſides: "I have alſo ſeen, ſays Mahomet, "John the ſon of Zacharias, he who bec-"koned with his finger; he is red-hair'd, ſhort and "ſquatt, and his hair has been burnt by the ſun; I "never in my life ſaw a man more like him than "thou Abu Jahl, and alſo than thou Mactam ſon of "Abul-Hur." Mactam hearing this ſaid to him. O Apoſtle of God! I don't like to be compared to that Saint. But the Prophet, to comfort him, replied immediately: "There is a wide difference "between him and thee, for he is an unbeliever, "but thou art faithful (6)." This ſudden unexpected turn from words of ſorrow to conſolation, puts me in mind of what is ludicrouſly told of a certain diſſenting Preacher, famous for his whimſical flights and odd reflexions. This Orator declared to his pious audience that they were all damned. All in the galleries, all in the pews, all in the iſles. Some venerable old women who were in none of thoſe places, hearing the dreadful ſentence the Preacher pronounced, began to ſob and whine in a moſt lamentable manner, which the Preacher, who was naturally tender-hearted, obſerving, cried out with great vehemence. "O but I don't mean you upon "the ſtairs." But to return to Abu Jahl; he afterwards formed a bloody deſign to kill Mahomet, which was, that a man ſhould be choſen out of every tribe, who ſhould thruſt their ſwords into his body, in order that his blood might be ſhed equally by all the tribes; however the Angel Gabriel diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to Mahomet, which the latter by that means defeated by a ſtratagem (7), as we ſhall relate upon another occaſion. Abu Jahl loſt his life at ſeventy years of age, in the famous battle of Bedr, in which the tribe of Koreiſh were ſo ſignally defeated by the forces of Mahomet. Mo'adh ſon of Amru, meeting with Abu Jahl in the heat of the engagement, gave him ſo fierce a blow as quite cut off his thigh, upon which he fell from his horſe. Abdo'llah the ſon of Mas'ud coming by, found Abu Jahl juſt breathing his laſt, and thereupon ſet his foot on his throat and ſpake to him in theſe words: Thou art then there, O enemy of God! Thou art puniſh'd according to thy own deſerts. Abu Jahl anſwered: Is it ſo great a wonder that people ſo wicked as you are ſhould have murther'd a man? He added: Tell me, I pray thee, on whom depended the fortune of the day? On God, replied Abdo'llah, and on his Apoſtle. Abu Jahl anſwer'd: Thou art puff'd up with pride upon that account, little ſhrimp of a man as thou art; thou deſpicable keeper of ſheep, proud, cruel. Abdo'llah would not ſuffer him to go on, but ſtriking off his head brought it to the Prophet, who when he ſaw it fell proſtrate on the ground, and glorified God ſaying, This man was the Pharaoh of our nation (8). Such is the hiſtory of Abu Jahl as related by the friends and followers of Mahomet. Had it been told by one of Abu Jahl's own party, there is no doubt but it would have appeared in a very different light. Let a man's character be drawn by one of his partizans, and he ſhall appear an Angel. His enemy undertakes it, and he comes forth a Devil.

(2) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, Vol. 1. p. 124.

(3) Idem, ibid. p. 166.

* This was a puniſhment among the Arabs, often inflicted in a judiciary way.

(4) Idem, ibid. p. 168.

(5) Vol. 1. pag. 177. *& ſeq.*

(6) Idem, ibid. p. 255.

(7) Ibid. p. 284.

(8) Idem, ibid. p. 328.

(b) Theodorus Screvelius.

rit (b). Some writer has compared him to Heſhuſius, upon whom the following diſtich was handed about:

Quæritur, Heſhuſi, quarta cur pulſus ab urbe?
In promptu cauſa eſt, ſeditioſus eras.

Engliſhed,

" Heſhuſius, why drove four times from the city?
" 'Cauſe he was turbulent, as runs the ditty.

(c) *See* Martin Schoockii, *Exercitat. Sacr.* pag. 255. edit. 4°.

Acronius writ a book in the Flemiſh tongue, *de Jure Patronatus*, wherein he has inſerted ſeveral citations from the Canon law (c). I am apt to think that he is the author of *Elenchus Orthodoxus Pſeudo-Religionis Romano-Catholicæ*, printed at Deventer in 1615. He alſo very probably writ a treatiſe *de Studio Theologico*, which Konig aſcribes to the Acronius who left a work on the *Sphere*. Konig tells us alſo of one RUARD ACRONIUS who publiſhed *Catechetical Expoſitions* in 1606. It might have been added, that in the infancy of the troubles which the opinions of Arminius occaſioned, he wrote a piece in oppoſition to the hypotheſes of the Arminians, with regard to the power of magiſtrates in religious matters; and it was he who publiſhed a ſermon which Uytenbogard had preached at the Hague before the breaking out of the commotions, widely different from the doctrine he afterwards maintained on that queſtion (d). Ruard Acronius was one of the Proteſtant champions for the Reform'd, againſt the Arminians, in the famous conference held at the Hague anno 1611.

(d) *Ex Voetii Polit. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 126.

(a) Dr. Cave, *Hiſt. Litt.* Sæc. 13. p. 640. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

☞ACROPOLITA (GEORGE) was born at Conſtantinople (a), and educated at the court of the Emperor John Ducas at Nice, till he was ſeventeen years of age, when he applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and learned Mathematics, Poetry, and Rhetoric of Theodorus Exapterygus, and Logic of Nicephorus Blemmidas. In the twenty firſt year of his age he maintained a very learned diſputation with Nicholas the Phyſician concerning the Eclipſe of the Sun before the Emperor John. He was at laſt raiſed to the poſt of Great Logothete, and employed in the moſt important affairs of the Empire. He was ſent on ſeveral embaſſies by the Emperors of Conſtantinople, and particularly by John Ducas to Lariſſa, in order to eſtabliſh a peace with Michael Deſpote of Epirus. He was likewiſe appointed Judge by the ſame Emperor to try Michael Comnenus for a ſuſpicion of being engaged in a conſpiracy. Theodorus Laſcaris, the ſon of John, who had been inſtructed by Acropolita in Logic, made him Governor of all the weſtern provinces of his Empire. About the year 1255 he was engaged in a war with Michael Angelus, who had revolted from Theodorus, and taken priſoner by him. But he gained his liberty by means of the Emperor Michael Palæologus in the year 1260, and was ſent by him Embaſſador to Conſtantine Prince of Bulgaria. Upon his return from this embaſſy, he applied himſelf wholly to the inſtruction of youth, which employment he diſcharged with great honour for many years, till at laſt he grew weary of the fatigue of it, and reſigned it to Holobolus. He was appointed in the year 1272 one of the Judges for determining the cauſe of John Vecchus Patriarch of Conſtantinople. The year following he was ſent by the Emperor to Pope Gregory X, in order to conclude a peace and re-union between the two churches, which he ſwore to in the Emperor's name at the ſecond council of Lyons in 1274 [*A*]. He was ſent Embaſſador to John Prince of Bulgaria in 1282, and

[*A*] *In order to conclude a peace and re-union between the two Churches; which he ſwore to in the Emperor's name at the 2d council of Lyons in* 1274.] We ſhall endeavour to give the reader a clear notion of this affair, by tracing a little more particularly the progreſs of it. Michael Palæologus having ſeized upon the empire, and foreſeeing, that the Pope would inevitably excite the Weſtern Princes to take up arms againſt him, and recover Conſtantinople, reſolved to propoſe a reunion of the Greek church with that of Rome, in order to deliver himſelf from the apprehenſion of ſo formidable a cruſade againſt him. He ſent therefore to Pope Urban IV, Nicholas Biſhop of Crotona, a Greek by birth, but educated in the Church of Rome, to aſſure him, that he was ſatisfied, that the Greeks and Latins were of the ſame faith, and to deſire him to ſend a Legate, who might conclude the union between the two Churches as ſoon as poſſible. The Pope ſent immediately two Nuncio's to him with the Biſhop of Crotona; but this accommodation was not executed then, becauſe the Emperor finding himſelf out of danger, neglected the proſecution of it. But this Pope's Nuncios having made ſome conceſſions to the Greeks, which were diſpleaſing to his ſucceſſor Clement IV, the latter ſent him a confeſſion of faith containing the articles of the creed explained in the ſtrongeſt and moſt explicit terms, and particularly the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son; to which he added the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning baptiſm, purgatory, hell, the ſeven ſacraments, eſpecially the euchariſt made of unleaven'd bread, the unlawfulneſs of diſſolving a marriage, and the permiſſion of third and fourth marriages; and laſtly the primacy of the Pope. The Emperor apprehending at that time that the preparations of St. Lewis of France, and Charles Duke of Anjou King of Sicily were deſigned againſt him, wrote to St. Lewis ſoon after Clement's death, that he was ready to abjure the ſchiſm, and deſired him to be an arbitrator in that affair. When Gregory X was elected Pope, the Emperor ſent Embaſſadors to him with letters, in which he declared his deſire for a re-union; in anſwer to which the Pope told him, that the beſt expedient to determine the diſputes between the two Churches was for the Patriarch, Biſhops, and Clergy of the Greek Church to ſign the confeſſion of faith drawn up by Clement IV, and for himſelf to appear in perſon, or to ſend his Embaſſadors to a general council, which he intended to call. Palæologus endeavoured to the utmoſt to procure this union, and made uſe of force as well as perſuaſion. The Greeks at firſt oppoſed this ſcheme extremely, and particularly the Patriarch Joſeph, who could never be prevailed upon to agree to it; ſo that the Emperor was obliged to ſend Embaſſadors to

and died immediately after his return (*b*]. Georgius Cyprius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, has given a very great character of him [*B*]. He wrote an Hiſtory, and ſeveral other works [*C*].

(*b*) *See* Cave, *Hiſt. Litt. ubi ſupra.* and Du Pin, *Nouv. Biblioth. des Aut. Eccleſ.* tom. 10. p. 93. edit. Paris 1702.

☞ ACROLITA had made in the Council of Lyons. Their letters were not delivered to Pope Nicholas, but to Martin IV, his ſucceſſor, who being attached by intereſt to Charles King of Naples and Sicily, excommunicated the Emperor Palæologus in 1281 as a ſchiſmatic, and favourer of the ſchiſm of the Greeks. Michael was ſo exaſperated at this, that he once forbid the Pope's name to be mentioned in the Diptychs, and was very near breaking off the union. However he did not do it, tho' Martin repeated his cenſures; and the union continued till his death, tho' it was frequently attacked by the Greek Monks in their writings, againſt the Patriarch Vecchus, who anſwered them with a great deal of vigour.

to the Pope, to aſſure him, that he did all that was in his power to promote the accommodation; but that it could not be concluded in ſo ſhort a time, becauſe it was neceſſary to call together the Biſhops, who lived in very remote parts. The Pope in his anſwer told him, that a great many perſons believed, that the Greeks were not ſincere in deſiring an union, and only intended to protract that affair. The Emperor to remove that ſuſpicion, obliged Joſeph the Patriarch to retire to a monaſtery in Conſtantinople, till the re-union ſhould either be concluded or laid aſide, on condition, that if it did not ſucceed, he ſhould keep his ſee; but if it was carried, and he would not approve of the union, another Patriarch ſhould be elected in his room. Moſt of the other Biſhops followed the Emperor's opinions, ſo that he ſent Embaſſadors to the Pope with a letter, in which he declared, that the Greek Church approved of the confeſſion of faith, which was ſent from Rome, and acknowledged the primacy of the Church of Rome, and deſired only, that they might be allowed to repeat the creed without the addition. The Greek Biſhops likewiſe ſent a Deputy with a letter from the Archbiſhop of Epheſus and thirty Greek Biſhops, who approved of the union, and diſavowed the oppoſition, which Joſeph the Patriarch made to it. Theſe letters were preſented to the Pope and the General Council at Lyons in 1274. And George Acropolita ſwore in the Emperor's name to maintain the confeſſion of faith abovementioned, to recognize the primacy of the Church of Rome, and to abjure the ſchiſm. The Deputy of the Greek Churches did the ſame in their name; and the union being thus concluded, the Pope ſung *Te Deum*, and ordered the confeſſion of faith to be recited in Greek and Latin, and the article of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt to be twice repeated. He wrote likewiſe to Michael Palæologus; and his ſon Andronicus, and to the Greek Biſhops, to congratulate them upon the re-union, and to urge them to reduce thoſe, who ſtill continued averſe to it. When the Embaſſadors were returned, Joſeph the Patriarch was depoſed, and John Veccus, who had before been of the ſame ſentiments with him, was elected in his room, and recited the name of *Gregory* in the Dyptichs, ſtiling him the *Oecumenical* or *Univerſal Pope*. This new Patriarch endeavoured with all the attention imaginable to finiſh the reunion; and the Emperor ſent Embaſſadors to the Pope to inform him, that the whole affair was brought to a concluſion. However many of the Greeks ſtill refuſing to comply with the re-union, Pope John XXI ſent his Legates to the Emperor, who promiſed to perform every thing, which his Embaſſadors had promiſed in the Council of Lyons; and ſent other Embaſſadors to Rome to aſſure the Pope, that he had call'd a Council of Greek Biſhops, who had again approved of what was done at the Council of Lyons. Theſe Embaſſadors had letters from the Emperor Michael, and his ſon Andronicus, and from Vecchus and the Greek Council, which contained a confeſſion of faith ſomewhat different from that of Pope Clement IV, eſpecially in the article of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, tho' it was the ſame in ſubſtance. Theſe letters, which were written in 1277, were not delivered till after John XXI's death to his ſucceſſor Nicholas III, who complained of the alteration, which the Greek Biſhops had made in the confeſſion, and inſiſted upon their ſigning that of Clement IV, and adding to the Creed the word *Filioque*. He ſent his Legates with inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe; and they were expreſly enjoined to repreſent to the Greeks, that the Latins were ſurprized, that the Patriarch and Greek Biſhops had not applied to the See of Rome for a confirmation of their dignities, and an abſolution from the cenſures, which they had before incurred. The Greek Biſhops gave no anſwer to theſe propoſitions of Pope Nicholas, which were never executed; and the Emperors Michael and Andronicus only ſigned in their name a declaration to the ſame purpoſe with that, which George Acropo-

But after Michael's death in December 1283, Andronicus his ſon declared againſt the union; and refuſed his father even the funeral honours, which were always paid to the Greek Emperors. Vecchus retired into a monaſtery, and Joſeph was raiſed again to the Patriarchſhip of Conſtantinople. But he was oppoſed by Arſenius's party; and at laſt Georgius Cyprius ſirnamed *Gregory* was choſen Patriarch after his death. He baniſhed Vecchus to mount Olympus, from whence he was ſent for to appear before the Council, which Andronicus call'd in 1284 in the palace of Blacherne at Conſtantinople, in which he was condemned, and all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who had maintained the union moſt vigorouſly, were depoſed Vecchus was ſoon after confined in the caſtle of St. George in Bithynia, with two of his Prieſts whoſe names were Conſtantine Melitieniota and George Metochita, where he died ſome time after; and his two companions, who were ſet at liberty, without changing their ſentiments, and ſtill continuing to defend them, were at laſt ſent into exile, where they died (1). We were willing to give the reader this piece of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, becauſe it was tranſacted in an age, which is generally but little known; and will afford a variety of reflexions to the judicious from a view of the melancholy ſtate, which religion was then reduced to by the ambition and avarice of thoſe, who were under the higheſt obligations from their character, to diſplay the contrary virtues in the moſt attractive and amiable light. Were the conduct of Chriſtians, eſpecially of thoſe, who have the honour of teaching religion, formed upon the principles of humanity and univerſal benevolence, it muſt effectually vindicate their religion to the candid and ſincere; for it is certain, that the moſt formidable objection againſt it will for ever reſult from the vices of its profeſſors. When the conduct both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, eſpecially of the latter, is examined by this rule, how ſhocking muſt it appear? We ſee that Michael Palæologus's reaſon for promoting an union, was merely to ſecure himſelf in the throne of Conſtantinople, which he had obtained by very criminal methods; and we find, that Du Pin himſelf owns (2), tho' a good Papiſt, that Pope Martin IV's motive for excommunicating that Emperor, was his own attachment to Charles King of Naples and Sicily, who was an enemy to Palæologus. But it is unneceſſary to anticipate the reader's obſervations upon ſo obvious a ſubject.

(1) *See* Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Aut. Eccleſ.* p. 89, *& ſeq.*

(2) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Georgius Cyprius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, has given a very great character of him.*] He tells us in his encomium upon him prefixed to Acropolita's hiſtory, that *he was ſuperior to every one in all parts of learning,* ὡς ἀν ἰδιὸν πρὸς ἰδίνα κατὰ δίχιδας σύγκρισιν; *and equal to Ariſtotle in Philoſophy, and to Plato in the knowledge of divine things and Attic eloquence.* But this is certainly too extravagant a compliment to him; and is to be aſcribed either to Georgius Cyprius's friendſhip for him, or to the defect of that age, which was incapable of judging of the excellencies of Ariſtotle and Plato. However it muſt be allowed that he was a learned, diligent, prudent, and faithful writer.

[*C*] *He wrote an Hiſtory, and ſeveral other works.*] The former is a continuation of the Greek Hiſtory from the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins till

☞ACROPOLITA (CONSTANTINE), ſon of the preceding, who was called νέος Μεταφράσης, i. e. *the younger Metaphraſtes*, Great Logothete, or Chancellor, flouriſhed at Conſtantinople under the Emperor Michael Palæologus and his ſon Andronicus about the year 1270 (*a*). He appears to have been the ſon of George Acropolita from a paſſage in the Hiſtory of George Pachymeres (*b*); where he tells us, that Michael the Emperor was exaſperated againſt Conſtantine Acropolita, (whom he had taken from his father the Great Logothete, and educated at his court in learning), becauſe of his obſtinacy in the ſchiſm, and deprived him of the ſhare, which he had before enjoyed in his favour, and removed him from his court, which happened in the laſt year but one of his reign. But Conſtantine ſoon recovered with the ſon Andronicus what he had loſt with the father, and was raiſed to the dignity of Great Logothete in the year 1294. He was a very zealous defender of the cauſe of the Greeks againſt the Latins (*c*). He wrote ſeveral works [*A*]. It is uncertain when he died.

(*a*) Oudin, *Commentar. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Sæc. 13. Col. 668. edit. Lipſiæ 1722.

(*b*) L. 6. c. 26.

(*c*) Oudin, *ubi ſupra*, and Cave *Hiſt. Litt.* Sæc. 13. p. 641. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

till it was recovered by Michael Palæologus in 1261. This work being found at Pera, and bought by George Cantacuzenus, was brought to Conſtantinople by George Douza, and publiſhed with a Latin tranſlation and notes by his brother Theodore at Leyden in 1614 in 8vo. The year following it was reprinted at Geneva without the notes, at the end of *Laonicus Chalcondylas* in folio. Leo Allatius publiſhed it afterwards much more perfectly with a new verſion and notes, to which he ſubjoined a long diſſertation *De Georgiis & eorum ſcriptis*, i. e. "Of the authors, whoſe names were *George*, and of "their writings." This edition was printed at Paris in 1651, in fol. We may obſerve that Leo Allatius makes two editions of this Chronicle; one much ſhorter, in which many paſſages are retrenched, which is that publiſh'd firſt by George Douza; the other more full and perfect, which is that tranſlated and publiſh'd by himſelf. Beſides this he wrote *a Treatiſe concerning faith, virtue and the ſoul*; *Thirty Prayers* uſed by him after the recovery of Conſtantinople, and mentioned in his Hiſtory: *A diſcourſe upon the taking of Conſtantinople to the Emperor Michael*, mentioned at the cloſe of his Hiſtory: *An expoſition upon the ſermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen* (3). Leo Allatius has likewiſe publiſhed (4) a piece of his intitled, *A reply to thoſe, who ſay, that the Holy Spirit is called* the Spirit of the Son, *becauſe he is of the ſame nature with him, or becauſe he is given by him to thoſe who are worthy: Adverſus eos qui dicunt, ideo Spiritum Sanctum dici Spiritum Filii, quod habeat eandem atque ille naturam, vel quod dignis ab eo ſuppeditatur.*

(3) *See* Dr. Cave and Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) *Græciæ Orthodoxæ* tom. 1. p. 390.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral works.*] Particularly divers treatiſes concerning the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. Leo Allatius tells us (1), that he ſaw two of them, which are mentioned in the Greek writers; one which begins thus, Ἀνδρὶς Ῥωμαῖοι; and the other thus, Ἐμοὶ δὴν καὶ ἄλλα λέγε τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἡμῖν; of which ſeveral fragments are found in MS. Pachymeres tells us (2), that Theodore Muzalo burnt Acropolita's commentary together with his own, becauſe they treated only of Doctrines or Opinions, περὶ δογμάτων. Conſtantine wrote likewiſe an *Oration upon the holy Martyr Theodoſia*, who was born at Conſtantinople, and ſuffered under Leo Iſaurus on account of the worſhip of images. Leo Allatius mentions this in his diſſertation *de Script. Simeon* (3), and quotes ſome paſſages from it in another book of his (4). We have alſo an *Oration* of his upon the *Holy Martyr Neophytus* (5), and another upon *St. Theodore Tero* (6), and a third upon *St. John Damaſcenus* (7). This laſt encomium, which is very long, is publiſhed in Greek and Latin by the ſucceſſors of Bollandus (8) under our Author's name. Leo Allatius has given us ſome extracts from it (9).

(1) *De Conſens. Orient. & Occid.* l. 2. c. 15. num. 14. Col. 780.

(2) L. 7. c. 8.

(3) P. 84.

(4) *Adverſus Hotting.* p. 200.

(5) Leo Allat. *de Script. Simeon.* p. 105.

(6) Ibid. p. 109.

(7) Ibid. p. 112.

(8) Tomo 2. *Menſis Maii ad diem* 6. p. 731.

(9) *In Conſens. de Purgat.* p. 761.

ACTOR [*A*] is the name of ſeveral perſons in fabulous hiſtory. Thus one of Hercules's companions in the war with the Amazons was called, who having received a wound, would have returned home, but died by the way (*a*). It is alſo the name of Patroclus's grandfather; for Menætius, father of Patroclus, was ſon to Actor and Ægina. This Actor, according to ſome writers (*b*), was a native of Locris, but he ſettled in the iſland of Oenone, after having married Ægina, daughter of the river Aſopus, and there begot Menætius. Others ſay he was a Theſſalian, ſon to Myrmidon, who was ſon of Jupiter (*c*), and that the nymph Ægina having had a ſon, called Æacus by Jupiter, went into Theſſaly, where Actor did not ſcruple to marry her, though ſhe had been enjoyed before (*d*). He had ſeveral children by her, who conſpired againſt him (*e*), which obliged him to drive them out of the kingdom, and to beſtow it on Peleus, together with his daughter Polymele. Peleus was ſon to Æacus, and conſequently grandſon to Ægina: he had fled to Phthia (where Actor reigned) after having killed his brother Phocus. There was one Actor ſon of Hyppaſus, who went in the Argonautic expedition (*f*); another, who was ſon to Neptune and Agamede [*B*], daughter

(*a*) Carol. Stephanus *in Dictionar. Hiſt.*

(*b*) Scholiaſt. *Homeri in Iliad.* lib. 18.

(*c*) Euſtath *in Iliad.* I. Scholiaſt. Apollon. *in* lib. 4.

(*d*) Scholiaſt. Pindari *in Olymp.* 9.

(*e*) Euſtath. *in* II. *Iliad.*

(*f*) Hygin. cap. 14.

[*A*] ACTOR.] Moreri has changed this name, into *Actorius*, but without having any reaſon for ſo doing: however, this is a trifling error compared to that he makes a few lines after, when he endeavours to prove by this line,

Quæ fuit Attoridæ cum magno ſemper Achille,
Engliſhed,
"Patroclus ever was with fam'd Achilles,

that Ovid, from whom it is quoted, ſpeaks of one *Actorius*. How was it poſſible for him not to ſee, that the perſon here ſpoken of, was not called *Actorius* or *Actorides*, but Patroclus; to whom the Poets, for the ſake of the verſification, generally give the patronymic *Actorides*, which is as much as to ſay, *deſcended from Actor?*

[*B*] *Son to Neptune and Agamede.*] Munckerus, in his commentary on the 157th fable of Hyginus, pretends that the Scholiaſt on *Homer* declares this Actor to be the ſon of Neptune and Molione, but the Scholiaſt does not ſay ſo. Homer in Iliad 2d, verſ. 749, mentions two brothers whom he calls Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε, *Actorionas Molionas*. His Scholiaſt tells us hereupon, that by theſe words we are to underſtand Cteatus and Eurytus, ſons of Actor and Molione; or according to ſome writers, of Molione and Neptune. Homer thought them to be ſons of this God, for he adds, that they would have been killed, had not Neptune, their father ſuccoured them in the fight, by covering them with a thick fog.

Εἰ μή σφωε πατὴρ ἰφυκρειὼν Ἐνοσίχθων
Ἐκ πολέμου ἐσάωσε, καλύψας ἠέρι πολλῇ (1).
That is,
"Then Actor's ſons had died, but Neptune ſhrouds
"The youthful Heroes in a veil of clouds.
Pope.

(1) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 11. ver. 750.

daughter of Augeus (*g*); and another (*b*) who was ſon of Axeus [*C*], and father of Aſtyochia, by whom the God Mars had two ſons, who, at the ſiege of Troy, commanded the forces of Aſpledon and Orchomenos, cities of Bœotia. Another Actor, ſon to Phorbas, built a city in Elis his native country, and called it Hyrmine, after his mother's name (*i*). Augeas King of Elis, who, according to ſome writers, was his brother (*k*), and whoſe ſtables cleaned by Hercules, have made ſo much noiſe, aſſociated him and his two ſons in his kingdom (*l*). The names of theſe two ſons were Eurytus and Cteatus, and poetically *Molionides*, from their mother Molione. See the article MOLIONIDES. Laſtly, there was one ACTOR among the Aurunci, who has been deſcribed as an hero of the firſt rank [*D*].

(*g*) Id. cap. 157.
(*b*) Homer *Iliados* lib. 2. Pauſan. *in Bœoticis.*
(*i*) Pauſan. lib. 5. p. 148.
(*k*) Apollodor. *Bibliotheque* lib. 2. pag. 138. edit. Salmur.
(*l*) Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 148.

[*C*] *Who was ſon of Axeus.*] Homer calls him *Axeus*, Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστύοχη δόμῳ Ἄρηος Ἀξιάδαο (2). i. e. "Whom Aſtyoche brought forth in the palace of Actor Azidas. Meziriac (3) cenſures an error of the author of *Etymologicum magnum*, who imagined, that the Actor mentioned here by Homer, was grandfather to Patroclus. This Poet, however, does not ſpeak of him, but of a Bœotian Actor, grandſon of Erginus, and great grandſon of Clymenus. Meziriac quotes Euſtathius on the 2d book of the *Iliad*, and Pauſanias *in Bœticis*, for this deſcent; but Clymenus, according to Pauſanias, was grandfather, and not great grandfather of Actor (4).

(2) Idem, *Iliad* l. 2. *In enumeratione Navium* ver. 20.
(3) *Epitres d'Ovide*, p. 44.
(4) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 311.

[*D*] *One* ACTOR ... *who has been deſcribed as an hero of the firſt rank.*] Virgil has drawn him in this light, in the 12th book of the *Æneid*,

——— *Validam vi corripit haſtam,*
Actoris Aurunci ſpolium, quaſſatque trementem,
Vociferans: Nunc ô nunquam fruſtrata vocatus
Haſta meos, nunc tempus adeſt: te maximus Actor,
Te Turni nunc dextra gerit ——— (5).

That is,

" He ſeized the lance Aruncan Actor wore;
" Which with ſuch force he brandiſh'd in his hand,
" The tough aſh trembled like an Oſier wand.
" Then cry'd, O pond'rous ſpoil of Actor ſlain,
" And never yet by Turnus toſs'd in vain,
" Fail not this day thy wonted force. Dryden.

(5) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 12. ver. 93, *& ſeq.*

ACTUARIUS [*A*], a Greek Phyſician, and author of ſeveral works [*B*]. Ambroſius Leo of Nola who tranſlated ſome of theſe, and gives him the higheſt encomiums, owns that he could not diſcover who he was, nor his country (*a*). Petrus Caſtellanus, in his *Lives of Illuſtrious Phyſicians* *, and Wolfgang Juſtus in his *Chronology of Phyſicians*, confeſs the ſame thing (*b*). Moreau, in his treatiſe of *Bleeding in Pleuriſies*, is of opinion that he lived about the year 1100 [*C*].

(*a*) *Apud* Geſnerum, *Bibliothecæ* folio 3 *verſo.*
(*b*) *See* Merckli-nus, in his *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 6.

* The title is *Petri Caſtellani, Vitæ illuſtriorum medicorum.* Antwerpiæ 1617, 8o. This work is alſo inſerted in Gronovius's *Theſaurus Græcar. Antiquit.* tom. 10.

[*A*] ACTUARIUS.] Some writers call him *John*, ſon of Zacharias (1); and others, ſon of John Zacharias (2). Voſſius, who is for the latter, in the 13th chapter of his book *De Philoſophiâ*, ſpeaks a little after of a John Actuarius, who lived in the time of Conſtantine Ducas (3), as is inferred from his having a ſiſter, on whom Michael Pſellus compoſed a *Monodia*, or mournful ſong. In caſe this John Actuarius, and the Phyſician in queſtion, ſhould be the ſame perſon, Voſſius ought not to have diſtinguiſh'd them, and ſhould have called the Phyſician *John*: but it is ſcarcely probable, by the remark [*C*], that they were the ſame. Du Cange ſhews, that the title *Actuarius* denotes a peculiar dignity, appropriated to the Phyſicians at the court of Conſtantinople; and acknowledges that he cannot find out the reaſon of this, notwithſtanding the great reſearches father Poſſinus had made. He likewiſe confeſſes, that he does not know, whether the Actuarius in queſtion, whom he calls *John ſon of Zacharias*, poſſeſs'd that dignity (4).

(1) Hyde *Catal. Biblioth. Oxon. & Mercklinus, in Linden. renovato.*
(2) Geſner, *Biblioth. & ejus Epitomatores.*
(3) He began his reign in 1059.
(4) Du Cange, *Gloſſar. Græc.* pag. 46.

[*B*] *Author of ſeveral works.*] Theſe were printed at Paris, in one volume, folio, by Henry Stephens, anno 1567. They had been publiſh'd before elſewhere, in three volumes 8vo; and have borne ſeveral impreſſions ſeparately. The moſt conſiderable, are, *De actionibus & affectibus ſpiritus animalis ejuſque nutritione, Libri II. De Urinis, Libri VII*; firſt tranſlated into Latin by Ambroſius Leo, and printed at Venice anno 1519; afterwards reviſed and illuſtrated with notes, by James Goupil. *De medicamentorum compoſitione*, which Ruel tranſlated: *Methodi medendi, Libri VI*; tranſlated by Henricus Mathiſius of Bruges, and Printed at Venice in 1554 (5).

(5) Mercklinus *in Lindenio renovato*, p. 6, 7.

[*C*] *That he lived about anno* 1100.] Du Cange is afraid of placing him in the reign of Alexis (6), tho' his book *De affectibus ſpiritus animalis*, is dedicated to Joſephus Racondytes; and that a perſon of this name is mentioned by Nicetas, in book 2d, numb. 5, of the *Hiſtory of Alexis*. Du Cange approves of the deciſion of Lambecius, with regard to the age of this Phyſician (7); viz. that he lived under Andronicus the elder, becauſe that in a manuſcript copy of one of his works in the Emperor's library, we find by the title that it was dedicated to Apocauchus. Now, it is known that Apocauchus lived under the Andronicus abovementioned. Du Cange has obſerved that Actuarius relates, in the beginning of his *Methodi medendi*, that he was ſent by the Emperor his ſovereign to the Hyperborean Scythians. Conſequently Moreau miſtook a little in his calculation, for Andronicus the elder did not begin his reign till anno 1283, and did not die till 1332.

(6) He underſtands this (but had better have expreſt it) of Alexis Angelus who began his reign in 1195.
(7) Lambec. *de Bib. Cæſar.* lib. 6. p. 113.

ACUÑA (*a*) (CHRISTOPHER DE) a Spaniſh Jeſuit, born in Burgos, entred the ſociety at fifteen years of age, in 1612. After having devoted ſome years to his ſtudies, he went into America, and laboured for the converſion of ſouls in Chili and Peru, and was profeſſor of moral Divinity. In 1640 he returned back to Spain, when he gave the King his Sovereign an account in what manner he had acquitted himſelf of the commiſſion he had received to make diſcoveries on the river of the Amazons; and the year following, publiſhed a deſcription of that river at Madrid. He was ſent to Rome as *Procurator* of his Province; and returning into Spain with the title of † *Qualificator* of the Inquiſition, he went back to the Weſt-Indies. He was at Lima, when father Southwell, from whom I borrowed the particulars abovementioned, publiſhed at Rome in 1675. the *Bibliotheque* of the writers among the Jeſuits *. The relation of our *de Acuña* is intitled, *Nuevo Deſcubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas*, i. e. " A " new Diſcovery of the great river of the Amazons." The author was ten months together upon that river, and was commanded to make the moſt exact enquiries concerning it, in order to facilitate and improve its navigation, and to report the whole to the King. For this purpoſe he went on board a ſhip at Quito (*b*), accompanied with Peter Texeira, who had advanced thus far up that river, and whom the government

(*a*) It is pronounced *Acugna*, but the Spaniards write it *Acuña*.

† Theſe *Qualificators* are not Judges, and only give their opinion with regard to ſuch propoſitions as are preſented to them.

* [The title is *Petri Ribadeneiræ, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu, a Phil. Alegambe ad an.* 1642, *& a Nathanaele Sotuello ad an.* 1675. *continuata*, Romæ 1676, folio.]

(*b*) 'Tis a city of Peru.

was very desirous of sending thither again. They embarked in February 1639 [*A*], and did not reach Para till December following. 'Tis thought, that the revolutions of Portugal, by which the Spaniards lost all Brasil, and the colony of Para at the mouth of the river of the Amazons, were the cause why the relation of this Jesuit was suppressed (*c*); for the Spaniards were afraid, since they now could not reap any benefit from it, that it might be of advantage to the Portugueze. The copies of this work grew extremely scarce, insomuch that those who published the French translation of it at Paris (*d*), gave out, that there was not one copy of the original remaining, except that which the translator made use of, and, perhaps, that in the Vatican Library. We are obliged to Gemberville for this French version, which was not published till after his death, together with a long dissertation, worthy our perusal, which the relation itself also deserves. Such as have it not by them, may find some account of it in the *Paris Journal* (*e*), in that of Leipsic (*f*), and in Chevreau's *History of the World* (*g*).

(*c*) See the Preface to the French translation.

(*d*) In 1682 12°.

(*e*) Of April 19 1683.

(*f*) Pag. 323. ann. 1683.

(*g*) Chevreau, *Hist. du Monde*, tom. 4. p. 171. Dutch edit.

[*A*] *In February*, 1639.] I will be so ingenuous as to own, that I have not Father Christopher de Acuña's relation by me (1), and therefore borrow this date from Chevreau, which I prefer to that of January, in the *Leipsic journal*; because the typographical error which we meet with in the preceding page of the last mentioned work, gives me some reason to distrust it. I find page 324 of this journal, that the Governor of Brasil caused Peter Taxeira to go up the river of the Amazons in 1639, and that Taxeira could not reach Quito in less than a year (2). He therefore did not embark again at Quito in January 1639, as it is asserted in page 325. Chevreau deserves more credit, when he relates, that Peter Taxeira set sail in October 1637; and gave an account of his voyage to the Vice-Roy of Peru (3) in September (4), 1638: but Chevreau has mispelt the name of the author of the *Relations*, for he calls him *Christopher d'Alcuna*.

(1) I don't say *d'Acuña*, having observed in Nicholas Antonio, that the Spaniards don't put an apostrophe between the article *de*, and a proper name that begins with a vowel.

(2) *Acta Erudit. Lipsi. anni* 1683.

(3) He was called Count of Chincon.

(4) Chev. *Hist. du Monde*, p. 171. Dutch edition.

ADA, daughter of Hecatomnus (*a*), and sister of Artemisia Queen of Caria, married her own brother Idrieus, and reigned with him in Caria, after the death of Artemisia, who survived her husband Mausolus (*b*) but two years. Idrieus reigned seven years [*A*], and died of sickness, leaving no posterity behind him. His widow, after having swayed the scepter about four years, was dethroned by Pexodares her younger brother (*c*), who, in order to maintain himself in his usurpation, gave his daughter in marriage [*B*] to a Persian Lord, called Orontabates. Her name, as well as that of the dethroned Queen, was Ada; and her mother's name was Aphneis, daughter of Synnesis, King of Cappadocia. Orondates succeeded his father-in-law in the kingdom six years after, and defended Halicarnassus against Alexander (*d*). The revolutions which happened at that time, proved favourable to Ada, who imploring the protection of this Conqueror against the Usurper, delivered up to the former the city of Alinda which she still possest; and promised to use all her endeavours, in order to reduce several others under his power (*e*). Alexander gave her a very kind reception, and restored her to the authority she had before enjoyed over all Caria, after he had taken the city of Halicarnassus. Ada thought to give some testimony of her gratitude, by sending him all sorts of refreshments, sweetmeats, pastry, delicate viands, and the best cooks she could hear of; but Alexander answered, that he had no occasion for such things; and that Lecnidas his tutor, had formerly furnished him with much more excellent cooks, by

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 14. p. 452.

(*b*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16. It is from this author I have extracted the length of the other reigns.

(*c*) Strab. and Diod. ibid.

(*d*) Arrian. lib. 1.

(*e*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. Strab. lit. 14.

[*A*] *Idrieus reigned seven years.*] This Diodorus Siculus informs us of (1). Chevreau, who has changed the years into months (2), should perhaps have lengthened the time, rather than have shortned it; for Idrieus was not dead, when Isocrates writ his *Philippic*. Now, if we are to credit Hermippus (3), he composed it a little before his own death and that of Philip; Idrieus must therefore have lived till the 110th Olympiad, since Isocrates died a few days after the battle of Chæronea, which was fought the 2d year of the 110th Olympiad, and only two years before Philip's death. As therefore Idrieus did not begin to reign, till about the 3d year of the 107th Olympiad (for I have shewn in the remarks under the article ARTEMISIA, that Mausolus her husband, whom she survived two years, did not die till the end of the 106th) the seven years reign which Diodorus gives him, are too few. I nevertheless believe, that his Chronology is more to be depended upon, than that of Hermippus; for where would Hermippus place the reign of Ada, and that of Pexodares, (one whereof lasted four, and the other six years;) and both of which preceded Alexander's expedition?

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16.

(2) Chevreau, *Hist. du Monde*, tom 4. p. 33. Dutch edition.

(3) See the Summary of this speech.

[*B*] *Gave his daughter in marriage.*] Valesius thought that Philip, King of Macedon, demanded the daughter abovementioned of Pexodares in marriage for Arideus his brother, and quotes Plutarch for it (4). But this historian does not inform us, whether the daughter of Pexodares mentioned by him, was called *Ada*; but one may naturally infer it, from his observing that she was the eldest (5); for it is known, moreover, that Orontobates, having married a daughter of Pexodares called *Ada*, thought himself lawful possessor of the crown of Caria. Hitherto, therefore, Valesius seems to have very good grounds for what he asserts; but he had no reason to say, that Philip endeavoured to make up this match for his brother Arideus; for it was Pexodares sought for her in marriage, and sent an Embassador to Philip for that purpose. On the other side, Arideus was not brother but son to Philip. Plutarch declares this expresly, and adds an incident which may give us an idea of the fraudulent practices of Courts. Alexander's friends alarmed him with regard to the propositions which were made by Pexodares's Embassador, and insinuated, that the only view of Philip, in promoting Arideus to so considerable a match, was merely to give him a better opportunity of succeeding to the crown. Alexander, in order to defeat this project, dispatch'd an express to Pexodares, who represented to him that he ought to cast his eyes on Alexander, rather than on Arideus, who was a bastard, and almost a fool. Pexodares did not hesitate on the choice; but Philip having got notice privately of what was carrying on, reproved Alexander very sharply, and told him that he would discover a mean spirit, and be unworthy of succeeding him in the kingdom, in case he condescended to marry the daughter of a Carian, Vassal to a Barbarian Prince. At the same time, Philip banished all his son's confidents, and dispatch'd orders to the Corinthians, to send him bound hand and foot the Express, (whose name was *Thessalus* and was a Comedian,) whom Alexander had dispatch'd to Caria.

(4) Valesii *Notæ in Harpocrat.* p. 99.

(5) Plut. *in Alexandro*, p. 669.

by teaching him, *that he who would have an appetite to his dinner, muſt riſe early and take a walk; and if he is deſirous of making a delicious ſupper, he muſt eat moderately at dinner* (*f*).

(*f*) Plut. *in Alexandro*, p. 677.

ADAM, the ſtock whence all mankind have ſprung, was created immediately by God on the ſixth day of the creation. His body having been formed of the duſt of the earth [*A*], God blew into his noſtrils the breath of life; that is to ſay, he animated, or gave it life, and formed thereof that compound called man, which comprehends an organiz'd body, and a rational ſoul. The ſame God who had brought forth Adam, placed him in a beautiful garden (*a*), and, in order to enable him to give the ſeveral beaſts a name, he made them all come before him; after which he cauſed him to fall into a deep ſleep, and took away one of his ribs [*B*], of which he formed woman. Adam knew that this woman was *bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*, and lived with her; they not being aſhamed of their nakedneſs. There was a tree in the garden, of which God had forbidden them to eat, upon pain of death; but notwithſtanding this prohibition, the woman, ſeduced by a ſerpent (*b*), eat of that fruit, and perſuaded Adam to eat of it alſo. From that moment they perceived that they were naked [*C*], and made themſelves girdles of fig-leaves ſewed together. God came and pronounced the puniſhment he would inflict on them for the crime they had committed; drove them out of the garden, and made them garments of ſkins. Adam called his wife by the name of Eve, and conſummated his marriage. He begot Cain and Abel; afterwards Seth, and ſeveral other ſons and daughters, whoſe names are not known, and died aged nine hundred and thirty years (*c*). Theſe are all the authentic particulars we know concerning Adam; but a numberleſs multitude of others are related of him, which are either abſolutely falſe, or very doubtful. It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome may be conſidered as not repugnant to the articles of faith, nor improbable. I rank among the latter, the particulars we are told concerning his prodigious knowledge [*D*], though, what we read concerning this matter in Geneſis, would rather

(*a*) 'Tis commonly called the terreſtrial paradiſe and the garden of Eden.

(*b*) With regard to this ſerpent, ſee the remarks of the article EVE.

(*c*) See the firſt five chapters of Geneſis.

[*A*] *Of the duſt of the earth.*] Photius, if we are to credit Father Garaſſe (1), relates, that the Egyptians uſed to ſay, *that wiſdom laid an egg in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, whence our firſt parents iſſued like a couple of chickens.* I don't believe that Photius ſaid ſo; and am very much miſtaken, if this is not too licentious a paraphraſe of the Jeſuit abovementioned, forged on what Photius relates concerning a certain *Mer-man, Oé* by name, who, ſome writers tell us, ſprung ἐκ δ πρωτογόνε Ωᾶ̃ (2), that is, according to Father Garaſſe in another book (3). "From the race of the firſt man, whoſe name was *Egg*;" or, according to Father Schottus, *è primo parente* Ωᾶ̃, i. e. "From the firſt parent Ωᾶ̃ (Egg)." A thouſand enquiries might be made concerning the Egg, which, according to the doctrine of the ancients, ſerv'd for the production of things, when the Chaos was diſpelled. We ſhall mention ſome particulars of this, under the word ARIMANIUS.

(1) Garaſſe, *Doctri. curieuſe.* pag. 232.

(2) Photius *ex Helladio, Biblioth.* p. 1583. num. 279.

(3) *Somme Theologique*, p. 126, where he relates this with a thouſand alterations.

[*B*] *And took away one of his ribs.*] A modern author (4), endeavouring to ſhew the Roman-catholicks, that they are in the wrong to fancy their abilities greater than thoſe of the Proteſtants, reproaches them, among other miſtakes, with that of a Preacher (5), who declared that Adam had been formed out of one of Eve's ribs. This Preacher related, that a Philoſopher having propoſed the three queſtions following to Theodorus diſciple of St. Pacomius, viz. *What man was not born, but died? What man was born, and did not die? What man was born and died, but did not rot?* was anſwered; that thoſe three perſons were Adam, Enoch and Lot's wife. *Adam*, added the Preacher, *was not born, but was formed out of one of Eve's ribs.* His ſermon was printed at Vienna in Auſtria in 1654, with the approbation of Father Leonard Bachin the Jeſuit, at that time Sub-deacon of the Profeſſors of Divinity. This Jeſuit declares that he had read over the ſermon, and did not find any thing therein, contrary to faith or morality; a proof how careleſly the cenſors of books examine certain manuſcripts.

(4) Daniel Franc. *Diſquiſit. de Indicib. Libror. prohib. Epiſt. Dedicat.*

(5) Florentin Schilling, clerk-regular of St. Paul, and a *Barnabite.* *[Theſe were eſtabliſhed by the expreſs bulls of Pope Clement VII, in 1553. Their employment is to teach, to catechiſe and to ſerve in miſſions. They were founded by Antonio Maria Zacariah, and received their name from the church of St. Barnabas in Milan.]

[*C*] *They perceived that they were naked.*] The Scripture ſays, their eyes were opened. This expreſſion made the vulgar believe, that Adam and Eve were blind, till they had tranſgreſſed the commandment of God. *Neque enim cæci creati erant, ut imperitum vulgus opinatur* (6). That is, "For "they were not created blind, as the ignorant vul"gar think." St. Auſtin ſtrongly refutes this falſe notion, in ſeveral parts of his writings (7), and tells us, that this opening of the eyes of our firſt parents, conſiſted in their perceiving certain bodily motions, which, till then, they were ignorant of, and which made them aſhamed: *Extitit in motu corporis quædam impudens novitas, unde eſſet indecens nuditas, & fecit attentos, redditque confuſos* (8). i. e. "There was a certain impudent novelty in the "motion of their body, whence nakedneſs became "indecent, which raiſed their attention, and made "them aſhamed."

(6) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei.* lib. 14. cap. 17.

(7) Ibid. and lib. 11. *de Geneſi ad liter.* cap. 31; and lib. 1. *de Nupt. & Concupiſc.* cap. 5; and lib. 1. *Locutionum in Geneſ.* num. 9. and lib. 2. *de Peccat. Merit. & Remiſſ.* cap. 22.

(8) Id. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 17.

[*D*] *The particulars we are told concerning his prodigious knowledge.*] Moreri is not ſatisfied with aſſuring in general, that *Adam was perfectly skilled in the ſciences, eſpecially in Aſtrology, ſeveral curious ſecrets of which he had taught his children*; but adds, that *according to Joſephus, Adam engraved the obſervations he had made on the courſe of the ſtars, on two different tables.* I look'd for this paſſage in *Joſephus*, but the only particulars I met with are, that the deſcendants of Seth, ſon of Adam, invented Aſtrology; and cauſed their inventions to be engraved on two pillars, the one of brick and the other of ſtone, in order to preſerve them from the general deſtruction, which, according to the predictions of Adam, would happen once by fire, and once by the deluge (9). A writer who is capable of corrupting in ſuch a manner the words of an author he cites, does not examine the text of his vouchers ſo cloſely, as not to make them ſay more than they really do; hence I am not ſurprized to find Moreri aſſert, that our grand Parent gave to the ſeveral plants their reſpective names, altho' the ſcripture mentions his naming the beaſts only. They who infer from this impoſition of names, that Adam was a great Philoſopher, argue too poorly to merit a refutation. But to return to the prodigious knowledge aſcribed to Adam, I ſay, that, according to the common opinion (10), he knew more the very firſt day of his birth, than any other man can learn by long experience. Very few things eſcaped his knowledge, except contingent futurity, the thoughts of the heart, and part of the individuals. Cajetan has been very much cenſured, for not allowing him a perfect knowledge of the planets and of the elements. Some perſons having diſputed, whether Solomon ought not to be excepted from the general poſition, viz. that Adam ſurpaſſed all men in knowledge; theſe perſons, I ſay, have been ſentenced to own Adam's ſuperiority on this head. Pinedo indeed excepts politics; but his private opinion is not regarded. It is aſſerted, that the ſpeculative underſtanding of the firſt man was informed with all the philoſophical and mathematical knowledge which the human mind is naturally capable of attaining; and that his practical underſtanding was endued with a conſummate prudence, with regard to a man's conduct in all things, whether in private or public life: and beſides this, all the mo-

(9) Joſeph. *Antiqui.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

(10) *See* Saliani *Annalium*, tom. 1. p. 107, 113.

mi

rather give us a different idea of it; notwithſtanding which, Adam may poſſibly have come out of the hands of his Creator, endued with innate ſciences, nor loſe them by his guilt; in like manner as the bad Angels are not become leſs learned ſince their fall; and that the crimes which the Learned commit, don't obliterate out of their minds the ſciences they before were maſters of. We may alſo rank among the probable things, what ſome writers relate concerning Adam's beauty [*E*]; but it is a direct falſhood, to aſſert that he was created both male and female [*F*]. A man muſt have very groſly miſtaken the ſenſe of the Scriptures (*d*), to figure to himſelf ſo ſtrange a chimera. The revelations of Antoinette (Antonia) Bourignon [*G*], would be improperly

(*d*) *God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.* Geneſ. i. 27.

ral ſciences and liberal arts, as Rhetoric, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Husbandry, Writing, &c. Every one has heard of the applauſes which have been laviſhed on Ariſtotle's memory; as tho' men had ſtudied to outvye one another on this occaſion. All the images and compariſons had been employed which could poſſibly enter the mind of man, when an honeſt Carthuſian Friar, attempting to climb a ſuperlative, which till then had eſcaped the ken of mortals, aſſerted, that Ariſtotle's knowledge was as extenſive as that of Adam (11). Some Rabbis have contented themſelves with equalling the knowledge of the firſt man with that of Moſes and Solomon (12); but others have maintained, that he excelled the Angels in this reſpect, and quote the teſtimony of God himſelf, as a proof of it (13). Theſe tell us, that the Angels having ſpoken with a kind of contempt of man to God, when he adviſed with them about his creation; God anſwer'd, that man had greater abilities than they; and to convince them of the truth of this aſſertion, he cauſed all kinds of animals to come before them, and ask'd them their names. The Angels did not know what to anſwer. But a moment after, putting the ſame queſtion to man, he nam'd them all one after another; and being asked what his own name would be, and that of God, he made a very pertinent reply, and gave to God the name of *Jehovah*. According to the Rabbis abovementioned, the aphoriſm of their Doctors, *Adam's ſtature extended from one end of the world to the other*, muſt be explained in this ſenſe, viz. that he underſtood all things (14).

(11) Henry de Haſſia. He lived in the beginning of the 15th Century.

(12) *Apud* Rivini *Serpent. ſeduct.* p. 50.

(13) Ibid. pag. 49, 56, 57.

(14) Ibid. p. 56.

[*E*] *Concerning Adam's beauty.*] Had writers contented themſelves with telling us, that he was a handſome, well-ſhap'd man, this would have been very probable; but inſtead of ſtopping here, they have employed on this occaſion, all the flouriſhes of Rhetoric, Poetry, and even Chimæra. We are told, that God intending to create man, cloathed himſelf with a perfectly beautiful human body, and made this his model in the formation of Adam's body: whence God might ſay, that with regard to the body, he had made man after his own image. It is added, that this appearance of God under a human form, was the firſt prelude to the incarnation, that is, that the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity, aſſumed the appearances of the ſame nature, he was one day to aſſume, ſo far as fleſh and bones; and that under the appearance of the moſt beautiful man that ever exiſted, he laboured at the production of Adam, whom he made a copy of the great, the divine original of beauty, with which he himſelf was cloathed. *Hanc ſpeciem divinamque pulchritudinem clementiſſimus formoſiſſimuſque aſſumens, quam erat poſt multa tempora uſque ad carnem & oſſa aſſumpturus, creabat hominem, largiens ei ſpeciem hanc tantam, ipſe primus archetypus, ſpecioſiſſimus ipſe ſpecioſiſſimæ prolis Creator* (15). i. e. "The moſt clement, and moſt beautiful being, aſſuming this form and divine beauty, which he was to aſſume (even to fleſh and bones) after a great many ages were paſt; created man, beſtowing on him ſuch great beauty, himſelf the Original or Architype, the moſt beautiful Creator of the moſt beautiful off-ſpring." We are, after this, not to wonder, that ſuch exclamations as the following ſhould be made: *Quantam qualemve credas fuiſſe primi hominis illius venuſtatem? quantum in ore decus, quas gratias inſedisſe?* That is, "What and how great would you imagine the beauty of this firſt man to be? What charms, what graces muſt have been in his graceful countenance?" For finally, this form with which the *Word* cloathed itſelf, was like to that form which was ſeen by St. Peter on mount Tabor; by Moſes on mount Sinai, and that under which Moſes and Elias revealed themſelves at Chriſt's Transfiguration. But the circumſtance which has moſt of the marvellous in it, is, that Adam himſelf ſaw the Artiſt who formed him, and the manner how his body was formed, by the beautiful hands of his Creator. *Cum fingeretur homo manus illas divinas aſpexit, ambroſioſque vultus illos pulcherrima brachia corpus ſuum fingentia, ſinguloſque artus ducentia* (17). i. e. "When man was formed, he beheld "thoſe divine hands, that ambroſial countenance, "thoſe moſt beautiful arms which were forming "his body, and drawing forth the ſeveral limbs of "it." All theſe wild whimſies ſprung from the brain of a very great man (18); and there are not wanting people who approve at leaſt a part of them.

(15) Eugubin *in Coſmopæia, apud* Salian. *Annal.* tom. 1. p. 106.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Salian. *Annal.* tom. 1. pag. 106.

[*F*] *It is a direct falſhood to aſſert, that he was created both male and female.*] A great number of Rabbis believed, that Adam was created with a double body, viz. male on the one ſide, and female on the other; and that the two bodies joining together at the ſhoulders, the faces look'd oppoſite ways, like thoſe of Janus (19). Now theſe pretend, that when God was deſirous of creating Eve, he had no more to do but to divide this body in two, when that on which the male ſex was, was Adam, and that of the female, Eve. Manaſſeh, Ben-Iſraël, the moſt learned Rabbi of the 17th Century, has aſſerted this whimſical notion (20), if Heidegger may be credited; who likewiſe aſſures us, that the learned Maimonides, the honour and glory of the Jewiſh nation, had before maintained the ſame thing (21). Eugubin tells us a like ſtory, except his differing with regard to the ſituation of the two bodies; for, according to him, their ſides were glued together, and reſembled each other in all reſpects, the ſex excepted. The male body was on the right, and threw its left arm round the other's neck, whilſt the other did the ſame with its right arm. Each body was animated, and each fell into a deep ſleep, when God would form Eve, that is, ſeparate her from the male body. Any one who is but barely able to read the Scriptures, may fully refute all thoſe idle chimæras. Before I proceed to other matters, I ſhall ſay a word or two of the Androgyni, on whom Plato (22) has ſo largely expatiated. Theſe were hermaphrodites, having four arms, four legs, and two heads, (the faces turn'd towards one another) on one neck. This duplicity of limbs made them very ſtrong, and therefore vaſtly inſolent, ſo that they had the boldneſs to meditate war againſt the Gods. Upon this there was a debate in heaven about the moſt proper methods to check their pride, when the opinion of Jupiter prevailed, which was, to divide them into two, which was accordingly done. Each of the ſeparated pieces preſerved a ſtrong propenſion to unite together again, and hence the origin of love, according to that Philoſopher; but it was neceſſary to change the ſituation of certain members, that this reunion might be prolific. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that thoſe who mention the Androgyni of Plato, ſeldom give us a true account of that particular. They make him ſay, that in the beginning, men were born of the ſpecies abovementioned; whereas Plato ſpeaks this of one part only; and acknowledges, that there were males and females at that time, as in this. See the remarks on the article SALMACIS. The author of a piece entitled, *Le nouveau Viſionaire de Rotterdam* (23), aſſures us, that, according to the Rabbis, Adam and Eve were both hermaphrodites before their fall (24); but I don't know any other author, who aſcribes this opinion to the Rabbis.

(19) *Apud* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. p. 128.

(20) Conciliat. *in Geneſin, apud* Heideggerum, *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. pag. 128. *See* Hoornbeeck, who refutes him in ch. 1. Book 4. *de convertendis Judæis.*

(21) *In* Moreh Nevochim, p. 2. cap. 30. *apud* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. p. 128. But it is to be obſerved, (as Mr. Van Dale informs me) that Mr. Heidegger does not quote faithfully the opinion which Manaſſeh ben Iſrael and Maimonides liked beſt.

(22) Plato *in Convivio*, pag. 1185. edit. Francof. anno 1602.

(23) Printed in 1686.

(24) *Nouv. Viſion. de Rotterdam*, p. 36.

[*G*] *The revelations of Antoinette Bourignon.*] The books of this Gentlewoman's compoſitions, prove that ſhe entertained very particular notions; but none were perhaps more ſtrange, than thoſe ſhe advanced with regard to the firſt man. According to her, Adam before his fall, poſſeſſed in himſelf the principles

perly quoted to corroborate this falſe interpretation; and the romantic relations of James Sadeur [*H*] might be as juſtly employed for this purpoſe. It is equally falſe to ſay

principles of both ſexes, and the virtue or power of producing his like, without the concurrent aſſiſtance of woman; and that the neceſſity which each ſex is now under, of joining with the other in order to propagate, is a conſequence of the change which ſin wrought in the human body. *Men*, ſays ſhe (25), *imagine they were created by God, in the form under which they now appear, which is falſe, ſince ſin has diſfigured in their perſons the work of God; and inſtead of being men as they ought to be, they are become ſo many monſters in nature, divided into two imperfect ſexes, incapable of producing their like alone, as trees and plants do, which, in this particular, poſſeſs a greater perfection than either man or woman can boaſt, who are incapable of procreating alone; and no otherwiſe than by a mutual conjunction, and that too with pain and miſery.* In another work (26), the particulars of this myſtery are explained, in the manner as God revealed them to Mrs. Bourignon. She fancied that being in an extaſy, ſhe ſaw Adam in the ſame form under which he appeared before his fall, and the manner how himſelf, alone, was capable of procreating other men. But what is much more, ſhe imagined it was told her, that he had carried this ſingular procreative faculty ſo far, as to produce the human nature of Jeſus Chriſt. Tho' this paſſage is a little of the longeſt, I nevertheleſs ſhall tranſcribe it at length, that the reader may ſee, what extravagant ideas the mind of man is capable of forming.

(25) Preface to the book entitled *Le Nouveau ciel & la nouvelle Terre*; i. e. "The new heaven and new earth," printed at Amſterdam in 1679.

(26) *Vie continuée de Madem. Bourignon*, p. 315.

"God repreſented to her mind, without the mediation of the corporeal eyes, which would have been oppreſſed under the weight of ſo refulgent a glory, the beauty of the firſt world, and the manner how he had drawn it from the chaos: Every thing was bright, tranſparent, and darted forth light and ineffable glory. He ſhewed to her, in the ſame ſpiritual manner, Adam the firſt man, whoſe body was purer and more tranſparent than cryſtal, vaſtly fleet and flying, as it were; and thro' which veſſels and rivulets of light were ſeen, which penetrated from the inward parts to the outward, thro' all his pores; veſſels in which flowed fluids of all kinds and of all colours, vaſtly bright and quite diaphanous, not only of water and milk, but of fire, air, &c. The moſt raviſhing harmony aroſe from every motion of his; all things obeyed him, and nothing reſiſted, or could annoy him. His ſtature was taller than that of the preſent race of men; his hair was ſhort, curl'd, and of a colour inclining to black; his upper lip covered with ſhort hair; and inſtead of the beſtial parts which modeſty will not allow us to name, he was faſhioned as our bodies ſhall be in the life eternal, which I know not whether I dare reveal. In that region, his noſe was form'd in the manner of a face, which diffuſed the moſt delicious fragrancy and perfumes, whence alſo men were to iſſue, all whoſe principles were inherent in him, there being in his belly a veſſel, where little eggs were formed; and a ſecond veſſel filled with a fluid, which impregnated thoſe eggs. And, when man heated himſelf in the love of his God, the deſire he had that other creatures ſhould exiſt beſides himſelf, to praiſe, love and adore that ſublime Majeſty, cauſed the fluid abovementioned, (by means of the fire of the love of God,) to drop on one or more of thoſe eggs with inexpreſſible delight: and being thus impregnated, iſſued ſome time after out of man, by this canal, in the ſhape of an egg, whence a perfect man was, by inſenſible degrees, hatched. Thus, in the life eternal, there will be a holy and endleſs generation, very different from that which ſin introduced thro' woman, whom God form'd of man, by taking out of Adam's ſides the veſſel that contained the eggs; which woman now poſſeſſes, and whence men ſtill continue to be born, according to the new diſcoveries in Anatomy. The firſt man whom Adam brought forth without any concurrent aſſiſtance in his glorified ſtate, was choſen by God, to be the throne of the Divinity; the organ and inſtrument by which God would communicate himſelf eternally to men. This is CHRIST, the firſt-born, united to human nature, both God and Man (27)." I wiſh that the author of the *Nouveau Viſionaire de Rotterdam*, had not attacked the wild chimæras of our female enthuſiaſt, and thoſe of the Clergymen he cenſures, in ſo ludicrous a manner: a critic might ridicule the whimſies of the latter with regard to Adam and Eve's marriage, without being ſo vaſtly merry on that head.

(27) Ibid.

To this I ſhall only ſubjoin two ſhort reflections. Firſt, that Antoinette Bourignon ſhould not have fancied, that ſhe would riſe after death, ſince, according to her own principles, the groſs ſubſtance, which, ſince the fall, has been united to the body of man, and which rots in the grave, will not riſe again (28); and reſurrection is only the reſtoring of man to his ſtate of innocence: a ſtate in which, according to the whimſical Revelations of our Antoinette, there were no women. Some Centuries ſince (29) a heretic, whoſe name was *Amaulri*, was ſome time ſince condemned at Paris, aſſerting among other errors, *that at the end of the world, both ſexes will be reunited in the ſame perſon; that this re-union had begun in* JESUS CHRIST; *and that had man continued in the ſtate wherein God had brought him forth, there would not have been any diſtinction of ſexes* (30). Faber Stapulenſis believed, that Adam in the ſtate of innocence would have brought forth his like, without the joint aſſiſtance of woman (31). Mrs. Bourignon, therefore, was not the firſt who taught theſe opinions; but then ſhe has enlarged them very much with her own chimæras, ſuch as the perpetual propagation which, ſhe tells us, will continue in Paradiſe, after the ſame manner as men would have multiplied upon earth, had they preſerved their innocence. What ſhall we ſay of Paracelſus, who believed, that our firſt parents had not the parts neceſſary to procreation, before their fall; but that after this, they roſe from them as an excreſcence, or in the ſame manner as the evil breaks out in the throat. *Negabat primos parentes ante lapſum habuiſſe partes generationi hominis neceſſarias, poſtea acceſſiſſe ut ſtrumam gutturi* (32). My ſecond reflexion is, that this Lady aſcribes to Chriſt born of Adam, the ſeveral appearances under which God revealed himſelf, according to the Old Teſtament; and that ſhe believes, that when he reſolved to *cloath himſelf with the corruption of our fleſh and blood*, in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin, *he ſhut up his body therein, either by leſſening it to the ſize he was of at his firſt conception or birth; or in ſome other manner incomprehenſible to our groſs, imperfect reaſon* (33).

(28) Preface to the *Nouveau Ciel*.

(29) In the beginning of the 13th Century.

(30) Prateoli. Elench. *Hæret. voce Almaricus*; & *Defenſio Relationis de Ant. Burign. in Acta Erudit. Lipſienſ. inſertæ*, p. 150.

(31) *Apud* Cornel. à Lapide *in Geneſ.* cap. 2. ver. 24.

(32) Paracelſus *apud* Voſſium *de Philoſophia*, cap. 9. p. 71.

(33) *Vie continuée de Madem. Bourignon*, pag. 517.

* These are Mr. Bayle's words.

* These two reflexions, which were ſufficient in the firſt edition of this work, are not ſo in the ſecond, ſince ſome perſons have been ſo peeviſhly-fantaſtical, as to aſſert that my article of ADAM was filled with the moſt abominable obſcenities. To theſe I muſt anſwer, that they are not only too delicate and ſcrupulous, but are even not acquainted with the privileges of an hiſtorian. They who write the life of a wicked man, may and ought to repreſent, in general, the lewd ſcenes thro' which he paſt; on which occaſion, how cautious ſoever they may be of the expreſſion, the ideas muſt neceſſarily be impure, and ſuch as pollute the imagination. This is unavoidable. All they can do, is to avoid deſcending to particulars, or employing ſuch words as may ſhock a modeſt ear, and this I have done. They likewiſe who write the Hiſtory of Sects, whoſe tenets or actions were impure, are under the ſame neceſſity; and tho' the ſtile be ever ſo chaſte, yet it is impoſſible but ſome of the images muſt be filthy and obſcene. What juſtifies me here particularly is, that the abſurdities I have related are borrowed from a book that is ſold publickly; beſides which, I have the example of the ancient Fathers of the church, who have not ſcrupled to relate the moſt abominable impurities of heretics.

[*H*] *The romantic relations of James Sadeur.*] This is a fictitious account of certain nations of hermaphrodites, inhabitants of Terra Auſtralis. See the article SADEUR.

(e) This the Jews aſſure. *See* Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 1. p. 291.

ſay, that Adam came into the world circumciſed (*e*); and that as he was diſpleaſed at it, he committed the fault of thoſe, whom St. Paul mentions in one of his Epiſtles (*f*). We are alſo to rank under the head of fiction, what we are told of his gigantic ſtature [*I*]; of the books he compoſed [*K*]; of his ſepulchre [*L*], and of a tree planted over it [*M*]

(f) 1 Cor. vii. 18.

[*I*] *Of his gigantic ſtature.*] Philo believed that Adam ſurpaſſed all other men both in body and ſoul (34), but the Talmudiſts go infinitely farther. Theſe aſſure, that Adam extended from one end of the world to the other, when God created him; that after he had ſinned, God laid a heavy hand on him, and reduced his ſtature to an hundred ells (35). According to ſome writers, God did this at the requeſt of the Angels, who were afraid of ſo gigantic a creature; but they ſuppoſe that God did not ſink Adam's ſtature under the height of nine hundred cubits. See Vol. 1ſt, pag. 65 and 66, of Father Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica.* Barcepha mentions ſome authors, who related that the terreſtrial Paradiſe was ſeparated from our world by the ocean; and that Adam, after he was baniſh'd that Paradiſe, walked into our world croſs the ſea, which he found every where fordable, his ſtature was ſo enormous (36). This is juſt the picture of the Orion or Polyphemus of the Poets:

(34) Philo *de Opific. Mundi.*

(35) *In Libro Sanhedrim.*

(36) *In Tractatu de Paradiſo.*

——— ——— *Quam magnus Orion*
Cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
Stagna viam ſcindens, humero ſupereminet undas (37).

(37) Virgil. *Æncid.* lib. 10. ver. 763.

——— ——— *Summo cum monte videmus*
Ipſum inter pecudes vaſta ſe mole moventem
Paſtorem Polyphemum, & littora nota petentem (38).

(38) Id. ibid. lib. 3. ver. 655.

——— ——— *Graditurque per æquor*
Jam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit (39).

(39) Id. ibid. lib. 3. ver. 664.

In Engliſh,

——— ——— "He ſtood,
"Like tall Orion, ſtalking o'er the flood:
"When with his brawny breaſt he cuts the waves,
"His ſhoulders ſcarce the topmoſt billow laves.

——— ——— "When, on the mountain's brow,
"We ſaw the giant—ſhepherd ſtalk before
"His following flock, and leading to the ſhore.

——— ——— "Thro' ſeas he ſtrides,
"And ſcarce the topmoſt billows touch'd his ſides.
Dryden.

According to the Arabians, our firſt fathers were of as prodigious a ſtature, as the authors hinted at by Moſes Barcepha related that of Adam to have been. Here follows what Monconis relates: *My Arabian told me, that the caravan of Cairo arrived firſt at Mecca, and after having offer'd up their prayers in that city, they went to the foot of the mountain, which is at a league's diſtance from it, where they waited for the other two caravans of Damaſcus and Bagdat, which arrived at Mecca ſome days after; and being all arrived the ninth of the twelfth moon, which is Diel Heghe; at the end, I ſay, of the ninth day entring into the tenth, which is that of Aſſer, all the three caravans aſcend this mountain, on the top whereof, (which is very low, like thoſe hillocks that riſe in the midſt of plains) theſe people believe Eve leaned her head when Adam knew her the firſt time; and that her two knees laid very far off, in the bottom of the plain, on two other hills, two muſket ſhot diſtant one from the other, in each of which places a column has been erected; between which, thoſe who would be look'd upon as good* Agis *or pilgrims, muſt paſs, in their way to and from the mountain, on the ſummit whereof is a moſque, built in the form of a nich, into which not above ſeven or eight people can enter* (40). I find one John Lucidus cited, who was of opinion, that Adam ſurpaſſed all the giants in ſtature (41), which he pretended to prove by theſe words of the ſcripture according to the Vulgate. *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur* Cariath-arbe: *Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim ſitus eſt* (42). That is, "Hebron was before call'd *Cariath-arbe:* "There Adam, the greateſt among the Anakims, "lies buried." St. Jerom infers from this paſſage, that Adam was buried at Hebron (43); but it is plain, that neither the Hebrew, nor the Septuagint mention any thing concerning Adam, or of any ſepulchre (44). We find it thus in the Geneva verſion; *The name of Hebron before was Karjath-Arba, which Arba had been very great among the Hanakims* (Anakims). In the iſland of Ceylon ſtands a mountain, which is called the *Peak* (*mountain*) *of Adam*; ſo named, according to the tradition of the country, from its having been the place of Adam's reſidence (45). The print of his footſteps, above two palms in length, are ſtill ſeen there. Pythagoras, who judg'd of Hercules's ſtature from the length of his foot, would not, from the proportion above, have pronounced Adam to have been of ſo gigantic a ſize, as ſome relate (46). We are alſo told, that there ſtill exiſt on this mountain ſome monuments of the tears, which were ſhed at Abel's death; but, according to others, Adam and Eve bewail'd his death in a cave at Judæa, where their ſtone beds, thirty foot in length, are ſeen (47).

(40) Moncon. *Voiag.* part I. p. 372, 373. edit. Lions.

(41) Joh Lucidus *de Emendat. Tempor.* lib. 1. cap. 4. *apud* Pererium *in Geneſ.* lib. 4. Quæſt. 3.

(42) Joſhuah xiv. laſt verſe.

(43) Hieron. *in Matt.* cap. 27.

(44) Pererius *in Geneſ.* lib. 4. Quæſt. 3.

(45) Ludovic. *Romanus Patricius in ſua Navigat. apud* Biſſelium, *Illuſt. Ruinarum* Decade 1.

(46) A. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

[*K*] *Of the books he compoſed.*] The Jews pretend, that Adam writ a book on the creation of the world, and another on the Deity (48), the firſt of which is mentioned by Maſius (49). A Mahometan writer, *Kiſſæus* by name, relates that Abraham being in the country of the Sabeans, opened Adam's trunk, and there found the books he had written, with thoſe of Seth and Edris (50); the laſt of which names the Arabians give to Enoch. Theſe relate, that Adam was poſſeſſed of twenty books that fell from heaven, which comprehended a great number of laws, promiſes, menaces from the Almighty, and the predictions of a great many events (51). Some Rabbis aſcribe the 92d Pſalm to Adam; and in ſome manuſcripts the Chaldee title of this Pſalm declares expreſly, that this is the ſong of praiſe which the firſt man repeated, for the ſabbath-day (52). Euſebius Nieremberg, the very ſoul of credulity, gives us two canticles which he had faithfully tranſcribed from the revelations of the bleſſed (canonized) Amadeus, in the library of the Eſcurial (53). We are told that theſe two pieces were written by Adam, one of which he made the time he ſaw Eve, and the other is the penitential Pſalm which he and his wife repeated after their fall.

(47) *Apud* Saldenum, *Otiorum Theolog.* p. 346.

(48) Heidegger. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. p. 481.

(49) *Vide* Salian. tom. 1. p. 230.

(50) *Apud* Stanleium, *Philoſoph. Orient.* lib. 3. cap. 3.

(51) Hotting. *Hiſt. Orient.* pag. 22. *citante* Lyſero *in Polygamia, triumph.* p. 145.

(52) Gaſper Schottus, *Tech. curioſæ*, p. 556.

(53) Lib. 2. cap. 13. *de Orig. Sac. Script. apud* Schottum, ibid. p. 556.

[*L*] *Of his ſepulchre.*] The reader has already heard, how St. Jerom imagined, without any foundation, that Adam had been buried at Hebron; but we ſhould have as much reaſon to believe this particular, as to fancy with ſo many others, that Adam was interred on Mount Calvary (54). I own that the latter notion is better *per la predica* (*better ſuited to the pulpit*) as it is a much finer field for alluſions, antitheſes, moral reflections, and all the beautiful figures in rhetoric; but ſuch a reaſon as this is of very little uſe, except to ſerve as a proof againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould ask, why St. Jerom's notion ſhould have had fewer followers than the other. But competition apart, let it ſuffice us to know, that a great number of the fathers have believed, that the firſt man died on the very ſpot where Jeruſalem was afterwards built, and was buried on a neighbouring mountain called Golgotha, or Mount Calvary, whereon Chriſt was crucified. In caſe the reader ſhould ask, how it was poſſible for Adam's ſepulchre to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the deluge, and for his bones to keep their place, in order to receive the ſprinkling of our Lord's blood; for there lies the myſtery:

(54) *See* Salian, *Ann.* tom. 1. p. 225. where he ſhews that St. Jerom himſelf adopts the common opinion in ſome places.

Hic hominem primum ſuſcepimus eſſe ſepultum,
Hic patitur Chriſtus; pia ſanguine terra madeſcit,
Pulvis Adæ, ut poſſit veteris cum ſanguine Chriſti
Commixtus, ſtillantis aquæ virtute lavari (55).

(55) Tertullian Carm. *contra Marcion.* lib. 2. cap. 4.

Engliſh'd,

"We're told that here the firſt man was interr'd;
"Here Chriſt was crucified: the pious earth
"Was wet with gore; that antient Adam's duſt,
"Mixing with the moſt precious blood of Jeſus,
"Might by the virtue of the dropping water
"Be waſh'd.

ſt [*M*] &c.; but we muſt be aware of entertaining the ſame doubts with regard to his ſalvation, as the Abbot Rupert did (*g*); much leſs to believe, with the Tatianites (*b*), that he was condemned to hell-flames. We have no reaſon to adopt the notion of Origen, of St. Auſtin, St. Athanaſius, and ſeveral others, viz. that Adam was one of the firſt among thoſe who roſe from the dead with Jeſus Chriſt (*i*); much leſs are we obliged to believe, that his repentance would have plunged him into ſorrows that would have killed him, had not God ſent the Angel Raziel to comfort him (*k*). But reaſon will have us believe, that his faith and his prayers obtained him mercy, and that he made a very good end; though we are not therefore to ſuppoſe that he made a ſpeech to his children, before he breath'd out his ſoul; and recommended to them expreſly, that they ſhould honour their mother, and bury her by him. A writer ſhould not take the liberty to forge ſuch ſpeeches as theſe [*N*], and relate them as

(*g*) Ruperti *Comment. in Geneſ.* lib. 3. c. 31.
(*b*) Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* 46. Euſebius *Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 27.
(*i*) *Apud* Cornel. à Lapide *in Geneſ.* cap. 5. ver. 5.
(*k*) *See* Reuchlinus *de Art. Cabbal.* p. 8. and Heidegger, *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. p. 160.

* Rothomagi *apud* Ludovicum du Meſnil MDC.LXII.

*[The four Latin lines above, ſtand thus in another edition:

Hic hominem primum ſuſcepimus eſſe ſepultum,
Hic patitur Chriſtus; pio ſanguine terra madeſcit,
Pulvis Adæ ut poſſit veteris cum ſanguine Chriſti
Commixtus, ſtillantis aquæ virtute levari. *]

In caſe, I ſay, the reader ſhould make this objection, Barcepha will anſwer it, from a Doctor who was in great veneration in Syria (56). According to this Doctor, Noah inhabiting Judea, planted in the plains of Sodom, the cedar-trees with which he built the ark, and took Adam's bones into it. That after his coming out of the ark, he divided them among his three ſons, giving the skull to Shem, whoſe deſcendants poſſeſſing themſelves of Judea, buried this skull in the very place where Adam's ſepulchre had ſtood.

(56) *Dominus Jacobus Orrohaïta (ſive Edeſſenus.)* St. Ephreim who lived in the 4th Century was his diſciple. *See* Salian. *Annal.* tom 1. p. 226. Cornel. à Lapide *in Geneſin*, p. 105.

[*M*] *Of a tree planted over this ſepulchre.*] Cornelius à Lapide tells us, that the Hebrews relate that Seth, at the command of an Angel, put ſome of the ſeed of the forbidden tree into Adam's mouth after he was buried, whence a tree ſprung, of which Chriſt's croſs was made; and that it was juſt that Chriſt ſhould expiate Adam's ſin, on the very ſame tree which had cauſed the latter to fall (57). The Jeſuit abovementioned refers us to Pinedo, who gives this fictitious ſtory at length. But who are we to underſtand by the Hebrews? The Jews undoubtedly; but do theſe acknowledge that Chriſt expiated Adam's ſin, by the ſuffering on the croſs, to which their nation ſentenced him under Pontius Pilate? When a writer is full of a thing, he fancies that other people are ſo too; and is not always aware of the abſurdities he himſelf gives into, by aſcribing his own thoughts to them. To conclude, this fiction has been related variouſly; for we find in a Rabbi, who lived long before Chriſt, and whoſe work is entitled *Gale Raſejah* (58), that the Angels carried to Adam in the deſart, a branch of the tree of life which Seth planted, and that afterwards it grew up to a tree which proved of great ſervice to Moſes; for after taking the rod from it with which he wrought ſo many miracles, he alſo took the branch from thence which ſweetened the bitter waters, and that on which he fixed the brazen ſerpent. According to ſome writers, Adam ſent Seth to the gate of the garden of Eden, to beſeech the Angels who guarded the entrance of it, to let him have a branch of the tree of life, which requeſt was granted (59).

(57) Cornel. à Lapide *in Geneſ.* cap. 2. ver. 9. p. 74.

(58) See (with regard to this Rabbi and his work, the *Nouvelles de la Republiq. des Lettres*, for July 1686. Art. 3. p. 770, *& ſeq.* extracted from Mœvius *de Æneo Serpente.*

(59) *See* Saldeni *Otia Theolog.* p. 608.

[*N*] *To forge ſuch ſpeeches as theſe.*] I have Salian in view in this cenſure, who not contented with giving us the ſpeech in queſtion, has alſo written a long epitaph on Adam, where he has ſhadowed his own name, under the three letters J. S. P. (60). Salian has alſo drawn up epitaphs for Abel, Abraham, Sarah, &c. But this is pardonable only in a young writer, who has juſt gone through a courſe of rhetoric: and I am very much perſuaded that Sirmondus, Petavius, Hardouin, and the reſt of the celebrated authors among the Jeſuits, would think as I do on this occaſion.

(60) They ſignify *Jacobus Salianus poſuit.*

*[The following was communicated to us by a learned hand, as a Supplement to the remark [*D*] of the foregoing article.

A great many authors might be quoted to prove what Mr. Bayle ſays; but I will content myſelf at preſent with Suidas, whom I have choſen among the reſt, not only becauſe of the peculiarity of his expreſſions, but alſo becauſe I ſhall have an opportunity of clearing and correcting that paſſage. He, or rather the author whom he tranſcribed, ſays (1), that Adam ought juſtly to be called the firſt wiſe-man as being the firſt reſemblance and image made by God; and as he was repleniſhed with all gifts, and had all the faculties both of ſoul and body pure and uncorrupted. Μαρμαρυγαὶ γάρ, adds he, τινες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης ψυχῆς ἀπαστράψασαι, καὶ θείων ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνεργειῶν πλήθυσαι κατὰ πᾶσαν εἰσέτρεχον φύσιν, εὐτόχως καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑκάστης πλεονέκτημα φθάνυσαι. The author has not clearly expreſſed his meaning, which made Kuſter, who publiſhed the laſt edition of Suidas, to doubt whether there was not an error in the laſt words εὐτόχως καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑκάστης πλεονέκτημα φθάνυσαι. And he acknowledges that he does not very well underſtand them. Indeed, were this paſſage to be tranſlated into Engliſh literally, it would be nonſenſe. However, I'll endeavour to make it as clear as I can. I take Suidas's meaning to be this; that Adam's knowledge was repleniſhed with ſuch divine thoughts and operations, that, like rays darted from his ſoul, it made its way thro' all nature, i. e. the nature of every thing, which made him perfectly know the peculiar advantage and power, that each particular nature of one thing has above another before it was manifeſted, and made known to him by their effects and his own obſervation. This peculiar advantage and power is what Suidas calls τὸ οἰκεῖον πλεονέκτημα. With the word ἑκάστης it is to be underſtood φύσεως, which he has mentioned juſt before: πᾶσαν φύσιν, the ἑκάστης here anſwering the precedent πᾶσαν. The verb φθάνυσαι expreſſes admirably well the ſupernatural way of Adam's knowledge by its being antecedent to, and going before obſervation and experience; by which means human knowledge is acquired. That this is the ſenſe of theſe words is evident by what he ſays afterwards, when he ſpeaks of Adam's giving the names to the animals. Ἐκάλεσεν ὀνόματα, τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν, καὶ τὴν ὑποσάσιν ἑκάστου ζώου ὥσπερ ὑπογραφόμενος, οὐ μελετήσας, οὐ προσκιψάμενος, οὐδέ τι πρὸ πόνου τῶν ὅσα μεταμανθάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι; by which words he would have us to underſtand, that Adam did not give names to animals in like manner as men would do; that is, by obſerving and conſidering their natures, properties and qualities, but by a perfect knowledge of their natures, which he had acquired before he knew any thing of them, or had reflected on their actions &c. By this knowledge he gave them names, that expreſſed their natures as in a picture; ſo that his knowledge was not like that of men, who are ſubject to error, and do not always think of the ſame thing after the ſame manner; but change their notions and opinions, growing wiſer by their miſtakes, and a longer and more exact experience. Such was the knowledge of Adam if we may believe this author, which was not only an uncommon one, and ſuperior to human knowledge, but reſembling that of the Divinity. By this Adam could not but be happy, if what Virgil ſays be true,

(1) In the article Ἀδάμ.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.

The ſame author to prove what he has advanced concerning Adam's knowledge in giving names to animals, tells us, that altho' ſince Adam's creation many and innumerable generations are paſt, yet no man

as ſpoken by the perſons themſelves. We have taken notice elſewhere (*l*), of what is told concerning the duration of his ſtate of innocence.

(*l*) See the remark [*A*] of the article ABEL.

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man has been able to change the name even of the ſmalleſt and moſt inſignificant animal; nor to attain to the ſublimity of Adam's underſtanding and knowledge; but rather that all men diſperſed up and down the earth have conſtantly followed his unchangeable oracles. What truth there is in this aſſertion is not eaſy to be determined; but it is however ſurprizing and incredible; ſince whoever believes this muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, firſt, that the language Adam ſpoke was the ſame with that in which the ſcripture is written. Secondly, that the ſame language did, and does continue ſtill thro' the whole world; or at leaſt, that all languages are derived from that of Adam, which altho' altered and changed ſuch a multitude of ways as to form new languages, yet the names of the animals in all languages give the very ſame idea which Adam's names expreſſed; i. e. that ſuppoſing Adam gave an animal a name expreſſive of that animal's ſtrength, in like manner the name of that animal expreſſes alſo its ſtrength in all other languages. But what convincing proof can be given of this I cannot ſay. The argument drawn from etymology is an uncertain and precarious one, not to mention that many languages are entirely loſt; ſo that we cannot know, whether the names of animals in thoſe languages anſwered the names which Adam gave them. Suidas not content with what he had ſaid of Adam's knowledge, goes further, and declares, that he diſtinctly knew, and clearly explained all the differences of the ſeeds and plants; the virtues of the ſeveral roots and herbs, and whatever elſe nature has appointed to every animal for their ſubſiſtence, or cure. That he examined all things, and preſcribed them their exact rules and bounds. The arts, ſciences, learning, both liberal and illiberal; prophecies, ſacrifices and luſtrations; the written and unwritten laws; the ſeveral inſtitutions, and every thing that is neceſſary, and commodious to life, all theſe were his invention. What can a man ſay more, or what greater idea can we form to ourſelves of Adam's wiſdom and knowledge?

Since I am upon Suidas's article of Adam, I'll not leave it without taking notice of a paſſage there, which wants to be cleared and corrected. Suidas ſpeaking of Adam's ſin, the corruption of human nature, and the Devil's power in the world, among other particulars ſays, that the Devil having thrown the whole creation upon his ſhoulders, and brought man as a ſlave under his power; making his way towards heaven, and walking round the earth, and ὡς ὠὸν (2) πάντα κατέχων, ὡς αὐτός πω φησὶν ἀλαζονευόμενος, thought his throne was to be fix'd above the clouds of heaven, and that himſelf would be like unto God. I do not remember any place in Scripture, wherein the Devil ſpeaks thoſe words of himſelf. I only find in Iſaiah c. x. v. 14. the following: Καὶ σείσω πόλεις κατοικημένας καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήψομαι τῇ χειρὶ ὡς νοσσιὰν καὶ ὡς καταλελειμμένα ὠὰ ἀρῶ. But theſe are put by the Prophet into Sennacherib's mouth, who is boaſting of his power; ſo that if Suidas, or his author had this paſſage in view, they were certainly miſtaken in the perſon whom they ſuppoſed to have ſpoke; which miſtake however is not to be wonder'd at, ſince Tertullian has applied part of them to God (3). Unleſs a man will ſay, to excuſe Suidas or his author, that by theſe allegorical interpretations, very common in Eccleſiaſtical Writers, they made Sennacherib to be the Devil. But I am inclined rather to think, that they had in view what the Devil ſaid of himſelf when he tempted our Saviour. Σοὶ δώσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν, καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται, καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν θέλω, δίδωμι αὐτήν; by which words he makes himſelf equal to God, as Sovereign of the world, and diſpoſing of it as he pleaſes: So that inſtead of ὡς ὠὸν, or ὡς ὠὰ, I would read ὡς Θεὸς ὤν.

(2) The firſt edition of Suidas made at Milan 1499, has ὡς ὠὰ, which various reading has not been remarked by Kuſter.

(3) *Adverſ. Marcion.* l. 2. c. 25. *Adverſ. Prax.* c. 16.

To return to Adam. It is not to be doubted, but that he was indued with uncommon wiſdom and knowledge, that is ſuch a one, as was neceſſary to the ſtate he was then in, in order to accompliſh thoſe ends for which he was created, and to execute thoſe orders which God had given him, viz. to multiply his own ſpecies, to repleniſh and ſubdue the earth, to have dominion over all the animals, and to dreſs and cultivate the garden which God had ſet him in. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that Adam at his creation expreſſed all the wiſdom and knowledge neceſſary to the performance of thoſe things; but to believe all the extravagant notions that moſt Jews and Chriſtians have had of Adam's wiſdom and knowledge, is to believe what has no manner of foundation either in reaſon or Scripture. Reaſon tells us, that wiſdom and knowledge are not natural to us, although the means and diſpoſition for acquiring them are without doubt natural, that is, born with us; but we can never attain them without reflection and experience; ignorance always preceding knowledge and wiſdom as a firſt-born child. To Adam, indeed, we muſt allow (ſince he was created and not born) not only the diſpoſition and means to acquire wiſdom and knowledge, but alſo an immediate wiſdom and knowledge as ſoon as he came from the hand of the Creator: but as to the degree of his wiſdom and knowledge, this is what no one can poſitively ſay. Whilſt he continued in the ſtate of innocence and felicity, he did not want either ſuch ſciences as conſiſted in pure ſpeculations; nor thoſe arts which owe their invention to neceſſity, or the corruption of man's nature: ſuch wiſdom and knowledge is ſo far from making man happy, that in the opinion of many they render him the moſt miſerable of all creatures; certain it is, that they are an evident mark of man's unhappy condition. The perfection in which Adam was created, is no argument to prove his having ſuch an extraordinary and prodigious wiſdom and knowledge as is pretended. Every being is perfect in its own nature, whatever its nature be; and it is ſaid that every thing God created was good. Imperfection is not in the nature of things, but in their compariſon one with another.

From what the Scripture ſays of Adam's being created by God in his own image (4), no convincing argument can be drawn to determine the degrees of Adam's wiſdom and knowledge, ſince the interpreters do not agree in what this image of God conſiſted. The variety of opinions on this text is a proof of its obſcurity. Neither do the interpreters agree in the ſenſe of that paſſage of the Scripture, wherein it is ſaid, that Adam gave names to all the cattle, &c. (5). I will not examine this text now for fear I ſhould tire the reader; I will only obſerve, that the giving names to animals does not neceſſarily imply a perfect knowledge of all the particular natures of them. The different impreſſions which animals made on Adam's ſenſes; and the judgment he paſſed from thoſe impreſſions on their nature, were a ſufficient knowledge for Adam to give them names. The Scripture ſays nothing of Adam's being ſuch a wiſe and knowing man as they would have us believe him to have been. But ſuppoſe his wiſdom and knowledge was as great as they pretend it to have been, they yet muſt confeſs, that Adam, in his primitive ſtate, had not the knowledge of good and evil; a knowledge of great extent, and very neceſſary for the conduct of our actions; and yet it would have been happy both for himſelf and his deſcendants had he continued in that ſtate of ignorance. In caſe the greatneſs of a man's wiſdom appears in the conduct of his actions, Adam's conduct in tranſgreſſing God's commandment is a proof, if not of the want, at leaſt of the ill uſe he made of his great wiſdom. With regard to his knowledge in the arts, the Scripture ſays expreſly, that God made clothes for Adam and Eve to cover themſelves (6); which conſequently ſuppoſes, that Adam was not able to invent thoſe things which were moſt proper for himſelf and his wife to cover their nakedneſs. The Scripture has alſo recorded the names of thoſe who were the inventors of ſeveral arts (7), which had Adam known, the invention of them would not have been aſcribed to the deſcendants of his ſon Cain. Whether Adam after his guilt retained thoſe ſciences which were infuſed into him by God, is what Mr. Bayle ſeems to think not impoſſible. "In the ſame manner, ſays "he, as the Angels did not become leſs wiſe after "their

(4) Gen. i. 27.

(5) Gen. ii. 20.

(6) Gen. iii. 21.

(7) Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22.

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(a) *Voyages de Monſieur le Chevalier Chardin en Perſe, &c.* tom. 3. p. 179. Amſterdam, chez Jean Louis Delorme, 1711, 4°.

(b) D'Herbelot, *Bibliotheque Orientale*, p. 53. Paris, 1697, fol.

(c) *Voyages de Chardin*, ibid.

(d) D'Herbelot, ibid.

(e) *Voyages de Chardin*, ibid.

(f) The *Religion of the Perſees*, by Henry Lord, p. 7. printed for Francis Conſtable, 1630, 4°.

(g) D'Herbelot, ibid.

(h) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 3. p. 179.

" their fall; and that the crimes of learned men do " not make them forget the ſciences they knew be- " fore." But if I am not miſtaken Mr. Bayle's compariſon is not juſt. The Angels by their fall, and learned men by their crimes, ſuffer no alteration in their ſubſtance, as Adam did; for before his guilt his body was immortal, which became afterwards mortal; ſo that although the ſoul continued to be immortal, yet from the union that is between the ſoul and body, the faculties of the former muſt neceſſarily have been changed by the alteration wrought in the body. Immortality and mortality are ſo oppoſite, that it is impoſſible to conceive the paſſage from one to the other without a great alteration in the ſubject or ſubſtance which ſuffers this paſſage. And in caſe ſin affected and altered the underſtanding and will of Adam (as is the general opinion) I don't ſee any reaſon why memory ſhould not be alſo affected and altered; ſo that in caſe Adam's ſin did not wholly obliterate from his mind the ſeveral ſciences infuſed into him, he at leaſt was not ſo great a maſter of them as before. The advantageous opinion and blind veneration which men have for antiquity and their anceſtors; and the more for Adam, as being the firſt father of all mankind who was created immediately by God, are the cauſe why ſo many encomiums and excellencies have been beſtowed upon him.

[*A*] *The Koran mentions the ſubſtance Adam was formed of.*] Theſe are the words: *We created man of dried clay and black mud: but as for the Genii, we had before created them of a ſubtile fire* (1). How beautiful was our firſt parent created, tho' form'd of ſuch groveling materials!

(1) The chapter of *al Heir.*

Whom his great Maker took ſuch care to make,
That from himſelf he did the image take (2).

(2) Lord Rochester's *Satyr againſt Man.*

With native honour clad
In naked Majeſty ſeem'd Lord of all.

His large fair front and eye ſublime declared
Abſolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Cluſtring.

(3) Milton book IV.

A commentator on the abovementioned words of the Koran, ſays, that God cauſed rain to fall for ſeveral days on the earth with which he formed Adam's body, and that after having form'd it, he left this earth to dry during ſeveral days before he animated it (4).

(4) D'Herbelot, p. 54.

[*B*] *Eblis or Lucifer and his adherents refuſed to fall proſtrate before Adam &c.*] The Angels, who are ſometimes comprehended under the name of Genii, were formed of fire. It is ſaid that they were created of very pure fire, which had been detached from the moſt groſs matter, like to that of the thunder of heaven (5). Upon their refuſing to pay the homage to Adam which God required, he asked Eblis, or the Devil, the motives of his diſobedience; who anſwer'd, that he was of a more excellent nature than man, and conſequently ought not to be ſubject to him: For thou haſt created us, ſays he to God, of a ſublime, ſubtil and luminous ſubſtance; whereas that new creature was form'd of groveling, groſs and gloomy materials (6). An author obſerves, that Eblis ought not to have judged of the excellency of Adam from the qualities of the materials of which he was made, but ſhould have conſidered in man the hand of God, who had formed, and the breath of his Spirit with which he had animated him. This reflexion has been thus paraphraſed by another writer.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) The effect of this is ſeen in the above-cited chapter of the Khoran and elſewhere.

Adam being form'd (ſupreme of human beings)
Satan conſider'd his frail body only,
Which, to his eye, appear'd an earthen idol.
He did not pierce to what was hid within,
And wou'd not paſs for one who worſhipp'd ſtatues.
But thy conjectures, Lucifer, are falſe:
Adam is not a vain, terreſtrial idol.
Open but well thine eyes, and thou'lt perceive
A ray, ſhot from the Majeſty of God,
That animates and beautifies his form.

An anonymous Perſian Poet writes as follows on the ſame ſubject:

There is a treaſure in this earthly houſe
Not found in other periſhable creatures:
And yet the boaſted ſplendor of this manſion
Is nothing when compar'd to that rich treaſure.
For, in a word, the Being who inhabits
This palace, is the awful King of men,
And the great Monarch of this ſpacious globe.

[*C*] *The account of Adam's creation, according to Khondemir, . . is very whimſical.*] God having reſolved to create Adam, commanded Gabriel to take a handful of earth from each of the ſeven beds or ſtages of earth. Gabriel having taken his flight in order to execute the orders of God, deſcended on our earth, and declared to her, that God deſigned to take out of her bowels wherewith to form man, who was to be the Sovereign over her, and the Lieutenant of God. The earth, terrified at what ſhe heard, beſought Gabriel to acquaint God with the fear ſhe was under, viz. that this creature, the materials of which ſhe was to furniſh, would one day rebel againſt him, and draw down upon her the curſe of Heaven. Gabriel being touched with compaſſion for the earth, preſented her petition to God, who rejected it, and thereupon ſent the Angels Michael and Aſrafil upon the ſame meſſage, who likewiſe favouring the earth, Azrael was at laſt ſent by the Creator, who without any manner of ceremony forced away ſeven handfuls from ſeven different beds and ſtages of earth, and carried them to a

ticular notions with regard to Adam's dreſs, whom, they ſay, God cloathed in a wonderful attire ſuitable to his dignity [*D*]. The notions of the Arabians with regard to his fall are not very different from what we are told in Scripture [*E*]; but thoſe of the Perſians vary from them [*F*]. Hakem ſon of Haſhem was of opinion that a ray of the Divinity was communicated to Adam, which paſt to all the other Prophets ſucceſſively (*i*). One of the twelve Imams (*k*) declared that there were three Adams before our Adam, and that there would be ſeventeen after him (*l*). The Arabians taken notice of the number of children he had by Eve [*G*]; and relate, that he ſaw all his poſterity under the form or Ants [*H*]. They alſo tell us of the place where he was buried [*I*]. Chardin informs us, from the Moſlem Legends, of Adam's building a chapel at Mecca [*K*], (copied from the model of the fourth heaven) after he

(*i*) Idem, ib. p. 56.

(*k*) The twelve Imams are Ali and his eleven firſt ſucceſſors and his deſcendants in a direct line.

(*l*) Idem, ibid.

place which is found between the cities of Mecca and Tayef in Arabia. This earth having been kneaded by the hands of the Angels, God formed a mould of it with his own hands, which being dry, was expoſed a long time in the ſame place, to the view of the Angels, who often went thither for that purpoſe. Eblis, or Lucifer, who was one of them, not ſatisfied with viewing this mould on all ſides, touched it, and ſtriking upon its breaſt and belly, perceived by the ſound that it was hollow. Eblis then ſaid, this creature which will be empty within, will often require to be filled, and conſequently will be obnoxious to ſeveral temptations (7).

(7) D'Herbelot, p. 55.

[*D*] *God cloathed Adam in wonderful attire ſuitable to his dignity.*] This we are told was done immediately after his creation. In the chapter of the Koran, entitled al Arâf, God is ſaid to ſpeak as follows concerning this attire: *We have given you cloaths that came down from Heaven, ſome to cover your ſhame, and others to adorn and defend you; but the moſt precious of all theſe garments is the robe of piety and innocence with which we have cloathed you.* The author of *Bahir al-Hakaik* tells us, that this robe of piety and innocence is not that mean coarſe habit (call'd *Khirkah*) which the Moſlem Friars wear out of humility and by way of penance; but that they are the laudable and virtuous habits which relate to the mind and the underſtanding (8). Thus our Milton ſpeaking of our firſt parents after their fall:

(8) Idem, p. 56.

——— *Innocence, that as a veil*
Had ſhadowed them from knowing ill, was gone.
Juſt confidence, and native righteouſneſs,
And honour from about them, naked left
To guilty ſhame, he (God) cover'd (9).

(9) *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book IX.

[*E*] *The notions of the Arabians with regard to the fall are not very different from what we are told in Scripture.*] After God had cloathed Adam in wonderful attire, as was ſaid above, and adorned his ſoul with the excellent habits of the ſeveral ſciences and virtues, all the Angels, Eblis excepted, proſtrated themſelves before Adam. Eblis for his diſobedience to God's command was driven from Paradiſe, and his place was given to Adam. It was here that Eve was taken out of his left ſide as he was ſleeping, and was given to him for a wife. Soon after God commanded him not to eat of a certain tree, and it was then Eblis curſed him, aſſociating himſelf with the peacock and the ſerpent, when coming up to Adam and Eve, he had a long diſcourſe with them, and prevailed upon them to eat of the forbidden fruit. But ſcarce had they eat this fatal morſel, but the attire wherewith God had cloathed them, immediately fell at their feet, which made them ſenſible of the ſin they had committed, by covering them with ſhame and confuſion at the ſight of their nakedneſs. Immediately they run to a fig-tree to cover themſelves with its leaves, and had not been here long when they heard the thundering voice of the Lord pronounce the following words: *Get ye down, all of you, from this place. You ſhall become mutually enemies to each other, and ſhall have your habitation and ſubſiſtence on earth for a time* (10).

(10) Idem, p. 55.

[*F*] *But thoſe of the Perſians vary from them.*] Theſe tell us, that God permitted Adam to eat of all the fruits of Paradiſe without diſtinction, obſerving however, that if he eat only of the *fruit of trees*, thoſe light aliments would digeſt ſo perfectly, that the moſt groſs parts of them would evacuate thro' the pores; but that in caſe he eat *wheat*, it would form a coarſe ſubſtance in his ſtomach, which could not be emitted thro' the pores, like that of other fruits; and this coarſe ſubſtance being a filth which fouls the place where it is laid, Adam would not be ſuffer'd to reſide in Paradiſe, ſhould he happen to lay any of it there. However, Eve not giving due attention to what God declared, eat of this wheat, at the inſtigation of the Devil, and made her husband eat of it alſo. They fed ſo heartily upon it that they overcharged their ſtomachs, upon which their eyes were opened, and immediately the Angel Gabriel drove them from heaven, for fear they ſhould pollute it, which they would have done had they continued any longer in it. The Mahammedans however ſay, that they did not commit a ſin in eating of this *wheat*, but only that they had better not have eat of it; and that they were not driven out of Paradiſe by way of puniſhment, but only to prevent their polluting it (11). We ſhall obſerve however that this is apocryphal. The various ſects of the Mahometans are very much divided in opinion with regard to the quality of the forbidden fruit; ſome declaring it was the grape, others the Indian fig, which for that reaſon is called *Adam's Fig*, and others ſome other fruit which they don't name.

(11) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 2. p. 323, 324.

[*G*] *The number of children he had by Eve.*] Adam being precipitated from Paradiſe fell on the iſland of Serandib or Ceylon, and Eve on Jodda a port of the Red-ſea, not far from Mecca. After a ſeparation of upwards of 200 years, our firſt parents withdrew into the iſland abovementioned, where they multiplied. Eve had twenty deliveries, and at each birth brought forth twins, the one male and the other female (12). Another author (13) tells us, that Eve was delivered but eight times; that ſhe brought forth every time twins, a male and a female, and that theſe married together.

(12) D'Herbelot, p. 56.

(13) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 3. p. 179.

[*H*] *Adam ſaw all his poſterity under the form of Ants.*] We are told that it was on the following occaſion. God being determined to make a covenant between himſelf and man, by which all mankind ſhould oblige themſelves to acknowledge him as their Sovereign, he for that purpoſe aſſembled them all, under the ſhape of ants (but endued with underſtanding) in the valley of Nóman near mount Arafat, or according to the author of Lebab, in the plain of Dahia in the Indies. That there God ſaid, as we find it in the *Koran* (14). *We have ſummoned witneſſes, in order that men may not ſay in the day of judgment, We know nothing of this covenant. And that they may not ſay as an excuſe for their impiety, Our fathers have been idolaters like us; we have imitated them like our deſcendants; will you, O Lord, deſtroy us, for what fools and ignorant people have done againſt you?* The witneſſes hinted at above are the Angels, who will teſtify againſt ſuch men as ſhall plead ignorance (15).

(14) In the chapter *al Araf*.

(15) D'Herbelot, p. 54.

[*I*] *They alſo tell us the place where he was buried.*] According to Khaithemah, Adam was buried near Mecca on mount Abukobeis. Several others declare that Noah, having laid his body in the ark, cauſed it to be carried after the deluge to Jeruſalem by Melchiſedech ſon of Shem his grandſon, of which opinion are the Eaſtern Chriſtians. The ancient Perſians affirm that he was interred in the iſland of Serandib, where his corps was guarded by lions, at the time that the giants warred on each other (16).

(16) D'Herbelot, p. 56. *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 3. p. 180. See *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Parte quarta*, p. 572. *In Roma appreſſo Vitale Maſcardi* 1650.

[*K*] *Adam's building a chapel at Mecca.*] Adam being driven out of the celeſtial paradiſe and ſent upon earth, beſought God, as a conſolation for his baniſhment, to let him build a chapel on the model of the

he was drove out of the celeſtial paradiſe; and how he threw ſtones at the Devil when he came to him, after he had cauſed him to commit the crime, which was the cauſe of original ſin (*m*). An odd reaſon is aſſigned for the various colours which are ſeen in mens ſkins, viz. that God took ſeveral kinds of earth in order to form Adam's body, which being quite different in quality and in colour, was the cauſe why men are white, black, yellow, red, and differ ſo much in humour and in complexion (*n*). The Banians call the firſt man Pourous and his wife Parcoutee. According to theſe Banians, God having created the world and the creatures thereto belonging, formed man as a being that might be moſt capable of the works of the Creator. That at his voice and command, the earth gave this creature out of its bowels, his head appearing firſt, and afterwards his body with all its parts and members, into whom God conveyed life, which was no ſooner done, but this creature gave tokens of it, for his lips became tinctured with red, his eyelids diſcloſed the two lights of nature; the parts of his body diſcovered their motion, and his underſtanding being informed, he acknowledged and worſhiped his Maker (*o*). According to the author from whom we have borrowed this, the firſt man and woman had four ſons; and the relation of their firſt meeting with their wives contains ſome beautiful images, like thoſe we meet with in Milton's deſcription of our firſt parents [*L*].

(*m*) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 2. p. 432.

(*n*) D'Herbelot, p. 54.

(*o*) *A Diſcovery of the Sect of the Banians, &c.* gather'd from their Bramins, &c. By Henry Lord, p. 3 and 4. London printed by T. Cotes, &c. 1630, 4°.

the fourth heaven, where he dwelt with the Prophets; towards which he might turn his face when in a journey; and in which he might ſay his prayers when it ſhould be preſent; and go in proceſſion round it, in the ſame manner as he had ſeen the Angels go in proceſſion round the throne of God. They add, that God not only heard Adam's prayers, but alſo created a glorious, reſplendent temple after the model of the fourth heaven, or after the model of a temple which is in the fourth heaven, and placed it in the ſame place where Mecca now ſtands; and that Adam performed religious worſhip in it ſo long as he lived. His deſcendants however having rendred themſelves unworthy of entring it becauſe of their extreme corruption, God withdrew this temple ſo that it was ſeen no more, at which mankind being very much afflicted, they built another in the ſame form, as near as they could remember, which remained till the deluge, or according to others after it. Others declare that the temple of Mecca was built by Abraham (17). Gabriel taught Adam the ſeveral ceremonies he was to practiſe round this temple, in order to obtain pardon for his ſin, and to reconcile himſelf truly with God (18).

(17) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 2. p. 430.

(18) D'Herbelot, p. 55.

[*L*] *The relation of their firſt meeting with their wives contains ſome beautiful images &c.*] The names of theſe four ſons are *Brammon*, *Cuttery*, *Shuddery* and *Wiſe*. Theſe went towards the four oppoſite points of the earth, in order to get themſelves wives. Brammon travelled towards the Eaſt, came to a valley, thro' which a brook flowed in the deſcent of which there appeared a woman, quenching her thirſt at the ſtream. They were both naked, innocence not being then aſhamed to reveal her retirements and privacies; nor having ſinned ſo much with theſe immodeſt parts, as to need a veil to ſhroud them from ſight (19). Thus Milton,

(19) *Diſcovery of the Sect of the Banians*, by Henry Lord.

> *Nor theſe myſterious parts were then conceal'd*
> *Then was not guilty ſhame, ...*
> *So paſs'd they naked on, nor ſhunn'd the ſight*
> *Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill* (20).

(20) *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book IV.

Brammon afterwards addreſſing the woman abovementioned, prevailed upon her to become his wife, for joy whereof, the Sun put on his nuptial luſtre, and looked brighter than ordinary, cauſing the ſeaſon to ſhine upon them with golden joy; and the ſilver moon welcomed the evening of their repoſe, whilſt muſic from heaven ſent forth a pleaſing ſound, like the accents of the ſonorous trumpet, joined in concert with the triumphant drum (21). So at the nuptials of Adam and Eve,

(21) *Diſcovery of the Sect of the Banians*, p. 10.

> ——————— *All heaven,*
> *And happy conſtellations on that hour*
> *Shed their ſelecteſt influence; the earth*
> *Gave ſign of gratulation, and each hill.*
> *Joyous the birds; freſh gales and gentle airs*
> *Whiſper'd it to the woods, and from their wings*
> *Flung roſes, flung odours from the ſpicy ſhrub* (22).

(22) *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book VIII.

The woman that Cuttery the ſecond ſon met with is deſcribed to have been a creature of a comely aſpect like himſelf. She advanced, ſays our author, with a martial gate, no leſs ſlow than majeſtic. Adown her ſhoulders her treſſes fell gracefully, and theſe, by the motion of the air, were turned into an agreeable diſorder. Every blaſt that made a change in their diſpoſition, gave a new grace to her excellent perſon, and made her preſence more full of majeſty (23). This is partly the deſcription which Milton gives of Eve,

(23) *Diſcovery of the Sect of the Banians*, p. 12.

> *She as a vail down to the ſlender waiſt*
> *Her unadorned golden treſſes wore*
> *Diſhevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd,*
> *As the vine curls her tendrils* (24).

(24) *Paradiſe Loſt*, book IV.

> *Grace was in all her ſteps, heaven in her eye,*
> *In every geſture dignity and love* (25).

(25) Idem, book VIII.

The deſcription we have of the firſt interview of Wyſe, Pourous's fourth ſon, with the woman who was deſtined to be his bride, is alſo poetical. But we ſhall give the authors own words which have a noble ſtrength and beauty, tho' written upwards of an hundred years ſince. "Wyſe chancing to caſt his "eye upon her, . . deſcended to take a fuller con- "templation of her beauty, whoſe feature deſerved "his better notice, for ſhe was of a body amiably "white, and her treſſes were ſcattered with powder- "ed ſaunders and other odours, the ſcent of which "the blaſts of the wind diſperſed in ſuch a manner, "that he became partaker of them by his approach, "which enkindled his ſenſes with new deſires to be "nearer her, who at ſuch diſtance gave him a ſmell "of ſo great ſweetneſs: whoſe approach ſtruck her "into a bluſh; but her ſhame giving place, ſhe "moved the queſtion to him, how he came to that "place where ſhe, only, had lived, to interrupt her in "her free walks and wanderings?" He made anſwer, "That God the Maker of light, that makes all ob- "jects viſible, had ſent him thither to admire her "excellency, which was ſo rare," (this is fixing the date when compliments were firſt made) "that it was not fit it ſhould be ſhaded in a "place ſo ſolitary, but had reſerved it as a bleſſing "for his eyes to view and admire." It is related, that this woman rejected Wyſe's love and fled from him, upon which he went in ſearch of, and found her, in a vally, cropping the flowers, and gratifying her ſenſes with the ſeveral odours, on whom intruding he ſaid; "Oh ſweeter than all flowers or "ſcents that the fields can boaſt, whoſe lovelineſs "hath drawn me to make proffer of a new kind- "neſs, fly me not." But ſhe left him a ſecond time with diſdain, which threw him into the deepeſt affliction, when he thus vented his amorous wailings, "Witneſs, O ye Heavens, under whoſe "azure roof I now am, the ſorrow I ſuffer! and "witneſs, O ye green trees, that if you were ſenſible "of my complaint, you would ſpend your ſelves in "gummy tears, becauſe of the agony that perplex- "eth me (26)." However, they afterwards became man and wife.

(26) *Diſcovery of the Sect of the Banians*, p. 24, 26, 27, 28.

ADAM, Archdeacon of the patriarchal Chamber, and Superior of the Monks of Chaldea, was ſent to Rome in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, by Elias the Neſtorian Patriarch of Babylon. This Patriarch, after his Biſhops had examined the confeſſion of faith which Pope Paul V. had ſent him, commiſſioned Adam to preſent it to that Pontiff, with the alterations they had made in it; but with orders, at the ſame time, to correct all ſuch particulars in it as the Pope ſhould object againſt. This embaſſy of our Adam was an embaſſy of Obedience. Being arrived at Rome, he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion to the beſt of his power. Adam had brought a writing, the ſubject of which was, to unite the faith of the Eaſterns with that of the Romiſh church; and to ſhew that their diſputes were merely about words [*A*]. He had firſt communicated this piece to his Patriarch; afterwards, by his order, to all the Biſhops of that party, and had ſpent a whole year in going from city to city, to obtain the approbation of thoſe ſeveral Biſhops. Peter Strozza, Secretary to Pope Paul V. was appointed to anſwer this writing. His anſwer ſavoured more of harſhneſs than condeſcenſion; for he did not give a favourable interpretation to any one particular; and the Patriarch's Legate was obliged to ſubmit, not only to the tenets, but to the very expreſſions which were dictated at Rome. Adam ſigned every thing the Pope directed; and not ſatisfied with abjuring the ſeveral errors of his countrymen, he writ books, and addreſt them to the latter, in order to communicate to them the lights he had acquired under the Pontiff. After having reſided three years in Rome, he returned home, and preſented to Elias his Patriarch a brief of Paul V, who rejected the ſeveral methods of reconciliation which this Patriarch propoſed, and obliged him to explode all the terms which might ſerve as a diſguiſe to any erroneous opinions (*a*). Adam was accompanied by two Jeſuits (*b*), who were commanded to labour at the entire reunion of this ſect.

(*b*) Nic. Godignus *de rebus Abaſſinorum*, lib. 1. *apud* Aub. Miræum, *de Statu Relig. Chriſt.* p. 226.

(*a*) Extracted from ch. x. book 5. of the *Perpetuité de la Foi defendue.* Mr. Arnauld cites the treatiſe of Peter Strozza, *de Dogmatibus Chaldæorum.*

[*A*] *That they diſputed merely about words.*] The Sieur Moni *, in his *Critical Hiſtory of the Levant*, ſeems ſtrongly perſuaded, that Elias the Patriarch had reaſon to aſſert, that the diſpute between the Neſtorians of this age and the Catholicks, was merely about words, *The Neſtorianiſm of this age*, ſays he (1), *is only an imaginary hereſy; all this diverſity with regard to opinions, conſiſts only in equivocal expreſſions, inaſmuch as the Neſtorians underſtand the name of perſon, in another ſenſe than the Latins.* It may be asked, why then would not the Romaniſts agree to the expoſitions which the Patriarch of Babylon laid down? The anſwer is, that for decorum ſake, and from a falſe punctilio of honour, the Romaniſts perſiſted in aſſerting, that Neſtorianiſm was a dangerous hereſy; for otherwiſe they would have proſtituted the honour of general Councils. This is what de Moni would have declared in a free country; but being in France, he was obliged to diſguiſe a little his expreſſions. *As the hereſy of Neſtorius*, ſays he (2), *was condemned by Councils, it was, methinks, neceſſary that thoſe at Rome ſhould ſhew, that Neſtorianiſm was really a hereſy, ſince it had been condemned by the Church in a general Council.* He adds afterwards with the ſame caution, *that ſome might infer from the very acts of ancient Councils, that Neſtorianiſm is but a nominal hereſy, and that Neſtorius and St. Cyril might have reconciled their opinions, had they underſtood one another* (3).

* This is a fictitious name aſſumed by father Simon in this work

(1) Moni, *Hiſt. Critique de la Creance & des Coutumes des Nations du Levant*, p. 93.

(2) Moni, *Hiſt. Critiq. du Levant*, p. 93, 94.

(3) Ibid. p. 94.

ADAM (JOHN) a French Jeſuit, was a celebrated Preacher [*A*] in the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in the Province of Limouſin, and entred among the Jeſuits in 1622, at fourteen years of age (*a*). His ſuperiors finding he had talents requiſite for the pulpit, obliged him to cultivate them, after he had taught Claſſical Learning and Philoſophy. He was a profeſſed preacher forty years, and was heard in the chief cities of France, and even at the Louvre (*b*). He began by preaching, as it was proper he ſhould, in the Provinces; but after he had ſufficiently ſignalized himſelf there, he was ſent to the metropolis of the kingdom. The complexion of the times favoured him very much; the diſputes about Janſeniſm had already heated mens minds; and no man could have been fitter than father Adam, to be ſent as volunteer againſt the party, he being naturally bold and fiery, and poſſeſſing all the qualities which form a great declaimer. The Lent-ſermons he preached at Paris in St. Paul's Church, anno 1650, made great noiſe; Adam having gone ſuch lengths, that had he not been protected by perſons in power, he would have been ſilenced [*B*]. He was ſincere enough to own [*C*] that St. Auſtin no way favoured Moliniſm, and he exclaimed

(*a*) Sotuel, *Biblioth Societatis Jeſu*, p. 397.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Was a celebrated Preacher.*] See Balzac's letter to him, dated the 15th of Janu. 1643 (1), after having peruſed the fifteen ſermons which that father had ſent him.

[*B*] *He would have been ſilenc'd.*] This we learn from a letter of Guy Patin, dated Apr. 12th, 1650. *Our Archbiſhop*, ſays he, *has forbid Mr. Brouſſel Doctor of Navarre, and Canon of St. Honoré, the pulpit, who is a ſtrong anſeniſt, and no ways a friend to Cardinal Mazarine, for having delivered himſelf too freely there three days ago; Father Adam the Jeſuit would have met with the ſame ſeverity, for preaching againſt St. Auſtin in St. Paul's church, and calling him* the hot-headed African and fiery Doctor, *had he not been ſupported by the Jeſuits and Capuchins, who diſſuaded the Archbiſhop* (2).

[*C*] *He was ſincere enough to own &c.*] This muſt be underſtood *cum grano ſalis*, with ſome reſtriction; and the reader would be miſtaken, ſhould he imagine that our Jeſuit did not make uſe of the artful fraud of thoſe, who pretended that St. Auſtin does not favour either the Calviniſts or the Janſeniſts; for in the very ſermon which was ſo much inveighed againſt, and which he divided into two parts; the ſecond was *to ſhew from the doctrine of this father, that Chriſt died for all men, without exception*; and he had before publiſhed a treatiſe entitled, *Calvin defait par ſoi-même, & par les armes de St Auguſtin, qu'il avoit injuſtement uſurpées ſur les matieres de la grace, de la liberté, & de la predeſtination.* That is, "Calvin ſelf-defeated, and overcome by the "weapons of St Auſtin, which he had unjuſtly u- "ſurped in the doctrines of grace, liberty and pre- "deſtination (3)." Now Father Adam did not ſcruple to ſay, that Janſenius and Calvin teach the ſame doctrine with regard to grace; and he made the following

(1) This is the 11th letter of book 3, part 1, of *Lettres Choiſies*, pag. 109, Dutch edit.

(2) Patin, letter 37. p. 162, of vol. 1. Genev. edit. 1691, 12°.

(3) *Defenſe de St. Auguſtin, contre le P. Adam*, p. 2.

ed with great vehemence againſt that antient Doctor. The Janſeniſts would not ſuffer this public inſult to paſs uncenſured [*D*], but publiſhed an anſwer to his ſermon; and not ſatisfied with apologizing for St. Auſtin, they refuted ſome other propoſitions which that Jeſuit had laid down, and that expreſly which related to the inſpiration of the canonical writers [*E*]. Father Adam took no manner of notice of the clamour which

lowing anſwer a few days after the preaching of his ſermon, to one who reproached him for having gone ſuch lengths in it. *I fear nothing: no one can cenſure my ſermon, or my treatiſe on* Grace, *without undertaking at the ſame time, to ſupport Calvin* (4). What, therefore, is the reader to underſtand by the *ſincerity* I aſcribe to this Father? It is this; That the liberty with which he delivered his thoughts concerning St. Auſtin's errors, plainly ſhewed he was deſirous of having it known, that he did not think this Father's faith, in matters of this nature, a proper model for others to imitate.

(4) Ibid.

[*D*] *The Janſeniſts would not ſuffer this public inſult to paſs uncenſur'd.*] A few days after, they publiſhed a pamphlet of ſixty pages in 4to, entitled, *Defence de St. Auguſtin contre les erreurs, les calomnies & les invectives ſcandaleuſes, que le pere Adam, jeſuite a prechées dans l'egliſe de St. Paul, le ſecond jeudi du Carême, ſur le texte de l'Evangile de la Chananée... Je ne ſuis envoyé qu'aux brebis perdues de la maiſon d'Iſrael.* That is, "A Defence of St. "Auſtin, againſt the errors, calumnies and ſcandalous "invectives, which Father Adam the Jeſuit vented "in his ſermon preached in St. Paul's church, on the "2d Thurſday in Lent, on this text of the Goſpel "where Chriſt ſays to the Canaanitiſh woman .. *I am "not ſent but unto the loſt ſheep of the houſe of "Iſrael* *." They accuſed him of aſſerting, "firſt, "that the writings of St. Auſtin were perplex'd and "obſcure; that being animated with the violent, "fiery ſpirit of the Africans, he had frequently diſ-"covered too much paſſion, and run into extremes; "had overſhot the boundaries of truth, in his con-"flicts with the enemies of Grace; in like manner "as it ſometimes happens to a man, who intending "merely to ſtrike his enemy, puſhes him with ſo "much violence, that he throws him againſt a tree, "and thereby makes him rebound back upon him-"ſelf, contrary to his intention. Secondly, That "St. Auſtin, even in aſſerting the tenet of original "ſin in oppoſition to the Pelagians, had himſelf "fallen into an exceſs of error, by declaring that "original ſin was puniſhed in ſuch children as die "unbaptized, with hell-fire and damnation. Third-"ly, That St. Auſtin was not well fixed in what "he writ, ſince, according to Mr. Gamache's re-"mark, he had varied thrice on the article of "Grace." Theſe reproaches, and ſome others of the like nature, had already appeared in one of Father Adam's pieces. Such as have not this book, will meet with them in a work that may eaſily be procured, I mean the *Vindiciæ Auguſtinianæ*, where Father Adam is the firſt of St. Auſtin's modern adverſaries, whom Father Noris has refuted.

* Matth. xv. 24.

[*E*] *Which related to the inſpiration of the canonical writers.*] "Let no one wonder that Fa-"ther Adam declared in his ſermon, that St. Au-"ſtin's zeal carried him to too great lengths, ſince "that Jeſuit tells us in a wicked piece, which a-"bounds with falſities and errors †, *That this weak-"neſs is not ſo criminal; but that God permits it "in writers he himſelf inſpires, and whom we call* "canonical ... *and that St. Paul's natural vivacity "and fire were capable of making him launch out "into expreſſions of that nature...* To prove that "*canonical writers are ſometimes weak, and that "they clothe thoſe things which God reveals to them, "in whatever expreſſions fancy may ſuggeſt, he ob-"ſerves, that when the Prophet Elias complains of "the impiety of the times in which he lived, he ſays to "God,—that faith is extinguiſhed in the hearts of "all men, and that he is the only one who continues "to worſhip him on earth... David declares, that no "age was more diſſolute and corrupt than that he "lived in; and that there is not ſo much as one "man to be found, who does a good action.*"... This is the tenet which Father Adam's adverſaries reproach'd him with; the reſult of which was, that the doctrine which God inſpired, and the expreſſion of the inſpired writer were different things: that the former only came from God, who left the latter to the imagination or fancy of the perſon he inſpired, and did not prevent this imagination from exceeding the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. This, undoubtedly, is what Father Adam underſtood; for the examples he brings of Elias and David, would be wholly unneceſſary to a man, who ſhould believe that God revealed, that Elias was the only one who worſhipped the true God; and in the age David lived, there was not ſo much as one good man upon the earth. The perſon, therefore, who employed thoſe examples, muſt be perſuaded that God did not give any ſuch revelation, but only, that there were very few good men Upon this foot the imagination of an inſpired writer makes that univerſal which was revealed with reſtriction, and falls into the ſophiſm, *à dicto ſecundùm quid ad dictum ſimpliciter:* In a word, this imagination adulterates revelation, deceives the Church, and tells a lye. The Janſeniſts did not fail to exclaim againſt this doctrine as impious, and as giving a handle for cenſuring the authority of the ſacred writings (5) on a thouſand occaſions; *For if God*, ſaid theſe (6), *permits any weakneſs in the canonical writers whom he inſpires; if there be a native fire in St Paul, which is not that of God, the conſequence is, that whatever a libertine or a heretic meets with in the holy Scriptures repugnant to his own way of thinking, will be by him pronounced the reſult of man's native weakneſs or fire, and not the Spirit of God... To allow any part of Scripture to have a tincture of man's natural ſpirit or weakneſs, is granting every one a liberty of pronouncing as he pleaſes upon it, and of rejecting whatever he does not approve of in the ſacred Writings, as dictated by man's weakneſs, rather than by the Spirit of God... The libertine will aſſert, that hell fire will not be eternal, and that when St. Matthew ſays, — Go ye curſed into everlaſting fire, he made uſe of this too-ſtrong expreſſion, only to denote the long duration, and the greatneſs of the torments which were prepared for the wicked, according to the fancy or imagination of that Evangeliſt* (7). Father Adam's adverſaries aſſerted, that the only motive of his laying down theſe principles was, merely *that he might have an opportunity of invalidating St. Paul's expreſſions, which would appear to him harſh and contrary to his way of thinking; and of teaching the art of ſporting with the invincible ſtrength of the words of the Apoſtle of the Gentiles* (St. Paul) *on Grace and divine Predeſtination, as well as thoſe of St. Auſtin. In caſe he finds himſelf cloſely attacked by thoſe words of St. Paul in his epiſtle to the Romans chapt. ix. ver.* 18, *viz.* Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth; *he may anſwer, that St. Paul's natural fire made him launch into ſuch expreſſions; that it is a weakneſs which God permits in canonical writers; that it is the expreſſion of an idea or thing revealed agreable to the imagination, the diſpoſition, and temper of St. Paul* (8). I ſhall not trouble the reader with the anſwer which Father Adam's adverſaries made to the examples of Elias and David; and ſhall only obſerve, that they found he had committed a great miſtake with regard to fact, in the former of thoſe citations; for the canonical writer who relates the complaint which Elias made, does not deliver it a the expreſſion of one inſpired, but as the expreſſion of a man who miſtook, and to whom God revealed that he was miſtaken. Whence it follows, that the author who related this unjuſt complaint of Elias, did not thereby deviate in any manner from the greateſt hiſtorical exactneſs. The Janſeniſts abovementioned made the public recollect, that "among "the ſeveral propoſitions extracted from the "public lectures of the Jeſuits of Louvain; re-"cognized by them, and cenſured by the Fa-"culties of Louvain and Doway, in 1588, the "two following are found. Firſt, *To conſtitute holy*

(5) *Défenſe de St. Auguſtin, contre le P. Adam*, p. 11.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. p. 16.

(8) Compare what is ſaid pag. 374 of *Avis aux Refugié*

† Part III. ch. 7. p. 622.

which was raiſed againſt his ſermon, and againſt a book, in which he had wrote with great virulence againſt St. Auſtin, but continued to write on in the ſame ſtrain, and would not retract ſo much as a tittle. Hereupon the Janſeniſts revived their complaints and their writings, ſo that a particular conflict aroſe between them and father Adam. They criticis'd the books he publiſhed, and he, on the other ſide, drew up ſome pieces for the uſe of devout perſons, purpoſely to thwart their deſigns; in which view he publiſhed the Pſalms of David, the Hymns and Prayers of the Church in Latin and French. Every body knows that the Janſeniſts endeavoured to recommend themſelves, by their French tranſlations of this kind of works. They attacked father Adam's muſe, I mean his French tranſlation (in verſe) of thoſe Hymns [*F*]; however, this paper-war between father Adam and his antagoniſts, was of a very ſhort duration. He began to write in 1650, and the year following laid down his pen [*G*], which, in all probability, was found of leſs ſervice to the church and the ſociety he belonged to, than his other talents. He was ſent to Sedan, in order to found a college of Jeſuits there; but this he would ſcarce have been able to effect in Marſhal de Fabert's life-time, who of all men was the leaſt inclined to bigotry, and adhered moſt inviolably to the principles of the true faith. The Proteſtants were very eaſy under his government, but things took another turn after his death (*c*); for this Jeſuit ſet every engine at work in order to diſtreſs and aggrieve them; extorting monies from them, and obliging them to reſign certain funds, by which means he amaſſed a ſum ſufficient for founding at Sedan the college he had projected. He publiſhed a project, to which Mr. de St. Maurice Profeſſor of Divinity in the laſt mentioned city (*d*) writ a reply, that was never anſwered. Father

(*c*) He died in May 1662.

(*d*) He was the ſame in Maeſtricht after his leaving France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, till his death, which happened the 29th of Auguſt 1700. Father Adam laid an hundred ſnares for him, but met with an adverſary who extricated himſelf very artfully from them all.

" *Scripture, it is not neceſſary that all the words of* " *it ſhould be inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt.* Secondly, *It is not neceſſary, that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould* " *immediately inſpire the ſacred writer with all the* " *truths and all the maxims contained in their writings.*" But theſe two propoſitions, what modifications ſoever they may otherwiſe require, differ widely, and are infinitely leſs dangerous, than the tenet which Father Adam advanced (9).

(9) See Mr. Simon's anſwer to the *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, ch. 12. and his *Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſtament*, ch. 23. See alſo *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. x. p. 132. tom. xi. p. 80, and tom. xix. p. 499.

I have enlarged upon this ſubject, becauſe I obſerved that it was not known to thoſe authors, who upon occaſion of the piece intitled *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, i. e. " The ſentiments of ſome Divines in Holland," have written ſo much within theſe few years on the inſpiration of the books of Scripture. By the way, all communions have their Father Adam; and we find writers every where, who deſerve the ſame rebuke as our Jeſuit met with. Here follows that of Mr. Saurin Miniſter at Utrecht, to Mr. Jurieu Miniſter of Rotterdam (10). " The compariſon which Mr. Jurieu " made between the imagination or brain of the " Prophets which has been impreſſed from a- " bove, with a wheel, which being ſet a going " does not ceaſe to turn, tho' the hand ceaſes to " move it (11), is another prophane aſſertion. For, " altho' he has not applied this immediately to the " greater Prophets, yet the tranſition to them is " very natural; or, he ought to have ſhewn, that " their imagination when put in motion, did not, " by its proper impetuoſity, run beyond the impreſ- " ſion that was made on it, in the ſame manner as a " wheel that has been turn'd round, as he declares " was the caſe with other *inſpired perſons, in whom* " *God produces theſe extraordinary emotions, purpoſely* " *that they may be as ſo many ſigns and prodigies,* " *and who often go farther than they ought to do.* " By what mark would he have us diſtinguiſh thoſe perſons whom God ſends as ſo many ſigns, in caſe their " imagination once ſet a going, blends and confounds " thoſe things which God reveals, with their own " whimſies; and in caſe they publiſh both truth and " falſhood, with the air of perſons *out of their ſenſes,* " *and who diſcover wild, diſorderly emotions?* This " mixture of divine inſpiration and chimæra, conceal- " ed under the exterior *reſemblance of frenzy or mad-* " *neſs*, is repugnant to the idea we form to ourſelves of " God's wiſdom (12)." The imagination of ſome people is heated to ſo prodigious a degree, that they never repeat any particular they are told, without heightening it. Theſe are ſatisfied with barely retaining the circumſtances they hear, but as to the expreſſion, they no ways regard it; but then they ſubſtitute others, which being enlivened with all their fire muſt conſequently prove a very unfaithful image of the things that were told them. Perſons of this character naturally perſuade themſelves, that the Prophets and Apoſtles made the ſame uſe of the ideas which the Holy Ghoſt revealed to them.

(10) In 1692.

(11) See the 20th *Paſtoral Letter.*

(12) Saurin, *Examen de la doctrine de Mr. Jurieu*, by way of anſwer to a Libel entitled, *Seconde Apologie de Mr. Jurieu*, p. 21.

[F] *The French tranſlation he had given, in verſe, of thoſe hymns* (13).] What we find on this ſubject in the ninth part of the *difficulties propoſed to* Mr. Steyaert deſerves to be mentioned. " For many years, " no prayer-book was in greater eſteem than that in- " titled, *L'Office de l'Egliſe & de la Vierge, en Latin* " *& en François, avec les Hymnes traduites en Vers*; " qu'on appelle autrement, *Les Heures de Port-Royal*; That is, *The Office of the Church and of the Virgin, in Latin and in French, with the hymns tranſlated into verſe*, which are otherwiſe called, *the Primer of Port-Royal.* " Four editions were made of " this book in one year, which gave the Jeſuits ſo " much umbrage, that they ſet every engine at " work, in order to ruin the credit of it: They " raiſed a great number of frivolous objections to it, " which were immediately anſwered: They oppoſed " to it Father Adam's *Primer*, under the name of " *Les Heures Catholiques*, or the *Catholic Primer*, as " tho' the former were heretical. The hymns in it " were alſo tranſlated into verſe, but in ſo ridiculous " a manner, that they only ſerved to raiſe the merit " of thoſe of Port-Royal. Finally, the Jeſuits com- " plained of this Prayer-book to the Inquiſition at " Rome, and employed all their credit to get it " condemned by that Tribunal (14)." Cardinal Spada gave Mr. de St. Amour to underſtand, that in caſe Father Adam's piece abovementioned, ſhould be complained of to the Inquiſition, it would certainly be condemned; Mr. de St. Amour anſwered... *That if the Primer he had defended, had loſt its reputation,.. he was as willing it ſhould be ſo alone, as in company with that of Father Adam: and that he did not think it was proper to make uſe of thoſe Fathers* (the Jeſuits) *to write a ſilly book, whenever they ſhould find a good one publiſhed that did not pleaſe them, merely in hopes of getting both condemned, upon pretence of holding the ſcales even, and of reconciling both parties* (15).

(13) See Mr. Daillé's *Reply*, Part 2 p. 19. Part 3. p. 234 and 424.

(14) *Difficultez propoſées à Monſ. Steyaert.* Part 9. p. 42.

(15) Ibid. p. 45.

[G] *He began to write in* 1650, *and the year following laid down his pen.*] Father Southwel mentions but five works of Father Adam, the laſt of which is intitled *Réponſe à une lettre de Mr. Daillé.* i. e. " A Reply to a letter of Mr. Daillé," and was publiſhed in 1660. The titles of his other pieces are as follows: *Calvinus à ſeipſo & à S. Auguſtino profligatus, Pariſiis* 1650, *in* 8*vo.* i. e. " Calvin defeated by his own weapons and by St. Auſtin." *Pſalmi Davidis, Latinè & Gallicè, cum canticis undecim quibus utitur eccleſia, Pariſiis* 1651, *in* 12*mo.* i. e. " David's Pſalms in Latin and French, with " eleven hymns uſed by the Church." *Fidelium regula ex ſacrâ Scripturâ & ſanctis Patribus depromta, Pariſiis* 1651, *in* 12*mo.* i. e. " A rule or guide " for the faithful, extracted from the ſacred Scrip- " tures and the holy Fathers." *Preces Catholicæ, Latinè & Gallicè, Pariſiis* 1651, *in* 8*vo* & 12*mo.* i. e. " Catholic Prayers in Latin and French."

Father Adam continued ſome years at Sedan, where he laboured with all his power, at advancing the intereſts of the Jeſuits, and the project he had drawn up for bringing over converts to the Romiſh profeſſion. At laſt the higher powers themſelves grew ſick of him; and whether it were, that they now dreaded his bold and intriguing genius, or that they found that his way of preaching was not grave enough for a city in which there was a Proteſtant Univerſity; they were very glad when his ſuperiors recalled him; and I have been told, that entreaties were made for that purpoſe. He had been ſent to preach in Loudun, at the time that the Proteſtants held a national ſynod in that city, about the cloſe of the year 1659. It was this very probably engaged him to write a work, which made him better known to the Proteſtants of France than any thing elſe, and more than a great many writers of the firſt claſs are known to them. A Miniſter of Poitiers (*e*), having changed his religion, a little after the breaking up of this ſynod, wrote a letter, in which he animadverted very maliciouſly, on the *Faſt* which the laſt mentioned aſſembly had enjoined all the reformed churches in the kingdom (*f*). Mr. Daillé, who had been Moderator of that ſynod, anſwered the letter of this quondam Proteſtant Clergyman, who writ a reply to it; and father Adam engaging in the controverſy, publiſhed an anſwer to Mr. Daillé's piece [*H*] in 1660. Mr. Daillé anſwered both of them in one book. Perhaps none of Mr. Daillé's works met with greater ſucceſs than that in queſtion, or was ſo much read by Proteſtants of all profeſſions; and this is the reaſon why father Adam, who is mentioned almoſt in every period of it, and whoſe genius and temper are frequently deſcribed in the ſtrongeſt colours, is better known to them than a hundred abler writers. This work of Mr. Daillé was never anſwered [*I*], which we are not to wonder at; for thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to do this, were not able to cope with ſo powerful an adverſary, who might have defeated them, even though he had undertaken the defence of a bad cauſe. I don't know the year in which father Adam was Procurator at Rome, for the Province of Champagne; nor do I find it in the *Bibliotheque* of the Jeſuits (*g*); which, however, informs me, that he was ſuperior of the * Jeſuits Houſe at Bourdeaux in 1674, in which character I think he died, anno 1680. He had publiſhed ſome controverſial ſermons relating to the Euchariſt (the only topic of diſcourſe throughout all France, whilſt the controverſy laſted between Mr. Arnauld and Mr. Claude) ſince the publication of father Southwell's (Sotuellus) work; and preached them, if I miſtake not, in the height of that controverſy. They are well enough written, except that they have too much the air of the Drama, in thoſe places where Mr. Claude is introduced as an interlocutor; but this I know only by hearſay. Father Adam was attacked by father Jarrige, but with much more lenity than a great many others,

(e) His name was Mr. Cottibi.

(f) See *Mr. Daillé's Life*, p. 33, *& ſeq.*

(g) *Rexit collegium Sedanenſe in Provincia Campaniæ, a quâ electus eſt procurator ad urbem.* i. e. "He governed the college of Sedan "in Champagne, "where he was "elected Procurator to Rome.

* [The French is *Maiſon profeſſe*; The word *Profez* or *Profeſſe* ſignifies a Monk or Nun who have taken their religious vows in a convent, and alſo ſignifies the houſe inhabited by ſuch Jeſuits as have made their vows.

[*H*] *An anſwer to Mr. Daillé's piece.*] Father Southwel intitles this work, *Reſponſum ad epiſtolam D. Allii Miniſtri Charentonenſis hæretici.* i. e. "An anſwer to the letter of Mr. D. Allius, the heretical "Miniſter of Charenton." This is a moſt wretched way of latiniſing Mr. Daillé's name, and ſhews that Father Southwel knew very little of controverſial writings. For what writer of controverſy but has heard of Mr. Daillé's Latin pieces; and conſequently knows that he was called in Latin *Dallæus?* All perſons, who know, in general, that there was a Miniſter of Charenton, whoſe name was *Allix*, would immediately ſuppoſe that Father Adam had written a book againſt him, had they no other lights than thoſe which the article of this Jeſuit gives in his continuation of *Alegambe*; whence we ſee, that the ſmalleſt miſtake in proper names is capable of miſleading readers. A perſon who had once miſtaken Mr. Allix for the *Allius* of the continuator abovementioned, might very naturally place him in the catalogue *Des Enfans celebres*, or celebrated youths, and ſend it, by way of addition to Mr. Baillet (16); for he would imagine it was printed ſo early as 1660, and refuted by a famous Jeſuit.

(16) He publiſhed in 1688, a book entitled, *Des enfans devenus célebres par leurs études, ou par leurs ecrits.* i. e. "Of ſuch youths "as had raiſed a "reputation by "their ſtudies or "by their writings.

[*I*] *This work of Mr. Daillé was never anſwer'd.*] The curious will not be diſpleaſed to hear what the ſon of this able Miniſter has obſerved with regard to this work. *It is*, ſays he, *in every body's hands; and has been ſo well received, that it has already borne two impreſſions. Thoſe of our communion, for whoſe uſe it was chiefly calculated, are pleaſed to find moſt of our controverſies treated there in a very inſtructive manner; and our religion cleared from all the aſperſions, which its enemies generally throw upon it. And if any advantage may be drawn from the ſilence of our opponents, methinks they ſtand ſelf convicted; ſince they have not hitherto written any thing againſt it, tho' they had often promiſed they would, and have been reproached more than once upon that account* (17). The younger Mr. Daillé had juſt before ſaid a thing, by which he plainly inſinuated, that Cottibi the Miniſter had been converted by Father Adam; a circumſtance I muſt not omit, as it is one of the gallant atchievements of our Jeſuit. Let us, therefore, once again quote the author of Mr. Daillé's life. "Not "only the Romiſh Neophyte, who was the party "concerned, defended himſelf in a pretty voluminous anſwer he publiſh'd; but as tho' his cauſe had "not been ſafe in his own hands, a celebrated Je"ſuit came likewiſe to his aſſiſtance, of whom one "of his own perſuaſion obſerved, that he is the firſt "(greateſt) man in the world, no otherwiſe than by "his name." It is plain that the perſon here hinted at is Father Adam, who, in order to ſupport his PROSELYTE, publiſhed at the ſame time a ſecond anſwer, about the ſame ſize and of equal force with his.

(17) *Abrégé de la Vie de Mr. Daillé.* p. 35. 'Twas printed in 1670.

This expreſſion, *the firſt man* uſed in the paſſage above, furniſhed me in the firſt edition of this *Dictionary* with a marginal note, which I ſhall now take into this column. It is as follows: "I have heard that the "Queen mother, having asked a Nobleman of great "diſtinction, who had waited upon her at Father "Adam's ſermon, what he thought of it; he thanked "her Majeſty for his having been ſo thoroughly convinced by it, of the hypotheſis relating "to the Pre-Adamites. The Nobleman being deſired to explain this enigma, made the following "anſwer: *This ſermon has very plainly proved, "that Adam is not the firſt man* *." The reader will find this ſtory in the ſequel of the *Menagiana* (18), where we are told, that the Nobleman of great quality who anſwered the Queen in this manner, was the Prince de Guimené; and that the ſermon which gave occaſion to this repartee, *met with a very ill reception both from the City and the Court* (19). *Father Adam made a very odious compariſon in it between the Pariſians and the Jews who crucified our Saviour. He compared the Queen to the Virgin Mary, and Cardinal Mazarin to St. John the Evangeliſt.* We are to obſerve, that others aſcribe the abovementioned repartee to Benſerade; as we find in his life prefixed to the laſt edition of his works (20).

* The joke here lies in the ambiguity of the French word *premier*, which not only ſignifies the firſt, but the greateſt; a ſenſe in which it is often taken in Engliſh.

(18) Pag. 39. Dutch edit.

(19) This was a ſermon on Chriſt's paſſion, preached by father Adam at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois.

(20) That of 1697.

others, and came off upon very reaſonable terms [*K*]. By the way, he is not the firſt who has ſpoke ſlightingly of St. Auſtin [*L*], and endeavoured to make people believe, that St. Paul's too great vivacity made him exaggerate [*M*].

ADAM

[*K*] *And came off upon very reaſonable terms.*] I meet with three paſſages which relate to him, in the defamatory writings of Jarrige the *quondam* Jeſuit, the firſt of which runs thus: *Father John Adam, one of the beſt Preachers among the Jeſuits, explain'd to an* * *Urſuline of the convent of St. Macarius the* Treatiſe on Generation; *and ſpoke as plainly of thoſe parts which contribute to the procreation of children, as Du Laurent does in his* Anatomy (21). The ſecond paſſage is as follows: *All thoſe who were of the college of Poictiers in* 1646, *know the quarrel that aroſe been John Adam and James Biroat, two of the moſt conſiderable perſons of their order. Theſe attacked one another ſo vigorouſly, that they diſcovered by the ſecret providence of God their own filthy obſcenities; and James Biroat was convicted, &c.* (22). The third declares, that *John Adam, the moſt able Preacher among them, was ſon to a* * *journeyman-taylor or botcher* (23). Now, of theſe three paſſages, the firſt only can be injurious to Father Adam's memory; for the ſecond throws on Biroat only the filth which their quarrel was the occaſion of bringing to light. Conſequently, whatever ſcandal and ſecret hiſtory had revealed to Father Jarrige concerning Father Adam, it amounted only to this; that he had read ſome anatomical lectures, on the procreation of children, to a Nun. Once again, this is getting out of Father Jarrige's hands upon very eaſy terms; which every one muſt allow, who reflects ever ſo little on the character of his work. Had Father Jarrige told us the Nun's age, we then might have formed a better judgment of the crime. To converſe on this ſubject with a young Nun, is undoubtedly a great ſin, becauſe it is morally impoſſible but diſcourſes of ſuch a nature muſt raiſe impure ideas: but I ſhould be glad to hear a caſuiſt of good ſenſe, who was neither of a too looſe nor too ſevere a turn of mind, examine the following queſtion: *Would a Nun, who is in ſo advanced an age, that ſhe could attend to an anatomical lecture on the organs of generation, with the ſame coolneſs and indifference as ſhe could bear the ſtructure of the ear explained; would, I ſay, the curioſity of attending to ſuch a lecture, be imputed to her for a ſin?* I believe it will be granted me, that it is very lawful for a woman, whatever may be her ſtation or condition in life, to know all that relates to the circulation of the blood. It is not a ſin for her to know, that the moſt ſubtle parts of the chyle paſs from the inteſtines into the lacteal veins, and from thence ſucceſſively into the cavity diſcovered by Pequet, into the Ductus Thoracicus, into the ſubclavian vein, into the hollow vein, into the right ventricle of the heart, into the artery of the lungs, into the vein of the lungs, into the left ventricle of the heart, and into the great artery. It will be no crime in ſuch a woman to know, the opening and ſhutting of the valves ſeated in the extremity of the veins and arteries, the anaſtomoſes (orifices of the veins and arteries where they meet) the ſecretion of urine, &c. Why then would it be criminal in her to go through a complete courſe of Anatomy; and to ſtudy very exactly, whatever is ſaid on the conſtruction of thoſe parts (externally and internally) by which children are procreated? The guilt could not conſiſt in the bare knowledge of theſe things; conſequently it muſt conſiſt in the impure ideas which either preceded, accompanied or followed ſuch a courſe or ſtudy. But then I ſuppoſe, that ſuch a woman was no more affected with theſe lectures, than ſhe would be with ſtudying the anatomy of the ear. This is the caſe on which we are to argue. As I my ſelf don't ſet up for a Caſuiſt, I ſhall leave the deciſion of this point, to thoſe whoſe province it is; and ſhall only obſerve, that thoſe perſons who are not obliged by their profeſſion to know theſe things, particularly ſuch as have made a vow of chaſtity, would do well to ſuppreſs every curioſity of this kind, and never gratify it: whence it follows, that Father Adam could not have own'd the fact, without confeſſing himſelf guilty of a fault at the ſame time. The moſt favourable conſtruction people would put upon this matter is, that his female auditor made this her maxim; *Amare liceat, ſi potiri non licet. Dum caremus veris, gaudia falſa juvant.* That is,

" To love is lawful, tho' not to enjoy,
" Wanting true joys, fictitious ones delight.

[*L*] *He is not the firſt who has ſpoke ſlightingly of St. Auſtin.*] Sarrau, in a letter of his to Salmaſius in 1646, obſerves, that the Jeſuits declared daily from the pulpit, that St. Auſtin was not the rule of faith; and that he had advanced ſeveral things indiſcreetly, merely to remove the objections which were made to him. *Non eſt hic pater regula fidei, ut ſe expediret ab argumentis hæreticorum ſui temporis multa liberiùs & inconſideratiùs dixit, quibus non tenemur* (24). Father Adam, four days after his preaching this ſermon, owned to a perſon who repreſented to him the miſchief which that piece might occaſion, *That Gabriel à Porta the Jeſuit would often ſay, that it were to be wiſhed, St. Auſtin had never writ concerning grace* (25). A long time before the riſe of Janſenius's doctrine, ſome Divines had declared very freely, that St. Auſtin carried matters too far; and that when he was combating certain adverſaries, he flew with ſo much violence from their erroneous tenets, that he ſeemed to run into the oppoſite extreme; as for inſtance, when he oppoſed the error of the Pelagians, he ſeemed to approach too near that of the Manichees; and on the contrary, in combating the principles of the Manichees, he ſeemed to approve of the Pelagian hereſy. An Iriſhman, Paulus Leonardus by name, cites thereupon Genebrard, Cornelius Muſſus Biſhop of Bitonto, Cajetan and Sixtus Sinenſis (26); but father Annat cites a great many more in the work, where he endeavours to prove, that St. Auſtin was not of Janſenius's opinion (27). See what father Noris anſwers to the great cloud of witneſſes, which are oppoſed to that famous Biſhop of Hippo. Some Proteſtants ſeem inclined to think, that St. Auſtin carried matters too far: I don't hint at the *Philoſophical Commentary* (28), wherein father Adam's deciſion is in ſome meaſure approved; nor of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* (29), where St. Auſtin is drawn directly to father Adam's mind; but the perſon I have in view is Mr. Daillé, who not only involves St. Auſtin in the accuſation which is levelled againſt the fathers in general, viz. that in flying from one precipice, they ſeem to run down another (30); but accuſes him alſo, of treating things too much after the fluctuating manner of the Academical Philoſophers, or followers of Plato (31). A little book was, not long ſince, publiſhed, entitled, *Avis importans à Mr. Arnaud ſur le Projet d'une nouvelle Bibliothéque d'Auteurs Janſeniſts.* i. e. (" Important Advice to Mr. " Arnauld, upon the propoſal for compiling a new " Bibliotheque (Library) of Janſeniſt writers,") where we are told, that a third party is forming, which will be neither Janſeniſt nor Moliniſt; and that theſe will ſuſpend St. Auſtin, ſo very nicely, between heaven and earth, that he won't ſtand either too high or too low. Such a medium as this would reconcile all animoſities, if people would be but reaſonable; and a man might be either a Janſeniſt or Moliniſt, juſt as he pleaſed. Ought not the Jeſuits to be ſatisfied, if St. Auſtin is not allowed to be the rule of faith? Did they deſire more than this, in thoſe books where the deputies of the Janſeniſts (32) extracted upwards of an hundred propoſitions, which ſtruck at the authority of that father of the church?

[*M*] *Inſinuated, that St. Paul's too great vivacity, made him exaggerate.*] We meet in the *Cenſure of father Adam's Sermon* (33), a paſſage of father Cauſſin, where St. Paul and St. Auſtin are compared to *two great ſeas which ſwell through an impetuoſity of ſpirit to ſuch a degree on one ſhore, that one would imagine they intended to leave the oppoſite dry for a time; but, in the ſame manner as the ocean, after having ſpread itſelf wide on one ſide, returns to thoſe limits which the Creator had preſcribed to it, ſo theſe, after falling upon thoſe rebellious ſpirits who riſe up againſt*

* The *Urſulines* are Nuns (called from St. Urſula) who follow St. Auſtin's rule, and undertake the inſtruction and education of young girls.

(21) Jarrige, *Jéſuites mis ſur l'ecba faut.* i. e. " The Jeſuits ſet on the ſcaffold, chap. 10.

(22) Ibid.

* The French is *couturier*, ſignifying properly a country taylor, or a journeyman taylor in great towns, who botches old clothes for brokers, or for the poorer ſort of people.

(23) Jarrige, *Réponſe a Jaques Beaufés*, ch. 14.

A DOUBT propoſed to Caſuiſts with regard to a curioſity in Anatomy.

(24) *Vide Epiſt.* Sarravii, p. 196.

(25) *Defenſe de St. Auguſtin contre le P. Adam*, p. 24.

(26) Paulus Leonard. *Reſponſ. ad Expoſtulationes contra ſcientiam mediam*, p. 117, 118.

(27) *Annati Auguſtinus vindicatus à Bajanis.*

(28) Part III. p. 4. See alſo the Supplement, p. 2.

(29) Tome 14. p. 287.

(30) Daillé, *de l'emploi des Peres*, p. 153.

(31) Ibid. p. 393.

(32) In 1653. See the *Memorial hiſtorique touchant les V propoſitions*, p. 82.

(33) Pag. 17.

ADAM (MELCHIOR) lived in the ſeventeenth Century. As he took ſuch indefatigable pains to collect, adjuſt and publiſh the lives of a vaſt number of learned men, it was but juſt that ſome perſon ſhould do him the ſame good office; and yet this is what, I believe, no one has yet attempted. Moreri promiſed to take notice of him, but forgot his engagement when the time came for his performing it (*a*). His promiſe and non-performance have ſubſiſted hitherto, in all the editions of his Dictionary (*b*). It was ſcarce poſſible that a perſon ſhould forget a writer, whence he had borrowed ſo many articles: and with regard to myſelf, ſo great is the advantage I have reaped from his labours, that I would very willingly have ſhewn my gratitude, by giving a large account of his life, could I have met with materials for that purpoſe. Here follows what I could collect on this head. MELCHIOR ADAM was born in the territory of Grotkaw in Sileſia, and went thro' his ſtudies in the college of Brieg, where the Dukes who receive their title from thence, gave the moſt favourable protection to learning, and in particular to the reform'd religion (*c*); that I mean which a Roman Catholic would call Calviniſm. Here our young ſcholar was firmly riveted in Proteſtant principles, and enabled to purſue his ſtudies by the liberality of a perſon of great quality (*d*), who had left ſeveral exhibitions for the education of a certain number of young ſtudents. He was made principal of a College in Heidelberg (*e*), in which city he publiſhed, anno 1615, the firſt volume of his *Illuſtrious Men*. This firſt volume comprehending the Philoſophers, and under that title, the Poets, the Writers on Polite Literature, the Hiſtorians, &c. was followed by three others; that which included the Divines was printed in 1619; that of the Civilians or Lawyers came afterwards; and finally, that of the Phyſicians. The two laſt of which were printed in 1620. The ſeveral Literati whoſe lives are comprehended in theſe four volumes in 8°, lived in the ſixteenth, or the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, and are all Germans or Flemings; but he publiſhed in 1618 the lives of twenty Divines of other countries, in a ſeparate volume. All his Divines were Proteſtants. Though he has given us but a few of theſe lives, they nevertheleſs coſt him a great deal of time and pains, becauſe he abridged the ſeveral pieces which furniſhed him with materials, whether Lives, properly ſo called, Funeral Sermons, printed Bills relating to Declamations; Elogiums, Prefaces, or Memoirs of Families; not to mention the multitude of ſummaries he has thrown into the margin. He has omitted ſome perſons, who as juſtly deſerved a place in his work, as ſeveral of thoſe he has taken notice of [*A*]. He did not pleaſe the Lutherans (*f*), for theſe pronounce him a partial writer, and will not allow his collection to be a proper ſtandard, for forming a judgment of the learning of the Germans (*g*). He wrote other works [*B*],

(*a*) Under the word ADAM, he bids the reader ſee Melchior Adam; but when he looks for Melchior, he finds nothing to that purpoſe.

(*b*) This is writ in June 1698.

(*c*) Melch. Adam. *in Epiſt. Dedicat. Germani Theolog.*

(*d*) Joachim Bergerus. See the Epiſt. Dedicatory to his *German Philoſophers.*

(*e*) Henn. Witte. *Diarium Biograph.*

(*f*) *See* Konig, *Biblioth. vet. & nov.* p. 8. *ubi citatur* Henningi Witte, *Præfat. Memor. Theologorum*, p. 17, 18.

(*g*) Morhofius, *Polyhiſtor*, pag. 192, 209.

*against the truth, return with a peaceable equality to edify the houſe of God**. Here we have the wheel, that whirls round more than it is ordered to do, to which we have heard a Miniſter compare the ſpirit of prophecy (34). St. Paul and St. Auſtin are ſometimes very intemperate in their expreſſions, but they afterwards return back, like the tide, to thoſe bounds which God has ſet them. Incomparable ſure! Hence a man is happily enabled to anſwer very eaſily all ſuch paſſages of St. Paul, as may interfere with his private ſentiments; for he need only declare, that the Saint had then overflowed the whole country; and that he muſt be waited for, till he return into the bed or channel which God had made for him. Sir Edwin Sandys informs me of a particular, which ſuits ſo well the preſent occaſion, that I muſt not omit it here. *Some parts of Scripture, as St. Paul's Epiſtles, they* (the Romaniſts) *are ſo jealous of, and think ſo dangerous, that by report of divers, (for my ſelf did not hear it) ſome of their Jeſuits of late in Italy in ſolemn ſermon, and other their favourites elſewhere in private communication, commending between them St. Peter for a worthy ſpirit, have cenſured St. Paul for a hot-headed perſon, who was tranſported ſo with his pangs of zeal and eagerneſs beyond all compaſs in ſundry his diſputes, that there was no great reckoning to be made of his aſſertions; yea he was dangerous to read as ſavouring of hereſy in ſome places, and better he had not written of thoſe matters at all. Agreeable to which I have heard other of their Catholics deliver, that it hath been heretofore very ſeriouſly conſulted among them, to have cenſured by ſome means and reformed the writings of St. Paul; though for my own part I muſt profeſs I can hardly believe this, as being an attempt too too abominable and blaſphemous, and for theſe times alſo too deſperate a ſcandal. But howſoever, he of all other is leaſt beholden to them; whom of mine own knowledge and hearing, ſome of them teach in pulpits, not to have been ſecure of his preaching but by conference with St. Peter and other of the Apoſtles; nor that he durſt publiſh his Epiſtles till they had allowed them* (35). In how abſurd a manner do theſe people argue! If St. Paul's Epiſtles were approved of by St. Peter, are they then not as authentic as can be deſired?

* Of the Holy Court, tom. 3. *Maxim* 6 *of Predeſtination*, num. 2.

(34) Near the cloſe of the remark [*E*] above.

(35) *State of Religion in the weſtern parts of the world*, pag. 127. By Sir Edwin Sandys, Kt London printed for Tho. Baſſet 1673. 8°.

[*A*] *He has omitted ſome perſons, who as juſtly deſerved a place in this work, as ſeveral of thoſe he has taken notice of.*] This he himſelf confeſſes, but declares at the ſame time, that he had no particular views in acting thus, and that the only reaſon of it was his want of materials. However, he intended to ſupply theſe omiſſions in other volumes, as appears from his own words: *Quædam mihi monendus, aut rogandus es, mi lector. Primùm, ne præteritos aut omiſſos non paucos quæraris, haud indignos, qui hoc in theatro appareant. In eo mea, mi lector, culpa nulla eſt: ſed penuria fecit hiſtoriæ; quam nanciſci nullam uſpiam potui. Malui itaque prorſus tacere de multis præſtantibus viris, quàm, ut ille de Carthagine, pauca dicere; & trita illa,* Natus eſt, obiit, *ſcribere. Suppleri tamen poterit hic defectus, volente Deo, & mutuas operas tradentibus bonis patriæque amantibus, ſi hujus voluminis tomus ſecundus fuerit adornatus. Quod idem dictum volo, de reliquis Vitis Juriſconſultorum & Politicorum, Medicorum ac Philoſophorum* (1). i. e. "Reader, I am to acquaint you with ſome things, and requeſt others of you: Firſt, that you would not conclude, that the many perſons who are omitted in this work, were not worthy a place in it. The fault, reader, is no ways mine, but is owing to the ſcarcity of materials, which it was impoſſible for me to procure. I therefore choſe to ſay nothing of many excellent perſons, rather than (like the man ſpeaking of Carthage) to ſay but a very little, and to uſe thoſe trite words,* *He was born; he died.* However, this defect, God willing, may be ſupplied, provided good men and lovers of their country will but grant me their aſſiſtance, when the ſecond volume of this work ſhall be prepared. The ſame I deſire may be underſtood of the reſt of the lives of Civilians, Politicians, Phyſicians, and Philoſophers."

(1) Melch. Adam. *Præfat. Theolog. Germanorum.*

* Like that whimſical epitaph mentioned in the *Spectator*, *Here lies John Hall Spittle-fields weaver, and that's all.*

works [B], and died in 1622. See Baillet's *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Vol. II, pag. 177 and 178.

(B] *He wrote other works.*] Viz. *Apographum Monumentorum Heidelbergenſium. Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæſaris. Scaligeri pro M. T. Ciceronе contra Citeronianum Eraſmi. Parodiæ & Metaphraſes Horatianæ* (2). He is not author of *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Eccleſiæ Hamburgenſis & Bremenſis*, as is declared in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library; that work being written by one ADAM a Canon of Bremen, who lived in the 11th Century. Conringius and Poſſevinus place him in the 10th Century, but they are miſtaken. See Mollerus, page 65, Part firſt of *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*.

(2) *Ex Diario Biograph.* Henningi Witte.

ADAM, à Joyner of Nevers, a French Poet. Vide BILLAUT.

ADAMITES (*a*), a ridiculous ſect, which ſome writers declare to have been a branch of the Carpocratians and Valentinians (*b*). According to Theodoret, one Prodicus was the founder of it [*A*]. St. Epiphanius ſays that they received the name of Adamites, from one Adam, who lived in the time that they were ſo called (*c*). But it is more probable, according to St. Auſtin (*d*), that they were denominated from Adam, from whom all mankind ſprung; for theſe wretches went naked, in imitation of our firſt parents in the ſtate of innocence, and condemned marriage for this reaſon, viz. becauſe Adam did not know Eve till after his fall, and after he was drove out of paradiſe. Theſe ſectariſts, therefore, ſuppoſed, that marriage would not have been inſtituted, had man continued in his primitive innocency; and indeed, they made a vow of continence, and a monaſtic life (*e*). They never appeared naked but in their aſſemblies [*B*], when their religious exerciſes were to be performed (*f*); and uſed to meet in a ſtove-room, under which a fire was made, in order to expel the cold. They uſed to ſtrip themſelves at their coming into it, when both women and men, the Clergy as well as the Laity, were as naked as when they came from the womb; after which they ſeated themſelves in a random manner on benches that were fixed one above the other, and fell to their devotions; and theſe being ended, they dreſſed themſelves, and returned to their reſpective habitations. Any perſon who committed a fault, was excluded the aſſembly [*C*]; on which occaſion they uſed to ſay, that having, as Adam had done, eaten of the forbidden fruit, they deſerved, like him, to be drove out of paradiſe, for ſo theſe Sectariſts called their church. So far St. Epiphanius informs us on this head [*D*], and that not from books,

(a) St. Auſtin calls them *Adamiani*, after St. Epiphanius, who calls them Ἀδαμιανοί.

(b) *See* Danæum *in Aug. de Hæreſ.* cap. 31.

(c) Epiphan. *in Synopſi*, tom. 1. lib. 2. p. 397.

(d) *Auguſt. de Hæreſ.* cap. 31.

(e) See the remark [C]

(f) Epiph. *Hæreſ.* 52.

[*A*] *According to Theodoret, one Prodicus was the founder of it* (1).] Baronius places him in the year 120, and anterior to Valentinus; for which reaſon he cenſures in another place (2), thoſe who rank him among the diſciples of Valentinus. If this be true, Lambert Daneau (Danæus) whom I have cited, is not worthy of credit. I ſhall ſpeak of this Prodicus in a ſeparate article.

(1) Theodoret. *Hæret. Fabul.* lib. 1.

(2) Baronius *ad ann.* 175. numb. 33.

[*B*] *They never appeared naked but in their aſſemblies.*] Danæus was therefore miſtaken, when he included among their errors the obligation Chriſtians of both ſexes were under of walking the ſtreets naked. *Oportere Chriſtianos homines verſari in* PUBLICO, *in cœtu eccleſiæ, in precibus, nudos, ſive mares ſint, ſive fœminæ* (3).

(3) Danæus, *in Auguſt. de Hæret.* cap. 31. fol. 83.

[*C*] *He was excluded the aſſembly.*] St. Epiphanius declares, that theſe Sectariſts profeſſed continence and the monaſtic life, and condemned marriage. Μονάζοντές τε καὶ ἐγκρατευόμενοι ὄντες καὶ γάμου μὴ ἀνεχόμενοι (4). We therefore are not to doubt, but that fornication and adultery were condemned by their tenets; and conſequently, that they excommunicated and excluded thoſe from their aſſemblies, who were guilty of theſe crimes. And we are to obſerve, that altho' this ancient Father of the church will not allow of what the Adamites uſed to alledge, viz. that they ſtript themſelves, becauſe they were no more aſhamed of their nakedneſs than Adam was: it is, I ſay, to be obſerved, that altho' St. Epiphanius chuſes rather to impute their behaviour to an inſatiable laſciviouſneſs, which prompted them to feed the eye with alluring objects (5), he nevertheleſs does not ſay, that they were guilty of obſcene actions in their aſſemblies. Baronius has therefore aſſerted a falſhood, when he declares that Epiphanius gave the name of *brothels* (*lupinaria*) to thoſe Aſſemblies; for he employs the words φωλεὸς, *latibulum* (a den or covert) and σπηλυγγα, *caverna* (a cave) (6); and that ſimply in the ſignification of *lurking-hole*, or cave, as appears from his obſerving, that he would call the conventicles of heretics by that name. It is manifeſt that St. Epiphanius alludes to the following paſſage in the Goſpel, that the houſe of God had been made a den of thieves (7); but nothing is here hinted at relating to bodily impurity, or carnal correſpondence between the ſexes. Father Gaultier was therefore in the wrong to aſſert, (citing St. Epiphanius) that the Adamites, after leaving their clothes at the door of their aſſemblies, mix'd promiſcuouſly with the firſt women they laid hold of, *mulieribus promiſcuè utentes* (8). With regard to the quotation of Alphonſus de Caſtro, which immediately follows that of St. Epiphanius, in the margin of Father Gaultier's work, the aſſertion in it is as falſe as the abovementioned. Lambertus Danæus, when he accuſes the Adamites of the like impurity, does not quote St. Epiphanius, but Clemens Alexandrinus cited by Theodoret: *Extinctis in ſuo cœtu lucernis promiſcuè coeunt, quemadmodum ex* Clement. Strom. *notat Theodoretus* (9). i. e. "The lights being put out, they aſſociate promiſcuouſly, as Theodoret obſerves from the *Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus*." The reader will preſently find, that this paſſage is not quoted to the purpoſe. It is pretty ſtrange, that neither St. Epiphanius nor St. Auſtin ſhould have heard any thing of this incident; for common fame ſeldom ſuffers ſuch particulars, when once they are blazed abroad, to paſs into oblivion, unleſs they are palpably proved to be falſe; and even then, they are not always forgot. The reader will find in the following remark, in what manner theſe two Fathers may be reconciled with Alexandrinus.

(4) Epiphan. *in Synopſi* tom. 1. lib. 2. p. 397.

(5) Ἔπειτα ἐκκόψαι ἰδοῦσῃς κόραις ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμποιοῦσης τὴν θέλξιν. i. e. "They "aſcribe that to "an inſatiable "luſt, which "preſents ſuch "allurements to "the eyes." Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* 52. p. 460.

(6) Epiph. *Hær.* 52. p. 459.

(7) Matth. xxi. 12.

[*D*] *So far St. Epiphanius informs us on this head.*] He does not ſay, that in their aſſemblies every ſpark ruſh'd upon his damſel; but this was taken notice of in the preceding remark: much leſs does he declare that they had imbibed the heretical tenets of Prodicus, whereof Father Gaultier gives us the catalogue (10), and which Moreri charges them with. The latter is not ſo blame worthy upon this account, as for aſſerting, that St. Epiphanius calls their temples *infamous places, becauſe of the abominable crimes they committed in thoſe caves of horror and proſtitution.* Moreri adds, *that they rejected prayer*; which Danæus likewiſe affirms on the teſtimony of Clemens Alexandrinus: *Deum à nobis precandum & orandum eſſe negant, quia ſcit ipſe per ſe quibus egeamus. Clemens hoc de illis tradit, lib. 7. Strom.* (11). i. e. "They declared that prayers were not to be "offered

(8) Gaulter. *Tabul. Chronogr. Sæculo* 2. cap. 33.

(9) Danæus *in Auguſtin. de Hæreſ.* cap. 31. fol. 83.

(10) Gaulter. *Tabul. Chronogr. Sæculo* 2. cap. 33.

(11) Danæus *in Auguſtin. de Hæreſ.* cap. 31. fol. 83.

books, or the Adamites themſelves, but from the diſcourſes of ſeveral other perſons; and did not know, whether this ſect was totally aboliſhed in his time, or ſtill exiſted. Evagrius takes notice of certain Monks of Paleſtine, who, from an exceſs of devotion, and to mortify the body, uſed to withdraw into ſolitudes, both men and women, quite naked, thoſe parts excepted which decency will not permit us to name; where they uſed to expoſe themſelves in a moſt unaccountable manner [*E*], to the inclemencies of the weather (*g*). We ſhall ſpeak of the modern Adamites under the word PICARDS. I find that both Catholicks and Proteſtants reproach one another [*F*] with having ſome of theſe Adamites in thoſe countries where their reſpective religions prevail; but perhaps neither party has reaſon to reproach the other upon this account.

(*g*) Evag. *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 1. cap. 21.

" offered up to God, becauſe of himſelf he knows " what we want &c. Clemens relates this of them " in his Stromata;" yet St. Epiphanius and St. Auſtin declare the contrary: Γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ μητρὸς . . συνάγονται, καὶ οὕτως τὰς ἀναγνώσεις καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ πᾶν ἑτιοῦν ἐπιτελοῦσι. i. e. " They all aſſemble as naked " as they come from the womb, when they read, " PRAY, and perform the reſt of their religious ex- " erciſes." Theſe are St. Epiphanius's words, in the *Summary* of book 2d, tom. 1ſt; and St. Auſtin ſpeaks as follows: *Nudis itaque mares fœminæque conveniunt, nudi lectiones audiunt, nudi* ORANT, *nudi celebrant* (12) *ſacramenta* (12). i. e. " Men and women meet to- " gether naked, and in this condition they hear the " leſſons read, they PRAY, and receive the ſacra- " ment." Now theſe two Fathers might be reconciled with Clemens Alexandrinus, if we ſuppoſe that the Adamites, whom the latter declares to have been founded by Prodicus, did not exactly follow all the erroneous rites of Prodicus. Such a ſuppoſition has nothing unlikely in it, ſince ſometimes a ſect, in thirty or forty years, ſhall be very much changed from what it was at its firſt inſtitution: So that it is not juſt to affirm, that the Adamites obſerve all the ridiculous inſtitutions of Prodicus, becauſe he was their founder. It is certain, indeed, from St. Epiphanius and St. Auſtin, that the Adamites uſed to ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked in their aſſemblies; but then Clemens Alexandrinus, ſo far from aſſerting any thing like this of the followers of Prodicus, obſerves, that before they joined in embraces, the candles were taken away to ſave their ſhame. Τὸ καταισχῦνον αὐτῶν τὴν πορνικὴν ταύτην δικαιοσύνην ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένους φῶς τῇ ἕλκυτι περιτροπῇ μίγνυσθαι (13). Whence it appears, that Danæus ſhould not have applied to the Adamites, what this Father had related concerning the followers of Prodicus. In a word, when I conſider how much the Heathens traduced primitive Chriſtians, and the heavy charge of the Romaniſts againſt the Proteſtants, with regard to nocturnal aſſemblies, I cannot lightly give credit to every accuſation, which a prevailing party ſhall think fit to raiſe.

(12) Auguſt. *de Hæreſ.* cap. 31.

(13) Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. 3. p. 430.

[*E*] *In a moſt unaccountable manner.*] Theſe improved on the other Monks ſpoken of by the abovementioned Evagrius, who, having no garment, they could call their own, (the clothes which a Monk wore one day, being uſed by another the next) they yet had always ſome garment to put on (14). But the anchorets in queſtion, wore a girdle only, and put off the human creature as much as they could; for they would not eat the ſame kind of aliments, on which the reſt of mankind fed; they grazed as the beaſts do, and took but juſt ſo much ſuſtenance as would keep them alive: In a word, they became at laſt mere brutes; their very exterior was changed, and the faculties of their minds alſo. The inſtant they ſaw one of their own ſpecies they took to their heels; and if they found themſelves purſued, they ran as faſt as they could, or fled for ſhelter to ſome inacceſſible hole or cave. Some, however, would come into cities, and counterfeit mad-men, the better to ſhew the great contempt they had for worldly glory. They eat in public houſes, went into public baths, convers'd and waſhed with the other ſex; but were ſo very inſenſible on theſe occaſions, that neither the ſight, the touch, nor even the embraces of a woman, excited the leaſt emotion. They were as men with their own ſex, and as women with the *fair:* in ſhort, they would be of both ſexes. Μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄνδρες εἶναι, μετὰ γυναικῶν τε αὖ γυναῖκας, ἐκστάσεις τε μετέχειν ἀΐδιον φύσεως καὶ μὴ μιᾶς εἶναι (15). We may ſuppoſe, that it was no very difficult matter for theſe anchorets to counterfeit mad-men, and that they were truly ſuch: To theſe we may juſtly apply what Rutilius Numatianus ought not to have ſpoken of all kinds of anchorets,

(14) Evagrius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 21.

(15) Idem, lib. 1. cap. 21.

Quænam perverſi rabies tam ſtulta cerebri
Dum mala formides, nec bona poſſe pati (16)?
In Engliſh,
" Whence comes this ſtart of a diſorder'd brain,
" Thus to dread ill, and yet not bear with good.

(16) Rutil. *Itiner.* lib. 1. ver. 445.

To conclude, their nakedneſs was directly repugnant to the principles of thoſe Monks whom I ſhall mention in the following remark, and could not even be well reconciled with the doctrine of Father Sanchez.

[*F*] *Reproach one another.*] Moreri aſſures that *there are Adamites in England; that they hold their aſſemblies in the night, and are taught theſe words only,* " Swear, forſwear, and don't reveal the ſe- " cret." The editors of the Amſterdam edition of his *Dictionary*, juſtly obſerv'd, that there is no ſuch ſect in England; *that ſo prudent a Government as that of the Engliſh would never ſuffer ſuch vile obſcenities, which could not be concealed; and that it is not probable there are any Adamites in Poland;* for Moreri had aſſerted, *that ſome of theſe miſtaken wretches are found in that kingdom.* The laſt mentioned author could not juſtify himſelf by ſaying, that he does not pretend to affirm that theſe people go naked in public, but only, that they ſtrip themſelves naked in their nightly conventicles, which might be done, and a prudent Government know nothing of the matter: he could not, I ſay, alledge this in his own juſtification, ſince he had juſt before ſpoke of the Adamites of Bohemia, who, it is ſaid, went always naked. Conſequently Moreri, if he knew what he ſaid, muſt aſſert that there are a ſett of people now in England, of which both ſexes go always naked, from a religious principle: now, this could not be concealed from perſons in power, nor would they tolerate it. . . Thus we hear a Romaniſt aſſerting that there are Adamites in Proteſtant countries. I ſhan't take any notice of theſe idle, ridiculous ſtories concerning Holland, which we meet with in the *Sorberiana*, pag. 17. . . But now, as a counter-part to this, let us hear a Proteſtant Clergyman, declaring that there are Monks in Italy, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Adamites*, who go naked in conſequence of a vow they make, agreable to the moſt ſacred rules of their order. *Ac ne nunc quidem*, ſays he (17), *nomen ejus* (*hæreſis Adamianorum*) *extaret, niſi Monachi quidam, qui ſe falſo pietatis & vitæ auſteritatis prætextu commendarunt, horum hæreticorum impudentes prorſus mores retinuiſſent, & inter ſanctiſſima ordinis & regulæ ſuæ præcepta poſuiſſent, quales ii qui etiam nunc hodie Adamitæ dicuntur, vigentque plurimum in Italia. . . Vivunt enim nudi, non neceſſitate quadam adacti vel inopia veſtimentorum, ſed ex voti profeſſione.* i. e. " But the very name of this hereſy of the " Adamites) would not now ſo much as be heard of, " did not certain Monks, who recommend them- " ſelves by the falſe pretence of leading a pious " and auſtere life, retain the very impudent man- " ners of thoſe hereticks; and placed them among " the moſt holy precepts of their rule and order, " ſuch as they who are even now call'd *Adamites*, " and flouriſh chiefly in Italy. . . For they go naked, " to which they however are not forc'd either from " neceſſity or want of garments, but from the " vow they make." I wiſh this author had employ'd his endeavours to prove this aſſertion, rather than form

(17) Lamb. Danæus *in Auguſt. de Hæreſ.* cap. 31.

account. Were there no other teſtimony than that of Lindanus (*b*), I would not believe, that in 1535, ſeveral of theſe Adamites, perſons of ſubſtance and of very good families, uſed to run up and down the ſtreets of Amſterdam, ſtark naked; and that ſome were frantic enough to climb up trees, and there wait ſo long, in expectation of bread falling from heaven, till they fell down, half dead, to the ground. I ſhall quote, elſewhere (*i*) an author (*k*) who atteſts part of theſe particulars.

(*b*) Lindan. *Dubitantii, Dial.* 2. p. 171.

(*i*) In the remark [*B*] of the article PICARDS.

(*k*) Lambertus Hortenſius, *in Hiſt. Tumult. Anabaptiſt.*

form a contraſt between the conduct of the Sectariſts in queſtion, and that of thoſe ancient Monks who had never ſeen themſelves naked (18); and who declared, that a man of their profeſſion who ſhould contemplate his own nakedneſs, would do an action unworthy of it (19). Nevertheleſs, a modern caſuiſt who is none of the moſt rigid (20), conſiders as a venial ſin, *propria verenda aſpicere ex quadam curioſitate, abſque alia mala intentione & periculo*: i. e. "To view the immodeſt parts in one's ſelf, "merely out of curioſity, without any evil intention;" and a mortal ſin, *aſpicere verenda alterius ſexus operta veſtimentis ita ſubtilibus, ut parum aſpectui obſtent* (21): i. e. "To ſee in another ſex the "immodeſt parts, covered with garments ſo thin, "that they obſtruct the ſight but very little." To ſee a perſon of a different ſex naked, and ſwimming, is, according to him, a mortal ſin; two men of a grave character (Prelates for inſtance) who ſhould ſee one another naked, would, ſays he (22), be guilty of a mortal ſin. Bernia takes notice of a man, who always put on a glove when he touched his own *pudenda* (23). Might not a Caſuiſt as well forbid us touching theſe with the naked finger, as the gazing upon them when unveiled? An ancient Philoſopher, from an affectation of chaſtity, would not touch theſe either with, or without a glove, in which he differed very much from the principle of Anacharſis (24). This ancient Philoſopher was the ſevere Xenocrates. *Ariſtoles, irridens Chalcedonium Xenocratem, quod meiendo virilibus non admoveret manum, inquit.* "*Puræ quidem manus, at inquinata* "*mens* (25). i. e. "Ariſtoteles bantering Xenocrates "who would not uſe his hand when he made water; "the hands, ſays he, are clean, but the heart is "impure.

We ſhall obſerve in the note [*O*] of the article ADRIAN VI. that la Mothe le Vayer ſhould not have taken the paſſage of Bernia in a literal ſenſe.

(18) *Apud* Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 23; and Sozomen, lib. 1. cap. 13.

(19) See in Balthaſar Boniface's *Hiſtoria ludicra*, pag. 181, in what manner St. Jerom aſſerted, *Se quoque ipſam virginem erubeſcere debere, nec ſe ſibi nudam oſtendere.*

(20) Sanchez, *de Matrimon.* lib. 9. *Diſput.* 46. num. 27 and 28.

(21) Ibid. num. 25 and 26.

(22) Ibid. num. 27 and 28.

(23) *See* la Mothe le Vaier, *Hexam. Ruſt.* pag. 79.

(24) *Vide Plutarchum de Garrulit.* p. 505, and Clement. Alexandrin. *Stromat.* lib. 5. pag. 568.

(25) Athen. lib. 12. p. 530.

☞ADDISON (LANCELOT) ſon of Lancelot Addiſon, a Miniſter, born at Mauldiſmeaburne in the pariſh of Croſby-Ravenſworth in the county of Weſtmorland, was educated at the Grammar-ſchool at Appleby in the ſame county, and ſent to Queen's-College in Oxford in 1650, where he became firſt a Poor Child (*a*), afterwards Batchelor of Arts January 25, 1654 (*b*), and Maſter of Arts July 4th 1657 (*c*). He was choſen for one of the *Terræ-filii* for the *Act*, that was celebrated in 1658; but his ſpeech reflecting ſeverely upon the rigid part of the Univerſity at that time, he was brought upon his knees, and made his ſubmiſſion and recantation for what he had ſaid. Soon after he left the Univerſity, and lived near Petworth in Suſſex till the reſtoration. Dr. Henry King then Biſhop of Chicheſter being informed by the Gentlemen of Suſſex of Mr. Addiſon's loyalty, and the danger and ſufferings to which he had expoſed himſelf on account of his principles, took him under his care, and would have preferred him, had he not accepted of the Chaplainſhip at Dunkirk, contrary to the Biſhop's approbation. He continued at Dunkirk till it was given up to the French in 1662, and after his return to England he accepted of the place of Chaplain at Tangier, where he reſided ſeveral years. He came back to England about the beginning of the year 1670, with a reſolution to return to Tangier; but another perſon being placed in his room, he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, and deſtitute of any preferment, till a worthy Knight who was acquainted with his circumſtances, beſtowed upon him the ſmall Rectory of Mileſton or Milſton near Ameſbury or Ambroſebury in Wiltſhire, whither he retired. He was afterwards made Prebendary of *minor pars Altaris* in the church of Sarum, Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles the Second, and in 1675 took both the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity (*d*). In 1683, being then, as Mr. Wood ſuppoſes, Archdeacon of Coventry, he was preſented by the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs to the Deanery of Litchfield in conſideration of his former ſervices at Tangiers, and his loſſes by fire in Wiltſhire. He was inſtalled June 19th 1683 (*e*). He would probably have been raiſed to a Biſhoprick ſoon after the Revolution, if he had not been conſidered by the then Miniſtry, as too much attached to the contrary party. He died in 1703, and was buried in the weſt-part of the yard belonging to the Cathedral of Lichfield (*f*). He left three ſons, I. Joſeph, whoſe life we ſhall give in the next article. II. Gulſton, who died Governor of Fort St. George in the Eaſt-Indies. III. Lancelot, who was firſt entred in Queen's College, and was afterwards Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford; and one daughter, firſt married to Dr. Sartre, formerly Miniſter of Montpellier, and afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter; and ſecondly to Daniel Combes Eſq;. Dr. Addiſon wrote ſeveral books, of which we ſhall give an account in the remarks [*A*].

(*a*) Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Part II. Col. 970. edit. 2da 1721.

(*b*) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* p. 105.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 115.

(*d*) Wood's *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, p. 128.

(*f*) Le Neve, *ubi ſupra.*

☞ADDISON

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral books, of which we ſhall give an account.*] *Weſt Barbary, or a ſhort Narrative of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. With an account of the preſent cuſtoms, ſacred, civil, and domeſtic. By Lancelot Addiſon, Chaplain to his Majeſty in ordinary. Oxford at the theater*, 1671, *in* 8*vo, pages* 226. He aſſures us in the preface, that in order to be certain of the truth of the facts, which he relates, he had taken all the methods that appeared to him moſt proper for that purpoſe, as far as the nature of the ſubject would permit; that he had taken the advantage of converſing with the Moors and Jews, to enlarge or correct the obſervations, which he himſelf had made in travelling over that country. So that theſe remarks were not merely accidental or occaſional, but the reſult of an accurate enquiry for many years into the cuſtoms and manners of that nation. In ſhort, that he had not contented himſelf with examining once or twice into the facts which he mentions; but had rejected

ſeveral

☞ADDISON (JOSEPH) the ſon of the preceding, was born at Milſton near Ambroſebury in the county of Wilts in the year 1671. He received his firſt education at

ſeveral particulars, becauſe he could not procure a ſufficient confirmation of them; ſince it was his deſign not to amuſe the world with romantic and chimerical ſtories; but to write with the utmoſt regard to truth and to the public, and to advance nothing, but what was well confirmed. He tells us, that the reaſon of his ſaying nothing of the colleges or academies of that country, was becauſe they have none; and with regard to libraries, the Moors are ſo far from having any, that they ſhew the utmoſt ſurprize, when they ſee any old book in their language. Of this he gives ſeveral inſtances.

The preſent ſtate of the Jews; (more particularly relating to thoſe in Barbary) wherein is contained an exact account of their cuſtoms, ſecular and religious. To which is annexed a Summary Diſcourſe of the Miſna, Talmud, and Gemara. By L. Addiſon, one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the late revolutions and preſent cuſtoms of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. London, 1675, in 8vo, pages 249. It is dedicated to Sir Joſ. Williamſon, Secretary of ſtate, &c. *from Milſton near Ambroſebury in Wilts, Jan. 28th* 1674-5. He informs us in the introduction, that he propoſes nothing in that work but to act the part of a faithful hiſtorian, without attempting any other art to pleaſe the reader, than a plain and ſimple narration of truth; to obtain which he made uſe of the ſame care and examination as he had done in his former book. Had Mr. Baſnage ſeen this treati e, he might have received very conſiderable lights from it in order to compleat his *Hiſtory of the Jews.*

The primitive Inſtitution, or a ſeaſonable Diſcourſe of catechiſing; wherein is ſhewn the antiquity, benefit and neceſſity thereof; together with its ſuitableneſs to heal the preſent diſtempers of this national Church. By L. Addiſon, one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, in 12mo (1).

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Col 971.

A modeſt plea for the Clergy, wherein is briefly conſidered the original, antiquity and neceſſity of that calling; together with the ſpurious and genuine occaſions of their preſent contempt. London, 1677, 8vo (2). We find this book with ſome little alteration in the title, mentioned in a catalogue of books printed or ſold by W. Crooke in 1680, at the end of a piece entitled, *Conſiderations upon the reputation, loyalty, manners and religion of Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury. Written by himſelf by way of letter to a learned perſon.* Printed by the ſame Crooke in 1680. Dr. Addiſon's book is in that catalogue under the following title: *A modeſt Plea for the Clergy, wherein is briefly conſidered their original, antiquity and neceſſity; together with the true and falſe grounds of their being ſo much ſlighted, neglected, and unjuſtly deſpiſed. By L. A. D. D. in* 8vo. Dr. Hickes reprinted this book in 1709, with two other pieces, one by Samuel Gibſon, entitled *A Sermon of the ſacerdotal Benediction, &c.* Printed in 1620; and the other by Dr. Peter Heylin, entitled, *A Diſcourſe publiſhed to undeceive the people in point of tithes, &c.* Printed in 1648, under the fictitious name of Phil. Treleinie, which is the anagram of his own name. Theſe three diſcourſes were republiſhed in order to be oppoſed to *the rights of the Chriſtian Church*, and were printed in 8vo. Dr. Hickes publiſhed this book with the former title mentioned by *Wood*, and without the author's name; and he tells us in his Preface to the collection abovementioned, that it was publiſh'd at London by W. Crooke 1677; but he owns, that the author of this anonymous piece had taken ſuch care to conceal his name, that after all his enquiry both at London and in the two univerſities, he could not poſſibly diſcover it, or even learn whether he was a Clergyman or a Layman; tho' he inclined to think, that he was the latter, ſince he always ſpeaks of the Clergy in the third perſon, as if he were not of that body. He declares likewiſe, that he knew nothing of this book, but that it was communicated to him by one of his friends, whom he mentions. He adds, that the author of this piece, whoever he was, has treated his ſubject with a great deal of ſtrength and accuracy, and mixed ſacred and profane learning very judiciouſly; and that he writes in a noble, elevated ſtile, and with a ſtrain of eloquence ſuitable to the dignity of the ſubject. If Dr. Hickes had ever ſeen *the Catalogue of books*, printed by Mr. Crooke, Dr. Addiſon's Bookſeller, he would never have been in doubt about the author, but immediately have aſcribed it to him.

(2) Id. ibid.

The firſt ſtate of Mahometiſm; or an account of the author and doctrine of that impoſture. Lond. 1678, 8vo (3). This book was reprinted the next year with ſome alteration in the title: *The life and death of Mahomet, the author of the Turkiſh religion, being an account of his tribe, parents, birth, &c.* 1679, 8vo, *pages* 136. The author in a ſhort advertiſement informs us, that he has endeavoured to give a juſt and faithful account of the life and doctrine of Mahomet, and to clear them both from ſeveral fabulous repreſentations, which had been long believed. He adds, that he had no other deſign in publiſhing this work, than to ſhew what kind of a man Mahomet was, whoſe execrable doctrine has impoſed at preſent ſo groſly upon the greateſt part of the world. This book contains 24 chapters. Dr. Addiſon ſpeaking of the means, which contributed to the propagation of Mahometiſm, among other principles mentions that of *Toleration* (4), which is clearly eſtabliſhed in the *Koran*, eſpecially with regard to Chriſtians. He mentions (5) the treaty of *Alliance*, which is reported to have been made between Mahomet and the Chriſtians; and takes notice afterwards (6) of the different opinions of learned men concerning that piece. Gabriel Sionita publiſhed it in France from the original, which it is ſaid was found in a monaſtery of mount Carmel, and was reprinted in Germany by John Fabricius in 1638. Grotius thought it to be a forgery. Hottinger who had never ſeen it would not venture to condemn it. Dr. Addiſon ſays, that we may conſider it as one of Mahomet's artifices to ſupport his authority, which was then in its infancy; but when he afterwards ſaw it ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he changed his language, and added ſeveral chapters to his *Koran*, where he denounces death, impriſonment and ſlavery againſt the Infidels, by which expreſſion he particularly means the Chriſtians. Dr. Addiſon tells us afterwards, that having asked a perſon very well ſkill'd in the Arabic tongue, what he thought of this treaty of Mahomet with the Chriſtians, he replied, that when he had read it, he was of opinion it was a ſpurious piece, becauſe he found nothing in the ſtile, which was like that of the *Koran*; that in the edition of it in Arabic and Latin there is a Preface by the Printer, which informs us, that this piece was brought from the Eaſt by a Capuchin, named *Pacifique Scaliger*; and that it is very probable it had been forged by that Miſſionary. We have likewiſe another title to this book, which is as follows: *The firſt* STATE OF MAHUMEDISM, *being an exact account of Mahomed, the author of the Turkiſh religion. His prophecies about his coming, pedigree, parents, tribe, birth, education, marriages, filthineſs of life, pretended revelation, retirement, collections and compoſure of his* ALCORAN; *of his conventicles at* MECCA, *where he gained his firſt proſelytes, &c. Likewiſe a Relation of his diſputes with the Jews, of his wars, of the propagation of his doctrines, of his paradiſes and miracles, with the remarkable paſſages of his death.* To which is added, *The ſtate and condition that Chriſtendom and Chriſtianity were in at that time. The ſecond edition, by the author of the Preſent ſtate of the Jews.* London, printed for Will. Crooke, 1687, in 8vo, pages 136. This was the Bookſeller's title; for the edition is page for page the ſame with that abovementioned.

(3) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Chap. xvii. P. 102, 103, which are wrong mark'd 92, 93.

(5) Ch. xviii.

(6) Ch. xix. p. 113 *& ſeq.*

An introduction to the Sacrament, or a ſhort, plain and ſafe way to the Communion-table; being an introduction for the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper. Collected for, and familiarly to, every particular Communicant. By L. Addiſon, D. D. Dean of Lichfield. To which is added, *The Communicant's Aſſiſtant, being a collection of devotions to that purpoſe. London, printed for W. Crooke,* 1686, *in* 12°, *pages* 153. (7). Mr. Wood mentions an edition of the former of theſe tracts in 1681.

(7) In the Catalogue of books prefixed to this is, *A modeſt Plea for the Clergy, wherein is conſidered the Reaſons why the Clergy are ſo contemn'd and neglected, by L. A. D. D. and Dean of Lichfield.* Price 1 s. 6 d.

at the Charter-houſe in London, from whence he was removed to Queen's-College in Oxford. After he had been there about two years, the accidental ſight of a paper of his verſes in the hands of Dr. Lancaſter, then Dean of that Houſe, occaſioned his being elected into Magdalen College (*a*), where he took the degrees of Batchelor and Maſter of Arts. He employed his firſt years in the ſtudy of the ancient Greek and Roman writers, which had an admirable effect, in giving that noble and correct turn to his genius, for which he is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed [*A*]. He gave very early proofs of his excellent talent in Poetry, by a ſhort Engliſh copy of verſes addreſs'd to Mr. Dryden, with a view particularly to his tranſlations [*B*]. This was ſoon followed by a verſion of the *Fourth Georgic of Virgil*, of which, the ſtory of Ariſtæus excepted, Mr. Dryden makes very honourable mention [*C*]. He wrote likewiſe *The Eſſay upon the Georgics*, prefixed to Mr. Dryden's tranſlation (*b*) [*D*]. We have alſo ſome other

(*a*) Mr. Tickell's *Life of Mr. Addiſon* prefix'd to his works.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

In the Dedication (*To the right worſhipful Rob. Hyde Eſq; my truly and much honoured Patron*) the author ſays, "The following papers were at firſt only "deſigned for the help and ſervice of my own Pa- "riſhioners (your tenants;) and being reſolved to "expoſe them to public cenſure, I need not delibe- "rate to whom they were due, &c." Then follows *an Advertiſement of the Bookſeller to the reader*, in this manner: "Having twice printed the following "*Introduction*, I now purely for the public good "commit it the third time to the preſs. In which "edition I have earneſtly ſollicited the author for "enlargements, but found him wholly deaf to any "ſuch propoſal, &c... However, I have prevail- "ed with him to add *a Collection of Devotions*, in- "ferior perhaps to none of this kind."

(8) Wood *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

A diſcourſe of TANGIER, *under the Government of the Earl of Tiviot, &c. London, 4to, 2d Edit.* (8). Mr. Wood likewiſe aſcribes to him the following book: *The Catechumen; or an Account given by the young perſon of his knowledge in religion, before his admiſſion to the Lord's Supper, as a ground-work for the right underſtanding of the Sacrament. Lond.* 1690, 12*mo*. This is the title of it according to Mr. Wood; but we find it with the following title: *The Catechumen; or an Account given by the young perſon to the Miniſter of his knowledge in religion upon his firſt admiſſion to the Lord's Table. Recommended to the preſs by two eminent Divines of the church of England. London, Will. Crooke*, 1690, *in* 12°, *pagg.* 100. After the title we find a letter, 1. *To the Author*, ſign'd *L. A.* who expreſſes not only *his approbation* of the book, but *earneſtly deſires to have it made public.* 2. *To the Bookſeller*, ſign'd *Jo. Scott*, who commends and approves the book. This ſhews, that Dr. Addiſon is not the Author of this little piece, tho' aſcribed to him in the catalogue at the end of the *Chriſtian's daily Sacrifice, &c.*

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ; *or an Hiſtorical Account of the Hereſy, denying the Godhead of Chriſt.* London, for Robert Clavell, at the Peacock, St. Paul's churchyard, 1696, in 8vo, pagg. 107.

The following is mentioned by Mr. Wood, *The Chriſtian's daily Sacrifice duly offer'd; or a Practical Diſcourſe teaching the right performance of prayer, by L. Addiſon Dean of Lichfield.* Printed for Robert Clavell, 1698, 12°. *An Account of the Millennium. The genuine uſe of the two Sacraments, viz. Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; with the Chriſtian's obligation frequently to receive the latter.* Theſe three laſt books with the *Catechumen* are aſcribed to Dr. Addiſon in a Catalogue printed at the end of his *Chriſtian's daily Sacrifice*, 1698.

[*A*] *Which had an admirable effect, in giving that noble and correct turn to his genius, for which he is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.*] "He caught, ſays Mr. Tickell (1), "their language and manner, as ſtrongly, "as other young people gain a French accent, or a "genteel air. An early acquaintance with the Claſ- "ſics is what may be called *the good-breeding of* "*Poetry*, as it gives a certain gracefulneſs, which "never forſakes a mind, that contracted it in youth, "but is ſeldom or never hit by thoſe, who would "learn it too late.... There is not perhaps any "harder task, than to tame the natural wildneſs of "wit, and to civilize the fancy. The generality of "our old Engliſh Poets abound in forced conceits and "affected phraſes; and even thoſe, who are ſaid to "come the neareſt to exactneſs, are but too fond of "the unnatural beauties, and aim at ſomething bet- "ter than perfection. If Mr. Addiſon's example "and precepts be the occaſion, that there now be- "gins to be a great demand for correctneſs, we "may juſtly attribute it to his being firſt faſhioned "by the ancient models, and familiariſed to pro- "priety of thought and chaſtity of ſtile."

(1) In his *Life of Mr. Addiſon.*

[*B*] *A ſhort copy of verſes in Engliſh addreſſed to Mr. Dryden.*] Theſe verſes are dated from Magdalen college in Oxford, June 2d, 1693, when the author was but 22 years of age. They contain a very fine compliment upon Mr. Dryden's tranſlations of *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Perſius* and *Ovid*. That great Poet was then reduced to very melancholy circumſtances by the change of affairs, and the loſs of ſuch of his friends as had intereſt at court; he having before been very deeply engaged againſt the revolution-party, ſo that he was immediately removed from the Laureat's place, when King William came to the crown. And yet we find, that Mr. Dryden's vivacity and poetical flame was not in the leaſt abated by age or the diſtreſs of his circumſtances; to which purpoſe Mr. Addiſon compliments him in the Poem abovementioned in the beautiful manner following.

Can neither injuries of time or age,
Damp thy poetic heat, and quench thy rage?
Not ſo thy Ovid in his exile wrote,
Grief chill'd his breaſt, and check'd his riſing thought:
Penſive and ſad his drooping Muſe betrays
The Roman Genius in its laſt decays.

He concludes with his wiſhes, that Mr. Dryden may have all the advantages of health and eaſe, in order to finiſh his tranſlation of *Ovid's Metamorphoſis*; and ends with this fine alluſion to that Poet,

Then will thy Ovid, thus transform'd, reveal
A nobler change than he himſelf can tell.

[*C*] *This was followed by a verſion of the fourth Georgic of Virgil, of which Mr. Dryden makes very honourable mention.*] Theſe are his words: "The "moſt ingenious Mr. Addiſon of Oxford has alſo been "as troubleſome to me as the other two," (ſpeaking of two celebrated Poets, whoſe Poems, Mr. Dryden ſays, had put him to ſufficient pains to make his own not inferior to theirs) "and on the ſame account. "After his bees, my latter ſwarm is ſcarcely worth "the hiving (2)."

(2) Dryden's *Virgil.* Vol. III. p. 822. London printed for J. Tonſon 1709, 8o.

[*D*] *The Eſſay upon the Georgics, prefix'd to Mr. Dryden's tranſlation.*] Mr. Tickell having obſerved that Mr. Dryden had complimented Mr. Addiſon upon his tranſlation of *Virgil's Fourth Georgic*, tells us that he wonders, that *he did not at the ſame time acknowledge his obligation to Mr. Addiſon for giving him this Eſſay*. This has given occaſion to Sir Richard Steele to paſs a very ſevere cenſure upon Mr. Tickell, for charging Mr. Dryden with concealing his obligation to Mr. Addiſon, when it is plain (ſays Sir Richard) that the latter inſiſted upon his name's not being mentioned. The paſſage in Sir Richard Steele is as follows (3): "Mr. Dryden in his *Virgil*, after having ac- "knowledg'd, that *a certain excellent young man* had "ſhewed him many faults in his tranſlation of *Vir-* "*gil*, which he had endeavoured to correct, goes "on to ſay, *Two other worthy friends of mine, who* "*deſire to have their names concealed, ſeeing me* "*ſtraitned in my time, took pity on me, and gave me* "*the* Life of Virgil, *the two* Prefaces *to the* Paſto- "rals, *and the* Georgics, *and all the arguments in* "*proſe to the whole Tranſlation.* If Mr. Addiſon is "one

(3) In his Dedication of the ſecond edition of the DRUMMER to Mr. CONGREVE in 4°, 1722.

other pieces of his, written by him in his youth, particularly *a Song for St. Cecilia's Day at Oxford*; *a Tranſlation of the ſtory of Achæmenides and Polypheme out of the third Æneid, in Milton's ſtyle*; and *an Account of the greateſt Engliſh Poets*; in the cloſe whereof he inſinuates a deſign he then had of going into holy orders, to which he was ſtrongly importuned by his father [*E*]. This laſt poem was written in the year 1694, and is addreſſed to Mr. Henry (afterwards the famous Dr.) Sacheverell, in the ſtrongeſt terms of friendſhip; though their intimacy was afterwards quite broke off by the different political principles which they eſpouſed [*F*]. Nor was he leſs eminent for the beauty

" one of the two friends, and the Preface to the " *Georgics* be what the Editor calls the *Eſſay upon the* " *Georgics*, as one may adventure to ſay they are, " from their being word for word the ſame; he has " caſt an inhuman reflexion upon Mr. Dryden, who, " tho' tied down not to name Mr. Addiſon, pointed " at him ſo as all mankind converſant in theſe mat- " ters knew him, with an Elogium equal to the high- " eſt merit, conſidering who it was that beſtowed " it." This Eſſay is an admirable criticiſm upon *Virgil's Georgics*, which is a ſpecies of poetry, that has been put under the ſame head with *Paſtoral* by ſome writers, tho', as Mr. Addiſon has ſhewn, it is eſſentially different from it. He obſerves, that this kind of poetry addreſſes itſelf *wholly to the imagination; it is altogether converſant among the fields and woods, and has the moſt delightful part of nature for its province. It raiſes in our minds a pleaſing variety of ſcenes and landſcapes, whilſt it teaches us; and makes the dryeſt of its precepts look like a deſcription.* In ſhort, our critic defines a *Georgic* to be *ſome part of the ſcience of Husbandry put into a pleaſing dreſs, and ſet off with all the beauties and embelliſhments of Poetry.* Virgil, ſays he, has ſingled out ſuch precepts of that ſcience, as are uſeful, and at the ſame time moſt capable of ornament: he often conceals the precept in a deſcription, and repreſents his countryman performing the action, in which he would inſtruct his reader. He takes care to relieve the ſubject with pleaſing and pertinent digreſſions, which riſe naturally from it, and are of a piece with the main deſign of the *Georgic*. His ſtile is raiſed above the common and familiar phraſe, and abounds with metaphors, greciſms and circumlocutions, to give his verſe the greater pomp. Mr. Addiſon concludes his Eſſay with this obſervation, that *this Poem is the moſt compleat, elaborate, and finiſh'd piece of all antiquity. The* Æneis *indeed is of a nobler kind, but the Georgic is more perfect in its kind. The* Æneis *has a greater variety of beauties in it, but thoſe of the* Georgic *are more exquiſite. In ſhort, the* Georgic *has all the perfection that can be expected in a Poem written by the greateſt Poet in the flower of his age, when his invention was ready, his imagination warm, his judgment ſettled, and all his faculties in their full vigour and maturity.*

[*E*] *A deſign he then had of going into holy Orders, to which he was ſtrongly importuned by his father.*] The verſes, in which he intimates that deſign, are as follows:

I've done at length; and now, dear friend, receive
The laſt poor preſent that my Muſe can give.
I leave the arts of Poetry and Verſe
To them, that practiſe 'em with more ſucceſs.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And ſo at once, dear Friend and Muſe, farewell.

Pauli Ferri, a very eminent Divine in France in the xviith Century, having publiſhed a volume of Poems, whilſt he was only a Student of Divinity, as he was ſoon to be promoted to the Miniſtry, ended his advertiſement to the reader with a ſentiment very like that of Mr. Addiſon;

Sat ludo nugiſque datum,
That is,
" Enough the Muſes have engag'd my thoughts;
" Their gay delights I now muſt quit for ever (4).

(4) Bayle, *Dict. in Paul. Ferri, Not.* [*B*].

However Mr. Tickell informs us, that *his remarkable ſerioufneſs and modeſty, which might have been urged as powerful reaſons for his chuſing that life, proved the chief obſtacles to it. Theſe qualities*, continues that Gentleman, *by which the Prieſthood is ſo much adorned, repreſented the Duties of it, as too weighty for him; and rendred him ſtill more worthy of that honour, which they made him decline. It is happy, that this very circumſtance has ſince turned ſo much to the advantage of virtue and religion, in the cauſe of which he has beſtowed his labours the more ſucceſsfully, as they were his voluntary, not his neceſſary employment. The world became inſenſibly reconciled to wiſdom and goodneſs, when they ſaw them recommended by him with at leaſt as much ſpirit and elegance, as they had been ridiculed for half a Century.* This paſſage of Mr. Tickell drew upon him a very ſevere cenſure from Sir R. Steele, who in his *Dedication of the Drummer* to Mr. Congreve, expreſſes himſelf as follows (5). " Theſe, (5) Pag. 121.
" you know very well, were not the reaſons, which
" made Mr. Addiſon turn his thoughts to the
" Civil world; and as you were the inſtrument of
" his becoming acquainted with my Lord Halifax,
" I doubt not but you remember the warm in-
" ſtances that noble Lord made to the Head of the
" college not to inſiſt upon Mr. Addiſon's going
" into Orders; his arguments were founded upon
" the general pravity and corruption of men of bu-
" ſineſs, who wanted liberal education. And I re-
" member, as if I had read the letter yeſterday,
" that my Lord ended with a compliment; that how-
" ever he might be repreſented as no friend to the
" church, he would never do it any other injury,
" than keeping Mr. Addiſon out of it. The conten-
" tion for this man in his early years among the
" people of the greateſt power, Mr. Secretary
" Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleaſed to
" aſcribe to a ſerious viſage and modeſty of beha-
" viour."

[*F*] *Their intimacy was afterwards quite broken off by the different political principles, which they eſpouſed.*] In the year 1710, Mr. Addiſon wrote ſeveral papers under the title of the *Whig-Examiner*, in oppoſition to a paper called the *Examiner*, which was publiſhed by the contrary party. In one of theſe *Whig-Examiners* (6), he takes occaſion to divide (6) N° 4. Thurſday Octob. 5.
non-ſenſe into two kinds, high non-ſenſe and low non-ſenſe; the latter of which he ſays is *the talent of a cold phlegmatic temper, that in a poor diſpirited ſtile creeps along ſervilely thro' darkneſs and confuſion. A writer of this complexion gropes his way ſoftly amongſt ſelf-contradictions, and grovels in abſurdities.* Videri vult pauper, & eſt pauper. *He has neither wit nor ſenſe, and pretends to none. On the contrary your high nonſenſe bluſters, and makes a noiſe; it ſtalks upon hard words, and rattles thro' polyſyllables. It is loud and ſonorous, ſmooth and periodical. It has ſomething in it like manlineſs and force, and makes one think of the name of Sir* Hercules Nonſenſe *in the play called* The Neſt of Fools. *In a word, your high nonſenſe has a majeſtic appearance, and wears a moſt tremendous garb, like Æſop's aſs in a lion's skin.* He then proceeds to tell us, *that as rational writers have been repreſented by* wine, *theſe two kinds of writing may be compared to* ſmall-beer. *Low nonſenſe is like that in the barrel, which is altogether flat, taſteleſs and inſipid. High nonſenſe is like that in the bottle, which has in reality no more ſtrength and ſpirit than the other, but frets, and flies, and bounces, and by the help of a little wind, that is got into it, imitates the paſſions of a much nobler liquor.* Having thus diſtinguiſhed the two kinds of nonſenſe, he tells us, that we meet with the former in every Grub-ſtreet production; *but I think*, ſays he, *there are none of our preſent writers, who have hit the ſublime in nonſenſe, beſides Dr. S———l*, (who had juſt then publiſhed his famous Sermon) *and the author of this letter* (to the Examiner) *in politicks; between whoſe characters in their reſpective profeſſions, there ſeems to be a very nice reſemblance.* This public raillery upon Dr. Sacheverell is a convincing proof, that all their former friendſhip and endearments were then abſolutely extinguiſhed.

beauty of his Latin Poems, which were printed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ* [G], and highly applauded by Monſieur Boileau [H]. In the year 1695 he wrote *A Poem to King William* upon one of his Majeſty's campaigns, addreſt to Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who received it with unuſual candor and humanity. This occaſioned a meſſage from that Nobleman to the Author to deſire his acquaintance. Mr. Addiſon was in his twenty eighth year when his inclination to ſee France and Italy was encouraged by the great Patron of Letters abovementioned, who obtained, by his intereſt, a yearly penſion of three hundred pounds from the Crown to ſupport him in his travels (c). In the year 1701 he wrote a *Letter from Italy to the Right Honourable the Lord Halifax*, which has been eſteemed by thoſe who have a taſte for antiquity, as the moſt exquiſite of his poetical performances [I]. It was tranſlated into Italian by Signor Salvini, Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue at Florence. The account of his *Travels*, which was publiſhed in the year 1705, and dedicated to the Lord Somers, ſoon obtained a general applauſe; though at firſt it was but indifferently received by the bulk of readers [K]. The materials for the *Dialogues upon Medals* were collected

(c) Id. ibid.

[G] *His Latin Poems, which were printed in the* Musæ Anglicanæ.] They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, ſeu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, ſeu hactenus inedita, ſeu ſparſim edita*, and dedicated to Mr. Montague, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Lord Halifax, who was a great patron and good judge of polite literature, and who knew how to ſet a proper value upon theſe admirable performances, as was manifeſt from the friendſhip he indulged Mr. Addiſon ever after. His Latin pieces are eight in number. I. *Pax Gulielmi auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. i. e. "Upon the reſtoring of peace "to Europe by the conduct of King William." II. *Barometri Deſcriptio.* i. e. "A Deſcription of "the Barometer." III. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟ-ΓΕΡΑΝΟ-ΜΑΧΙΑ, *ſive Prælium inter Pygmæos & Grues commiſſum.* i. e. "A Battle between the Pygmies and the Cranes." IV. *Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* "i. e. A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a Deſcrip-"tion of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen "College in Oxford." V. *Sphæriſterium.* i. e. "A "Deſcription of a Bowling-Green." VI. *Ad D. D. Hannes, inſigniſſimum Medicum & Poetam.* i. e. "An "Ode to Dr. Hannes, an excellent Phyſician and "Poet." VII. *Machinæ geſticulantes, Anglicè* A "Puppet-Shew." VIII. *Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. Tho. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Autorem.* i. e. "An Ode to the celebrated Dr. Tho. Burnet "author of the Theory of the Earth." Theſe Poems were tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Sewel of Peter Houſe, Cambridge, the author of the Tragedy of *Sir Walter Raleigh*; Mr. Newcomb of Corpus Chriſti College; and Mr. N. Amhurſt of St. John's College, Oxon. In theſe pieces, as Dr. Sewell has remarked, "the language is pure, elegant, and ſound-"ing; the verſification eaſy and numerous, happily "adapted to the different ſubjects it deſcribes; free "from the affected turns, puerile levities, and other "flatneſſes, which betray a falſe taſte and defect of "judgment. His images are choſen with a nice "diſcernment, work'd up with delicacy of imagina-"tion, and placed in the ſtrongeſt light. Every one "ſtrikes at the firſt view, and yet will bear the ſtrict-"eſt eye to examine it. The deſcriptions, being "both juſt and ſurprizing, put the mind upon the "full ſtretch, as they are preparing, and exceed "the boldeſt expectations, when finiſhed." And with regard to one of theſe Poems, that upon the reſurrection, we are told by another ingenious writer (7), that *it is eſteemed by the beſt judges to be the fineſt ſketch upon that ſubject, that any age or language has produced. Nor does its only excellence conſiſt in being an accurate Poem, but alſo in being an exact copy of the painter's original upon the altar in Magdalen college; but ſo much improved with all the ſtrongeſt figures, and moſt lively embelliſhments of a poetical deſcription, that the reader receives a double ſatisfaction in ſeeing the two ſiſter-arts ſo uſeful to each other, in borrowing mutual helps and mutual advantages. It is indeed*, continues he, *wonderful to find in the narrow compaſs of ſo few pages all the moſt dreadful circumſtances of that laſt terrible criſis of time. The Poem is a beautiful and ſucinct epitome of all that has or can ever be ſaid on that important ſubject*... He then proceeds to a general character of Mr. Addiſon, who, he obſerves, *is to be diſtinguiſhed thro' all his performances by the ſtrength of his images, and by a forcible and unaffected variety of expreſſion, which none of our moderns have attained to in ſo much perfection; and which is very rarely to be met with even in any of the ancients ſince Virgil and Horace.*

(7) Mr. Amhurſt in his *Preface* to his tranſlation of that Poem.

[H] *And highly applauded by Monſieur Boileau.*] Mr. Tickell tells us, that our country owes it to him, that this celebrated French Poet firſt conceived an opinion of the Engliſh genius for Poetry, by peruſing the preſent he made him of the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*. It has been currently reported, that among the civilities he ſhewed Mr. Addiſon on that occaſion, he affirmed, that he would not have written againſt Perrault, had he before ſeen ſuch excellent pieces by a modern hand. But the abovementioned Gentleman is of opinion, that ſuch a ſaying would have been impertinent and unworthy Boileau, whoſe diſpute with Perrault turned chiefly upon ſome paſſages in the Ancients, which he reſcued from the miſinterpretations of his adverſary. *The true and natural compliment*, ſays he, *made by him, was, that thoſe books had given him a very new idea of the Engliſh politeneſs; and that he did not queſtion but there were excellent compoſitions in the native language of a country that poſſeſſed the Roman genius in ſo eminent a degree.*

[I] *The moſt exquiſite of his poetical performances.*] In this poem he gives a beautiful deſcription of that country, and declares the prodigious ſatisfaction he had in viewing the rivers, woods, mountains, &c. which are celebrated in the antient Poets,

For whereſoe'er I turn my raviſh'd eyes
Gay gilded ſcenes and ſhining proſpects riſe;
Poetic fields encompaſs me around,
And ſtill I ſeem to tread on Claſſic ground;
For here the Muſe ſo oft her harp has ſtrung,
That not a mountain rears its head unſung,
Renown'd in verſe each ſhady thicket grows,
And every ſtream in heavenly numbers flows.

He then proceeds to a deſcription of the antient monuments of the Romans, their amphitheatres, triumphal arches, ſtatues, and the modern paintings, palaces and churches. But he here takes occaſion to lament, that notwithſtanding all theſe advantages of nature and the charms of art, yet the oppreſſion and tyranny which reign over that country, render the inhabitants of it exquiſitely unhappy (8). He concludes this obſervation with an addreſs to Liberty, which he repreſents as the grand ſource of the happineſs which Britain enjoys, though vaſtly inferior to Italy in other reſpects.

We envy not the warmer clime, that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies;
Nor at the coarſeneſs of our heav'n repine,
Tho' o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads ſhine;
'Tis Liberty that crowns Britannia's Iſle,
And makes her barren rocks and her bleak mountains ſmile.

(8) A certain Nobleman has written ſome very agreeable and ſharp verſes on the ſuperſtition, pride, and poverty of the Italians. Mr. de Voltaire has imitated them very beautifully in his *Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation.*

[K] *Soon obtained a general applauſe, though at firſt it was but indifferently approved by the bulk of readers.*] The reputation of theſe *Travels* increaſed from year to year; and the demand for copies was ſo

collected in the native country of thoſe coins, and the book itſelf was begun to be caſt into the form he gave it at Vienna in the year 1702 (*d*). This work is a poſthumous piece, and was publiſhed by Mr. Tickell, who rendered a great part of the Latin quotations into Engliſh, in order to make them intelligible to thoſe who do not poſſeſs the learned languages. It contains a variety of curious learning on the ſubject of medals, and is enlivened with all the wit and elegance of the moſt polite converſation [*L*]; and an admirable Poem of Mr. Pope's is prefixed to it [*M*]. In the year 1702, Mr. Addiſon deſigning to return to England, received advice from his friends, that he was pitched upon to attend the army under Prince Eugene, who had juſt begun the war in Italy, as Secretary from King William; but the news of the King's death, which he heard at Geneva, put an end to that affair; and as his hopes of advancement in England were fallen with the credit of his friends, who were out of power at the beginning

(*d*) Id. ibid.

ſo urgent that their price roſe to four or five times the original value, till a ſecond edition of them was publiſhed. "It is not hard, ſays Mr. Tickell, to "conceive, why that performance was at firſt but "indifferently reliſhed by the bulk of readers, who "expected an account in a common way of the "cuſtoms and policies of the ſeveral governments "in Italy, reflexions upon the genius of the people, "a map of their provinces, or a meaſure of their "buildings. How were they diſappointed, when "inſtead of ſuch particulars they were preſented "only with a Journal of Poetical Travels, with Re-"marks on the preſent picture of the Country, com-"pared with the Landskips drawn by Claſſic Au-"thors, and other the like unconcerning parts of "knowledge! One may eaſily imagine a reader of "plain ſenſe, but without a fine taſte, turning over "theſe parts of the volume, which make more than "half of it, and wondering how an author, who "ſeems to have ſo ſolid an underſtanding, when he "treats of more weighty ſubjects in the other pages, "ſhould dwell upon ſuch trifles, and give up ſo "much room to matters of mere amuſement. There "are indeed but few men ſo fond of the Ancients, "as to be tranſported with every little accident, which "introduces them to their intimate acquaintance: "perſons of that caſt may here have the ſatisfaction "of ſeeing annotations upon an old Roman Poem, "gathered from the hills and vallies where it was "written. The Tyber and the Po ſerve to explain "the verſes, that were made upon their banks; and "the Alpes and Appennines are made commenta-"tors on thoſe authors, to whom they were ſub-"jects ſo many Centuries ago. Next to perſonal "converſation with the writers themſelves, this is "the ſureſt way of coming at their ſenſe; a com-"pendious and engaging kind of criticiſm, which "convinces at firſt ſight, and ſhews the vanity of "conjectures, made by antiquaries at a diſtance. "If the knowledge of Polite Literature has its uſe, "there is certainly a merit in illuſtrating the per-"fect models of it, and the learned world will "think ſome years of a man's life not miſpent in "ſo elegant an employment." Thus far Mr. Tickell, who preſently after obſerves, that this work may be conſidered as a large comment upon Mr. Addiſon's *Letter from Italy*. But let us now hear the excellent author himſelf in his Preface to his *Travels*: *For my own part*, ſays he, *as I have taken notice of ſeveral places and antiquities, that no body elſe has ſpoken of, ſo, I think, I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either ſet in a new light, or accompanied with different reflexions. I have taken care particularly to conſider the ſeveral paſſages of the ancient Poets, which have any relation to the places or curioſities that I met with. For before I entred on my voyage I took care to refreſh my memory among the Claſſic authors, and to make ſuch collections out of them as I might afterwards have occaſion for. I muſt confeſs it was not one of the leaſt entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine theſe ſeveral deſcriptions, as it were, upon the ſpot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the landskips, that the Poets have given us of it. However, to avoid the confuſion that might ariſe from a multitude of quotations, I have only cited ſuch verſes, as have given us ſome image of the place, or that have ſomething elſe beſides the bare name of it to recommend them.*

[*L*] *Contains a variety of uſeful learning upon the ſubject of medals, enlivened with all the wit and elegance of the moſt polite converſation.*] The perſonages, whom he introduces in theſe Dialogues, are all of them repreſented to be *very well verſed in the politer parts of learning, and to have travelled into the moſt refined nations of Europe; ſo that they were capable of entertaining themſelves on a thouſand different ſubjects without running into the common topics of defaming public parties or particular perſons. As they were intimate friends*, ſays the author, *they took the freedom to diſſent from one another in diſcourſe, or upon occaſion to ſpeak a Latin ſentence without fearing the imputation of pedantry or ill-breeding.* Such is the general character of the interlocutors laid down by the author; and he has carried on the dialogue between them with the exacteſt propriety and conſiſtence with that character. *Philander* is a Gentleman who has a perfect knowledge of medals; *Cynthio's* humour is to run down every thing, that was rather for oſtentation than uſe. *He was ſtill preferring good ſenſe to arts and ſciences, and often took a pleaſure to appear ignorant, that he might the better turn to ridicule thoſe, that valued themſelves on their books and ſtudies, tho' at the ſame time one might very well ſee, that he could not have attack'd many parts of learning ſo ſucceſsfully, had he not borrowed his aſſiſtances from them. Eugenius*, the third perſon in the dialogue, *is one, who endeavoured rather to be agreeable than ſhining in converſation, for which reaſon he was more beloved, tho' not ſo much admired as Cynthio.* This manner of writing by way of dialogue Mr. Addiſon borrowed from the ancients, whoſe fineſt treatiſes are in that caſt; which has likewiſe been followed by ſeveral eminent Italian, French and Engliſh Authors. But perhaps there are few copies from thoſe noble originals of the Greeks and Romans ſuperior to this of our author. Dial. 1.

[*M*] *An admirable Poem of Mr. Pope's prefixed to it.*] He begins with a beautiful reflexion, that moſt of the grand monuments of antiquity, triumphal arches, temples and tombs, have been deſtroyed either by age, the irruption of the Barbarians, or the zeal of Chriſtians; whereas medals ſtill preſerve the memory of the greateſt perſonages in antiquity. Thence he takes occaſion to rally with the fineſt humour the exceſſes which ſome antiquaries are guilty of in proſecuting this ſtudy.

With ſharpen'd ſight pale antiquaries pore,
Th' inſcription value, but the ruſt adore:
This the blue varniſh, that the green endears,
The ſacred ruſt of twice two hundred years.
To gain Peſcennius one employs his ſchemes;
One graſps a Cecrops in ecſtatic dreams;
Poor Vadius long with learned ſpleen devour'd,
Can taſte no pleaſure ſince his ſhield was ſcour'd;
And Curio, reſtleſs by the fair one's ſide,
Sighs for an Otho, and neglects his bride.

He then addreſſes himſelf to Mr. Addiſon in this manner:

Theirs is the vanity, the learning thine.
Touch'd by thy hand, again Rome's glories ſhine:
Her Gods and God-like Heroes riſe to view,
And all her faded garlands bloom anew.
Nor bluſh, thoſe ſtudies thy regard engage;
Theſe pleas'd the Fathers of poetic rage;
The verſe and ſculpture bore an equal part,
And art reflected images to art.

beginning of her late Majeſty's reign, he had leiſure to make the tour of Germany in his way home (*e*). He remained without any public employment till the year 1704, when the Duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs furniſhed him with a ſubject worthy of the genius that appears in his *Campaign*, which a certain author (*f*) is of opinion was his moſt noble production, and incomparably preferable to *Cato*. We ſhall give the judgment of an ingenious writer in Holland upon this Poem [*N*]. The Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, who was an excellent judge of poetry, had a ſight of this work, when it was only carried on as far as the applauded ſimile of the Angel [*O*]; and approved the Poem, by beſtowing on the author, a few days after, the place of Commiſſioner of Appeals, vacant by the removal of the famous Mr. Locke to the Council of Trade. A Gentleman related to Mr. Addiſon has informed us of ſome remarkable circumſtances relating to that affair [*P*]. In 1705 he attended the Lord Halifax to Hanover, and in 1706 was made Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, Secretary of State, in which employment he

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) The Critics, Vol. I. No 12. March 24, 1718.

[*N*] *The judgment of an ingenious writer in Holland upon this Poem.*] "It is not, ſays he (9), properly "an Epic-poem, but it is an incomparable piece in "heroic verſe, in which the author celebrates with "all the grandeur and magnificence imaginable the "victory at Hochſtet, and the noble actions of the "Engliſh Hero, who there laid the baſis of that vaſt "reputation, which he has gained over all Europe. "We may juſtly affirm, that there is nothing want-"ing to the perfection of this Poem; and that Mr. "Addiſon, thus rais'd and ſupported by the noble-"neſs of his ſubject, is as much ſuperior to him-"ſelf, as he is in all his other pieces to the greateſt "part of the other Poets of what nation ſoever. I "imagine I ſhall pay no extravagant compliment to "the author, if I venture to promiſe, that, un-"leſs Polite Literature ſhould abſolutely fall into "neglect in England, this work of his will prove "a more illuſtrious and laſting monument of the "Duke of Marlborough's glory, than Blenheim-"houſe, which the Parliament has ordered to be "built for him; in order to tranſmit to poſterity "the memory of his heroic actions, and the grati-"tude of the nation."

(9) *Diſſertation ſur la Poëſie Angloiſe*, in the *Journal Literaire*, tome ix. p. 189.

[*O*] *The applauded ſimile of the Angel.*] It is prodigiouſly commended in the *Tatler*, *N.* 43. where we have a diſcourſe upon the abſurdities, which Poets, eſpecially the writers of Tragedy, are guilty of in the uſe of ſimiles. I ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage, which relates to that of Mr. Addiſon, becauſe it is written with a juſt ſpirit of criticiſm. "There "is nothing more proper and natural for a Poet, "whoſe buſineſs it is to deſcribe, and who is a "ſpectator of one in that circumſtance, (viz. *under "a weight of ſorrow, or full of meditation upon "what he is to execute*,) when his mind is working "up a great image, and that the ideas hurry upon "his imagination; I ſay, there is nothing ſo natural "for a Poet to relieve and clear himſelf from the "burthen of thought at that time by altering his "conception in ſimile and metaphor. The higheſt "art of the mind of man is to poſſeſs itſelf with "tranquillity in imminent danger, and to have its "thoughts ſo free as to act at that time without "perplexity. The ancient authors have compared "this ſedate courage to a rock, that remains un-"moveable amidſt the rage of winds and waves; "but that is too ſtupid and inanimate a ſimilitude, "and could do no credit to the Hero. At other "times they are all of them wonderfully obliged to "a Lybian lion, which may give indeed very agree-"able terrors to a deſcription, but is no compliment "to the perſon to whom it is applied. Eagles, ty-"gers and wolves are made uſe of on the ſame oc-"caſion, and very often with much beauty; but "this is ſtill an honour done to the brute rather "than to the Hero: Mars, Pallas, Bacchus and Her-"cules, have each of them furniſhed very good ſi-"miles in their time, and made doubtleſs a greater im-"preſſion on the mind of a Heathen than they have "on that of a modern reader. But the ſublime I "am talking of, and which I really think as great as "ever enter'd into the thought of man, is in the "Poem call'd *The Campaign*, where the ſimile of a "miniſtring Angel ſets forth the moſt ſedate and the "moſt active courage, engaged in an uproar of na-"ture, a confuſion of elements, and a ſcene of di-"vine vengeance. Add to all, that theſe lines com-"pliment the General and his Queen at the ſame "time; and have all the natural horrors height-"ened by the image that was ſtill freſh in the mind "of every reader:

"*'Twas then great Malboro's mighty ſoul was*
"*prov'd,*
"*That in the ſhock of charging hoſts unmov'd,*
"*Amidſt confuſion, horror and deſpair,*
"*Examin'd all the dreadful ſcenes of war;*
"*In peaceful thought the field of death ſurvey'd,*
"*To fainting ſquadrons ſent the timely aid;*
"*Inſpir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,*
"*And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.*
"*So when an Angel, by divine command,*
"*With riſing tempeſts ſhakes a guilty land:*
"*Such as of late o'er pale Britannia paſt,*
"*Calm and ſerene he drives the furious blaſt;*
"*And pleas'd th' Almighty's orders to perform,*
"*Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the ſtorm.*

Mr. Oldmixon (10) obſerves upon this occaſion, that *the thought is doubtleſs very grand; but the critic*, ſays he, *had forgot Milton, when he ſaid*, 'Tis as great as ever any was. To evince the contrary of which he refers us to a paſſage in that Poet, where the Son of God drives the fallen Angels out of Heaven (11). He remarks likewiſe that Mr. Congreve, in his Ode upon the taking of Namur, has a thought ſomething like that of Mr. Addiſon:

(10) *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*, p. 305.

(11) *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book VI.

Amidſt this rage, behold where William ſtands,
Undaunted, undiſmay'd?
With face ſerene diſpenſing dread commands,
Which heard with awe, are with delight obey'd.
A thouſand fiery deaths around him fly,
And burning balls hiſs harmleſs by;
For every fire his ſacred head muſt ſpare,
Nor dares the lightning touch the laurels there.

The author of the notes on Mr. Pope's *Dunciad* (12) tells us, that this critic is ſo injurious as to ſuggeſt, that Mr. Addiſon himſelf wrote the *Tatler* quoted above, which ſays of his *own ſimile*, that *it is as great as ever enter'd into the mind of man.* Now Mr. Oldmixon's words are theſe; *I can hardly think Mr. Addiſon wrote that* Tatler, *there being in it a juſt compliment to himſelf* (13).

(12) Book II. ver. 199.

(13) *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*, p. 304.

[*P*] *Some remarkable circumſtances relating to that affair.*] There is ſome variation between his account, and that of Mr. Tickell abovementioned. The author I mean is Mr. Budgell, who in *the Life of the late Lord Orrery* (14) writes as follows:

(14) P. 150.

"Soon after the battle of Blenheim Mr. Boyle, (late "Lord Carleton) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, "was entreated by the Lord Godolphin, to go to "Mr. Addiſon, and deſire him to write ſomething "that might tranſmit the memory of that glorious "victory to poſterity. As I believe this ſtory is not "commonly known, and as I think it does honour to "the late Lord Halifax, (whoſe memory I muſt ever "love and reſpect,) I ſhall lay it before my readers. "Upon the arrival of the news of the victory of "Blenheim, the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, in the "fulneſs of his joy, meeting with the late Lord "Halifax told him, It was pity the memory of ſuch "a victory ſhould be ever forgot; he added, that he "was pretty ſure his Lordſhip, who was ſo diſtin-"guiſhed

he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the Earl of Sunderland, being made Secretary of State in December of the abovementioned year, he continued Mr. Addiſon in the ſame employment under him; convincing us by this choice, that the Stateſman may receive great aſſiſtance from the Man of Letters. The taſte for Operas beginning to prevail at that time in England, ſome of Mr. Addiſon's friends deſiring him to write one, he complied with their requeſt, and choſe for his ſubject *Roſamond*. He propoſed by this drama to excite an emulation in the Engliſh muſicians, to exert themſelves, without calling in any foreign aſſiſtance, and at the ſame time to give the ſpectators a piece in their own language, infinitely more exact and regular than the Italian Operas. However, Roſamond did not ſucceed upon the ſtage, whether from the defect of the muſic, for which our language is ſaid by ſome perſons to be very improper [Q], or from the prejudices in favour of the Italian taſte, which at that time began wholly to prevail; but the Poetry of this piece has been always juſtly admired; and, as Mr. Tickell obſerves (g), *has given as much pleaſure in the cloſet, as others have afforded from the ſtage, with all the aſſiſtance of voices and inſtruments.* About the ſame time the comedy called *The Tender Huſband* appeared, to which Mr. Addiſon wrote the Prologue. Sir Richard Steele

" guiſhed a Patron of Men of letters, muſt know " ſome perſon, whoſe pen was capable of doing " juſtice to the action. My Lord Halifax replied, " that he did indeed know ſuch a perſon; but would " not deſire him to write upon the ſubject his Lord- " ſhip had mentioned. The Lord Treaſurer entreating " to know the reaſon of ſo unkind a reſolution, Lord " Halifax briskly told him, that he had long with " indignation obſerved, that while too many fools " and blockheads were maintained in their pride and " luxury, at the expence of the public, ſuch men as " were really an honour to their country, and to " the age they lived in, were ſhamefully ſuffered " to languiſh in obſcurity: that, for his own part, " he would never deſire any Gentleman of parts " and learning to imploy his time in celebrating a " Miniſtry, who had neither the juſtice or gene- " roſity to make it worth his while. The Lord Trea- " ſurer calmly replied, that he would ſeriouſly conſi- " der of what his Lordſhip had ſaid, and endeavour " to give no occaſion for ſuch reproaches for the " future; but that in the preſent caſe he took it " upon himſelf to promiſe, that any Gentleman " whom his Lordſhip ſhould name to him, as a " perſon capable of celebrating the late action, " ſhould find it worth his while to exert his ge- " nius on that ſubject. The Lord Halifax, upon " this encouragement, named Mr. Addiſon; but in- " ſiſted that the Lord Treaſurer himſelf ſhould ſend " to him: His Lordſhip promiſed to do ſo; and ac- " cordingly deſired Mr. Boyle to go to him. Mr. " Addiſon, who was at that time but indifferently " lodged, was ſurprized the next morning with a " viſit from the Chancellor of the exchequer; who, " after having acquainted him with his buſineſs, ad- " ded, that the Lord Treaſurer, to encourage him " to enter upon his ſubject, had already made him " one of the Commiſſioners of appeals; but entreat- " ed him to look upon that poſt only as an earneſt " of ſomething more conſiderable. In ſhort, the " Chancellor ſaid ſo many obliging things, and in ſo " graceful a manner, as gave Mr. Addiſon the utmoſt " ſpirit and encouragement to begin that Poem, " which he afterwards publiſhed, and entitled, *The* " *Campaign:* A Poem equal to the action it cele- " brates; and in which that preſence of mind, for " which the late Duke of Marlborough was ſo re- " markable in a day of battle, is illuſtrated by a no- " bler ſimile than any to be found in *Homer* or *Vir-* " *gil.* The Lord Treaſurer kept the promiſe he had " made by Mr. Boyle: and Mr. Addiſon ſoon after " the publication of his Poem, was preferred to a " conſiderable poſt."

[Q] *The defect of the muſic, for which our lan- language is ſaid by ſome perſons to be very improper.*] We ſhall conſider this in the words of a late ingenious writer, and friend of Mr. Addiſon, *the author of the Ode to the Creator of the World, occaſioned by the Fragments of Orpheus.* " I know not, ſays he " (15), how it comes to be a late opinion among " ſome, that Engliſh words are not proper for muſic. " That the Engliſh language is not ſo ſoft and full " of vowels as the Italian, is readily granted; yet " this does not prove, that it is therefore incapable " of harmony. Let it be conſidered, whether too " great a delicacy in this particular may not run into " effeminacy. A due mixture of conſonants is cer- " tainly neceſſary to bind the words, which may be " otherwiſe too much diſſolved, and loſe their force. " And as theatrical muſic expreſſes a variety of paſ- " ſions, it is not requiſite, even for the advantage of " the ſound, that the ſyllables ſhould every where " languiſh with the ſame looſe and vowelly ſoftneſs." He proceeds then to conſider the reaſonableneſs of encouraging Operas in our own language. The paſ- ſage is ſo elegant and full of good ſenſe, that we can- not forbear tranſcribing it. " But what, ſays he, is " certainly of much more conſequence in dramatical " entertainments, is, that they ſhould be performed " in a language underſtood by the audience. One " would think there ſhould be no need to prove " this. The great pleaſure in hearing vocal muſic, " ariſes from the aſſociation of the ideas raiſed at the " ſame time by the expreſſions and the ſounds. " Where theſe ideas are ſeparated, half the impreſ- " ſion is wanting; and where they are improperly " joined, it is imperfect. It is probable too, that " the pleaſure we receive from the moſt pathetical " ſtrains of inſtrumental muſic, is in part aſſiſted by " ſome ideas, which we affix to them, of paſſions, " which ſeem to be expreſſed by thoſe ſtrains. If " the airs in Operas may be heard with delight, for " the ſame reaſon, even when the words are not " underſtood, yet it is impoſſible the recitative ſhould " give pleaſure, which can raiſe no ſuch ideas; this " being not ſo properly ſinging, as ſpeaking in mu- " ſical cadences. And the uſe of it ſeems to be in- " troduced for the very ſame reaſon, which is given " by Ariſtotle, for the eſtabliſhing the uſe of *Iambic* " verſe in the Greek Tragedy; which is, that tho' " it has not the charms of ſome other kinds of " verſe, yet it is more proper for action and dialogue, " as it approaches nearer to common ſpeech. Thus " recitative muſic takes its riſe from the natural " tones and changes of the voice in ſpeaking, and " is indeed no more than a ſort of modulated pro- " nunciation." He then obſerves, that the *ſucceſs of entertainments of that kind depends chiefly on the muſic; and the difficulty of confining the ſcenes to ſuch ſhort interchanged ſtages of* RECITATIVE *and* AIRS, *and of binding the ſenſe in ſuch choſen meaſures and ſyllables, as will beſt give the compoſer room to diſplay his skill, is indeed very great; yet notwith- ſtanding this, ſome examples of Operas and Poems for muſic, originally written in our language, with great beauty of thought and expreſſion,* (by which he un- doubtedly intends Mr. Addiſon's *Roſamond*, and a few others) *have ſhewn us, that the poetical part is ca- pable of very agreeable heightnings.*

It is very juſtly obſerved, that the verſe as well as the thoughts of the Opera of *Roſamond* are vaſtly beautiful. But ſome of the greateſt artiſts in the mu- ſical way declare it not fit for the muſical drama. How- ever, a Gentleman who made the ſong of *Deborah* and *Barak* ſo finely vocal, has ſet a great many of the ſongs in *Roſamond*. But the moſt exquiſite Mu- ſician now in England, having been often importuned by his friends to exert his genius upon it, has al- ways declared, that it was impoſſible for him to diſ- play it to any advantage on that occaſion; in ſhort, that it was not fit for an Opera. As the har- mony of the numbers in *Roſamond* are ſo exquiſite, the

(15) Mr. John Hughes in the Preface to his Engliſh Opera of *Calypſo and Telemachus.*

Steele ſurprized him with a dedication of this play; and afterwards acquainted the public, that he owed ſome of the moſt taking ſcenes of it to Mr. Addiſon (*b*). The Earl of Wharton being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1709, he appointed Mr. Addiſon Secretary for that kingdom. The ſalary of Keeper of the Records in Ireland was conſiderably augmented, and that poſt was beſtowed upon Mr. Addiſon at this time, as a mark of the Queen's favour. He was in that kingdom when he firſt diſcovered Sir R. Steele to be author of the *Tatler*, by an obſervation upon Virgil, which he had communicated to him. His aſſiſtance afterwards in the courſe of that paper was very conſiderable [*R*]. He had likewiſe a very large ſhare in the *Spectators*

(*b*) *Spectator* N° 555.

the declaration of this Gentleman appeared a kind of paradox to all but the perfect Adepts in ſounds. The majority of theſe Artiſts, indeed, always prefer ſound to ſenſe; and after a Poet has toiled to introduce the latter into his verſe, the muſical compoſer ſhall often oblige him to throw it all out, and ſubſtitute in its ſtead, a ſet of tuneful, melodious *any things*; or to lop off his verſe, till it appear as mutilated as the ſtatue of Paſquin at Rome. One great advantage of the muſic of the Greeks and Romans was, that the Poet was generally at the ſame time the Muſician and Performer both vocal and inſtrumental; talents which are ſeldom or never found united in the ſame perſon in theſe latter ages. In a word, Poetry is at preſent made uſe of as a kind of *block*, on which Muſic, if we may employ the figure, is curl'd and powdered. To one circumſtance in *Roſamond*, indeed, the muſical Compoſer may object, which is, that the principal character in it (*Roſamond*) has a ſoporiferous, and as it is ſuppoſed poiſonous, draught given her by Queen Eleanor, which ſends her off the ſtage ſooner than ſhe ought to go, for the gratification of ſuch Gentlemen as are all ear: for as it is natural that the principal character ſhould be given to the fineſt voice, (and there are few exquiſitely ſo) thoſe who ſee *Roſamond* repreſented, by that means loſe a great deal of pleaſure by the imaginary death or abſence of ſuch a Syren; but then this would be remedied, were it poſſible to get voices that were all excellent. However, that very circumſtance which forms the defect in the muſical *Drama*, is a very great beauty in the *ſpeaking Drama*, if I may ſo call it, by the agreeable ſurprize the Audience are in, to find that Roſamond is not dead as they ſuppoſed, but had only taken a ſleeping draught as was before obſerved. We muſt take notice of one particular in this piece which ſeems to have been overlooked, viz. that the comic Characters (Sir Truſty, Grideline, &c. which would be ſo ridiculous in Tragi-comedy) are here found to have a wonderful effect, as was particularly viſible in the latter of them when repreſented by the facetious Mr. Leveridge. Serious Opera is of too calm and ſtill a nature; and unleſs enlivened by comic ſtrokes, is found too languid; for on theſe occaſions the ear may be tired with ſounds, how exquiſitely ſoever they may be blended.

[*R*] *His aſſiſtance afterwards in the courſe of that paper was very conſiderable.*] "In the laſt paper, (16) ſays Mr. Tickell, which cloſed thoſe celebrated "performances, and in the Preface to the laſt vo- "lume, Sir Richard Steele has given to Mr. Addiſon "the honour of the moſt applauded pieces in that col- "lection. But as that acknowledgment was deli- "vered only in general terms, without directing the "public to the ſeveral papers; Mr. Addiſon, who "was content with the praiſe ariſing from his own "works, and too delicate to take any part of that "which belonged to others, afterwards thought fit "to diſtinguiſh his writings in the *Spectators* and "*Guardians* by ſuch marks, as might remove the "leaſt poſſibility of miſtake in the moſt undiſcerning "reader." This paſſage Sir Richard Steele conſidered as a reflection upon himſelf, for not having ſufficiently acknowledged what was due to Mr. Addiſon in theſe writings; to juſtify himſelf from which imputation he alledges (17) the following encomiums which he gave to Mr. Addiſon. "But I "have, ſays he (18), only one Gentleman, *who will* "*be nameleſs*, to thank for any frequent aſſiſtance to "me, which indeed it would have been barbarous "in him to have denied to one, with whom he has "lived in an intimacy from childhood, conſider- "ing the great eaſe with which he is able to diſ- "patch the moſt entertaining pieces of this nature. "This good office he performed with ſuch force "of genius, humour, wit, and learning, that I fared "like a diſtreſſed Prince, who calls in a powerful "neighbour to his aid; I was undone by my aux- "iliary. When I had once called him in, I could "not ſubſiſt without dependance on him. The "ſame hand writ the diſtinguiſhing characters of "men and women, under the names of *Muſical In- "ſtruments*, the *Diſtreſs of the News Writers*, the *In- "ventory of the Play-houſe*, and the *Deſcription of* "the *Thermometer*, which I cannot but look upon "as the greateſt embelliſhments of this work.

(16) In his *Life of Mr. Addiſon.*

(17) Dedication of the *Drummer* to Mr. Congreve, p. 7, 8.

(18) Preface to the 4th volume of the *Tatlers.*

"As to the work itſelf, ſays Sir Richard (19), the (19) *Tatler*, N° "acceptance it has met with is the beſt proof of its 271. "value; but I ſhould err againſt that candor, which "an honeſt man ſhould always carry about him, if "I did not own, that the moſt approved pieces in "it were written by others, and thoſe, which have "been moſt excepted againſt by myſelf. The hand "that has aſſiſted me in thoſe noble diſcourſes upon "the immortality of the ſoul, the glorious proſpects "of another life, and the moſt ſublime ideas of re- "ligion and virtue, is a perſon, who is too fondly "my friend ever to own them; but I ſhould little "deſerve to be his, if I uſurped the glory of them. "I muſt acknowledge at the ſame time, that I think "the fineſt ſtrokes of wit and humour in all Mr. Bic- "kerſtaff's *Lucubrations*, are thoſe, for which he is "alſo beholden to him."

Sir R. Steele then goes on to ask what Mr. *Tickell* meant by ſaying, that the *Tatler was however dropt at laſt, as it had been taken up, without Mr. Addiſon's participation.* "Let him ſpeak out, ſays he, "and ſay, why, *without his knowledge*, would not "ſerve his purpoſe as well. If, as he ſays, he re- "ſtrains himſelf to Mr. Addiſon's character, as a "writer, while he attempts to leſſen me, he exalts "me; for he has declared to all the world, what I "never have ſo explicitly done, that I am to all intents "and purpoſes, the author of the *Tatler*. He very "juſtly ſays, the occaſional aſſiſtance Mr. Addiſon "gave me in the courſe of that paper, *did not a lit- "tle contribute to advance its reputation, eſpecially "when, upon the change of the Miniſtry, he found "leiſure to engage more conſtantly in it.* It was ad- "vanced indeed, for it was raiſed to a greater thing "than I intended it; for the elegance, purity and "correctneſs, which appeared in his writings, were "not ſo much my purpoſe, as in any intelligible "manner as I could, to rally all thoſe ſingularities of "human life, thro' the different profeſſions and cha- "racters in it, which obſtruct any thing that was "truly good and great. After this acknowledgment "you will ſee, that is, ſuch a man as you will ſee, "that I rejoiced in being excelled, and made thoſe "little talents, whatever they are which I have, "give way and be ſubſervient to the ſuperior quali- "ties of a friend whom I loved, and whoſe mode- "ſty would never have admitted them to come in- "to day-light but under ſuch a ſhelter. So that all "which the editor has ſaid, either out of deſign or "incapacity, Mr. Congreve muſt determine to end "in this, that Steele has been ſo candid and upright, "that he owes nothing to Mr. Addiſon, as a writer; "but whether he does or does not, whatever Steele "owes to Mr. Addiſon, the public owes Addiſon to "Steele. But the editor has ſuch a fantaſtical and "ignorant zeal for his patron, that he won't allow "his correſpondents to conceal any thing of his, "tho' in obedience to his commands. What I ne- "ver did declare was Mr. Addiſon's, I had his di- "rect injunctions to hide, againſt the natural warmth "and paſſion of my own temper towards my friends.

"Many

Spectators and (*i*) *Guardians*, which were publiſhed in the years 1711, 1712, 1713, and 1714. The papers which he wrote in the former are marked with the letters of the word CLIO [*S*]. Mr. Tickell informs us, that in the courſe of this work (*k*), the particular papers were ſeldom or never ſhewn to each other by their reſpective authors; and that Mr. Addiſon made little or no uſe of the letters ſent in by the numerous correſpondents of the *Spectator*, and therefore he could not have executed his large ſhare of this taſk in ſo exquiſite a manner, had he not ingrafted into it many pieces that had laid by him in little hints and minutes, which he collected from time to time, ranged in order, and moulded into the form, in which they now appear; particularly the *Eſſays upon Wit*; *The Pleaſures of the Imagination*; *The Critique upon Milton*; and ſome others. Several volumes of this work have been tranſlated into French, which met with univerſal applauſe [*T*]. And Sir Richard Blackmore in his *Eſſays* (*l*) has given a very

(*i*) Mr. Dennis was diſpleas'd with the character of the *Guardian*, as we find in his *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 285, printed 1721, where he ſays, "That 'Squire "*Ironſide* is too "grave and too "ſerious an off-"ſpring of his "ludicrous ance-"ſtors; that the "reader com-"plains that he "meets with no-"thing at all to "divert him in "his neighbour's houſe, Humphrey Wrongſide, and among others does not forget Neſtor Blindſide.

(*k*) The *Spectator*.

(*l*) Vol. I. pag. 202.

"Many of the writings now publiſhed as his, I have "been very patiently traduced and calumniated for, "as they were pleaſantries and oblique ſtrokes upon "certain the wittieſt men of the age, who will now "reſtore me to their good-will, in proportion to the "abatement of wit, which they thought I employed "againſt them (20)."

(20) Dedication of the *Drummer*, p. 9, 10.

[*S*] *Mark'd with the letters of the word CLIO.*] Mr. Tickell tells us, as we obſerved in the preceding note, that *Mr.* ADDISON *thought fit to diſtinguiſh his writings in the* SPECTATORS *and* GUARDIANS *by ſuch marks, as might remove the leaſt poſſibility of miſtake in the moſt undiſcerning reader.* This paſſage has been animadverted upon by Sir Richard Steele with peculiar ſeverity. "I have obſerved, ſays he (21), that "the editor will not let me or any one elſe obey "Mr. Addiſon's commands in hiding any thing he "deſires ſhould be concealed. I cannot but take "further notice, that the circumſtance of marking "his *Spectators*, which I did not know till I had "done with the work, I made my own act; be-"cauſe I thought it too great a ſenſibility in my "friend, and thought it, ſince it was done, better to "be ſuppoſed mark'd by me than the author him-"ſelf; the real ſtate of which this zealot raſhly and "injudiciouſly expoſes. I ask the reader whether "any thing but an earneſtneſs to diſparage me, "could provoke the editor in behalf of Mr. Addiſon "to ſay, that he mark'd it out of caution againſt "me, when I had taken upon me to ſay, it was I "that did it out of tenderneſs to him." But in order to judge of this affair, let us ſee in what manner Sir Richard Steele expreſſed himſelf concerning Mr. Addiſon's ſhare in the *Spectators*. "I hope, "ſays he (22), the apology I have made as to the "licenſe allowable to a feigned character, may ex-"cuſe any thing, which has been ſaid in theſe diſ-"courſes of the SPECTATOR and his works. But "the imputation of the groſſeſt vanity would ſtill "dwell upon me, if I did not give ſome account by "what means I was enabled to keep up the ſpirit of "ſo long and approved a performance. All the pa-"pers mark'd with a *C*, *L*, *I*, *O*; that is to ſay, all "the papers, *which I have diſtinguiſh'd* by any letter "in the name of the Muſe *CLIO*, were given me "by a Gentleman, of whoſe aſſiſtance I formerly "boaſted in the Preface and concluding leaf of the "*Tatler*. I am indeed much more proud of his "long-continued friendſhip, than I ſhould be of the "fame of being thought the author of any writings, "which he himſelf is capable of producing. I re-"member, when I finiſh'd the *Tender Husband*, I "told him, there was nothing I ſo ardently wiſh'd "as that we might ſome time or other publiſh a "work written by us both, which ſhould bear the "name of the *Monument*, in memory of our friend-"ſhip. I heartily wiſh what I have here, were as "honorary to that ſacred name, as learning, wit and "humanity, render thoſe pieces, which *I have taught* "*the reader how to diſtinguiſh for his.* When the "Play abovementioned was laſt acted, there were ſo "many applauded ſtrokes in it, which I had from "the ſame hand, that I thought very meanly of "my ſelf, that I had never publickly acknowledged "them. After I have put other friends upon impor-"tuning him to publiſh dramatic as well as other "writings he has by him, I ſhall end what I think "I am obliged to ſay on this head, by giving my "reader this hint for the better judging of my pro-"ductions. That the beſt comment upon them "would be an account, when the Patron to the "*Tender Husband* was in England or abroad."

(21) Ibid. p. 11.

(22) *Spectator*, N° 555.

[*T*] *Met with univerſal approbation.*] Let us hear the judgment of the author quoted in note [*N*], upon that work. *The fineſt Genius's in England*, ſays he (23), *have exerted in the* Spectator, *all the force of their reflexions, all the delicacy of the ſtyle, and all the fire of imagination that can be conceived. ... It is an admirable work; and it has preſerved a great part of its original graces and beauty in the French tranſlation. There is ſuch a prodigious variety in it both with regard to the ſtile and the ſubjects which it treats of, that we may juſtly affirm, the French nation has nothing to oppoſe to this work, that can be conſidered in all reſpects equal to it.* The author of the *Lay-Monaſtery*, the late Mr. John Hughes, in his Preface to that work, gives us this character of the *Spectator*, to which his diſcourſes were deſigned as a ſequel. "The world has been obliged to an author of diſ-"tinguiſh'd merit, now living (24), for having been "the inventor of a manner of writing no leſs en-"tertaining than any which had been eſtabliſhed by "the practice of the moſt celebrated ancients. "The form, into which the beſt writer among the "Romans generally choſe to caſt his thoughts, was that "of dialogue or of his converſations related, in which "the perſons introduced were all Philoſophers, and "the diſcourſes wholly ſerious; yet this he borrow-"ed from Plato, and others of the Greeks; whom "he profeſſed to imitate. But the introducing a ſet "of perſons of different humours and characters, "acting on ſome imaginary occaſion, which might "draw out a variety of incidents and diſcourſes, "and in which every paper ſhould be an entire "piece, at the ſame time, that it is a part of the "whole, is the invention of the writer already "mentioned, who ſeems at once to have introduced "it, and carried it to perfection." A very ingeni-"ous and polite writer gives the following general "character of Mr. Addiſon's writings: "I may re-"commend Mr. Addiſon, ſays he, as a perfect pat-"tern of true poetic writing. .. This author is more "labour'd; like his great Maſter Virgil, he has "weighed every word, nor is there one expreſſion "in all his lines, that can be changed for any juſter, "or more forcible than it ſelf (25)." Poſſibly this laſt compliment may be a little overſtrained. We may obſerve here, that the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, have been tranſlated into moſt of the European Languages, and given birth to ſeveral papers in imitation of them in foreign countries. The French had for ſome time their *Babilliard*, or *Tatler*; the Dutch have to this day their *Spectator*; and the Germans had for ſome years together their *Guardian*. This laſt paper was printed at Hamborough, and compoſed by a ſociety of Gentlemen, who underſtood Engliſh; they tranſlated ſeveral of the *Spectators*, which had not before appeared in the German language; and this gave their *Guardians* ſo great a reputation, that *nine* or *ten thouſand* of them were uſually ſold. Theſe particulars we are informed of by a relation of Mr. Addiſon's (26), who likewiſe tells us, "that when the *Old Spectator* was laid down "by thoſe hands which at firſt compoſed it, the pa-"per was immediately ſet on foot again by ſome of "the *greateſt Wits* in England. Several of whoſe "writings of different kinds had been received with "the utmoſt applauſe by the public; yet even theſe "Gentlemen, to their great ſurprize, found the "thing would not do; and had the good ſenſe not "only to drop their *deſign*, but to conceal their "names. Mr. Addiſon ſaid upon this occaſion, that

(23) *Diſſertat. ſur la poëſie Angloiſe*, in the *Journal Literaire*, tome IX. p. 159, 160.

(24) i. e. in 1714.

(25) *Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, and forming a juſt ſtyle*, p. 209, 210, London, printed for J. Bowyer 1713, 12°.

(26) See the *Bee, or an Univerſal Weekly Pamphlet*, N° I. p. 26, 27.

a very handſome encomium upon them. His words are theſe. " Many more books " on other moral ſubjects have been compoſed with much wit and vivacity in our " own and foreign countries to expoſe vice and folly, and promote decency and ſo- " briety of manners. But the productions of this nature, which have of late appear- " ed in this nation, whether we regard the juſt and generous ſentiments, the fertile in- " vention, the variety of ſubjects, the ſurprizing turns of wit and facetious imagination, " the genteel ſatyr, the purity and propriety of the words, and the beauty and dignity of " the diction, have ſurpaſſed all the productions of this kind that have been publiſhed in " any age or country. The reader no doubt is beforehand with me, and concludes, " that I mean the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, which, for the greateſt part, have all the per- " fection of writing, and all the advantages of wit and humour that are required to " entertain and inſtruct the people; and it muſt chiefly be owing to the great depra- " vity of manners in theſe looſe and degenerate times, that ſuch worthy performances " have produced no better effects." Mr. Addiſon in the *Freeholder* (*m*) has taken notice of this complement of Sir Richard Blackmore in the manner following. " As for the

(*m*) Numb. 45.

" *Tatlers* " *he looked upon the undertaking to write* Spectators " *to be like the attempt of Penelope's lovers to ſhoot* " *in the bow of Ulyſſes; who ſoon found, that no* " *body could ſhoot well in that bow, but the hand* " *which uſed to draw it.*" He then relates two ſtories, which ſhew, that among all the characters in that work, that of Sir Roger de Coverly was the favourite with Mr. Addiſon; *who, a little before he laid down the* Spectator, (*foreſeeing that ſome nimble Gentleman would catch up his pen the moment he had quitted it,*) *ſaid to an intimate friend, with a certain warmth in his expreſſion, which he was not often guilty of,* By G—d, I'll kill Sir Roger, that no body elſe may murder him. *Accordingly the whole* Spectator, N. 517, *conſiſts of nothing elſe but an account of the old Knight's death and ſome moving circumſtances, which attended it.* The other inſtance of Mr. Addiſon's tenderneſs for Sir Roger, is as follows: Sir Richard Steele, *in one of his* Spectators (27) *has a little injudiciouſly made the old Knight pick up a looſe woman in Covent-Garden* (28). *Mr. Addiſon was ſo heartily vexed when he read this paper, that he immediately called a coach, went to his friend Sir Richard, and never left him till he had made him promiſe, that he would meddle no more with Sir Roger's character.*

(27) N° 410. Vol. 6.

(26) Here the ingenious author miſtakes the place, it being in the Temple Cloyſters.

But as the *Spectator* was received with ſo general an applauſe, it could not be exempt from an attack (a fate to which the nobleſt compoſitions are obnoxious.) for in the year 1711 there appeared a pamphlet entitled *A Spy upon the Spectator* (29). The preface declares, " That there may be ſeen more than ordi- " nary *reaſons to look narrowly into the* Spectator's " *deſigns and management.* The tyranny that he " pretends to exert over the ſenſe and reaſon of his " countrymen, and the ſmall ſtock of diſcretion " with which he lays this *daily* burthen of *ſpeculati-* " *ons* upon them, makes it neceſſary to ſtop him in " the beginning, and let him know that the founda- " tions of his power are only imaginary, and his no- " tions are of the ſame nature as the clouds and " miſts, that he pretends to caſt over his actions. " Care ſhould be taken leſt by following him we " loſe our *wit, morality* and *religion.* For ſhould " we look upon him to be the touchſtone of wit, " and the rule and ſtandard of judgment, and after- " wards find that he is flat in the one, and exerciſes " the other upon *trifles* (N° 10) it may at laſt make " us have a contemptible opinion of ingenuity and " learning.

(29) It was printed for John Morphew near Stationer's Hall, and contains 24 pages in 8*vo*. See Part I.

The author then proceeds to ſhew the danger that may ariſe from the *Spectator* with regard to morality; " which, ſays he, is a ſerious thing, and of too " much value to be loſt; and therefore, although the " *Spectator* at preſent, under the pretence of *enli-* " *vening it by wit* (N° 10) may impoſe only the ſha- " dow of it upon us inſtead of the ſubſtance, yet he " ſhould not be permitted to proceed ſo far as to " make a buffoon of Ariſtotle, and write a burleſque " upon Epictetus."

The laſt danger which he inſinuates may be occaſioned by the *Spectator* is that of *religion.* " The " profeſſion, ſays he, as well as character of the " Clergy, are too ſacred for the trivialneſs of ſuch " papers; and who knows but the *Spectator*, who " expreſt his *averſion* to *bells at two months old* " (N° 1) and has contracted a friendſhip with a *Di-* " *vine*, that under the ſhelter of a *weak conſtitution*, " has laid aſide the *cares and buſineſs of his function* " to attend upon *clubs* and *chamber-council* (N° 2), " may have ſome deſign againſt the fifty new churches, " at leaſt will be againſt having any *Steeple-houſes* " and *Belfries* to them."

He concludes his preface with theſe words: " The ſeveral *Spectators* being a disjoined and con- " fuſed huddle of unmethodized notions, I do not " look upon my ſelf obliged to take them in order. " However (notwithſtanding his magiſterial autho- " rity) every one of them in proper time and place, " may meet with due correction. And perhaps he " ſhall ſhortly find, he has not art enough to diſguiſe " himſelf; and that a net is too thin a *cloak* for a " *party-man* to dance in." But the ſame dull criticiſm might be made on all the excellent pieces that were ever publiſhed; and that theſe aſſertions were groundleſs and malicious, appears from the beauty of thoſe papers, and the good effect they wrought (30).

Mr. Oldmixon has likewiſe cenſured the *Spectator's* character as a critic; for he tells us (31), " That in oppoſition to his own rule, he ſeldom " takes notice of any beauty, which had not been " diſtinguiſhed before by others, as well as by him- " ſelf, either in writing or converſation. I do not " ſay this in the leaſt diminution of the merit of " that Gentleman as a Poet or Critick. He had as " much of it as any man, but to let the reader a " little into the art of the *Spectator*; for if we are " not to remark beauties, which have been remarked " before, he has in a great meaſure engroſſed the " market to himſelf, by tranſcribing the moſt beau- " tiful paſſages of Milton and other Poets. Beſides, " that art appears viſibly in his caution as to the cha- " racter of authors, there being no better way to " ſecure his own valuable one, than in doing ho- " nour to that of others (32). The *Spectator*, as a " Critic, is not without a ſmack of the character " of Lord Plauſible, as a Gentleman."

We have likewiſe another paſſage in that Critic to the ſame purpoſe. " I cannot help taking notice, " ſays he (33), that the criticiſms in the *Tatlers*, " *Guardians* and *Spectators*, are a little too common " and ſuperficial, and not always juſt. Thoſe on " Milton are rather a collection of the beauties in " the *Paradiſe Loſt*, than an exact criticiſm on the " mechaniſm of the Poem. Of the ſame kind " are the quotations out of other Poems; and it is " ſurely moſt praiſe-worthy, that ſeveral of theſe " Poems were written by the friends of the writers " of thoſe papers, and very often of the printers. " However, in other ſpeculations they are the moſt " polite and entertaining of any modern pieces, per- " haps in any modern language. With this high and " juſt opinion of thoſe authors, I muſt be ſo free as to " obſerve, that there is too much artifice in their re- " marks on writers and their writings. They ſeldom " meddle with any whoſe reputation is not well eſta- " bliſhed. Contrary to the *Spectator*'s obſervation, " N° 291. *One great mark by which you may diſcover* " *a Critic who has neither taſte nor learning, is this,* " *that he ſeldom ventures to praiſe any paſſage in an* " *author, which has not been before received.* Whoever " is acquainted with the *Tatlers*, *Guardians* and *Spec-* " *tators*, need not to be told, that moſt of the paſ- " ſages, which are praiſed in theſe papers, were well " known before to men of taſte, though they were " not become ſo common as they have been ſince."

(30) The formidable Mr. Dennis (in his *Letters familiar, moral and critical*) cenſures ſome of Mr. Addiſon's (but without ſeeming to know that they were his) *Spectators*, ſpeaking of the *Templer* (one of the Characters in that paper) he ſays, " That " Shadwell is of " opinion, that " the Sharper " (cenſured in the " *Tatler*) with " his box and his " falſe dice is an " honeſter fellow " than the rhe- " torical author " the *Templer*, " who makes uſe " of his tropes " and figures, " which are his " high and his " low-runners, to " cheat us at once " of our money " and of our in- " tellectuals." And a little after, ſpeaking of N. 40 of the *Spectator*, he declares, " That there are " as many bulls, " and blunders, " and contradic- " tions in it al- " moſt as there " are lines, and " all delivered " with that inſo- " lent and that " bluſtering air, " which uſually " attends upon " error and delu- " ſion; while " truth, like the " Deity that in- " ſpires it, comes " calmly and " without noiſe." Dennis's *Letters* Vol. II. p. 407, 408, London 1721. There is much bluſter in this Criticiſm, but we don't find any in the Diſcourſe on which it animadverts.

(31) *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*, p. 295, 296. A dry, unpromiſing title to the imitation of a very agreeable French work, Father Bouhour's *Humiere de bien penſer*.

(32) This ſevere inſinuation might perhaps deſerve to be animadverted upon.

(33) Ibid. p. 66.

" *Tatlers* and *Spectators* in particular, which are obliged to this ingenious and uſeful " author for the character he has given of them, they were ſo generally diſperſed in " ſingle ſheets, and have ſince been printed in ſo great numbers, that it is to be hoped " they have made ſome proſelytes to the intereſts, if not to the practice of wiſdom and " virtue, among ſuch a multitude of readers." The ſituation of affairs in England in the year 1713 rendring the doctrine of liberty very ſeaſonable, Mr. Addiſon endeavoured to awaken the nation to a ſenſe of it by his excellent Tragedy of *Cato*. It received an univerſal applauſe, and all parties, however divided and oppoſite to each other, conſpired in giving it the commendations it deſerved (*n*). It run for a month together, and then was ſtopt only by the indiſpoſition of one of the principal performers. The author received a meſſage, that the Queen would be pleaſed to have it dedicated to her (*o*); but as he had deſigned that compliment elſewhere, he found himſelf obliged by his duty on the one ſide, and his honour on the other, to ſend it into the world without any dedication. Mr. Pope wrote the prologue to it, which is very beautiful, and Dr. Garth the epilogue. It was tranſlated into French and Italian, and acted in moſt of the languages of Chriſtendom [*U*]. Immediately after the publication of this Tragedy there was a pamphlet publiſhed by Mr. George Sewell, who was afterwards a Phyſician, and author of the Tragedy of *Sir Walter Raleigh*. This pamphlet is entitled *Obſervations upon Cato, a Tragedy by Mr. Addiſon*, in a letter to ***, dated April 25, 1713, pages 21, in 4°. (*p*). It contains ſeveral ingenious remarks in favour of that performance (*W*).

This

(*n*) The honours to which Mr. Addiſon was raiſed, and the wealth he got, made Mr. Voltaire obſerve, " That had he " been in France, " he would have " been elected a " member of one " of the Academies, and by " the credit of " ſome women, " might have " obtained a " yearly penſion of twelve " hundred livres; " or elſe might " have been impriſon'd in the " Baſtile, upon " pretence that " certain ſtrokes " in his Tragedy " of *Cato*, had " been diſcovered, " glanced at the " porter of ſome " man in power. *Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation*, Letter XXIII.

(*o*) It is the opinion of many, that ſome Characters in this Tragedy glanced at certain men (the Tories) then in power, who, in order to ward off the reflections which might ariſe from hence, affected to applaud it with the Whigs, by which means the approbation became univerſal.

(*p*) Printed for A. Baldwin in Warwick-Lane 1713.

[*U*] *It was immediately tranſlated into French and Italian, and acted in moſt of the languages of Chriſtendom.*] The French tranſlation of Mr. *Boyer* was publiſhed at London in 1713. The Abbot du Bos likewiſe tranſlated it; but only the three firſt ſcenes of that verſion were printed (34). We have an Italian tranſlation by the Abbot Salvini; and *this tragedy having been acted at Leghorn during the Carnival by the* Academici Compattiti, *it was received with ſuch prodigious applauſe, that the author was obliged to publiſh it at Florence* (35). Mr. Tickell ſays, that he has not been able to learn, whether that of Signor Valetta, a young Neapolitan Nobleman, has ever been made public. We have a Latin tranſlation of the celebrated *Soliloquy* of *Cato* in the beginning of the fifth act of that Tragedy, which, as the publiſher of it in the *Spectator* obſerves (36), *for conciſeneſs, purity, and elegance of phraſe cannot be ſufficiently admired.* This is ſaid to have been done by the late Dr. Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter. The Engliſh college of Jeſuits at St. Omers tranſlated the whole Tragedy into Latin, and had it acted by their pupils there with vaſt magnificence and prodigious applauſe. They ſent a copy of their verſion over to Mr. Addiſon.

(34) See the ſupplement to the *Nouvelles Literaires* for the 17th of October 1716.

(35) *Nouvelles Liter. du 25 Juillet* 1716. p. 51.

(36) Numb. 628. Vol. 8.

[*W*] *It contains ſeveral ingenious remarks in favour of that performance.*] The author declares at the beginning of his Pamphlet his approbation of it, and tells us, that this Tragedy, *which had raiſed the expectation of the town to a great height, had juſtly ſatisfied it*; and he divides his obſervations upon it into the following heads; 1. He gives a general idea of the character of Cato, in order to ſhew more evidently with what juſtneſs and propriety his character, with all his ſentiments, is preſerved to the laſt. 2. He points out how juſtly all the other characters are diſtinguiſhed from each other, and made ſubſervient to the conduct of the whole. 3. He concludes with obſerving ſome extraordinary beauties in it, and ſhewing how exactly they are conformable, not only to the true ſpirit of Poetry, but the beſt rules of Criticiſm. The reader we preſume will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a more particular extract from this piece, ſince there is ſuch a peculiar fatality attending Pamphlets, even the beſt of them, that in a ſhort time they are neglected and forgotten by the public, and are only to be found in the hands of the Curious. Our ingenious author tells us, that " in order to form a general idea of Cato, we muſt " have a view of the ſcene of affairs in which he " acted, an age full of vice and corruption, de- " bauch'd from their old generous *Roman Principles*, " abounding with plots and conſpiracies againſt the " preſent model of their Government, divided into " parties, headed by violent and ambitious ſpirits, " and carried on with all the arts of deſign, hy- " pocriſy and diſſimulation; and in ſhort ſuch an " age, wherein, as Cicero deſcribes it, it was as dan- " gerous for a good man to hazard himſelf in buſi- " neſs, and act in public offices, as it was diſgrace- " ful and mean to retire from them." In this age, continues our critic, the great Cato appeared, acting merely upon the principles of honour and juſtice, neither aw'd nor ſeduced by parties, with the trueſt notions of the ancient republic form, and a hearty zeal for it, publickly oppoſing both its diſguiſed and open enemies. When the *civil war* broke out, he ſided indeed with Pompey, as moſt of the Senators and lovers of their country did, not thinking him ſo dangerous an enemy as Cæſar; and Cato particularly hoping by the influence he had over him to bring him to reſettle the State upon its old bottom, if Pompey happened to prove the Conqueror. Dr. Sewell proceeds then to ſtate Cato's public and private character as it is repreſented by Lucan, who in that deſcription had as ſtrict a regard to truth as any Hiſtorian. This Poet in the ſecond book of the *Pharſalia* has extremely well painted the ſimplicity of his manners and habit, his notions of Philoſophy and his manner of behaviour; and then deſcribed his zeal for the State, and his anxiety for the calamities, that were likely to befall it; his generous concern for his fellow-ſufferers and neglect of himſelf, when Brutus comes to conſult him in the dead of the night. Our author has given us an elegant tranſlation of theſe paſſages; and then remarks, how agreeable to this, the character of Cato is ſuſtained thro' the whole Play. In the *ſecond Act*, ſays he (37), we find him beſieg'd and encompaſſed by Cæſar at Utica, in conference with a few Senators, who had adher'd to the cauſe of liberty, in this utmoſt exigence, regulating their debates, and returning an anſwer to Cæſar with an air ſuperior to his fortune. And tho' in this debate he utters many *ſentences*, which would not be graceful for another to ſpeak, yet according to Quintilian's rule, they are very proper and juſt in him; *for*, ſays the Orator, *ſentences are moſt properly put in the mouth of men of authority, that the perſon may give a confirmation to the weight and importance of the ſubject.* In the *third Act* we have another inſtance of the greatneſs of his ſoul, where he ventures himſelf unarmed amidſt a band of conſpirators, who by the ſingle awe of his virtue are ſo abaſh'd, that they dare not execute their purpoſe, when it was in their power. This is very agreeable to Virgil's ſentiment, where he compares in his *firſt Æneid* the ſudden fall of the waves and ceaſing of the winds, at the appearance of Neptune, to the compoſing of a popular tumult in an inſtant by the ſight and words of a grave and good man. After Cato has delivered the mutineers up to juſtice, he wiſely takes an opportunity from thence to recommend their darling *liberty* to his friends, and goes off as calm and ſedate as if no ſuch thing had happened. In the *fourth Act* we ſee a greater trial of his conſtancy, where when the relation of his ſon Marcus's death is brought to him by his brother Portius, before the narration is finiſh'd, he thinks not of

(37) *Obſervations &c.* p. 8.

This Dramatic Piece was begun long before it was brought upon the ſtage [*X*].

of the loſs of his ſon, but only of his behaviour; and when he finds it glorious, cries out, *I am ſatisfied!* This inſtance of fortitude our critic obſerves is not unlike that in Corneille's Tragedy of Horace, obſerved by Monſieur Boileau in his Preface to *Longinus*, where the Father of the three *Horatii* being told, that two of his ſons were killed in the combat with the three *Curiatii*, and that the third fled away; grieves only for the ſhameful flight of the laſt; and their ſiſter asking him what he would have had him ſingly done againſt three, he replied,—*Die*. When we conſider Cato under another view, we ſee his friendſhip for Juba, and his generous endeavours to form his mind to true greatneſs, and to raiſe his hopes on future proſpects of a dignity, that would be the reward of his virtues, not of his birth. When we view him under the light of Philoſophy, we ſee him making uſe of it to form his reſolutions how beſt to diſengage himſelf from the world and Cæſar. There is a great variety to be obſerved in that excellent ſpeech upon this occaſion; his reſolution, his agreeable proſpects of eternity, and yet the uncertainty *where* and *when*, which throws him into ſome little ſuſpence, till upon a view of the *book* and *ſword*, he reſumes his reſolution. Cicero has a paſſage which ſeems to warrant the uncertainty of Cato's conduct in this point. "While "I am reading, *ſays he*, Plato's book, I am allur'd "and charmed into a conviction of *the immortality "of the ſoul, and its exiſtence in a future ſtate*; "but as ſoon as I have laid down the book, I re-"lapſe into uncertainty, and all my former convic-"tion ſlides away from me." Cato, after a ſound ſleep, (the bleſſing of a good and compoſed mind) executes his purpoſe, and even in the agonies of death ſhews a kind concern for his ſon, daughter, and friends; and then with an abhorrence of the world, and a ſeeming diſtruſt of his conduct, expires in a prayer to the Gods. Dr. Sewell proceeds next to the diſtinction of the remaining characters from each other; which rule is too much neglected in many of our celebrated Plays. Portius and Marcus are nicely diſtinguiſh'd in their complexions, manners and tempers; and this difference of ſouls runs viſibly thro' the whole Play into a friendly diſparity of ſentiments, the one ſedate and calm, the other warm and paſſionate. They both act upon the ſame principles of honour and virtue, and the example of their Father. The elder conſiders him as a lover of liberty and his country; the younger merely in oppoſition to Cæſar. The one copies his Morality and Philoſophy, the other ſhews his zeal for Rome. The critic points out other differences in their characters; and obſerves with regard to Juba, that his character is entirely new. He copies from Cato's example, and is particularly animated to a noble imitation of him by his love for Marcia. His confuſion at the diſcovery of this love; his ſubmiſſion to Cato's authority; his diſcourſe with Syphax on the preference of the arts of the mind to thoſe of the body; and in ſhort, every incident of his character is admirable. Nor is there a leſs difference in the vicious than in the virtuous parts introduced. Sempronius and Syphax are both villains, traytors and hypocrites, but of a diſtinct kind; and the Roman and the African differ as much in their treachery as their complexion. Lucius, the oppoſite to Sempronius, tho' a friend to Cato, is of a mild, calm and merciful diſpoſition, full of tenderneſs for ſufferers of all ſorts; and inclines to a gentler method, not ſo much out of weakneſs, as from the review of the calamities that afflicted his country. The two women inherit the different ſpirits of their fathers. The daughter of Cato, concerned deeply for her father and the cauſe of virtue, checks an untimely paſſion, with the reflection of the relation ſhe bears to the Head of that cauſe, and by an excellent artifice of the Poet, upon the ſuppoſition of the death of her lover, diſcovers her value for him. This incident is natural as well as neceſſary, ſo that it takes away all indecency unworthy of a daughter of Cato. On the other ſide, Lucia of a ſoft and compaſſionate temper, cannot diſguiſe her thoughts, but after ſhe has revealed them, fearful of the conſequences, reſolves to wait the event of things before ſhe makes her lover happy. Here is the timidity and pity of her father Lucius; and at the ſame time her kindneſs to Marcia engages her as far as his friendſhip to *Cato* did him. Dr. Sewell remarks, that the plot is juſtly worked up from theſe characters; and that in the *Cataſtrophe*, which is of a mixed nature, unfortunate goodneſs is left upon conjecture and to the Gods, and the other virtuous characters are all rewarded. The Critic then obſerves, with regard to the particular beauties of the Play, that the paſſions which the character of Cato is moſt apt to raiſe, are indignation, admiration and pity; indignation, to ſee ſuch exalted virtue oppreſſed by ſucceſsful tyranny; admiration, in obſerving the Patriot, in the midſt of all his calamities, great, good, and intrepid; pity, for his ill ſucceſs in the public cauſe and his domeſtic misfortunes, which are apt ſo much the more to move others, as they affected him leſs. Dr. Sewell tells us likewiſe, that he would have but a mean opinion of an audience, who ſhould not be moved by it. He remarks, that moſt of Cato's ſpeeches are filled with indignation againſt Cæſar; and that, according to Quintilian, interrogations agree beſt with that paſſion, and heighten the ſentiments. Of this kind we have ſeveral beautiful inſtances in the ſecond act, between Decius and Cato, particularly where Decius tells him how anxious Cæſar was for his life, and Cato replies;

Would he ſave Cato? Bid him ſpare his country.

We have another fine inſtance in the fourth act, where Juba ſays;

While Cato lives, Cæſar will bluſh to ſee
Mankind enſlav'd, and be aſham'd of Empire.

And he returns;

Cæſar aſham'd! has he not ſeen Pharſalia?

The very mention of Pharſalia is the ſtrongeſt mark of indignation, without any other exaggeration. The Critic obſerves one more beauty, which is as follows. It is upon a common topic, which all our Poets have occaſion for ſome time or other, an *impoſſibility*. What work do they make here? Sometimes *you might as well move Olympus*; at others, *Stars muſt be graſp'd at*; and the more moderate are contented with making *Rivers flow backward to the fountain head*. But here we may obſerve the judgment of the Poet in the firſt act, where Sempronius is telling Portius what a happineſs he ſhould enjoy, if Cato his father would give him his ſiſter Marcia; to which he replies,

Alas! Sempronius, wouldſt thou talk of love
To Marcia, while her father's life's in danger?
Thou might'ſt as well court the pale trembling veſtal
When ſhe beholds the holy flame expiring.

This image is new, beautiful, and judiciouſly ſuited to the circumſtances; and nothing could be more agreeable to the notions of a Roman, than ſuch an impoſſibility; beſides that the glance at religion improves and exalts the idea to the higheſt pitch. Dr. Sewell obſerves, that it appears from a dialogue *de Oratoribus* (38), attributed by ſome to Tacitus, and by others to Quintilian, that Curiatius Maternus compoſed a Tragedy upon this ſubject; and it is probable, by the hint which Horace gives in his firſt Ode of the ſecond book to Pollio, that Cato bore a conſiderable part in his Tragedy, which he adviſed him to defer publiſhing, till matters were better compoſed, and forbear a ſubject, which could not but be ungrateful to many at that time. Dr. Sewell concludes with this obſervation, that this was not deſigned as a *State* or *Party-play*; but that the character of Cato was drawn from the life, without any regard to the circumſtances of the time, when the Tragedy appeared. It is very certain indeed, that Cato's character is juſt, and formed upon the truth of hiſtory; but Mr. Tickell has aſſured us, as we obſerved above in

(38) C. 2 and 3.

ſtage [*X*]. Mr. Deſchamps having ſeen this Tragedy wrote one upon the ſame ſubject, and under the ſame title, which has been oppoſed to that of Mr. Addiſon [*Y*]. Mr.

in the text of this article, that Mr. Addiſon was induced by the ſtate of affairs at the time when it was acted, to bring it upon the ſtage then. Dr. Sewell has ſubjoined to his *Obſervations* a Poem upon this Tragedy, wherein having complained that Operas had long triumphed over Poetry and Tragedy, he takes notice that this performance had awakened men from their ſtupid indolence:

Thoſe heads, that us'd moſt indolent to move
To Sing-song Ballad, *and* Sonata *love,*
Began their buried ſenſes to explore,
And found they now had paſſions as before:
The power of nature in their boſoms felt,
In ſpite of prejudice compell'd to melt.

He then applauds Cato's conſtancy, and obſerves that the *Soul* of *Rome* appeared more eminent and great in his ſingle character, than when it reigned in whole crowds of Senators.

Obſerve the juſtneſs of the Poet's thoughts,
Whoſe ſmalleſt excellence is want of faults:
Without affected pomp and noiſe he warms,
Without the gaudy dreſs of beauty charms:
Love, the old ſubject of the buskin'd Muſe,
Returns, but ſuch as Roman virgins uſe.
A virtuous love, chaſtis'd by pureſt thought,
Not from the fancy, but from nature wrought.

He then calls upon the Britons, to do honour to their modern Poet, and place him in a rank ſuperior to the moſt admired of their ancients, Johnſon and Shakeſpear.

While Phœbus binds the lawrel on his brow,
Riſe up ye Muſes, and ye Poets bow:
Superior worth with admiration greet,
And place him neareſt to his Phœbus's ſeat,

[*X*] *This Tragedy was begun long before it was brought upon the ſtage.*] "This Tragedy, ſays Mr. "Tickell, appeared in public in the year 1713, when "the greateſt part of the laſt act was added by the "author to the foregoing, which he had kept by "him for many years. He took up a deſign of "writing a play upon this ſubject when he was very "young at the Univerſity, and even attempted "ſomething in it there, though not a line as it now "ſtands. The work was performed by him in his "travels, and retouched in England, without any "formed reſolution of bringing it upon the ſtage, "till his friends of the firſt quality and diſtinction "prevailed with him to put the laſt finiſhing to it, "at a time when they thought the doctrine of liber-"ty very ſeaſonable." This paſſage has given a new occaſion to Sir Richard Steele to animadvert upon Mr. Tickell with his uſual vehemence and aſperity. We ſhall give Sir Richard's obſervation entire, becauſe it acquaints us with ſome particulars relating to that Tragedy and the author of it. "All the "town knows, ſays he (39), how officious I was in "bringing it on; and you that know the town, the "theatre, and mankind very well, can judge how "neceſſary it was to take meaſures for making a "performance of that ſort, excellent as it is, run "into popular applauſe. I promis'd before it was "acted, and performed my duty accordingly to the "author, that I would bring together ſo juſt an au-"dience on the firſt days of it, that it ſhould be im-"poſſible for the vulgar to put its ſucceſs or due "applauſe to any hazard; but I don't mention it only "to ſhew, how good an *Aid de Camp* I was to Mr. "Addiſon, but to ſhew alſo that the editor does as "much to cloud the merit of this work as I did to "ſet it forth. Mr. Tickell's account of its being "taken up, laid down, and at laſt perfected, after "ſuch long intervals and pauſes, would make any "one believe, who did not know Mr. Addiſon, that "it was accompliſhed with the greateſt pain and la-"bour, and the iſſue rather of learning and induſtry, "than capacity and genius. But I do aſſure you, "that never Play, which could bring the author "any reputation for wit and conduct, notwitſtand-"ing 'twas ſo long before it was finiſh'd, employed "the author ſo little a time in writing. If I re-"member right, the fifth *Act* was written in leſs "than a week's time; for this was particular in "this writer, that when he had taken his reſoluti-"on, or made his plan for what he deſigned to "write, he would walk about a room, and dictate "it into language with as much freedom and eaſe "as any one could write it down, and attend to "the coherence and grammar of what he dictated. "I have been often thus employed by him, &c."

(39) Dedication of the *Drummer*, p. 15, 16.

[*Y*] *Which has been oppoſed to that of Mr. Addiſon.*] This Tragedy of *Des Champs* was even preferred to that of Mr. Addiſon, in a diſſertation publiſhed in the *Mercure Galant*, a collection worthy ſuch an extraordinary piece of criticiſm. Des Champs's *Cato* was dedicated by him to the Duke of Orleans, and it was tranſlated into Engliſh in Blank Verſe, and publiſhed with *a Parallel betwixt that piece and the Tragedy of* Cato *written by Mr.* Addison, at London, 1716. The author of this *Parallel* pretends to ſhew, by an analyſis of the two Plays, that Mr. Addiſon's is very faulty in the ſtructure of the fable, while the French Tragedy is extremely beautiful; and that the Epiſodes of the Engliſh Poet are abſolutely detached from the principal action, and make it diſappear: whereas thoſe of the French Poet depend upon the ſubject, are full of diſtreſs, and diſcover the plot; in ſhort, that the conduct of the latter is *regular, wonderful, agreeable to truth, moving and great.* Mr. Des Champs ſuppoſes, that Portia, the daughter of Cato being fallen into the hands of the Parthians, after the defeat of Craſſus, is advanced at the Court of Arſaces, under the denomination of his daughter, and that after that Prince was dead, ſhe becomes Queen of Parthia. He attempts, as he ſays himſelf (40), *to throw a concern of paſſion betwixt her and Cæſar* which he could not have done, if ſhe had been known to be Cato's daughter. Cato is ſurpriz-ed to find his daughter a Queen; and inſtead of mak-ing uſe of her aſſiſtance to ſupport his liberty, he thought it criminal to keep a Scepter in his family, and takes occaſion frequently to perſuade Portia to re-nounce her Crown. This ſudden change exaſperates Pharnaces King of Pontus, who deſigned to marry the Queen; upon this he reſolves to aſſaſſinate Cato; he propoſes it to Cæſar, who abhorring ſuch a treachery informs Cato of it. Pharnaces in deſpair attempts to kill Cato and Cæſar, and makes himſelf Maſter of their place of conference, and ſiezes Portia and the city of Utica. The danger that Cæſar was in makes him run to ſuccour his troops; Pharnaces is defeated; but the Romans who followed Cato join themſelves to Cæſar's army; and Cato having no other reſource but to ſubmit to Cæſar, or kill himſelf, choſe the latter. This is the plot of Mr. Des Champs's Tragedy. The author of the *Parallel* then gives us ſeveral paſſages of the French piece in oppoſition to the beauties of the Engliſh, tho' he *confeſſes he is puzzled in the choice.* He extolls the extracts which he makes; compares them to the moſt applauded parts of Corneille and Racine; and concludes the whole *Parallel* in this manner: *The cauſe is ready to be heard; pronounce, my Lord, I have ſaid it, and don't repent, I conſent to be judged by an* English *man. As for the reſt, I have no other intention than to excite between Mr.* Addison *and Mr.* Des Champs *an emulation, which may encourage the latter to proceed upon the foot of Corneille, and puſh on the firſt to become a Corneille to England.* However, after all theſe Elogiums Mr. Des Champs's piece did not ſucceed in the leaſt, and was generally deſpiſed here by all good judges. It met with the ſame fate among perſons of taſte and learning in other countries; and we find that one of the authors of the *Journal Literaire* having recommended this Play, a brother-writer of his, (whom we have quoted above,) diſowned that Elogium of it in expreſs terms. "With regard to Mr. Addiſon, ſays "he (41), foreigners may form a judgment of his "genius by the volumes of the *Spectator*, which "have been already publiſhed in French. But we "could

(40) In the Preface to his *Cato*.

(41) *Journal Liter. ubi ſupra*, p. 215.

" could not juſtly have denied him the greateſt " commendations imaginable, tho' he had written " nothing elſe beſides his *Cato*. We cannot imagine, " continues he, how it happened, that in one of " our *Journals* among the literary news from the " Hague, there was publiſhed ſuch an extravagant " Elogium upon the *French Cato*, and at the ſame " time ſo injurious a reflexion upon that of Mr. " Addiſon. We are ſo far from approving this, " that we are of opinion, the *Parallel* which the " French have publiſhed between theſe two pieces " equals all that unjuſt contempt, which the Engliſh " in every age have caſt upon the French. There " is no exaggeration in this; for nothing can be " conceived more extravagant, than to prefer a " piece, which is ſcarce equal to the worſt of " Pradon's works, to one of the moſt perfect com- " poſitions, which England has produced." This critique is very judicious, but perhaps it would have been more juſt, if inſtead of fixing this ridiculous *Parallel between the Cato of Mr. Des Champs and that of Mr. Addiſon*, upon the French in general, the author had obſerved, as it was done in another *Journal*, that *the Engliſh would not do juſtice to the French nation, if they ſhould impute to it the ſentiments of the author, who compared the French and Engliſh* Cato *together, and was even ſo raſh as to give the preference to the former* (42).

(42) *Supplem. des Nouvelles Liter. du* 17 Octob. 1716, p. 337.

[Z] We cannot avoid taking notice here of an anonymous author, who wrote a *Critique* upon Mr. Addiſon's *Cato* (43); and it appears very clearly, that his deſign was to find fault with that piece, in order to revenge the French nation for the preference, which Mr. Addiſon in ſome of his *Spectators* had given to the Engliſh writers over the French. But this over-officious Champion will hardly be acknowledged by the French any more than the author of the *Parallel* between the two Cato's. In ſhort, he had neither candour nor abilities ſufficient to execute the task, which he had undertaken. He cenſures Mr. Addiſon for faults, which he was not guilty of, and which can only be charged upon the French tranſlator. For inſtance, he ranks among the *faults againſt common ſenſe*, the firſt words of the Tragedy according to Mr. Boyer's tranſlation;

(43) See *Nouvelles Liter. du* 1 & *du* 16 *de Janvier* 1717.

L'Aurore s'obſcurcit, & ſe couvrant d'afreux nuages n'ameine qu'avec peine le jour fatal, qui doit decider du ſort de Caton & de Rome.

Or according to Mr. Hullin;

L'Aurore ſe couvrant d'un voile tenebreux
N'annonce qu'à regret un jour ſi malheureux;
Jour fatal à Caton, plus funeſte pour Rome,
Puiſqu'il va decider du ſort de ce grand homme.

" This, ſays he, is contrary to all the rules of the " Drama to open the cataſtrophe of the Play in the " firſt words of it, which inform us, that *it is a* " *fatal day, a day which is to decide the fate of* " *Cato*; this is expreſly ſaying, that *Cato muſt die,* " *or at leaſt ſubmit to Cæſar.*" But Mr. Addiſon has taken care to avoid ſo flagrant a miſtake, for the original has nothing to that purpoſe; and the (44) Abbé Du Bos has tranſlated it very exactly in the following manner, which is equally agreeable to *good ſenſe* and to the *rules of the Drama*. *L'Aurore ſe leve? Qu'elle a l'air ſombre? Quels nuages lui couvrent le front? N'ameneroit elle qu'à regret ce grand jour, ce jour memorable, qui doit enfanter la deſtinée de Caton & de Rome.* In ſhort the faults, which the abovementioned author pretends to find in the ſtructure and œconomy of this Tragedy, either are not to be found in it, or are no faults at all, or are ſuch faults, as may with equal juſtice be imputed to Corneille and Racine, and yet have never been objected to thoſe great Poets: It were very eaſy to produce inſtances of all this, and to confute this critic beyond any poſſibility of contradiction.

(44) This Gentleman who is Secretary to the French Academy has written, among other pieces, a work entitled, *Reflexions Critiques ſur la Poëſie & la Peinture*. This work abounds with a multitude of very curious obſervations.

Mr. Voltaire, in his *Diſcourſe on Tragedy* (45), *to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke*, prefixed to the 4th Edition of his *Eſſay upon the Civil Wars of France, and upon the Epic-Poetry of the European Nations* (46), having obſerved the defects of the French ſtage, where the benches ſet on the ſtage contract the ſpace of it, and make it almoſt impoſſible to repreſent the whole action. " To this de- " fect, ſays he, it is owing, that the ſcenes and de- " corations, which are ſo ſtrongly recommended by " the ancients, ſo ſeldom ſuit the Play. Above all, " it hinders the actors from paſſing out of one room " into another before the ſpectators, as was the ju- " dicious practice of the Greeks and Romans, in or- " der to preſerve at one and the ſame time the unity " of place and probability." He then proceeds to ſhew that the French writers could not attempt to bring Pompey's Ghoſt, or the Genius of Brutus, on their ſtage, among ſo many young people, who view the moſt ſerious incidents purely that they may have an opportunity of ſaying ſome ſmart thing: " How " could we, ſays he, bring in the midſt of theſe " the body of Marcus to Cato his father, who " makes the following ſpeech?

(45) Tranſlated by Mr. Lockman.

(46) Pag. 7, 8.

Welcome, my ſon; here lay him down, my friends,
Full in my ſight, that I may view at leiſure
The bloody coarſe, and count thoſe glorious wounds;
How beautiful is death, when earn'd by virtue!
Who would not be that youth? what pity is it
That we can die but once to ſerve our country?

Alas! my friends?
Why mourn you thus? let not a private loſs
Afflict your hearts! 'Tis Rome requires our tears,
The Miſtreſs of the world.
Rome is no more;
O liberty! O virtue! O my country! &c.
Cato, laſt Scene of Act IV.

" This is what Mr. Addiſon did not ſcruple to bring " before an Engliſh Audience; this is what was tranſ- " lated into Italian, and played in ſeveral cities of " Italy. But were we to exhibit ſuch a ſcene in " Paris, would not the pit immediately cenſure it, " and the Ladies turn away their faces with an air " of diſtaſte?"

The ſame author has likewiſe in the dedication of his *Tragedy of Zayre*, to Mr. Falkoner an Engliſh Merchant, taken occaſion to commend Mr. Addiſon's *Cato*, and at the ſame time to cenſure it in ſome points. Having obſerved that ſimplicity was one of the moſt remarkable characteriſtics of the beſt writers of antiquity; and adviſed the Engliſh to introduce this ſimplicity upon their ſtage, which is generally too full of ſcenes of horror, and the moſt ſhocking ſights, and to mix more of truth and nature with their nobleſt images, he proceeds in this manner:

Addiſſon l'a deja tenté;
C'étoit le Poëte des ſages;
Mais il étoit trop concerté,
Et dans ſon Caton ſi vanté,
Ses deux filles en verité,
Sont d'inſipides perſonnages.
Imitez du grand Addiſſon,
Seulement ce qu'il a de bon.

That is,
" Immortal Addiſon, a Bard
" Form'd to delight the men of ſenſe, attempted
" By theſe juſt maxims to reform the ſtage.
" Yet even he how great ſoe'er his merit,
" Is too elaborate for ſimple nature
" And in his *Cato* ſo admir'd, the Ladies
" With all their love-ſcenes form two characters
" Dull and unworthy of the noble Drama.
" Tho' mighty Addiſon ſhould lead the way,
" Yet imitate his excellencies only.

The ſame author in ſome Letters, (juſt publiſhed) which he wrote concerning the Engliſh Nation (47), tells us, that " the firſt Engliſh writer, " who compoſed a regular Tragedy, and infuſed a " ſpirit of elegance thro' every part of it was the " illuſtrious Mr. Addiſon. His *Cato* is a maſter- " piece both with regard to the diction, and the " beauty and harmony of the numbers. The cha- " racter of Cato is in my opinion greatly ſuperior to " that of Cornelia in the *Pompey of Corneille*; for " Cato is great without any thing of fuſtian; and " Cornelia, who beſides is not a neceſſary character, " tends ſometimes to bombaſt. Mr. Addiſon's *Cato*

(47) *Letter* XVIII. on Tragedy.

" appears

Mr. Dennis likewiſe wrote a Criticiſm upon *Cato* [Z]. Mr. Addiſon had a deſign to write

" appears to me the greateſt character that was ever " brought upon any ſtage (48); but then the reſt of " them don't correſpond to the dignity of it; and " this dramatic piece, ſo excellently well written, is " disfigured by a dull love-plot, which ſpreads a cer- " tain languor over the whole, that quite deſtroys " the beauty of it." He informs us afterwards, that *the cuſtom of introducing love at random, and at any rate in the Drama paſſed from Paris to London about* 1660, *with our ribbons and our perruques. The Ladies, who adorn the theatrical circle there in the ſame manner as in this city* (*Paris*), *will ſuffer love only to be the theme of every converſation. The judicious Mr. Addiſon had the effeminate complaiſance to ſoften the ſeverity of his dramatic character ſo as to adapt it to the manners of the age, and from an endeavour to pleaſe, quite ruined a maſter-piece in its kind. Since his time, the Drama is become more regular, the audience more difficult to be pleaſed, and writers more correct and leſs bold.* Perhaps Mr. de Voltaire's aſſertion, that *Mr. Addiſon was the firſt Engliſh writer, who compoſed a regular Tragedy*, will admit of ſome doubt; ſince Mr. Otway's and Mr. Rowe's Tragedies, and Mr. Congreve's *Mourning-Bride* are generally conſidered by the critics not only as elegant, but alſo as regular performances, tho' they were written before Mr. Addiſon's *Cato*.

The ingenious Mr. de Voltaire having cenſured ſo much the love-plot in *Cato*, we ſhall now give the very oppoſite opinion of a very celebrated writer (49). " In our degenerate age, ſays he, the Poet muſt have " more than ordinary skill to raiſe the admiration of " the audience ſo high, in the great and public " parts of his Drama, to make a looſe people attend " to a paſſion which they never, or that they very " faintly, felt in their own boſoms. That *perfect " piece*, called CATO, which has done ſo great honour " to our nation and language, *excells as much in the " paſſions of its lovers*, as in the ſublime ſentiments " of its Hero; their generous love, which is more " heroic than any concern in the chief characters of " moſt Drama's, makes but ſubordinate characters in " this." . . Sir Richard gives an inſtance of the heroiſm in this love-plot, in the noble anſwer which Juba makes to Marcia's reproof for entertaining her with his paſſion at a juncture when the common cauſe ſhould take place of all other thoughts. Juba's words begin thus:

Thy reproofs are juſt
Thou virtuous maid; I'll haſten to my troops &c.

The learned Dr. Fiddes cenſures the two following lines in this Tragedy. The verſes are theſe;

In ſpight of all the virtues we can boaſt,
A woman that deliberates is loſt,

" I do not know, ſays the Doctor (50), whether this " be any great compliment to the Ladies. We grant " it is ſpoken by a Heathen Lady; but it is by one " that makes profeſſion of a rigid and ſtrict virtue, " to which regard ought always to be had, before a " Chriſtian auditory. Yet why ſhould it happen " that a woman muſt fall whenever ſhe happens to " make a falſe ſtep? Why ſhould we not allow the " other ſex a liberty of mind, wherein the great tri- " umph of virtue conſiſts, to reſiſt an inclination " they might at firſt have indiſcreetly entertained? " Tho' were the words to be underſtood only as a " caution to the Ladies, againſt all indecent or irre- " gular advances upon the firſt motions of love, the " author's deſign had been very juſt; but then he " ought to have ſpoken it to them as a caution, and " not in terms ſo general as appear to turn it into " a reflexion." However in our opinion the Poet put thoſe words into Marcia's mouth as a caution to her ſex, to prevent their falling into temptations of any kind, by ſuggeſting that the leaſt approach to them is fatal. We find the following characters of the lovers in *Cato* (51). "Theſe, ſays the author, " are more warm though more diſcreet than " ever yet appeared on the ſtage, have a conſtant " ſenſe of the great cataſtrophe which was expected " from the approach of Cæſar. But to ſee the mo- " deſty of a Heroine, whoſe country and family were " at that time in the moſt imminent danger preſerv'd, " while ſhe breaks out into the moſt fond and open " expreſſions of her paſſion for her lover, is an in- " ſtance of no common addreſs.

[Y] *Mr. Dennis wrote a criticiſm on Mr. Addiſon's Cato.*] This was a Pamphlet, the deſign of which was to ſhew (to uſe the critick's own words) "the ab- " ſurd conduct of the *Tragedy of Cato*," and was printed by Bernard Lintott. But Mr. Dennis obſerving, " that the numerous idolizers of that *Tragedy*, " whoſe unparallel'd zeal was the child of their un- " parallel'd ignorance, having ſheltered themſelves " under the beauty of the ſentiments of that Poem;" (52) he thereupon had afterwards writ two long letters to a Gentleman, wherein he endeavoured to ſhew, " that the ſentiments of Cato were as incon- " gruous as the conduct (53);" but that afterwards having been deprived of the copy of thoſe letters by a poor artifice, as the Gentleman had been of the originals, he would endeavour to recollect as many of thoſe remarks as he could; and theſe he work'd up into ſeven letters, ſome particulars of which we ſhall now take notice of. Mr. Dennis after making an apology to his correſpondent, by deſiring him " not to expect any thing of that little force and that " little grace of expreſſion which they (his remarks) " might have in the two fore-mentioned letters," (54) proceeds to his criticiſm, the firſt of which is a query, " Whether the exclaiming againſt the *Pharſalia* ſo of- " ten in *Cato*, two years after the battle had been " fought in a different and diſtant part of the world, " and but two days after the battle of Thapſus, " which was fought at the very gates of Utica, and " by the loſs of which the preſent danger of the " people in Utica was occaſioned, is not as abſurd as " it would have been in the Marſhal de Villeroy to " have cried out after the defeat at Ramelies, Blen- " heim, Blenheim, oh Blenheim!" . . But the critic ſeems to have anſwered this, tho' he will not allow it, by an objection he himſelf ſtarts, viz. That the defeat at Pharſalia deſtroyed the flower of the Republican Army (55). He indeed obſerves a little lower, " that as great paſſion is occaſioned by great ſurprize, " it always dwells upon the laſt diſaſter." But why may it not reflect back upon the original cauſe of diſaſters be they ever ſo many, when it is to them that all the ſucceeding ones are owing? Mr. Dennis in his ſecond letter, among other particulars, cenſures the following from the ſpeech of Sempronius to Portius:

Good morrow, Portius! let us once embrace,
Once more embrace; whilſt yet we both are free.

Now are not theſe formal embraces, ſays our Critic, between two people who ſaw one another every hour, ſomething upon the comique (56)? But this may be anſwered by another queſtion, What can be more natural than for two friends who expect every inſtant to be enſlaved, and poſſibly will never ſee one another more, to embrace in the tendereſt manner? Mr. Dennis goes on to obſerve, " that this mock Senate " at Utica) in burleſque, was compoſed of a *parcel of " ſcoundrels*, who had never ſeen Pharſalia (57)." If any one ſhould ask the critic how he knows them to have been ſuch ſcoundrels; his anſwer is, " Can any one believe, that if they had been " of real ſenatorial rank, Cæſar would have uſed " them as he did, who hanged up as many of " them as fell into his hands?" Admirable! The third letter begins with cenſuring what Syphax tells Sempronius in theſe words,

Syph. *Sempronius, all is ready;*
I've ſounded my Numidians man by man,
And find them ripe for a revolt.

" Now where's the policy, ſays the critic, or the pru- " dence of ſounding them man by man? The common " ſoldiers obey their Commanders, and it is danger- " ous to truſt a conſpiracy with too many (58)?" This reflexion ſeems juſt. Then after cenſuring ſeveral

(48) We have the following fine character of *Cato* in the *Guardian* N° 33. " The " principal character is moved by no conſideration but " reſpect to that " ſort of virtue, " the ſenſe of " which is retained in our " language under the word " *Publick Spirit.* " All regards to " his domeſtic " are wholly " laid aſide, and " that Hero is " drawn as having by this " motive ſubdued " inſtinct itſelf; " calling comfort from the " diſtreſſes of his " family, which " are brought " upon them by " their adhe- " rence to the " cauſe of truth " and liberty. " There is no- " thing uttered " by Cato but " what is wor- " thy the beſt of " men; and the " ſentiments " which are gi- " ven him, are " not only the " moſt warm for " the conduct of " this life, but " ſuch as we " may think " will not need " to be eras'd, " but conſiſt " with the hap- " pineſs of the " ſoul in the " next." See the *Guardians* N. 33, for the general character of *Cato*. N. 43 for ſome of its beauties; and N. 64 for its beautiful ſimiles.

(49) Sir Richard Steele in the *Lover*, p. 28. London printed for J. Tonſon 1715, 12°.

(50) In his Prefatory Epiſtle concerning ſome remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's *Iliad*, occaſioned by the propoſals of Mr. Pope towards a new Engliſh verſion of that Poem. To the Revd Dean Swift. By Richard Fiddes, p. 101, 102. London printed for J. Wyat, 1714, 12°.

(51) *Guardian*, N. 33. London printed for J. Tonſon 1714, 12°.

(52) *Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical*, by Mr. Dennis. Vol. II. p. 303. London printed for W. Mears, 1721, 8°.

(53) Idem, ibid.

(54) Idem, 304.

(55) Idem, ibid. p. 305.

(56) Idem, pag. 307.

(57) Idem, pag. 308.

(58) Idem, pag. 401, which ſhould be 311.

write another Tragedy upon the death of Socrates [*AA*]. At the latter end of Queen Anne's

veral other paſſages, he proceeds to the fourth letter, which is a critique on the ſcene between Juba and Syphax. This ſcene Mr. Dennis declares, "tho' it "was ſo extravagantly commended, is one groſs "fault; that Syphax is very much in the wrong in "his invectives againſt the Romans; and that Juba (59) Pag. 317. "is more in the wrong in his defence of them (59)." He concludes his general invective againſt this ſcene with theſe words, "What ſhall we ſay of the taſte "and judgment of its admirers, ſhall we forbear to "cry out with indignation, *Quantum eſt in rebus in-* "*ane?*" He then cites ſome part of that ſcene, which is ſo beautiful that a reader of taſte cannot forbear admiring the taſte of the critic. To give one inſtance of this, in his animadverſion on the following ſpeech which Juba makes to Syphax who had applauded the military excellencies of the Numidians.

Juba. *Theſe all are virtues of a meaner rank;*
Perfections that are placed in bones and nerves.
A Roman ſoul is bent on higher views:
To civilize the rude, unpoliſh'd world,
And lay it under the reſtraint of laws;
To make man mild and ſociable to man;
To cultivate the wild, licentious ſavage;
With wiſdom, diſcipline, and liberal arts;
Th' embelliſhments of life: Virtues like Theſe,
Make human nature ſhine, reform the ſoul,
And break our fierce Barbarians into men.

Here Mr. Dennis, inſtead of admiring the beauty of the ſentiment and the dignity of the expreſſion, breaks out into this exclamation: "Now, Sir, are "you able without a juſt *indignation* to behold in "Juba this baſe *admiration* of a *nation*, which in "its progreſs to univerſal Monarchy endeavoured to (60) Idem, pag. 322. "enſlave the very Kings of Africa (60)?" But does not the excellent author himſelf invalidate this Encomium by the following lines which Syphax is ſuppoſed to ſpeak on this occaſion; and, which is pleaſant enough, the critic himſelf has quoted;

Syph. *Patience kind heav'ns! — Excuſe an old man's warmth,*
What are theſe wond'rous civilizing arts,
This Roman poliſh, and this ſmooth behaviour,
That render man thus tractable and tame?
Are they not only to diſguiſe our paſſions,
To ſet our looks at variance with our thoughts,
To check the ſtart and ſallies of the ſoul,
And break off all its commerce with the tongue;
In ſhort, to change us into other creatures,
Than what our nature and the Gods deſign'd us.

How nobly this ſpeech ends! But the Critic, inſtead of admiring it, makes the following reflection. "Here "are not above two or three of the ſentiments which "are found in Salluſt, whereas that admirable Hiſto- "rian employs whole pages in deſcribing the prodi- (61) Idem, pag. 323. "gious corruption of the Roman manners (61)." So that Mr. Addiſon ſhould have employed as many pages on this occaſion as Salluſt does, and then he would have ſpun out his Tragedy to a very decent length. The fifth letter is a continuation of the remarks on this ſcene between Syphax and Juba. Here the critic, after deſcending to particulars, declares that "Juba is a character that is not only ſhocking "and contemptible to men of ſenſe," (he had before called this Numidian Prince a *Younker* and a *Milk-ſop*) "at the ſame time that the author endeavours to "render him eſtimable and agreeable, but he is "ſhocking and contemptible by the very ſame "qualities by which the author endeavours to "render him eſtimable and agreeable; and theſe are "his eſteem and admiration of the Romans. For "in admiring the Romans who were his contempo- "raries, he not only admired the moſt profligately "wicked of all nations — but a nation — who were (62) Idem, pag. 331, 332. "about to ruin and enſlave Numidia (62)." Mr. Dennis is ſtrangely angry with all the Romans in general, for a little after he calls them, "The ac- "curſed plagues of human race." (But we muſt ſuppoſe that Juba ſpeaks of the virtuous Romans who were ſhut up in Utica.) The ſixth letter is levelled at the firſt ſcene of the ſecond Act, which exhibits the Senate aſſembled; and to know whether it deſerves the applauſe which it at firſt met with from the readers and ſpectators. Mr. Dennis conſiders 1ſt, the deſign with which Cato, who preſides over the aſſembly, ſummoned it; 2dly, the manner of ſpeaking in it; and laſtly, the ſpeeches themſelves (63). He ob- (63) P. 336. ſerves on the ſecond head, that "as ſoon as Cato "propoſes the buſineſs of peace or war, Sempronius "riſes, and declares for the latter; when Cato im- "mediately contradicts him without ſtaying to ſee, if "the reſt of the Senators were of his opinion (64)." (64) Idem, 337. This, our critic obſerves, "is contrary to the me- "thods of all Councils, either thoſe of Parnaſſus or "thoſe of the world, becauſe ſuch a proceeding is "not conſonant to reaſon, nor to the deſign of con- "vening ſuch aſſemblies (65)." This undoubtedly (65) Idem, ibid. ought to be the method of all Councils, but that it *is not ſo*, is plain from Hiſtory, if not in the Councils of Parnaſſus, (to purſue the critick's diviſion,) at leaſt in thoſe of the world. Mr. Dennis then proceeds to the third head, (the ſpeeches,) and begins with that of *Cato*,

Fathers we once again are met in council,
Cæſar's approach has ſummon'd us together &c.

This ſpeech which Mr. Dennis afterwards calls *a bleſſed Harangue*, he ſays (66), "he will begin to exa- (66) Idem, pag. "mine by the *tail*; for that, it is not till the four laſt 339. "lines that Cato puts the queſtion to this *mock-ſenate*, "whether they were for peace or war," which, he obſerves, is putting a wrong queſtion (67). The firſt (67) Idem, ibid. ſix lines of the ſpeech of Lucius (who by the way he calls a fool) he declares *contain but a meer poetical flouriſh* (68); but we ſhall give them here. (68) Ibid, pag. 344.

Lucius. *My thoughts, I muſt confeſs, are turn'd on peace.*
Already have our quarrels fill'd the world
With widows and with orphans. Scythia mourns
Our guilty wars, and earth's remoteſt regions
Lie half unpeopled by the feuds of Rome:
'Tis time to ſheathe the ſword, and ſpare mankind.

This ſurely is the firſt time that ever ſuch noble reflexions dropt from a fool's mouth. But the critic ſeems to be exaſperated againſt the whole Senate at Utica. In his ſeventh and laſt letter, where he again attacks Juba, (who is the object of his ſtrongeſt reſentment) he cenſures the following words, which Cato is ſuppoſed to ſpeak, after hearing of Decius, Cæſar's Embaſſador:

His (Cæſar's) *cares for me are inſolent and vain:*
Preſumptuous man! The Gods take care of Cato.
Would Cæſar ſhew the greatneſs of his ſoul?
Bid him employ his care for theſe my friends,
And make good uſe of his ill-gotten power,
By ſhelt'ring men much better than himſelf.

"Which is as much as to ſay, ſays Mr. Dennis, Cæſar "ſhews inſolence and vanity in taking care of me; "but he would ſhew the greatneſs of his ſoul in tak- "ing care of theſe *ſcoundrels* here about me, who are "as much better than him, as I am better than they "are." Now obſerve the inference. "Is not this, ſays he, "to ſay in plain Engliſh, as long as the Gods "take care of me, let the Devil take care of my "friends here: For has not he painted Cæſar, but "ſix lines before this, as black as any modern can "paint the Devil (69)?" So far our polite critic. We (69) Idem, pag. ſhould have taken notice of the Pamphlet, in which 355, 356. he cenſures the conduct of the *Tragedy of Cato* before we came to the Letters we have now animadverted upon; but as theſe fell firſt under our hands, and we have made ſuch large extracts from them, we are perſuaded that our readers will, for their own ſakes, excuſe us from proceeding any farther with Mr. Dennis's critique.

[*AA*] *Another Tragedy upon the Death of Socrates.*] "However unpromiſing, ſays Mr. Tickell, that ſub- "ject may appear, it would be preſumptuous to "cenſure his choice, who was ſo famous for raiſing

Anne's reign, when the Miniſtry was changed, and he had no expectation of any further employment, he reſolved to compoſe an Engliſh Dictionary, which he thought was extremely wanted in our language. And as he deſigned the firſt volume of Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Sermons, publiſhed by himſelf, as the chief ſtandard, he actually marked the particular phraſes, after the manner of the Dictionary *della Cruſca*. But being ſoon after brought again into employment, that noble project was entirely laid aſide. After the death of Queen Anne he was made Secretary to the Lords Juſtices; and when the Earl of Sunderland was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in September 1714, he became a ſecond time Secretary for the affairs of that kingdom; and was made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade, a little after the abovementioned Earl had reſigned the poſt of Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Budgell gives us an account (*q*) of a converſation between the late Lord Halifax and Mr. Addiſon, at which himſelf was preſent. This happened a little before they went to wait upon the late King George I. at Greenwich at his firſt landing after his acceſſion to the throne. The Lord Halifax told them, that he expected the White-Staff, and intended, as ſoon as he had got it, to recommend Mr. Addiſon to the King for one of the Secretaries of State. "Mr. Addiſon, I believe, ſays Mr. Budgell, very ſincerely told his Lordſhip, that "he did not aim at ſo high a poſt, and deſired him to remember he was not a "*ſpeaker in the Houſe of Commons.* Lord Halifax briſkly replied, *Come, prithee Addiſon,* "*no unſeaſonable modeſty. I made thee Secretary to the Regency with this very view. Thou* "*haſt now the beſt right of any man in England to be Secretary of State; nay, it will be* "*a ſort of diſplacing thee not to make thee ſo. If thou couldſt but get over that ſilly* "*ſheepiſhneſs of thine, that makes thee ſit in the houſe, and hear a fellow prate for half* "*an hour together, who has not a tenth part of thy good ſenſe; I ſhould be glad to ſee it;* "*but ſince I believe that's impoſſible, we muſt contrive as well as we can. Thy pen has al-* "*ready been an honour to thy country, and I dare ſay will be a credit to thy King.*" Mrs. Manley was very angry with Mr. Addiſon, for leaving the Muſes, and devoting himſelf to buſineſs [*BB*], though ſhe gives him the higheſt encomiums at the ſame time, as appears from the ſequel to her *Atalantis* (that ingenious detail of polite ſcandal). The *Freeholder* was undertaken at the time when the rebellion broke out in Scotland [*CC*]. The ſcheme for the *Treatiſe upon the Chriſtian Religion* was formed, as Mr. Tickell

(*q*) *Letter to Cleomenes King of Sparta*, p. 207.

"the nobleſt plants from the moſt barren ſoil. It "ſerves to ſhew, that he thought the whole labour "of ſuch performance unworthy to be thrown "away upon thoſe intrigues and adventures, to "which the *Romantic* taſte has confined modern "Tragedy; and after the example of his predeceſ-"ſors in Greece, would have employed the Drama "*to wear out of our minds every thing that is mean* "*or little; to cheriſh and cultivate that humanity* "*which is the ornament of our nature; to ſoften in-* "*ſolence, to ſooth affliction, and to ſubdue our minds* "*to the diſpenſations of providence* (70)."

(70) *Spectator* N. 39.

[*BB*] *Mrs. Manley is very angry — with Mr. Addiſon for his leaving the muſes &c.*] "I (ſays that "Lady) who can't be properly nam'd a Judge of the "Greek, yet find ſuch enchantment in Maro's (a name under which ſhe ſhadowed Mr. Addiſon) "ſtrains, that feeling how I myſelf, a foreigner, am "raviſhed, muſt thence conclude his better judges "the Grecians entranc'd by him. I could not be-"hold him in (71) Sergius's gallery without ſome-"thing of an ejaculation, an oblation due to Maro's "ſhrine from all that can read him. O pity! that "politicks and ſordid intereſt ſhould have carried him "out of the road of Helicon; ſnatch'd him from "the embraces of the Muſes, to throw him into an "old withered artificial Stateſman's arms! Why did "he prefer gain to glory? Why chuſe to be an idle "ſpectator, rather than a celebrater of thoſe actions "he ſo well knows how to define and adorn? Vir-"gil himſelf, nor Virgil's greater Maſter Homer, "could not boaſt of finer qualifications than Maro; "Maro! who alone of all the Poets truly inſpired, "could ceaſe to be himſelf; could degenerate his "Godlike ſoul, and proſtitute that inborn genius, "all thoſe noble accompliſhments of his, for gold; "could turn away his eyes from the delicious gar-"dens of Parnaſſus, of which he was already in poſ-"ſeſſion, to tread the wandring maze of buſineſs. "Farewell Maro; till you abandon your artificial "Patron, fame muſt abandon you (72)." Very poſ-ſibly this Lady who thus cenſures our excellent author for engaging in politicks, would have applauded him had he gone over to that ſide of which ſhe was an avow'd partizan. From this circumſtance and the liberty ſhe takes to cenſure any perſon right or wrong throughout her whole work, we believe this accuſation will be found to have very little weight. Applauſe is too thin a diet for man to ſubſiſt upon, therefore every writer who has no fortune of his own, would be to blame ſhould he refuſe any advantageous offers which are made him by a miniſtry, when they are not inconſiſtent with the laws of juſtice and honour.

(71) The late Lord Halifax.

(72) *Memoirs of Europe towards the cloſe of the eighth Century*, Vol. II. *written by Eginardus* &c. p. 153. London, printed for John Morphew 1716, 8vo.

[*CC*] *When the rebellion broke out in Scotland.*] The reaſon of his aſſuming that title, was, as he informs us (73), becauſe *the arguments of an author loſe a great deal of weight, when we are perſuaded, that he only writes for argument's ſake, and has no real concern in the cauſe, which he eſpouſes.* "This, "*ſays he*, is the caſe of one, who draws his pen in "defence of property, without having any; except "perhaps in the copy of a libel or a ballad. One "is apt to ſuſpect, that the paſſion for liberty, "which appears in a Grub-ſtreet Patriot, ariſes only "from his apprehenſions of a goal; and that, what-"ever he may pretend, he does not write to ſe-"cure, but to get ſomething of his own. Should "the Government be overturned, he has nothing to "loſe but an old ſtandiſh. I queſtion, *continues he*, "but the reader will conceive a reſpect for the au-"thor of this paper from the title of it; ſince he "may be ſure, I am ſo conſiderable a man, that I "cannot have leſs than forty ſhillings a year. I "have rather choſen this title than any other, be-"cauſe it is what I moſt glory in, and what moſt "effectually calls to my mind the happineſs of that "Government, under which I live." He tells us afterwards, that it ſhall be *his buſineſs more immediately to conſult the happineſs of the age in which he lives.* "And ſince, *ſays he*, ſo many profligate "writers have endeavoured to varniſh a bad cauſe, "I ſhall do all in my power to recommend a good "one, which indeed requires no more than barely "to explain what it is. While many of my gallant "countrymen are employed in purſuing rebels half "diſcomfited thro' the conſciouſneſs of their guilt, "I ſhall labour to improve thoſe victories to the "good of my fellow-ſubjects; by carrying on their "ſucceſſes over the minds of men, and by recon-"ciling them to the cauſe of their King, their "country, and their religion. To this end I ſhall "in the courſe of this paper (to be publiſhed every "Monday and Friday) endeavour to open the eyes

(73) *Freeholder*, No I. Dec. 23, 1715.

Tickell tells us, about the end of the late Queen's reign, at which time he had carefully peruſed the antient writings, which furniſh the materials for it. His continual employment in buſineſs prevented him from executing it, till he reſigned his poſt of Secretary of State; and his death put a period to it, when he had imperfectly performed only half of the deſign; he having propoſed, as appears from the introduction, to add the Jewiſh to the Heathen teſtimonies, for the truth of the Chriſtian Hiſtory. He was more aſſiduous than his health would well allow in the purſuit of this work; and had long determined to dedicate his Poetry alſo for the future wholly to religious ſubjects. We are credibly informed that he deſigned to give a paraphraſtic verſion in Engliſh of a large number of David's Pſalms. Our author was raiſed to the poſt of Secretary of State in April 1717, ſoon after which he found his health impaired by the return of that aſthmatic indiſpoſition, which continued often to afflict him during his exerciſe of that employment, and at laſt obliged him to reſign it. His freedom from this anxiety ſo far re-eſtabliſhed his health, that his friends began to hope he might laſt for many years; but a long and painful relapſe into an aſthma and dropſy deprived the world of this eminent man at Holland Houſe near Kenſington, on the 17th of June 1719. He left behind him only one daughter by the Counteſs of Warwick and Holland, to whom he was married in 1716 (*r*). A ſecond edition of his Comedy called *The Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe*, has been publiſhed ſince his death by Sir Richard Steele [*DD*]. This play, though it has all the marks of its author's genius, had

(*r*) Mr. Tickell in his *Life of Mr. Addiſon.*

" of my countrymen to their own intereſt, to ſhew " them the privileges of an Engliſh Free-holder, " which they enjoy in common with myſelf, and " to make them ſenſible how theſe bleſſings are ſe- " cured to us by his Majeſty's title, his adminiſtra- " tion and his perſonal character. I have only one " requeſt to make to my readers, that they will per- " uſe theſe papers with the ſame candor and impar- " tiality, in which they are written; and ſhall hope " for no other prepoſſeſſion in favour of them, than " what one would think ſhould be natural to every " man, a deſire to be happy, and a good will to- " wards thoſe, who are the inſtruments of making " them ſo." At the concluſion of this work he tells us (74), that *he endeavoured to make every paper a diſtinct Eſſay upon ſome particular ſubject, without deviating into points foreign to the tenor of each diſcourſe.* " They are indeed, *ſays he*, moſt of them " Eſſays upon Government, but with a view to the " preſent ſituation of affairs in Great Britain; ſo that " if they have the good fortune to live longer than " works of this nature generally do, future readers " may ſee in them the complexion of the times, " in which they were written... As to the reaſon- " ings in theſe ſeveral papers, I muſt leave them to " the judgment of others. I have taken particular " care, that they ſhould be conformable to our con- " ſtitution, and free from that mixture of violence " and paſſion, which ſo often creeps into the works " of political writers. A good cauſe doth not want " any bitterneſs to ſupport it, as a bad one cannot " ſubſiſt without it. It is indeed obſervable, that an " author is ſcurrilous in proportion as he is dull; and " ſeems rather to be in a paſſion, becauſe he can- " not find out what to ſay for his own opinion, " than becauſe he has diſcovered any pernicious ab- " ſurdities in that of his antagoniſt's. A man ſatiriz- " ed by writers of this claſs, is like one burnt in the " hand with a cold iron. There may be ignomini- " ous terms and words of infamy in the ſtamp, " but they leave no impreſſion behind them." He then tells us, that *as for thoſe papers of a gayer turn, the reader will of himſelf conſider how requiſite they are to gain and keep up an audience to matters of this nature; and will perhaps be the more indulgent to them, if he obſerves, that they are none of them without a moral, nor contain any thing but what is conſiſtent with decency and good manners.* " It is obvious, *ſays he*, that the deſign of the " whole work has been to free the people's minds " from thoſe prejudices conveyed into them by the " enemies of the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt the " King and Royal Family, by opening and explain- " ing their real characters; to ſet forth his Maje- " ſty's proceedings, which have been groſly miſre- " preſented, in a fair and impartial light; to ſhew " the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of our oppoſing the " Pretender to his dominions, if we have any regard " to our religion and liberties; in a word, to in- " cline the minds of the people to the deſire and " enjoyment of their own happineſs." But let us

(74) N. 55. June 29, 1716.

ſee the judgment of a foreign writer upon this work (75). " The deſign of the author or authors " is to ſhew that ſort of people [i. e. the Freeholders of " Great Britain] their true intereſt, and the conduct, " which it is their intereſt to obſerve, in the ſitua- " tion in which their country is at preſent. He " does this in an eaſy and inſinuating ſtyle, and " he very often joins to the ſtrongeſt reaſoning all " the agreeable dreſs, that can recommend the light- " eſt ſubject. It is ſaid, that the Public is obliged " to Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Philips for this excellent " piece, which is publiſhed on Mondays and Fri- " days." This author ſeems to be miſtaken in aſcribing ſome of theſe papers to Mr. Philips, ſince Mr. Tickell aſcribes the whole to Mr. Addiſon; and the ſtyle and manner of writing, which run thro' it without any variation, ſhew it to be his.

(75) *Journal Literaire* 1716, tom. 8. part 1. p. 209.

[*DD*] *A ſecond edition of his* — DRUMMER — *has been publiſhed ſince his death by Sir Richard Steele.*] The firſt edition of this *Comedy* had been publiſhed by him without the author's name, with a Preface, in which he informed the world, that " it had been " ſome years in the hands of the author; and fal- " ling under my peruſal, ſays he, I thought ſo well " of it, that I perſuaded him to make ſome additi- " ons and alterations to it, and let it appear upon the " ſtage. I own I was very highly pleaſed with it, " and lik'd it the better, for the want of thoſe ſtudied " ſimiles and repartees, which we, who have writ " before him, have thrown into our Plays, to in- " dulge and gain upon a falſe taſte, that has prevailed " for many years in the Britiſh Theatre. I believe " the author would have condeſcended to fall into " this way a little more than he has, had he before " the writing of it been often preſent at theatrical " repreſentations. I was confirmed in my thoughts " of the Play, by the opinion of better judges, to " whom it was communicated, who obſerved that " the ſcenes were drawn after Moliere's manner, and " that an eaſy and natural vein of humour ran thro' " the whole. I do not queſtion but the reader will " diſcover this, and ſee many beauties that eſcaped " the audience; the touches being too delicate for " every taſte in a popular aſſembly. My brother- " ſharers were of opinion, at the firſt reading of it, " that it was like a picture, in which the ſtrokes " were not ſtrong enough to appear at a diſtance. " As it is not in the common way of writing, the " approbation was at firſt doubtful, but has riſen " every time it has been acted, and has given an op- " portunity in ſeveral of its parts for as juſt and good " action as ever I ſaw on the ſtage."

But as this Comedy was omitted by Mr. Tickell in his edition of Mr. Addiſon's works, Sir Richard Steele thought proper to publiſh a ſecond edition of it, with an Epiſtle dedicatory to Mr. Congreve, containing ſome animadverſions upon Mr. Tickell's Preface. He tells us there (76), that it was he, *who at firſt recommended that Play to the ſtage, and carried it to the preſs*; the copy of which, as he informs us before (77), was ſold to the Bookſeller for fifty gui- neas.

(76) P. 14.

(77) Ibid. p. 4.

had yet not the good fortune to ſucceed upon the ſtage (*s*). The political diſputes in the late Queen's reign engaged him in a conteſt with the ingenious Mr. Prior, in which the latter was treated with a peculiar ſeverity and contempt, not uſual in our author [*EE*]. We have a very keen reproof to Mr. Addiſon, publiſhed after his death, and written by the great Poet of the preſent age [*FF*]. And there is likewiſe

(*s*) See the Note [*BB*]

neas. He then proceeds in this manner. " No " one, who reads the Preface which I pub- " liſhed with it, will imagine I could be induced " to ſay ſo much as I then did, had I not known " the man I beſt loved had had a part in it, or had I " believed, that any other concerned had much more " to do than as an Amanuenſis. But indeed had I " not known at the time of the tranſaction, concern- " ing the acting on the ſtage and ſale of the copy, " I ſhould, I think, have ſeen Mr. Addiſon in every " page of it; for he was above all men in that ta- " lent we call *Humour*, and enjoyed it in ſuch per- " fection, that I have often reflected, after a night " ſpent with him apart from all the world, that I " had had the pleaſure of converſing with an inti- " mate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who " had all their wit and nature heightened with hu- " mour, more exquiſite and delightful than any " other man ever poſſeſſed. They who ſhall read " this Play after being let into the ſecret that it was " written by Mr. Addiſon, or under his direction, " will probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies, " which they before overlooked, and wonder they " did not till now obſerve, that there is not an ex- " preſſion in the whole piece, which has not in it " the moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the cha- " racter, which utters it; there is that ſmiling " mirth, that delicate Satire, and genteel raillery, " which appeared in Mr. Addiſon, when he was " free among intimates; I ſay, when he was " free from *his remarkable* baſhfulneſs, which is a " cloak that hides and muffles merit; and his abi- " lities were covered only by modeſty, which dou- " bles the beauties which are ſeen, and gives cre- " dit and eſteem to all that are concealed.

" The *Drummer* made no great figure on the ſtage, " tho' exquiſitely well acted; but when I obſerve " this, I ſay a much harder thing of the Stage than " of the Comedy. When I ſay the Stage in " this place, I am underſtood to mean in gene- " ral the preſent taſte of theatrical repreſentations, " where nothing that is not violent, and, as I may " ſay, groſly delightful, can come on without ha- " zard of being condemned or ſlighted. It is here " republiſh'd and recommended as a cloſet-piece, " to recreate an intelligent mind in a vacant hour; " for vacant the reader muſt be from every ſtrong " prepoſſeſſion, in order to reliſh an entertainment " (*quod nequeo monſtrare & ſentio tantum,*) which " cannot be enjoyed to the degree it deſerves, but " by thoſe of the moſt polite taſte among Scholars, " the beſt breeding among Gentlemen, and the leaſt " acquainted with ſenſual pleaſures among Ladies."

As Mr. Addiſon was not known to be the writer of the *Drummer* at its firſt repreſentation, it did not ſucceed tho' exhibited at Drury-lane houſe. But no ſooner had Mr. Rich inform'd the town by the Play-bills, that it was written by our author, but his theatre was crowded for a great many nights together, tho' it had been but very thinly tenanted for ſome years. A proof that the bulk of an audience are incomparable judges of the Drama.

[*EE*] *A conteſt with the ingenious Mr. Prior, in which the latter was treated with a peculiar ſeverity and contempt.*] In the year 1710, Mr. Addiſon wrote the paper called the *Whig-Examiner*, the deſign of which he tells us (78) was *to cenſure the writings of others, and to give all perſons a rehearing, who have ſuffered under any unjuſt ſentence of the* Examiner. " As that author has hitherto pro- " ceeded, *ſays he*, his paper would have been more " properly entitled the *Executioner*; at leaſt his " examination is like that, which is made by the " rack and wheel. I have always admired a critic, " that has diſcovered the beauties of an author, and " never knew one, who made it his buſineſs to " laſh the faults of other writers, that was not guil- " ty of greater himſelf; as the hangman is generally " a worſe malefactor than the criminal, that ſuffers " by his hand." He then tells us, that *there is ſuch a ſhocking familiarity both in his railleries and civilities, that one cannot long be in doubt who is the author.* " The remaining part of the Preface, *ſays he*, has ſo much of the pedant, and ſo little of the " converſation of men in it, that I ſhall paſs it over. " . . Before I take my farewell of this ſubject, I ſhall " adviſe the author for the future to ſpeak his mean- " ing more plainly. I allow he has a happy ta- " lent at Doggrel, when he writes upon a known " ſubject; where he tells us in plain intelligible " language, how Syriſca's ladle was loſt in one hole, " &c. he is very jocular and diverting; but when " he wraps a lampoon in a riddle, he muſt conſider " that his jeſt is loſt to every one, but the few " merry wags, that are in the ſecret. . . The next " criticiſm upon the ſtars ſeems introduced for no " other reaſon but to mention Mr. Bickerſtaff, whom " the author every where endeavours to imitate and " abuſe. But I ſhall refer the *Examiner* to the " frog's advice to her little one, that was blowing " itſelf up to the ſize of an ox;

(78) N. 1.

——— " *Non ſi te ruperis, inquit,*
" *Par eris.*"

[*FF*] *Written by the great Poet of the preſent age.*] The reproof (in which ſeveral writers had before been cenſur'd), goes on thus.

PEACE *to all ſuch! but were there one, whoſe fires*
Apollo kindled, and fair Fame inſpires,
Bleſt with each talent, and each art to pleaſe
And born to write, converſe, and live with eaſe;
Should ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the Throne;
View him with ſcornful, yet with fearful eyes,
And hate for arts that caus'd himſelf to riſe;
Damn with faint praiſe, aſſent with civil leer,
And without ſneering, teach the reſt to ſneer;
Wiſhing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike,
Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike;
Alike reſerv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a ſuſpicious friend,
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers beſieg'd,
And ſo obliging that he ne'er oblig'd:
Who, if two wits on rival Themes conteſt,
Approves of each, but likes the worſt the beſt;
Like Cato gives his little Senate laws,
And ſits attentive to his own applauſe;
While Wits and Templers ev'ry ſentence raiſe,
And wonder with a fooliſh face of praiſe.
What pity, heav'n! if ſuch a man there be.
Who would not weep, if A——n were he? *

* *Miſcellanies*, by Dr. Swift and A. Pope Eſq; the laſt volume, p. 219, 220. printed for B. Motte, 1731, 12°.

Mr. Pope has been charged upon account of theſe verſes) in very ſevere terms of ingratitude towards Mr. Addiſon; who, it was urged, *had raiſed him from obſcurity, obtained him the acquaintance and friendſhip of the whole body of our nobility, and transferred his powerful intereſts with thoſe great men to this riſing Bard, who frequently levied by that means unuſual contributions on the Public. No ſooner was his body lifeleſs, but this author, reviving his reſentment, libell'd the memory of his departed friend; and what was ſtill more heinous, made the ſcandal public.* This was the charge againſt Mr. Pope in one of the public papers (79). In anſwer to which the author of the *Prolegomena to the Dunciad* (80) expreſſes himſelf in the ſtrong, and at the ſame time, humorous manner following. " Grievous the accuſation! un- " known the accuſer! the perſon accuſed no wit- " neſs in his own cauſe! the perſon in whoſe re- " gard accuſed, dead! But if there be living any " one Nobleman, whoſe friendſhip, yea any one " Gentleman, whoſe ſubſcription Mr. Addiſon pro- " cured to our author, let him ſtand forth, that truth " may appear! *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, ſed* " *magis amica veritas.* In verity, the whole ſtory of " the

(79) See *Miſt's Journal* June 8, 1728.

(80) P. 28. 2d edit. in 8vo, 1729.

likewiſe a cenſure paſſed upon his ſtyle by another Poet, Mr. Welſted [*GG*]. However, in regard to this great man's memory, to whom the world is infinitely obliged for the moſt valuable inſtruction conveyed in the moſt beautiful dreſs, we ſhall cloſe his article with the judgment of ſeveral eminent writers upon him [*HH*], and an extract from ſome of the Poems, which were written on occaſion of his death [*II*]. Beſides the works abovementioned, we have ſeveral other pieces of his, particularly, *An Epilogue to the Britiſh Enchanters*, a dramatic Poem written by the Lord Lanſdown.

" the libel is a *lye*; witneſs thoſe perſons of inte-
" grity, who ſeveral years before Mr. Addiſon's de-
" ceaſe, did ſee and approve of the ſaid verſes, in no
" wiſe a libel but a friendly rebuke, ſent privately
" in our author's own hand to Mr. Addiſon himſelf,
" by him, and never made public, (till after their
" own *Journals*, and Curl their own Bookſeller had
" printed the ſame.) One name alone, which I am
" authorized here to declare, will ſufficiently evince
" this truth, that of the Right Honourable the EARL
" OF BURLINGTON."

[*GG*] *By another Poet, Mr. Welſted.*] This author in the Preface to his Poems gives us his judgment of Mr. Addiſon in the following words. (81, 2d Edit. in 1080, p. 39, 40.) " A late very popular author has, I own, car-
" ried the eſſay-turn of writing to a great height,
" and left behind him fine models of a terſe and
" chaſte diction; his defect, if he has any, ſeems to
" be, that he lies too much in *courte* ſentences,
" that do not run cleverly into one another, and are
" not ſo connected, as to depend naturally enough
" together: the chain is ſometimes wanting, and the
" full ſtop or cloſe of the period returns too fre-
" quently upon us; which is the vice alſo of the
" French writers; or it is at leaſt the opinion of
" the beſt critics of their nation, that their language
" has ſuffered in this particular, under its modern
" refinements, and that their ancient writers had,
" not only more of the vigorous and maſculine, but
" were alſo freer and more diſengaged. The Engliſh
" author I am ſpeaking of, as he followed, or ſeem-
" ed to follow very cloſely in the traces of *Fonte-*
" *nelle*, and has ſtudied much his manner, ſo did
" he ſucceed extremely well in it; however he is
" not without his maſter's alloy; and there is beſides,
" if I may be allowed to ſpeak my impartial ſenſe of
" the matter, ſomething in his way, that I may call
" too *imitable*; that is, one eaſily ſees thro' his art;
" one finds out the ſecret clue, by which he con-
" ducts himſelf." One obſervation we ſhall make on the proſe of Mr. Welſted (who has obliged the town with ſome beautiful Poems, and among the reſt with a copy of verſes on which Sir Richard Steele beſtows the epithet *very fine*) is, that it often ſeems to run into the contrary extreme of that for which he accuſes Mr. Addiſon. Such of the French, indeed, as imitate Fontenelle, are too ſhort in their periods, and have ſometimes three or four in the compaſs of ſo many lines. But a medium ſhould be obſerved, and it is well known that when a period is ſpun to too immoderate a length, it grows heavy and tedious. With regard to Mr. Welſted's obſervation, that Mr. Addiſon has imitated Mr. Fontenelle's manner, one eſſential difference may be obſerved in it, viz. that the latter great writer is often ſo delicate that he is obſcure, whereas the former is always plain and clear.

[*HH*] *The judgment of ſeveral eminent writers upon him.*] Mr. Pope, *in his verſes occaſioned by Mr.* ADDISON's *Treatiſe of Medals*, pays a very elegant compliment to him in the following lines;

Oh when ſhall BRITAIN *conſcious of her claim,*
Stand emulous of Greek and Roman fame?
In living medals ſee her wars enroll'd,
And vanquiſh'd realms ſupply recording gold?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Then future ages with delight ſhall ſee,
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's looks agree:
Or in fair ſeries laurel'd Bards be ſhewn,
A Virgil there, and here an Addiſon.

Dr. Fiddes having quoted the following words from the *Spectator*; *Every one that has read the critics, who have written upon the* Odyſſey, *the* Iliad, *and the* Æneid, *knows very well, that tho' they agree in their opinion concerning the great beauties in theſe Poems, they have nevertheleſs each of them diſcovered ſeveral maſter-ſtrokes, which have eſcaped the obſervation of the reſt*; tells us, that " the ingenious author had
" a right to apply this remark to himſelf. It is ac-
" knowledged Mr. Addiſon has diſcovered a multi-
" tude of beauties in *Milton's Paradiſe loſt.* Several
" of which might perhaps have been undiſcover-
" ed for many ages (82)." But in another place the Doctor cenſures Mr. Addiſon, for aſcribing to himſelf an obſervation which was far from being new (83). Mr. de VOLTAIRE, in *his Eſſay upon the* EPIC-POETRY *of the European Nations*, tells us (84), that " Mr. Addiſon was the firſt, who conſider-
" ed in a proper view the materials, which compos'd
" the ſtructure of the *Æneid*;" and having remark'd, that *he borrowed from* Lucan's Pharſalia *ſome ſtrokes in the drawing of his* Cato, he obſerves (85), that
" this ancient Poet never received a greater honour
" than when he was imitated by Mr. de Corneille
" and by Mr. Addiſon, two men every where ſupe-
" rior to him." He tells us in another place (86), that " one would be apt to think, that Milton had
" not obtained his true reputation, till Mr. Addiſon,
" the beſt critic, as well as the beſt writer of his age,
" pointed out the moſt hidden beauties of the *Para-*
" *diſe loſt*, and ſettled for ever its reputation." Signior Paul Rolli, in his *Remarks upon Mr. Voltaire's Eſſay* abovementioned, having undertaken to vindicate Milton from the exceptions of that ingenious writer, deſires his reader (87) *to look over thoſe* Spectators, *which the celebrated Mr. Addiſon has writ upon* Milton's Paradiſe loſt; *for he will then*, ſays he, *recollect thoſe right notions, which that Eſſay may perhaps have lulled aſleep. There he will ſee* Homer *in his true light, and the different impreſſions ſome parts of the* Paradiſe loſt *have made in the minds of Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Voltaire.* He tells us afterwards (88), that " there is a degree of perfection and taſte,
" which when authors and critics are arrived at,
" make them all of one nation, called *The Common-*
" *wealth of Letters.* Amelot, la Bruyere, the Arch-
" biſhop of Cambray, &c. Addiſon, the Authors of
" the *Spectators* and *Tatlers*, &c. Bembo, Caſtiglione,
" della Caſa, &c. might, by their ſtyles, paſs for
" countrymen; they think in the ſame degree of
" perfection, and their ſtyles keep equal pace with
" their thoughts. ... When I read Addiſon's works,
" I imagine I read *Plato*; a clear, eaſy, and Gen-
" tleman-like way of thinking and writing appears
" alike in both." The Abbé Du Bos having quoted a paſſage from the *Spectator*, ſtyles Mr. ADDISON *one of the greateſt Tragic-Poets of* ENGLAND (89); and in another place, *one of the moſt eminent Engliſh Poets* (90). He makes very frequent uſe of Mr. Addiſon's authority in his work, *Sur la Poëſie & la Peinture.*

(82) See Dr. Fiddes, *Prefatory Epiſtle concerning ſome remarks upon Homer, to Dr. Swift*, p. 12, 13.
(83) Idem, p. 97.
(84) P. 53. edit. 1727.
(85) Pag. 65.
(86) Pag. 108.
(87) Pag. 21
(88) Pag. 12.
(89) *Reflexions Critiques ſur la Poëſie & ſur la Peinture*, tom. I. Sect. 42. p. 340. *edit. d'Utrecht*, 1732.
(90) Ibid. Vol. II. Sect. 39. p. 503.

[*II*] *Written on the occaſion of his Death.*] The moſt conſiderable of theſe is that by Mr. Tickell, addreſſed to the Earl of Warwick; which Sir Richard Steele indeed calls *Proſe in Rhime* (91), but with what juſtice the reader will eaſily judge from a few lines of it. He begins with an apology for not paying his tribute to Mr. Addiſon's memory ſooner; viz. becauſe intenſe ſorrow damps the poetical faculty. He then deſcribes the ſolemnity of his funeral in very ſtrong and moving images; and declares that Mr. Addiſon's memory will always be preſent to his mind, and that it ſhall be his task to honour it with all the regard due to ſo great a man, after which he proceeds as follows:

(91) See his dedication of the 2d edit. of the *Drummer*, p. 17.

Oft let me range the gloomy iſles alone,
(Sad luxury to vulgar minds unknown)
Along the walls, where ſpeaking marbles ſhow
What Worthies form the hallow'd mould below:
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held;
In arms, who triumph'd, or in arts excell'd;

There

Lanſdown. *The third Ode of the third Book of Horace tranſlated.* A tranſlation of *The ſecond and third Books of Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, with the *Story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* from the four books, and notes upon ſome of thoſe ſtories. *A Prologue to Phædra and Hippolitus*, a Tragedy written by Mr. Edmund Smith. *A Poem to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, with the Tragedy of Cato, Nov.* 1714. *A Poem to Sir Godfrey Kneller on his Picture of the King. The late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff; and the preſent State of the War, and the Neceſſity of an Augmentation conſidered*, 1707. *The Whig Examiner.* Some aſcribe to him likewiſe a little Tract, ſaid to be written in the year 1692, and entitled *Diſſertatio de inſignioribus Romanorum Poëtis*, i. e. *A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman Poets*; and *The Old Whig*, two pamphlets occaſioned by the Peerage Bill (*t*).

(*t*) *See Memoirs Mr. Addiſon's Life and Writings*, prefix'd to a book entitled, *The Chriſtian Poet, a Miſcellany of Divine Poems*, written by the late Mr. Secretary Addiſon, &c. 8°, 1728.

Chiefs, grac'd with ſcars, and prodigal of blood;
Stern Patriots, who for ſacred freedom ſtood;
Juſt men, by whom impartial laws were given;
And Saints, who taught, and led, the way to heaven.
Ne'er to theſe chambers, where the mighty reſt,
Since their foundation came a nobler gueſt,
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliſs convey'd
A fairer ſpirit, or more welcome ſhade.

He then images to himſelf what the employment of ſo great a ſoul muſt be in his ſuperior ſituation in the other world; and invokes his aſſiſtance in all the dangerous or diſtreſsful circumſtances of life. Next follow theſe beautiful lines:

That awful form (which, ſo ye heavens decree
Muſt ſtill be lov'd and ſtill deplor'd by me)
In nightly viſions ſeldom fails to riſe,
Or, rous'd by fancy, meets my waking eyes.
If buſineſs calls, or crowded courts invite,
Th' unblemiſh'd Stateſman ſeems to ſtrike my ſight;
If in the ſtage I ſeek to ſooth my care,
I meet his ſoul, which breathes in Cato *there;*
If penſive to the rural ſhades I rove,
His ſhape o'ertakes me in the lonely grove:
'Twas there of juſt and good he reaſon'd ſtrong,
Clear'd ſome great truth, or rais'd ſome ſerious ſong;
There patient ſhew'd us the wiſe courſe to ſteer,
A candid cenſor, and a friend ſevere;
There taught us how to live; and (oh! too high
The price for knowledge) taught us how to die.

Mr. Tickell then addreſſes himſelf in a poetical manner to the ſeat of the Warwick-Family, the ſight of which revives in him all the ideas of thoſe pleaſures, which he enjoyed there in Mr. Addiſon's company; but now by his death all the charms of it are extinguiſhed:

His image thy forſaken bowers reſtore;
Thy walks and airy proſpects charm no more;
No more the ſummer in thy glooms allay'd,
Thy evening breezes, and thy noon-tide ſhade.

He cloſes the whole with a pathetic lamentation for Mr. Craggs, who was Mr. Addiſon's intimate friend, to whom he dedicated his works a few days before his death, and who died immediately after Mr. Addiſon.

Bleſt pair! whoſe union future bards ſhall tell
In future tongues, each other's boaſt! farewel.
Farewel! whom join'd in fame, in friendſhip try'd,
No chance could ſever, nor the grave divide.

We have likewiſe *An imperfect copy of Verſes, occaſioned by ſeeing the funeral of Mr. Addiſon in Weſtminſter-Abbey*; written by Dr. George Sewell (92), in which we have have the following lines:

(92) It is printed in *A New Collection of Original Poems*, by the author of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 8°, 1720, p. 13.

Earth open wide! rejoice thy greedy womb!
Be proud, O death! and triumph o'er the tomb!
This was a conqueſt — at a ſingle ſpoil
To plunder half the learning of our iſle.
In fields of battle, where the ſword waſtes wide,
And you o'er ruin heap'd in triumph ride;
Sedate the thinking mind the fate ſurveys
Of creatures form'd to laſt but half our days:
And often feels a deeper loſs in one,
Mourning a Plato, or an Addiſon.

He then addreſſes himſelf to Mr. Addiſon in this manner:

Great Bard! what various thoughts diſturb my head,
When I beheld thee number'd with the dead?
Diſtinguiſh'd only by a decent care,
To ſay - what late immortal gueſt lodg'd -- there.
Is this, I cry'd, then roſe the thought profane,
But by thy virtue check'd, recoil'd again. ——
" Such pow'r the aſhes of the virtuous crave,
" To ſhoot a ſecret influence from the grave;
" Their tombs are lectures, and diſcharge the truſt
" Of living eloquence from ſilent duſt.

The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to ſee a ſhort extract of the performance of a Lady upon this occaſion. It is intitled *An Expoſtulatory Epiſtle to Sir Richard Steele upon the death of Mr. Addiſon.* She begins in this manner:

If I, O Steele, preſumptuous ſhould appear,
And theſe unskilful notes offend thy ear,
Forbear to cenſure what I've artleſs writ;
No well-bred man e'er damn'd a woman's wit:

She complains then of his neglecting to pay the due regard to Mr. Addiſon's memory:

Shall Ramſay (93) *and Meliſſa, lays produce,*
That a mechanic's, this a woman's muſe,
While thou, wit's ſole ſurviving hope! ſupine
The melancholly theme doſt ſtill decline!

(93) Who wrote a Paſtoral in the Scots Dialect upon Mr Addiſon's death, entitled, *Richy and Sandy.*

We have then an addreſs to Mr. Addiſon:

Thou kind preceptor of the tender fair!
Great was the charge, and generous the care.
You ſhew'd us virtue, ſo celeſtial bright,
So amiable, in ſo divine a light;
Aſham'd at laſt falſe glories we reſign'd
By thee inſtructed to improve the mind.

She then applauds the beautiful characters, which he has drawn of Marcia and Lucia in *Cato*; and calls upon the Ladies to copy from thoſe excellent models.

Here, O ye fair! in this bright mirrour learn
Your minds with never-fading charms t'adorn!
On theſe accompliſhments beſtow ſome care;
'Tis no great merit to be only fair.

Next follows a compliment to his *Opera of Roſamond*; where ſhe gives us theſe two fine lines:

Beauty's a ſnare, unleſs with virtue join'd,
An Angel-form ſhould have an Angel-mind.

She then proceeds to the merit of his other writings.

How learned he was, O Steele, do thou declare,
For that's a task beyond a woman's ſphere.
Some works I've ſeen, wrought up by rules of art,
Where poor excluded nature had no part;
But he the STAGYRITE'S *ſtrict axioms knew,*
Yet ſtill to nature, as to art was true.
He touch'd the heart, the paſſions could command,
'Twas nature all, but mended by his hand.
His ſtyle is noble, ſentiments refin'd,
Full of benevolence to all mankind.

T.

After a conſiderable part of the article was printed off, an ingenious Gentleman favoured us with the following materials, which we hope will be found a good ſupplement to it.

☞Dean ADDISON had by Jane his wife, whoſe maiden name was Gulſtone, ſix children, whereof Jane the eldeſt was born April 23, 1671. The ſecond ſon, Gulſtone, in April 1673, Dorothy in May 1674, Anne in April 1676, and Lancelot the youngeſt ſon in November, 1680. Both Mr. Gulſtone and Mr. Lancelot Addiſon were reputed to be very well ſkilled in the Claſſics and in Polite Literature. Dr. Addiſon's living at Milſton was 120 *l. per ann.* and after his deceaſe his ſon Joſeph (his heir) was ſued for dilapidations by the next incumbent.

☞ADDISON (JOSEPH) the eldeſt ſon of Dr. Lancelot by Jane his wife, was born at Milſton near Ameſbury in Wiltſhire, and being thought unlikely to live was baptized the ſame day, which, as appears by the Church-regiſter there, was the firſt of May 1672 (*a*), and not the year before as Anthony Wood and others after him relate. He was ſent firſt to Ameſbury ſchool under the care of the Reverend Mr. Naiſh, the preſent Sub-dean of Sarum; afterwards removed to Sarum ſchool under the tuition of the Reverend Mr. Taylor; and from thence to the Charter Houſe London, under the learned Dr. Ellis, where he laid the foundation of his friendſhip with the late Sir Richard Steele, "which (ſays the author of the *Memoirs of Sir Richard*) "laſted as long as they lived, except the interruption of a few little bickerings "on certain œconomical occaſions, which however ſoon terminated in a good under-"ſtanding on both ſides. For it was by Mr. Addiſon that he was firſt introduced to "the acquaintance of the Earls of Halifax and Sunderland, by whoſe means Mr. "Steele was made Gazeteer, one of his firſt preferments." There is a tradition in the town where he was born, relating to a little excurſion Mr. Addiſon made when a boy [*A*]. We are told that it was in Oxford he firſt became acquainted with the late Earl of Halifax, that great patron of the Learned, who nevertheleſs was very ſatyrically characteris'd (a circumſtance that is but too common) by a noted Gentleman for the great favour he ſhewed to ſome of the brighteſt men his cotemporaries. We ſhall give ſeveral lines from the Poem we hint at, which is written with ſome ſpirit [*B*]. Whilſt at the Univerſity he contracted many debts, all which, after his return from Italy, he diſcharged very honourably with intereſt. A very plauſible reaſon is given why the author of the *Tatler* aſſumed a fictitious character [*C*]. There is an epigram of Mr. Addiſon not inſerted in his works [*D*]. A ſharp but witty anſwer of his is related concerning a copy of Engliſh

(*a*) This was communicated by a Gentleman who ſearch'd the Regiſter.

[*A*] *A little excurſion he made when a boy.*] 'Twas this: Being at a country-ſchool, he committed ſome ſlight fault, when his fear of being corrected for it was ſo great, that he ran away from his father's houſe and fled into the fields, where he lived upon fruits and took up his lodging in a hollow tree, till upon the publication of a reward to whoever ſhould find him, he was diſcover'd and reſtored to his parents.

[*B*] *We ſhall give ſeveral lines from the Poem &c.*] It is entitled *Faction diſplay'd*, printed in one of the volumes of *State-Poems*, 8*vo*, 1703. where, under the Character of *Bathillo*, that Earl is ſaid to be ſhadowed, and a deſcription is alſo given of his Band of Penſion Poets, as they are called.

Laſt roſe Bathillo deck'd with borrowed bays
Renown'd for others projects others lays,
A gay pragmatical pretending tool
Opiniatively wiſe and pertly dull.
A Demy-Stateſman talkative and loud,
Hot without courage, without merit proud;
A leader fit for the unthinking crowd.
With dapper geſture, but with haughty look
His lewd aſſociates vainly he beſpoke:
Do you perform the Politician's part,
I'll bring th' aſſiſtance of the Muſes art.
The Poet-tribe are all at my devoir,
And write as I command, as I inſpire.
Congreve for me Paſtora's death did mourn,
And her white name with ſable verſe adorn.
Rowe too is mine and of the Whiggiſh train,
'Twas he who ſung immortal Tamerlane;
Tho' now he dwindles to an humbler ſtrain.
I help'd to poliſh Garth's rough aukward lays,
Taught him in tuneful lines to ſound our party's praiſe.
Walſh votes with us, who tho' he never writ,
Yet paſſes for a critic and a wit.
Van's bawdy plotleſs Plays were once our boaſt,
But now the Poet's in the builder loſt.
On Addiſon we ſafely may depend,
A penſion never fails to gain a friend.
Thro' Alpine hills he ſhall my name reſound,
And make his Patron known in claſſic ground.
Theſe pay the tribute to my merit due,
Call me their Horace *and* Mecænas *too.*
Princes but ſet unſettled on their thrones,
Unleſs ſupported by Apollo's ſons.
Auguſtus had the Mantuan and Venuſian Muſe,
And happier Naſſau has his Mountagues.
But Anna that ill-fated Tory Queen
Shall feel the vengeance of the Poet's pen (1).

(1) Page

[*C*] *Why the author of the* TATLER *aſſum'd a fictitious character.*] We find this in a miſcellaneous paper of thoſe times, containing a conference between Sir Heſter Ryley and Mr. Aaron Hill, where the latter tells him, "My relation (Eſq; Bickerſtaff) "is as far from the family of the Bickerſtaffs as my "true age is from my pretended one, proceeding not "from his inclination to impoſe upon the world, but "the knowledge he has of its vitiated taſte: "Pride and conceit are the epidemic diſeaſes of the "age; and a fool or knave won't hear themſelves "deſcribed by any particular perſon; parties and pre-"judices are become ſo common, and their influ-"ences ſo univerſal, that it is neceſſary where a per-"ſon would be *believed* by every body, he ſhould "be *known* by no body: For inſtead of liſtening to "the good advice of the man, we are ſtudying how, "by retorting upon his frailties, to alleviate our "own (2)."

(2) Sir Heſt. Ryley's *Viſions*, 2°, p. 107, printed in 1710.

[*D*] *There is an epigram of Mr. Addiſon's not inſerted in his works.*] As it very poſſibly was made off hand, the ingenious Editor perhaps did not think it worthy the great and more labour'd pieces of our excellent author. However, as moſt of our readers will in all probability not think it unworthy of his genius, we therefore ſhall inſert it here, with the occaſion of its being written, which is as follows: Mr. Addiſon was in 1703 a Member of the Kit-Cat Club. It was uſual for the bright Wits who compoſed it, to celebrate the ſeveral beauties they toaſted, in verſe, which they wrote on their drink-

On

Engliſh verſes which were ſubmitted to his peruſal and correction [*E*]. Our author kept his Tragedy of *Cato* by him, but unfiniſhed, for ſeveral years, and we find it taken air before it appeared on the ſtage, as appears by a compliment that was paid him [*F*]. Mr. Dennis's Criticiſm upon *Cato* (beforementioned) drew upon him the reſentment of a very conſiderable writer, who expoſed his impertinent and paſſionate manner of writing very agreeably, in a piece entitled, *The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris concerning the ſtrange and deplorable frenzy of Mr. J——n D——is, an officer of the Cuſtom Houſe* (*b*). It is impoſſible to give a juſt extract of a writing of ſo peculiar a kind; and we cannot do the reader a greater pleaſure, than by referring him to ſo exquiſite a piece of wit and humour.

(*b*) Printed in the *Miſcellanies* by Mr. Pope and Dr. Swift, Vol. 3. p. 1.

ing glaſſes. Among theſe ingenious pieces, which were ſo many Epigrams, (preſerved in the fifth volume of *Dryden's Miſcellany*) we meet with one written by Mr. Addiſon, which is as follows:

On the Lady Mancheſter.

While haughty Gallia's Dames, that ſpread
O'er their pale cheeks, an artful red,
Beheld this beauteous ſtranger there (3),
In native charms, divinely fair;
Confuſion in their looks they ſhew'd;
And with unborrow'd bluſhes glow'd.

(3) The Earl of Mancheſter was our Embaſſador at Paris, and was accompanied by his Lady.

[*E*] *A ſharp but witty anſwer of his is related.*] This is told by a Gentleman, (a perſon of great veracity,) who a few years ſince was well known in Grays-Inn. The ſtory is as follows: A certain author was introduced by a friend to Mr. Addiſon, who was deſired to peruſe and correct a copy of Engliſh Verſes, which were then preſented to him. Mr. Addiſon took the Verſes, which he afterwards found very ſtupid; and obſerving that above twelve lines from Homer were prefixed to them by way of motto, he only erazed the Greek lines, but did not make any amendments in the Poem, and return'd it. The author ſeeing this, deſired his friend who had introduced him, to enquire of Mr. Addiſon the reaſon of his doing it; expecting however to hear that his Poem was ſo beautiful, that it had no occaſion for any foreign embelliſhment. But his friend putting the queſtion to Mr. Addiſon, he ſaid, "That "whilſt the ſtatues of Caligula remain'd all of a "piece, they were little regarded by the people; "but that when he fixed the heads of Gods upon "unworthy ſhoulders, he profaned them, and made "himſelf ridiculous. I therefore, ſays he, made no "more conſcience to ſeparate Homer's Verſes from "this Poem, than the thief did who ſtole the ſilver "head from the brazen body (4) in Weſtminſter-Abbey."

(4) In Henry the Seventh's chapel.

[*F A compliment that was paid him.*] By Mr. Webſter, of Chriſt Church Oxon, who prompted him to oblige the public with his Cato in the following lines.

And thou, O Addiſon, no more detain
The free-born Cato, ſtruggling in his chain;
'Tis liberty he loves; diſcloſe thy vaſt deſign,
And let us ſee that every Muſe is thine (5).

It is ſaid that Mr. Addiſon gave the benefit-nights to the houſe, which doubtleſs muſt be of ſome advantage to his Tragedy, abſtracted from its great merit. It was exhibited thirty five nights without interruption.

I. T.

☞ AL ADED LIDÎN ALLAH was the ſurname of Abu Mohammed Abd'allah the ſon of Yûſof the ſon of al Hâfedh, the eleventh (*a*) and laſt Khâlif of Egypt of the race of Ali and Fâtema. He ſucceeded his couſin al Fâyez in the year of the Hejra 555 (*b*); but was nominal Sovereign only, the whole power and management of affairs being, during his reign, in the hands of his Vizirs. The firſt of them was al Sâleh Talâyé Ebn Zoreic, who had ſerved al Fâyez in the ſame capacity, and was one great cauſe of weakening the kingdom, by the oppreſſions and cruelties which he exerciſed in order to maintain himſelf in his poſt (*c*). Al Sâleh being aſſaſſinated in the year 556 (*d*), by the procurement of the Khalif's aunt, and not dying immediately of his wounds, ſent to al Aded to expoſtulate with him, ſuppoſing he had been privy and conſenting to the fact; but the Khalif ſwore he knew nothing of the matter, and to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicion, delivered his aunt into the hands of al Sâleh, who put her to death, and expired ſoon after, having firſt obtained of al Aded that his ſon al Adel Zoreic ſhould ſucceed him (*e*). In 558 (*f*) al Adel, having, contrary to his father's advice, attempted to take the Government of al Saîd, or the upper Egypt, from Shâwer, one of his Officers, and a man of great power, was by him diſpoſſeſſed of the Vizirate and ſlain. Shâwer, however, ſoon found a ſtronger competitor in Darghâm, by whom being attacked and defeated, he fled into Syria to beg aſſiſtance of Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenghi Lord of Damaſcus; Darghâm, in the mean time, governing all things in Egypt at his pleaſure, and haſtening the ruin of that kingdom, by putting to death many of the chief officers, that he might have none left to oppoſe him (*g*). In 559 (*h*) Nûro'ddin, in compliance with the ſolicitations of Shâwer, and on his engagement to pay him one third of the revenues of Egypt, in caſe by his aſſiſtance he recovered his dignity, ſent a conſiderable army thither for that purpoſe, under the command of Aſado'ddîn Shîrcûh, who was accompanied in the expedition by his nephew Salâho'ddin Yûſof. Shîrcûh, being arrived in Egypt, overthrew the forces ſent againſt him by Darghâm, who was ſlain in his retreat from al Kâhira, and reinſtated Shâwer in the Vizirate; but he, inſtead of performing the promiſe he had made to his reſtorer, entred into a treaty with the Franks (*i*), and by their aſſiſtance obliged Shîrcûh to retire, for that time, into Syria, without the expected recompence. The perfidious dealing of Shâwer in the end proved his ruin: for keeping his word with the Franks no better than he had with the Syrians, and leaguing ſometimes with the former, and ſometimes with the latter, as ſerved his preſent purpoſe, he was at length driven by the Franks to the neceſſity of calling in Shîrcûh again to his aſſiſtance, who coming into Egypt the third time, in 564 (*k*), and obliging the Franks to retire, ſoon after got Shâwer ſeized, and put to death; al Aded himſelf, when he was informed of his confinement, ſending to demand his head (*l*). After this execution the Khalif inveſted Shîrcûh with the robe of Vizir: SHAWER.

(*a*) He was the eleventh who reigned in Egypt, tho' the fourteenth of that family who took the title of Khalif.

(*b*) A. C. 1160. Ebn Khalecân, Nokhbat al Tawârikh. MS. Abu'lfaragius places the death of al Fâyez a year later *Hiſt. Dynaſt.* p. 398.

(*c*) Ebn Khalecân. MS.

(*d*) A. C. 1161.

(*e*) See the article of TALAYE EBN ZOREIC.

(*f*) A. C. 1162.

(*g*) Idem, Abu'lfeda in *Hiſt. Gen. V. Excerpta ex eodem apud Schultens ad calcem vitæ Saladini*, p. 1, 2. & *Vit. Salad.* p. 30, &c.

(*h*) A. C. 1163.

(*i*) That is, with Almeric King of Jeruſalem. Vide *Gulielm. Tyr. Hiſt.* l. 19.

(*k*) A. C. 1168.

(*l*) For a more particular account of theſe tranſactions, ſee the articles of SHIRCUH and SHAWER.

Vizir: but he enjoyed his new dignity not much above two months, dying and leaving Salaho'ddin his heir; who being created Vizir by al Aded, in a little time made himſelf abſolute maſter of Egypt (*m*). In 567 (*n*) Nuro'ddin, whom Salâho'ddin acknowledged, in appearance, as his Sovereign, and who was intirely devoted to the Khalifs of Baghdâd of the race of Abbâs, ſent orders to Salâho'ddin to forbid the the name of the Egyptian Khalif to be mentioned in the public prayers, and to cauſe him of Baghdâd to be prayed for in his ſtead; and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Salâho'ddin, who apprehended ſo great a change could not be made without danger, perſiſted to have thoſe orders executed: whereupon al Moſtadi, then Khalif of Baghdâd, was publickly prayed for [*A*], and the name of al Aded omitted, and that without the leaſt diſturbance; and from thenceforth the ſupremacy of the Khalifs of the race of Ali became utterly aboliſhed in Egypt, after that dignity had continued in the family two hundred and ſeventy two years. Al Aded, in the mean time, was ignorant of what had paſſed; for he being then ill of the ſickneſs of which he ſoon after died, no body acquainted him with the revolution (*o*). This Khalif is ſaid to have been a ſtaunch partiſan of the houſe and ſect of Ali, and to have born an inveterate hatred to the memories of the four firſt ſucceſſors of Mohammed, againſt whom he uſed often to vent his ſpleen in outrageous invectives; he was conſequently a bitter enemy of the Sonnites, whom he made no ſcruple to put to death meerly on account of their opinions (*p*). He died in the 23d year of his age (*q*). His extream ſubjection to his Vizirs gives no room to enquire into his character as a Prince, or his qualifications for government. His dream, which prognoſticated ſome miſchief to him from one who was a chief inſtrument in his depoſition, has been related by ſeveral authors [*B*], and his ſurname obſerved by ſome to have been impoſed with an ill omen [*C*].

(*m*) See the article of SALAHO'DDIN.

(*n*) A. C. 1171

(*o*) Abu'lfeda *ubi ſupra*, p. 12, &c. Bahâo'ddin *in vita Saladini*, p. 38. Abu'lfaragius, *Hiſt. Dyn.* p. 404, &c. Ebn Khalecân.

(*p*) Ebn Khalecân *in vita al Aded.*

(*q*) Nokhbat al Tawârikh.

[*A*] *The Khalif of Bagdad was prayed for in Egypt without the leaſt diſturbance.*] It is ſaid that Salaho'ddin was under ſome difficulty to get a perſon to break the ice; none daring to pray, for the firſt time, for the Khalif of Baghdâd, till a blind man, named *al Amîr al Alem*, then lately arrived in Egypt, obſerving the ſtrait he was in, offered his ſervice, and on the firſt Friday in al Moharram, mounting the pulpit before the Preacher, prayed for al Moſtadi, no man contradicting him (1).

(1) Abu'lfarag. *Hiſt. Dynaſt.* p. 404.

[*B*] *A dream prognoſticated ſome miſchief to him from one who was a chief inſtrument in his depoſition.*] It was this. He dreamed that a ſcorpion came out of a certain moſque in al Kâhira, and ſtung him; and awaking in a fright, called for proper men to interpret it: they told him it ſignified that ſome perſon, who ſhould come out of that moſque, would do him a great prejudice; whereupon he ordered the Governor of the city to ſee who had retired into the moſque, and to bring him before him. The man, when brought before the Khalif, proved to be one who profeſſed the religious life of the Sûfis, and his name was *Nojmo'ddin al Jawſhâni*: being asked ſeveral queſtions by the Khalif, as to the place whence he came, and the reaſon of his taking up his abode in that moſque, he gave ſuch plain and ſincere anſwers, that al Aded, judging him too ſimple and weak to do him any injury, beſtowed ſome money on him, and deſiring his prayers, ſent him back to his ſtation. But when Salâho'ddin had reſolved to put an end to the power of the houſe of Ali, and not venturing to do it without the approbation of the Doctors and Learned in the law, aſſembled a conſiderable number of them, to have their judgment in the matter; among the reſt appeared Nojmo'ddin al Jawſhâni, who in giving his opinion inſiſted ſo largely and particularly on the wicked actions, and heretical infidelity of the Fâtemite Khalifs, that he drew the whole aſſembly into a ſentence againſt them, and ſo fulfilled al Aded's dream (2).

(2) Ebn Khalecân, Ebn Shohnah, Abulfeda, *in excerptis ubi ſupra*, p. 14.

[*C*] *His ſurname has been obſerved to have been impoſed with an ill omen.*] It is a common ſtory in Egypt, that this family, when their power was firſt eſtabliſhed, ordered a certain learned man to write down a liſt of ſurnames proper to be borne by Khalifs, that when any of them was raiſed to that dignity, he might take ſome one of thoſe ſurnames: whereupon the ſaid learned perſon gave in a liſt of ſeveral ſurnames, the laſt of which was *al Aded*; and it is remarkable that the laſt of the family, who poſeſſed the Khalifate, was ſurnamed *al Aded* (3).

(3) Ebn Khalecân.

☞ ADELME (*a*), or ALDHELM, according to Camden, ſon to Kenred, nephew to Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, after having been educated abroad, was Abbot of Malmſbury thirty years. He was the firſt Engliſhman who wrote in Latin, the firſt who brought Poetry into England, and the firſt biſhop of Sherburn. He wrote a book for the reducing the Britons to the obſervation of Eaſter. He is highly applauded by Bede for his learning. The Monks have related ſome fabulous particulars concerning him [*A*]. Coming to Rome to be conſecrated Biſhop of Sherburn, he reproved Pope Sergius for getting a baſtard, which was then newly born. This however is denied by other authors [*B*]. Returning home he lived in great eſteem till his death which happened in 709. His corps was inſhrined at Malmſbury, and had

(*a*) He is called *Aldhelmus*, *Durotellus*, or *Bladunius*, by Bale.

[*A*] *The Monks have related fabulous particulars concerning him.*] They tell us that a beam of his church having been cut too ſhort by the carpenter, Adelme ſtretch'd it by his prayers the length required (1). The Romiſh Legends relate ſomething like this of our Saviour and Joſeph his father, when they followed the buſineſs of carpentry. "That at ano- "ther time St. Adelme hung his veſtments upon the "ſun-beams, which ſupported them in a miraculous "manner (2)." This miracle is related more at large in the *Salisbury Breviary*. Leſſ. 7. "The "fame of St. Adelme coming to Rome, Pope Ser- "gius by his letters called him thither, and there "received him honourably, whom God glorified "with miracles; for on a certain day as he celebra- "ted Maſs in the Lateran church, he reach'd his "*Caſula* (one of the Prieſts garments) behind him, "thinking to deliver it to one of the attendants; "but none of them being preſent, a ſun-beam break- "ing thro' the window, kept it from falling a long "time in memory of the Saint (3)."

(1) Fuller & *Angler. Spec.* ibid.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) *Reflexions upon the Devotions of the Roman Church, &c.* p. 342. London printed for R. Royſton 1674, 8vo.

[*B*] *This however is denied by other authors.*] Another miracle is told upon this occaſion. "A "child being born in Rome of an inceſtuous mother "and uncertain father, the Pope's fame was injured, "which Adelme underſtanding, he commanded that "child who was but twenty days old to be brought "forth, when our Saint charged it to confeſs, whe- "ther Pope Sergius was to be accounted guilty of "inceſt? the child reply'd, that he was innocent (4)." This is alſo related by Fuller (5).

(4) Idem, p. 343.

(5) Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 147.

had in great veneration (*b*), he being afterwards canonized. Fuller ſays (*c*), that poſſibly he was eſteemed a native of Malmſbury, becauſe he lived ſo many years, and died there. Bale gives him a great character [*C*]. He is mentioned with great honour by Camden [*D*]; and his life is written by William of Malmſbury &c. I.

(*b*) Fuller's *Worthies*, pag. 147. London printed by J. G. &c. 1662. fol. *Anglorum Speculum, or the Worthies of England in Church and State*, p. 849. London printed for T. Wright &c. 1684, 8vo.

(*c*) P. 147.

[*C*] *Bale gives him a great character.*] He ſays that Adelme had ſo prodigious a knowledge in letters both human and ſacred, that he far excelled all the Divines of his time. He underſtood the Latin and Greek proſe-writers as well as the Poets, and writ in a very good ſtyle. He was vaſtly fond of muſic, and played on all ſorts of inſtruments to wonderful perfection. Tho' he was not ignorant of Pope Sergius's fornications, he yet was as intimate with him as ever. He is not to be condemned for not deſpiſing the ſociety of women, as is the cuſtom of hypocrites. What the Papiſts affirm of him is an entire falſhood, viz. that when he was an Abbot, he uſed to lie all night with maidens, (but without offering any thing that might offend their modeſty) in order to ſubdue all ſtimulations of the fleſh. But we had better hear our author. *Et Abbas effectus, adeò literis humanis & divinis incumbebat, ut omnes ſui temporis theologos longè ſuperavit. Erat quidem tam carmine quàm proſa Latinè & Græcè doctiſſimus, ingenio & ſermone nitidus: atque in edendis poematis, Cælio ſedulio vati, ut teſtes ſunt Boſtius & Bedas, per omnia ſimillimus. Artem muſices omnibus mundi deliciis prætulit, inſtrumentorum omnium peritiam perappoſitè callens. Sed unum hoc in eo deflendum occurrit, quod cum Sergio primo Pontifice Romano longam conſuetudinem habens (cujus interim non ignorabat inceſtum) cauterio peruſtam avehebat conſcientiam. Shireburnenſis eccleſiæ quæ nunc Salisburia dicit, ordinatus Præſul, poſt 34 alterius regiminis annos, Evangelii prædicationi obnixè invigilabat. Quod verò mulierum conſortia, hypocritarum more, nuſquam ſpreverit, vituperabile non eſt. Multo minori periculo tamen, Brytannorum more ſub ſacroſanctis conjugii legibus id fieri poterit, ſed quod adhuc Abbas, cum virginibus pro ſubigendo carnis æſtu pernoctaverit, illæſo ſemper virginitatis earum permanente pudore, impudens Papiſtarum eſt commentum* (6). We find a catalogue of his works in the ſame author, who informs us, that his life was writ by Oſmundus, Faritius, &c.

(6) *Baleus Scriptorum Illuſtrium Majoris Britanniæ Catalogus*, p. 83, 84. *Baſileæ apud Joannem Oporinum* 1559. Folio.

[*D*] *He is mentioned with honour by Camden.*] His Maſter was one Maildulphus, an Iriſh Scot, a great Scholar, and eminent for his devotion and ſtrictneſs of life, who being delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the wood under the hill (Ingelborne), lived here an hermit; but afterwards inſtituting a ſchool, and with his Scholars devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he built a little monaſtery. From this Maildulphus, the town of Ingelborne was called Malmesbury. Among Maildulph's ſcholars, Aldhelm was the moſt eminent; who being deſigned his ſucceſſor, did, by the help of Eleutherius Biſhop of Wincheſter (to whom the ground of right belonged) build here a ſtately monaſtery, of which himſelf was the firſt Abbot... A meadow near this place was called St. Aldhelm's mead; and before the reformation they had ſeveral other memorials of him, as his Pſalter, the robe wherein he ſaid Maſs, and a great bell in the abbey ſteeple, call'd St. Aldhelm's bell. Upon his feaſt-day a great fair was kept, at which time a company of ſoldiers were uſually liſted to prevent diſorders amidſt ſuch a concourſe of people. And indeed, his memory deſerves immortal honour, not only for the ſanctity of his life, but alſo for his learning; due allowance being made for the ignorance of the times he lived in. He was the firſt Saxon that ever wrote in Latin, and the firſt that taught the Saxons the way of compoſing Latin verſe; and ſo performed what he promiſed of himſelf in theſe verſes:

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice muſas.

That is,

" I to my country firſt, if fates permit,
" Will bring the Muſes from their native ſeat.

The great Æthelſtan made this Aldhelm his tutelar Saint (he having been canonized), and for his ſake granted the town large immunities, and enriched the monaſtery with ample donations. He choſe this for the place of his burial, and the inhabitants ſhew his monument to this day. [Which monument, however, ſeems to have been ſet up long after the conqueſt]. From the time of Æthelſtan this abbey was famous for its wealth; and there was educated (beſides many other learned men) William of Malmsbury, ſo called from this town. This abbey increaſed daily in buildings and revenues, inſomuch that it exceeded all the reſt in Wiltſhire both in riches and honour, the Lord Abbot ſitting in Parliament as Peer of the Realm till the diſſolution of abbies (7). See Note [*C*] of the article St. FRANCIS &c.

(7) Camden's *Britannia. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Biſhop Gibſon.* Vol. I. pag. 103, *& ſeq.* 2d edit. London printed for J. Knapton, &c. Folio.

☞ADIMARI [*A*] ALESSANDRO (ALEXANDER) (*a*) ſon of Bernard, one of the renowned men whom the ancient and noble family Adimari of Florence [*B*], has given

(*a*) See *Glorie degl' incogniti*, p. 15.---*Negri Iſtoria degli Scritt. Fiorent.* p. 13.

[*A*] *Adimari.*] In Latin *Adimarus*, *Adimarius*, and *Ademarius* as it is written under his picture in the *Glorie degli Incogniti*; or, *The illuſtrious men of the Academy of the Incogniti of Venice*, a book in 4°, printed at Venice by Francis Valvaſenſe in 1647. I alſo find this family call'd *de Adimariis*; and that Adimarius or Odimarius, who was Biſhop of Volterra, was one of his family; his name being the ſame with Adimarius (1). Our Adimari made a ſonnet upon him as one of the fifty illuſtrious men of his family, whom he applauds.

(1) Ughell. *Ital. Sacr. Volater. Epiſcop.* tom. 1. p. 1440.

[*B*] *Ancient and noble family Adimari of Florence.*] *L'Antichiſſima*, ſays Negri, *e nobiliſſima famiglia degli Adimari hà dato per più ſecoli alla ſua Republica, e Patria Firenze più di cinquanta ſoggetti riguardevoli, chi per la porpora, o per legazioni alle Corone, ed a concilii, come Alamano; chi per le mitre epiſcopali, come Filippo, e Roberto; chi per eſtimaſione di non ordinaria religioſa bontà, come Ubaldo; chi per la letteratura, come lo ſtorico Dollabella.* That is, " The moſt ancient and noble family Adimari has " for many ages given to its republic and country " Florence, above fifty remarkable perſons, ſome for " the purple, or for embaſſies, to Kings and Coun- " cils, as Alamanus; others for the epiſcopal mitre " as Philip and Robert; ſome eminent for their ex- " traordinary religion and piety as Ubaldus; and " ſome for their learning as the hiſtorian Dolabella." Our Alexander himſelf made a Poem intitled *Clio*, conſiſting of fifty ſonnets in praiſe of fifty illuſtrious perſons of his family. To this Poem Negri had an eye in the words before quoted, only that not content with the number 50, he added the word *Più* above. Ugelinus Verinus a Florentine Poet, who wrote upon the noble families of Florence in Latin verſe gives the following account of his family (2).

(2) *De Illuſt. Urb. Florent.* lib. 3. p. 22. &c. of the Paris edit. by Patiſſon 1583. fol.

Quin & vicini Feſulano è vertice montis
Venit ſanguineis notus bellator in armis
Adimar; unde genus clari duxere nepotes;
Cum Longobardos victor Pipinius heros
Diruit, & noſtram majorem reddidit urbem:
In multos ramos mutato nomine proles
Scinditur, & plures complexa nepotibus urbes.
Ex hac illuſtris profluxit Trotta propago,
Qua nunc attollit ſeſe Alexandria pubes,
Armipotens genus, & ſacris memorabile chartis.

Don Vincenzio Borghini (3) a Florentine author alſo, and very much eſteemed for his writings on *Florence*, includes the family of Adimari among the ancient and noble of that city, altho' he does not agree in what Verinus ſays, viz. that the family of Trotti of Aleſſandria was a branch of the Adimari. He does not mention Verinus, but I take him however to be the man, whom he deſcribes by the following words (4). *Souviemmi óra d'un, che ſcriſſe in verſi Latini delle famiglie noſtre, e diſſe molte coſe, ancorchè è non par, che e' ne ſapeſſe molto.* i. e. " I " now remember, *ſays he*, a certain perſon, who " writ upon our families in Latin verſe, and ſaid ma-

(3) In his *Diſcorſi*, p. 2. Diſc. 1. and in his *Trattilo della chief, e Veſcov.* Fiorent. p. 557.

(4) Diſc. 1. p. 46.

given to the world was born at Florence in the year 1579 [C]. From his youth he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of human literature, and in particular to the Greek language and poetry, in both which he gave proofs of his ability by the tranſlation of Pindar into Italian verſe [D], as alſo in many other poems of his own invention. The great Duke of Tuſcany [E] in conſideration of his merit and ſervices [F], honoured one of his ſons with the order of knighthood of St. Stephen [G]; but, as is the common fate of learned men and courtiers, he met with many troubles and perſecutions [H], which he bore however with great courage and tranquillity, inſomuch, that even when he was moſt expoſed to danger, he made the ſtudy of poetry his occupation and delight [I]. He was very much eſteemed by the Learned, and was a member of the Academy of the *Incogniti* of Venice. He died in 1649 in the ſeventieth year of his age, having acquired great reputation for his poems, which are the greateſt part of his works [K]. We ſhall give in the Remarks the judgment Creſcimbeni gives of his manner of writing [L].

" ny things, tho' it appears that he did not know " much of it." The arms of this family are a ſhield party par feſs, or and azure. *Scutum æqualiter bipartitum aureum, & cæruleum.*

[C] *In the year* 1579.] The date of his death, which happened in 1649, fixes the date of his birth to the year 1579.

[D] *The tranſlation of Pindar into Italian verſe.*] The tranſlation of Pindar gave more reputation to Adimari's name in the learned world, than all the reſt of his works. The author of *Le Glorie degl' Incogniti* aſſures us, that this tranſlation was celebrated with the higheſt encomiums by the greateſt pens of the age. *Celebrata con ſuperbiſſimi encomii dalle prime penne del ſecolo.* And by the verſes under his picture it is remarked, that this work of his alone is ſuperior to any of the reſt.

Plurima ſcripſiſti, vir docte, volumina: verum
Cunctorum pondus Pindarus unus habet.

(5) *Glor. degl' Incogniti.*

[E] *The great Duke of Tuſcany.*] The author (5), who informs me of this, does not mention the great Duke's name; but I take him to be Ferdinand the ſecond, who ſucceeded Coſmo the ſecond in the dukedom in 1621, and died in 1670 (6).

(6) Hubner *Genealog. Tabl.* 301.

[F] *His merit and ſervices.*] The ſame author before quoted ſays, that he was employed by the great Duke not only in public ſervices, but alſo in private and domeſtic affairs. *Datoſi al ſervigio publico è ſtato adoperato dal grand Duca ſuo ſignore in diverſi officii, e governi, non meno che in domeſtici affari.*

[G] *The Order of Knighthood of St. Stephen.*] This order (7) was inſtituted by Coſmo, the firſt great Duke of Tuſcany in the year 1560. He gave it the name of *St. Stephen* in remembrance of the great victory gained by the Emperor over the French, who aſſiſted Peter Strozzi againſt him. The battle was fought at Marciano a place ſituated on the borders of the Florentine territory, and thoſe of Siena, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1554, in which day is celebrated the feaſt of St. Stephen, Pope and Martyr. This order was in 1562 confirmed with a grant of privileges by Pius the fourth. As for the name of Adimari's ſon, who was made Knight of St. Stephen, I believe it was Bernardin, from the title of Knight that Negri gives him. *Il Cavaliere Bernardino ſuo figliuolo.*

(7) Spond. *Annal. Eccleſ. ad an.* 1554. *Bonan. degli ordin. equeſtr. e mil. n.* 112.

[H] *With many troubles and perſecutions.*] What were the cauſes of Adimari's troubles and perſecutions, I cannot tell, ſince the author (8), from whom I have this particular, ſpeaks of it only in general terms; unwilling, as we may probably ſuppoſe, to reflect upon ſome perſons then living.

(8) *Glorie degl' Incogn.*

[I] *He made the ſtudy of Poetry his occupation and delight.*] The ſame author tells us this of our Adimari, upon which I cannot forbear making a ſhort reflection. It is not a ſmall conſolation to a man under troubles and perſecutions, to have an opportunity of ſpending ſome hours of the day in reading or writing. The pleaſure a man of letters receives from the peruſal of books, is ſo delicate and ſo conformable to the nature of the ſoul, that reading, like charms againſt pain, quiets and expells for ſome time thoſe gloomy thoughts and reflections, which if perpetual would render a man the moſt miſerable of all creatures. But ſtudy diverts the mind with agreeable and inſtructive images, and by application to them makes us inſenſible to our misfortunes. Grotius, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others when in priſon and under afflictions, ſpent their hours in this manner, whereby they had an opportunity of obliging the Public with many learned works, and have immortalized their names. But on the other ſide, how miſerable muſt the condition of thoſe fine Gentlemen be who deſpiſe learning, ridicule ſtudy, and inſtead of cultivating their minds with true knowledge, and exerciſing it in uſeful or laudable applications, give themſelves up entirely to vain and empty pleaſures. What will become of them ſhould they once fall under misfortunes, or be afflicted with diſeaſes? In what manner will they paſs their time? How will it be poſſible for them to ſupport or alleviate the heavy weight of thoſe evils with which they are afflicted? Nay, by their ignorance the want of thoſe pleaſures, (in the knowledge of which they fancy wiſdom and happineſs conſiſts,) evils will appear greater, and torments heavier than they really are; ſo that, at laſt, finding no methods either within or from without, to make themſelves, if not eaſy at leaſt leſs miſerable, they fall as victims to dejection and deſpair. It were to be wiſhed, that thoſe Gentlemen, who do not love, and even deſpiſe reading, would at leaſt imitate the ancient Heroes, who did not think it a diſhonour to their quality to know even the mechanical arts (9). But our Gentlemen value themſelves for their ignorance and indolence, and laugh at all the Heroes and great Men of antiquity as well as at the learned among the moderns. To this ſort of Gentlemen, whom neither reaſon or example can perſuade, we have nothing to ſay, but what Horace ſpeaks of the covetous,

(9) *Vide* Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* l. 7. c. 4, 5.

Quid facias illi? jubeas miſerum eſſe.
Satyr. 1. ver. 63.

[K] *The greateſt part of his works.*] The author of *Le glorie degli Incogniti*, who writ whilſt Adimari was living, gave the Public a catalogue of ſuch of our Adimari's works as at that time (which was 1647) were publiſhed, and of thoſe he intended to publiſh. But afterwards Negri in his *Bibliotheca* gave us in the article ALESSANDRO ADIMARI a more copious and particular liſt of all his works either publiſhed or in manuſcripts, which would be too long and tedious to inſert here. The reader may therefore conſult Negri's book to ſatisfy his curioſity, and I will mention thoſe only which are the moſt curious and moſt applauded: *Della parafraſi in Pindaro, lib.* 4. *Oſſervazioni, e confronti fra Pindaro, & Orazio.* Of his *Coro delle nove Muſe*, there are but ſix of theſe printed, among which is *Clio*, conſiſting of fifty Sonnets upon fifty illuſtrious perſons of his family. The Abbot Eugenio Gamurini in his fourth part *Of the noble families of Tuſcany and Umbria*, quotes the hiſtory of our Adimari.

[L] *The judgment Creſcimbeni* (10) *gives of his manner of writing.*] *Il Pindarico*, ſays he, *fù lo ſtile dell' Adimari, il quale gli fece ſommo onore anche in altri componimenti di ſua invenzione. Ma allorchè volle maneggiare le proprie fraſi, e forme volgari, anch' eſſo s'ingannò co' moderni novatori, come apertamente manifeſtano i nove volumi delle ſue rime &c.* The ſenſe of which words is, that " Adimari's ſtyle was " the Pindaric, which gained him a great deal of ho- " nour even in the other compoſitions of his own in- " vention; but when he employed his own particular " phraſes and common forms of ſpeech, he then (as " well as the modern innovators in Poetry) was miſ- " taken, as appears plainly from his nine volumes of " Poetry &c."

(10) *Comment. int. all' Iſtor. della Volg. Poeſ.* Vol. 2. p. 2. l. 5. n. 45.

☞ADONIJAH, the fourth ſon of David by Haggith (*a*) was born at Hebron (*b*), during the time that his father was acknowledged by one part of Iſrael for their King, while the other part obeyed Iſhboſheth, the ſon of Saul. Adonijah finding that Ammon and Abſalom, his elder brothers, were dead, thought that the kingdom was due to him by birth-right. And as David was now ſo extremely reduced by old age, that he was not able to execute the affairs of government, he imagined it would be very proper for him to procure himſelf to be acknowledged King before his father's death [*A*]. He therefore prepared himſelf a very magnificent equipage; *and chariots, and horſemen, and fifty men to run before him* (*c*). He was the eldeſt ſon of the royal family; he had all the advantages of perſon imaginable; he was extremely beloved by his father; and he had a very ſtrong party in the court. But his chief engagements were with Joab, the General of David's armies, and Abiathar the Prieſt [*B*]. However Zadok the other High-Prieſt [*C*], for there were then two High-Prieſts in the kingdom, and Benaiah, the ſon of Jehoiada [*D*], the Captain of the Guards, and the Prophet Nathan [*E*], with the moſt conſiderable part of the army [*F*], were

(*a*) Joſ. *Antiq.* l. 7. c. 14. §4. calls her *Ægiſtha.*

(*b*) 2 Sam. iii 4.

(*c*) 1 Kings i. 5, 6, &c.

[*A*] *To procure himſelf to be acknowledged King before his father's death.*] It is no wonder, that a Prince, who was the eldeſt ſon of the family, and had ſo many circumſtances in his favour, ſhould conſider the kingdom as his own. David had ſeen the equipage, which his ſon had aſſumed, and which were only ſuitable to the preſumptive heir of the Crown, and had made no remonſtrance to him upon it; and therefore his ſilence in ſo important an occaſion might be conſidered by Adonijah and the people in general, as a tacit conſent. We may obſerve here, that the order of ſucceſſion in the Jewiſh kingdom was not at that time regulated in any particular manner. God had appointed, that he, whom he ſhould chooſe, ſhould be made King. *Thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe: one from among thy brethren ſhalt thou ſet King over thee; thou mayſt not ſet a ſtranger over thee, which is not thy brother* (1). In this manner Saul and David had been made Kings. No regard was paid to blood and family in the election; but only to the merit of the perſon, and the determination of God. But out of a particular regard to David's family, God was pleaſed to recede from his firſt appointment, by promiſing the kingdom to him and his poſterity for ever (2). All Iſrael was acquainted with this determination and deſign of God; but there was nothing fixed with reſpect to the order of this ſucceſſion; for he had not declared, whether the eldeſt ſon ſhould ſucceed the father. However as it was a general cuſtom among all nations for the eldeſt ſons to poſſeſs the empire, as appears from Herodotus (3), Juſtin (4), and as this cuſtom ſeems moſt agreeable to nature, Adonijah acted openly as the Succeſſor of David, and aſſumed the authority and equipage ſuitable to ſuch a character, either not knowing, or diſſembling the promiſe, which the King his father had made to Bathſheba of leaving the kingdom to her ſon Solomon; which promiſe had been approved of God? *who loved him, and ſent by the hand of Nathan the Prophet, and called his name* JEDIDIAH, (that is, *Beloved of the Lord,*) *becauſe of the Lord* (5). The people, who were in ſuſpence between Adonijah and Solomon, waited for the King's declaration, in order to acknowledge him, whom he ſhould appoint: *The eyes of all Iſrael are upon thee,* ſays Bathſheba to David (6), *that thou ſhouldeſt tell them who ſhall ſit on the throne of my Lord the King after him.* Thus it appears, that leſs regard was had to the order of birth, than to the choice and will of the King. And we find almoſt the ſame kind of regulation among the Kings of Judah, who ſucceeded David. The eldeſt ſucceeded of courſe, when the King died without any particular declaration; but the Kings very often appointed long before their death, which of their ſons ſhould have the crown (7).

(1) Deut. xvii. 15.

(2) 2 Samuel vii. 12, 26.

(3) L. 7. c. 2.

(4) L. 2. c. 10. *Artemenes maximus natu ætatis privilegio regnum ſibi vindicabat, quod jus, &* ORDO NASCENDI, *&* NATURA IPSA *gentibus dedit.*

(5) 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25.

(6) 1 Kings i. 20.

(7) *See* Calmet *and* Le Clerc *in locum.*

[*B*] *His chief engagements were with Joab, the General of David's armies, and Abiathar the Prieſt.*] Theſe two powerful men had particular inducements to ſupport his pretenſions as well as he had occaſion for their aſſiſtance. Joab, who was General, had an intereſt in raiſing him to the Throne, in order to ſecure his own authority. He wanted to continue himſelf at the head of the army; and nothing was more proper for that purpoſe than to have a King, who was obliged to him for the Crown, and whom he could always keep in dependence upon him. On the other hand Adonijah, who knew Joab to be a man of reſolution and an enterprizing genius, and the great influence, which he had over the army, and among the people, could not have fix'd upon any expedient more proper to promote his deſign, than to engage a man of his importance and character to his intereſts. Abiathar's authority was likewiſe no leſs conſiderable over the Prieſts and Levites, than Joab's in the army. The Prieſts among the Jews were greatly honoured, and they formed a very eminent body in the State, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and employments. And therefore ſuch a perſon, who was the head of a powerful order of men, was of vaſt conſequence to Adonijah's intereſt (8).

(8) *See* Calmet *in locum.*

[*C*] *Zadok, the other High-Prieſt.*] Abiathar and Zadok were High-Prieſts together. They were of diſferent families, tho' both of the race of Aaron. Abiathar was of the family of Ithamar, and Zadok of that of Eleazar. The former had been very faithful to David during his troubles and flight in the time of Saul; and the other had been Prieſt in the tabernacle in the reign of the latter King. David therefore, by a peculiar appointment, of which there had never been any inſtance before, left both the Prieſts in poſſeſſion of their office. It is very probable, that there was no abſolute harmony between them, ſince one of them engaged himſelf to Adonijah, and the other to Solomon. Zadok was the moſt fortunate; for Solomon, when he was raiſed to the Throne, removed Abiathar from the Prieſthood, and confirmed Zadok in it.

[*D*] *Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada.*] Benaiah was eminent for his valour (9). David had ſet him over the Cherithites and Pelethites (10), who are ſuppoſed to have been the ſoldiers of his guard. Solomon afterwards gave him the command of all his armies in the room of Joab (11). Theſe two Generals Joab and Benaiah conſider'd each other as rivals; and this probably hinder'd them from joining in the ſame party.

(9) 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.

(10) Ib. viii. 18. and xx. 23.

(11) 1 Kings ii. 35.

[*E*] *The Prophet Nathan.*] He had a great ſhare in David's eſteem. Several writers (12) imagine, that he had intruſted him with the care of his ſon Solomon; and that Solomon being raiſed to the Throne, gave him a very conſiderable authority over his houſe; ſo that he was commonly called, *the King's father.* This opinion of Nathan's having educated Solomon, is founded upon a paſſage in the 2d Book of Samuel quoted above (13), where the words in our Engliſh tranſlation, *And he ſent by the hand of Nathan the Prophet, and called his name Jedidiah, that is, the Beloved of the Lord,* are render'd by ſome interpreters, *Miſit eum in manu Nathan Prophetæ, & vocavit eum Amabilis Domino.* i. e. "David placed his ſon Solomon in the hands of "Nathan, who gave him the name of the Beloved "of the Lord;" or, as Peter Comeſtor reads it, *Commiſit eum in manu Nathan.* i. e. "He committed "him to Nathan's hands." But the Vulgate tranſlation, *Miſit in manu Nathan,* is more agreeable to the Hebrew original and the Septuagint, as well as to our Engliſh verſion. So that the opinion abovementioned has no manner of foundation.

(12) *Lyran. Hugo Cardin. Petr. Comeſtor. Gebrar.* l. 1. *Chronol. Pineda de Reb. Salom.* c. 19. *Menoch. apud* Calmet.

(13) Note [*A*].

[*F*] *With the moſt conſiderable part of the army.*] Our Engliſh tranſlation tells us, that *Shimei and Rei, and the mighty men, which belonged to David, were not*

were not of his party. Adonijah having therefore made a feaſt for thoſe, who were in his intereſts, he invited all the King's ſons, except Solomon, and all the chief men of Judah, except Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah. His deſign was to procure himſelf to be proclaimed King, and to take poſſeſſion of the government before David's death. But this attempt was attended with very ill ſucceſs. For Nathan being informed of what was tranſacting, went to Bathſheba Solomon's mother, and deſired her to expoſtulate with David upon his promiſe, that Solomon ſhould reign after him [*G*]; aſſuring her, that he himſelf would come in, and confirm what ſhe ſaid. This was immediately done, and David renewed his promiſe in favour of Solomon; and ordered Zadok, and Nathan, and Benaiah, to ſet him upon his own mule, and carry him to the fountain of Gihon; and that Zadok and Nathan ſhould anoint him King there, and then bring him back, and place him upon the throne in his father's ſtead [*H*]. Adonijah and his party were ſoon informed of this by Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar the Prieſt in the midſt of their banquet, they were ſtruck with prodigious terror at the news, and retired immediately. But Adonijah, who had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend the reſentments of Solomon, fled to the tabernacle and caught hold of the horns of the altar [*I*]. Solomon

not with Adonijah (14). Some authors (15) imagine, that this Shimei was the ſame with Nebat the father of Jeroboam, who reigned over the ten Tribes. This Shimei, they ſay, was Solomon's Maſter or Tutor. But this is very uncertain. However it is plain he was a different perſon from that Shimei, who curſed David, when he was flying from Abſalom (16), and who was put to death by Solomon's order (17). The words, which our tranſlators render, *the Mighty Men, which belonged to David*, in the Vulgate are, *Robur Exercitus David*, i. e. "The "ſtrength of David's army." This perhaps means his guards, which were the Cherithites and Pelethites, who were his beſt troops, and probably the only forces, which he had in conſtant pay. But the armies which Joab was General of, conſiſted of all the people, who were capable of bearing arms. The number of them was very conſiderable; but they were not always kept together and formed into a regular and ſtanding body. The learned father Calmet has advanced ſome new conjectures upon theſe words, *Shimei and Rei, and the mighty Men, which belonged to David.* He obſerves that the Septuagint render them, *Shimei and his friends, the mighty Men of David*; and the Syriac and Arabic thus; *Shimei and Daia, the Heroes or Giants of David.* To which we may add Joſephus's repreſentation of this paſſage, who tells us (18), that *Semei, the friend of David, and all the moſt valiant Men oppoſed Adonijah's deſigns*; καὶ Σεμεΐς ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος, καὶ πᾶσης οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι. But Calmet is of opinion, that it ſhould be render'd thus: *Neither the hearers, nor the ſeers, nor the mighty Men of David, were with Adonijah.* The hearers and ſeers, ſays he, ſignify *the public*, as appears from the 20th verſe, where we are told, that *the eyes of all Iſrael were upon David, &c.* they ſignify thoſe, who knew the King's intention, and were informed of God's determination; or perhaps the Prophets and the ſons of the Prophets, both the Maſters and the Diſciples, whoſe authority was very great in that country.

[*G*] *His promiſe that Solomon ſhould reign after him.*] It may be asked when this promiſe was made by David to Bathſheba, ſince we find no clear account of it in Scripture? The greateſt part of interpreters (19) ſuppoſe, that David, after the death of the firſt ſon, whom he had by Bathſheba, in order to comfort her for the loſs of that child (20), promiſed her, that if God ſhould give him another ſon, he would make him his ſucceſſor. But the opinion of Grotius, Le Clerc and Calmet, is much more probable, who ſuppoſe, that this promiſe was made by God's appointment. He ſeems to have revealed to David, that he ſhould have a ſon, to whom he ſhould reſerve the honour of ſucceeding him in the kingdom, and of building the temple (21). David was fully perſuaded, that Solomon was he, in whom theſe promiſes were to be fulfilled, when the Prophet Nathan came, and gave him the name of *the Beloved of the Lord.* It was then very probably, that David declared to Bath-ſheba, that her ſon ſhould ſucceed him. Adonijah himſelf acknowledged, that *it was from the Lord*, that his brother ſhould enjoy the kingdom (22). David's choice of Solomon, and the promiſe which he made to Bath-ſheba, were not antecedent to Nathan's prophecy. They were only the effect of it. We find, that Bath-ſheba in her expoſtulation with David, repreſents the ill conſequences, which would follow, if he ſhould not declare in her ſon's favour; *I and my ſon*, ſays ſhe, *ſhall be counted offenders*, or *ſinners*, as it is render'd in the margin of our Engliſh tranſlation. Grotius (23) expounds it thus; *We ſhall be put to death for having attempted to ſieze the kingdom: Rei mortis crimine regni affectati.* Solomon having juſt pretenſions to the Crown, both from God's promiſes, and your own, Adonijah will not fail to ſeek ſome pretext or other in order to remove ſo dangerous a rival, and I myſelf ſhall inevitably be involved in his misfortune. The Hebrew may be likewiſe render'd thus, as it is by Vatablus and Eſtius; *I and my ſon Solomon ſhall be diſappointed of our hopes.* But Tirinus, and other interpreters mentioned by Vatablus, explain the paſſage to this purpoſe: *I and my ſon ſhall be treated as criminals; I, as an adultereſs, and he, as the product of an unlawful marriage.*

[*H*] *Anoint him King there, and then bring him back, and place him upon the throne in his father's ſtead.*] This anointing was performed with the ſacred oil, with which the High-Prieſt was anointed. But this ceremony was very ſeldom obſerved afterwards, when the kingdom became hereditary in the family of David. It was practiſed only, when there was ſome difficulty about the ſucceſſion. Solomon and Jehoaſh were anointed, becauſe they had competitors for the Crown. *Apud Hebræos, Reges extra controverſiam regni hæredes ungi non ſolebant; ſed exortis controverſiis adhibita unctio ad majorem cautionem* (24). It was abſolutely unlawful among the Perſians for a perſon to ſit upon the King's Throne, unleſs at his expreſs command, as we find from the learned Barn. Briſſonius (25); and therefore it was the uſual cuſtom to inaugurate their Kings by placing them upon the Throne of their predeceſſors. Plutarch tells us (26), that when Artabanus, who was choſen Arbitrator between the ſons of Darius, had adjudged the kingdom to Xerxes, Artamenes immediately *took hold of his brother's right hand, and placed him upon the King's Throne*; καὶ λαμβανόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰς τὸν θρόνον καθίζει τὸν βασίλειον.

[*I*] *Caught hold of the horns of the Altar.*] Some commentators (27) are of opinion, that he fled to Gibeon, where there was an altar for burnt-offerings; others, as Vatablus and Peter Martyr, that he only went to the brazen altar of the tabernacle, which was at Sion. The latter opinion ſeems moſt probable, becauſe Moſes's brazen altar had horns, which it is doubtful whether any other altars, that were built with ſtones, had; and this ſeems to have been the ſame with that altar, which Joab fled to (28). However that be, the law of Moſes did not ſuffer thoſe, who had been guilty of a wilful crime, to take ſanctuary at the altar. This privilege was reſtrained to thoſe, who had the misfortune to kill a perſon ignorantly and undeſignedly. Wilful murderers were immediately drag'd from the Altar, and put to death (29). We find that altars and temples were conſidered as Aſylums among almoſt all nations; as appears particularly from *Virgil* (30);

Talibus orabat dictis, Araſque tenebat.

(14) 1 Kings i. 8.
(15) *Author. Tradit. Heb. in Libb. Reg. & Salom. apud Toſtat.*
(16) 2 Sam. xvi. 5, 6.
(17) 1 Kings ii. 46.
(18) *Antiq. Jud.* l. 7. c. 14. § 4. p. 406. edit. Havercamp. in 1726.
(19) *Author. Tradit. Hebr. in Reg. Toſtatus, Menochius, Tirinus, &c.*
(20) 2 Sam. xii. 24.
(21) 1 Chron. xxii. 10. and xxviii. 5, 6. and 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13.
(22) 1 Kings ii. 15.
(23) *In locum.*
(24) Grotius *in locum.*
(25) *De Regno Perſico*, l. 1. p. 20.
(26) *De Amore Fraterno.*
(27) Menoch. Malv.
(28) 1 Kings ii. 28.
(29) Exod. xxi. 14.
(30) Æneid. 6.

lomon hearing of this, ſent and promiſed him impunity, if he ſhould behave himſelf well, otherwiſe he ſhould certainly be put to death. This promiſe removed his apprehenſions, and he went to Solomon to return him thanks in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner. But ſome time after, when David was dead, Adonijah deſired Bathſheba to intercede with her ſon King Solomon, that he might have Abiſhag the Shunamite, who had been employed in cheriſhing David in his old age for his wife [*K*]. Solomon was highly enraged at this demand, and anſwered his mother with a tone of ſeverity; *And why doſt not thou aſk Abiſhag the Shunamite for Adonijah? Aſk for him the kingdom alſo (for he is mine elder brother) even for him, and for Abiathar the Prieſt, and for Joab the ſon of Zeruah.* He ſwore then to put Adonijah to death that very day [*L*], which was executed

(31) *Myſtel. Act.* 5. *Scen.* 1.

And Plautus (31);

Ego interim hanc aram occupabo. Th. *Quid ita?*
Tr. *Nullam rem ſapis.*
Ne enim illi huc confugere poſſunt quæſtioni quos dabit.

That is: "In the mean time, *ſays Tranio*, I will take "poſſeſſion of this altar. Why ſo, *replies Theuropides*. "Tr. You know nothing. I do it leſt thoſe, "whom he ſhould put to the queſtion in order to "make a diſcovery ſhould take ſanctuary here." But the reader may have a full account of the ancient Aſylums in George Ritterhuſius's Book *De Jure Aſylorum* (32). The regard, that was paid to ſacred places, ſometimes prevented even the greateſt criminals from being forced away to puniſhment. But upon ſome occaſions, they took this method to oblige them to quit the altars, by making fires round them. For it was the general opinion, that an Aſylum was a privilege, which belonged only to the innocent. To this purpoſe Euripides:

(32) C. III.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅστις μὴ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνὴρ
Βωμὸν προσίζει τὸν νόμον χαίρειν ἐᾶν,
Πρὸς τὴν δίκην ἄγοιμ' ἄν, οὐ τρέσας Θεούς·
Κακὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα χρὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ἀεί.

That is,

"I would not doubt to drag that man to juſtice,
"Who conſcious of his crime, avoids the law,
"And flies for refuge to the ſacred altars.
"For that baſe wretch, who dares commit an evil,
"Should always ſuffer evil in return."

[*K*] *That he might have Abiſhag the Shunamite .. for his wife.*] Adonijah told Bathſheba, that ſhe knew, that *the kingdom was his, and that all Iſrael ſet their faces on him, that he ſhould reign* (33); by which he intimated, that he had a right to the Crown as the eldeſt ſon of David; which right the people had acknowledged; and that he might have diſputed the kingdom with Solomon by the ſtrength of his own party; tho' he had quitted all ſuch deſigns, when he found that God had declared for Solomon. Some writers (34) imagine, that Joab had engaged this young Prince to ask for Abiſhag to be his wife, by the hopes of being raiſed to the Throne, and removing Solomon. His party was ſtill entire. Joab, and Abiathar, and the reſt, who had been attached to his intereſts, were ſtill ready and inclined to ſupport his pretenſions. Adonijah was the eldeſt ſon, he had a very advantageous perſon, and he was beloved by the People; and if he ſhould likewiſe marry Abiſhag, who had been wife to the late King, this muſt undoubtedly have contributed very much to the ſucceſs of ſuch a deſign. But we have no poſitive proof that this was his intention; love might have as much ſhare in this tranſaction as ambition. Grotius expreſly declares himſelf for the opinion abovementioned. He ſays, that Adonijah's motive for deſiring Abiſhag, was becauſe ſhe had been the King his father's wife. Now, it was contrary to the Jewiſh cuſtom, that thoſe, who had ſerved a deceaſed King, ſhould ſerve any perſon but his ſucceſſor; or that his wives or concubines ſhould marry any but a King. Adonijah therefore by deſiring Abiſhag, intimated that the kingdom was his right; and he tried Solomon by this method, that if he ſhould grant his requeſt out of youthful fear, he might then attempt ſomething of greater conſequence. And his reaſons for applying himſelf to Bath-ſheba were, becauſe women are generally ignorant of the arts of government, and at the ſame time grant their aſſiſtance in love-affairs: *Multæ ſatis erant in Judæâ fœminæ, ſed hanc voluit quod Regis fuiſſet. Non ferebat autem mos Hebræorum, ut aut qui in miniſterio fuerant regio, ulterius ſe quam Regis ſucceſſoris miniſterio addicerent, aut quæ uxores aut concubinæ fuerant, privatò ſociarentur. Hanc ergo cupiens, jus ad ſe regni pertinere oſtendit, tentatque animum Solomonis, ut ſi metu juvenili hoc ei conceſſiſſet, auderet mox majora. Mulierem autem aggreditur ut regnandi ignaram, ita amoribus facilem.*

(33) 1 Kings ii. 15.

(34) *See* Theodoret Qu. 7. Abul. qu. 20. Dionyſ. Carthuſ. Hugo *Cardinal. Sanct. hic ad* v. 17. *apud* Calmet *in locum.*

[*L*] *He ſwore then to put Adonijah to death that very day.*] This action of Solomon has been excepted againſt by ſome very conſiderable writers, who accuſe him of too cruel and precipitate a judgment againſt his brother. Was Adonijah, ſay they, convicted of treaſon by making ſuch a requeſt? Should not the ordinary rules of juſtice have been obſerved in his caſe? Was it proved ſufficiently, that he deſired Abiſhag, with a deſign to revolt and ſeize the kingdom? And could not Solomon have eaſily ſecured himſelf from his attempts, without putting his brother to death? Such an haſty puniſhment of him ſeems to ſhew ſomething of revenge in Solomon, who may be ſuppoſed to have made uſe of this opportunity to puniſh Adonijah's former deſign upon the kingdom, which he had ſome colour for, being the eldeſt ſon of David. "I can "eaſily allow, ſays Mr. Le Clerc, Solomon's con-"duct to be defended; but he would have deſerved "greater commendation, if he had acted with more "lenity to his brother, tho' he was guilty, and if "he had ſpared his life." *Tam ſubitum ſupplicium de fratre ſumptum videri potuit ultio, captatâ occaſione quæſita; ob regnum affectatum, nec id ſine ſpecie juris, quia Adonija maximus erat natu filiorum Davidis. Facilè patior Salomonis famam defendi, ſed magis laudari potuit, ſi mitior erga fratrem delinquentem fuiſſet, vitæque ejus peperciſſet.* On the other hand, Theodoret (35), Procopius, and the greateſt part of the commentators juſtify Solomon's conduct in this point. A Prince, ſay they, cannot always follow in his ſentences the rules of the moſt perfect morality; policy and the good of the State very often oblige him to do things oppoſite to the precepts of the Goſpel. It was evident that Adonijah had a deſign upon the kingdom. He had before attempted to ſeize it, contrary to David's will, and in prejudice of Solomon, to whom he knew it was promiſed. His asking for Abiſhag ſeem'd to ariſe from the ſame views and intentions; and tho' perhaps in reality he had no ſuch deſigns, and did not ſee the conſequences of his requeſt, yet Solomon was not obliged to inform himſelf of that, or to interpret it in his brother's favour. It was ſufficient, that the action itſelf was criminal, and of dangerous conſequence to the ſtate. We never judge criminals by their intentions, but by their actions. Beſides upon ſuch a critical occaſion as this, all delays were dangerous, for there are ſome crimes, which require immediate puniſhment, without any formal deliberation. But whether any political reaſons will juſtify ſuch a rigour, *as is oppoſite to the precepts of the Goſpel*; and whether Kings can be exempted from *the rules of the moſt perfect morality*, upon any conſiderations of intereſt, let the impartial reader judge. Morality is of a fixed and invariable nature; it is of the ſame obligation to the Prince, as to the loweſt of his ſubjects; and cruelty or ambition in the former are ſo much the more criminal, as the conſequences of them are more extenſive, than in perſons of an inferior ſtation.

(35) Qu. 7.

executed by Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada [*M*]. This happened, according to Uſher, in the year of the world 2990, before Chriſt 1010, and before the Vulgar Æra 1024.

[*M*] *Which was executed by the hand of Benaiah, the ſon of Jehoiada.*] It was uſual among the ancients for Kings to employ thoſe of their Officers or Courtiers, whom they moſt confided in, in ſuch executions. Thus Romulus ordered his brother Remus to be ſlain by Fabius Celer the Centurion. Among the Romans the ſoldiers uſed to torture and execute criminals. Tertullian makes uſe of this argument to diſſuade the Chriſtians from going to war, leſt they ſhould be obliged to undergo ſuch ſervices (36). The ſame cuſtom was likewiſe in uſe among the Perſians. Thus Arioch Prince or Chief of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon's army, was ſent to put to death the wiſe-men of Babylon, who could not explain the King's dream (37).

(36) *De Coronâ Militis* c. 11.

(37) Dan. ii. 24.

ADONIS, the darling of the goddeſs Venus, was ſon to Cinyras King of Cyprus [*A*]. The Poets tell us, that Myrrha (*a*) daughter of this Monarch (*b*), grew ſo diſtractedly fond of her father, that ſhe got herſelf conveyed privately into his bed, without his knowing who ſhe was. According to ſome writers, ſhe uſed the artifice which the daughters of Lot employed (*c*). Adonis ſprung from this inceſtuous commerce. He was exquiſitely beautiful, and appeared ſo lovely in the eyes of Venus, that ſhe carried him off [*B*], and abandoned every thing for the ſake of his company. Heaven itſelf was to her undelightful, when compared to the woods and mountains where ſhe uſed to follow Adonis, who was prodigiouſly fond of hunting [*C*]. The reader may judge, whether the Poets have not exerted all the figures of their art (*d*), to repreſent the inexpreſſible grief which ſeized the heart of that Goddeſs, when a wild boar

(*a*) See the article MYRRHA.

(*b*) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. x. verſ. 337.

(*c*) Hygini, cap. 164.

(*d*) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. x. Bion, Εἰδύλλ. α. *See alſo* Theocritus, Εἰδύλλ. λά: *and among the moderns* Menage *in his Greek Poems*, p. 167.

[*A*] *Son to Cinyras, King of Cyprus.*] It is agreed by moſt authors, that Cinyras was Monarch of this iſland (1); tho' a few affirm, that he had reigned firſt in Aſſyria (2). See the article BYBLOS. According to Ovid, he was born in the iſland of Cyprus; but this Poet tells us, that Myrrha, after having fled from her father who attempted to kill her, when he knew their inceſtuous commerce, croſſed Arabia, and was delivered of Adonis, in the country of the Sabæans (3). He would have done well, had he mentioned tranſiently, that Cinyras went from the iſland of Cyprus to Arabia, or that Myrrha had embark'd in that iſland: For Adonis's Mother had been metamorphoſed into the tree whence myrrh diſtills, before he was brought into the world. We learn from Ptolomy ſon of Ephæſtion, that Venus ſeeking Adonis after news was brought her of his death, found him in Argos, a city of Cyprus, in the temple of Apollo Erythius. Some authors therefore believed, that he was killed in that iſland. Among theſe is Propertius, who, in the 13th Elegy of his ſecond book, has theſe lines:

(1) *See* Meurſius *de Inſula Cypro*, lib. II. cap. 9.

(2) Apollodor. lib. III. p. 238.

(3) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. x. ver. 480, and 513.

Teſtis, qui niveum quondam percuſſit Adonim
Venantem Idalio vertice, durus aper.

Engliſh'd,

" Witneſs, the cruel boar who ſlew Adonis,
" (Bright charmer!) hunting on th' Idalian
" mountain.

In Amathus, a city of Cyprus, ſtood a temple ſacred to Venus and Adonis (4). Strabo informs us that Byblos was the reſidence of King Cinyras, and that there were ſome temples of Adonis in that city (5). Obſerve that Antonius Liberalis relates, that Myrrha whom he calls *Smyrna*, was born on mount Libanus, and that her father's name was *Theias* (6). *[To Antoninus Liberalis we may add the teſtimony of Oppian, who ſays Hal. III. 402. Δάκρυον Ἀσυρίης ΘΕΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ... μίξε δὲ κύρης. Crit. Rem. by the author of *Miſcell. Obſervat.*] Panyaſis had call'd him by that name, and not Thoas, as we now read in *Apollodorus* (7). We alſo find this name in *Probus on the 10th Eclogue of Virgil*, with this circumſtance, that Thoas was King of Syria and Arabia. Probus borrowed this from Antimachus.

(4) Pauſan. *in Boeticis.*

(5) Strabo. lib. 16. p. 520.

(6) Antonin. *Liberalis*, cap. 34.

(7) *Vide* Munckeri *Notas in Hygin.* cap. 58.

[*B*] *Venus carried him off.*] The ancient writers take very little notice of this incident, which I wonder at, ſince it was ſo univerſally known. Painters took this for the ſubject of their pictures no leſs than the rape of Ganymede, as Plautus informs us,

ME. *Dic mihi; nunquà vidiſti tabulam pictam in pariete,*
Ubi aquila catamitum raperet, aut ubi Venus Adoneum?
PE. *Sæpe* (8).

(8) Plaut. *in Menæchmis*, Act. I. Scen. II. ver. 34.

Engliſh'd,

" *ME.* Tell me; did you never ſee the picture
" on the wall, repreſenting the eagle carry-
" ing off the Catamite; or Venus carrying
" off Adonis?
" *PE.* Often.

[*C*] *Heaven was to her undelightful, when compared to the woods and mountains, where ſhe uſed to follow Adonis, who was prodigiouſly fond of hunting.*] This appears from the following page in Ovid;

Abſtinet & cælo; cælo præfertur Adonis:
Hunc tenet: huic comes eſt: aſſuetaque ſemper in umbrâ
Indulgere ſibi, formamque augere colendo,
Per juga, per ſylvas, dumoſaque ſaxa vagatur (9).

(9) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. x. ver. 532.

That is,

" Ev'n heav'n it ſelf with all its ſweets unſought,
" Adonis far a ſweeter heav'n is thought.
" On him ſhe hangs, and fonds with every art,
" And never, never knows from him to part,
" She, whoſe ſoft limbs had only been diſplay'd
" On roſie beds beneath the myrtle ſhade,
" Whoſe pleaſing care was to improve each grace,
" And add more charms to an unrivall'd face,
" Now, buskin'd like the virgin huntreſs, goes
" Thro' woods, and pathleſs wilds and mountain
" ſnows. Euſden.

Adonis is not repreſented under the image of a hunter by Virgil,

Nec te pæniteat pecoris, divine Poëta,
Et formoſus oves ad flumina pavit Adonis (10).

(10) Virgil. *Eclog.* x. verſ. 18.

That is,

" The ſheep ſurround their ſhepherd as he lies:
" Bluſh not, ſweet Poet, nor the name deſpiſe;
" Along the ſtreams his flock Adonis fed,
" And yet the Queen of beauty bleſt his bed.
Dryden.

Few authors, I believe, have mentioned this minion of Venus as a ſhepherd. Servius gives us certain particulars on this head, which differ as widely from vulgar tradition, as what we laſt took notice of. Some writers tell us, that the Muſes were the occaſion of his taking delight in the chace (11). The tuneful ſiſters were exaſperated againſt Venus, for having inſpired ſome of them with a love for mortals; and therefore out of revenge, they ſang certain airs to Adonis, which fired him with a ſtrong paſſion for hunting. Poſſibly this might make Diana hate him, for two of a trade ſeldom agree. According to ſome writers, the anger of Diana was the cauſe why this youth was killed by a wild boar (12).

(11) Tzetzes *in* Lycophron.

(12) Apollod. lib. 3. p. 238.

boar had killed her dear Adonis [*D*]. No grief was ever more celebrated, or more immortalized than this, and moſt nations in the world perpetuated the memory of it, by a mighty train of anniverſary ceremonies [*E*]. According to ſome authors, Adonis was not killed by a wild boar, but by a God who aſſumed the form of that beaſt. Some tell us, that this God was Mars (*e*), and others, that it was Apollo (*f*). Mars, ſay the former, gave the deadly wound, to ſatiate his jealouſy, and from a ſpirit of revenge,

(*e*) Servius *in Eclog.* x. *Firm. Matern.* p. 22. *Nonnus Dionyſ.* lib. 41. *Cyrillus in Eſaiam.*

(*f*) Ptolem. *Hephæſt. apud Photium*, p. 472.

[*D*] *That a wild boar had killed her much-loved Adonis.*] Theocritus feigns, that Venus having ordered this wild boar to be brought before her, took him ſeverely to task; but the beaſt made his apology, by ſaying that the unhappy accident aroſe from the violent paſſion he was fired with, at the ſight of ſo beautiful a thigh, which he intended to kiſs only, but happened to imprint it too eagerly: However, he was ſo ſorry for what he had done, that he himſelf thought that his tuſhes ought to be cut off, and that he himſelf burnt them (13). Such is the explication which a learned and polite writer (14) has given of the laſt verſe of this Idyllium of Theocritus. It is in the ſeveral editions, ἴκαυε τὸς ἵμερτας, *exuſſit amores*; but he thinks we ought to read ὀδόντας, *dentes*, (his teeth or tuſhes) inſtead of ἵμερτας, (his love.) This dreadful kiſs brings to my remembrance a flight of Il Cavalier Marino, who introduces the God Pan, boaſting, that the ſpots which we ſee in the moon, are the impreſſion of the kiſſes he gave that Planet. Pan muſt have gone very furiouſly about it. A ſtrange hugging this! and had it been ever ſo little ſtronger, it would have reſembled that of the monkies, who, we are told, hug their young ones to death. How would Horace have treated this ſubject, ſince he writes as follows on a much ſlighter occaſion?

(13) Theocr. Εἰδύλλ. xxxi, or xxx, according to other editions.

(14) Mr. Longepierre, ſee his tranſlation of Bion, pag. 47. Paris edition, in 1686. 12o.

Sive puer furens
Impreſſit memorem dente labris notam.
Non ſi me ſatis audias,
Speres perpetuum dulcia barbare
Lædentem oſcula, quæ Venus
Quinta parte ſui Nectaris imbuit (15).

(15) Horat. Ode XIII. lib. I.

That is,

" When on thoſe paſſive lips the marks I find
" Of frantick, boiling kiſſes left behind;
" I rave to think theſe cruel tokens ſhew
" Things I cannot miſtake, and wou'd not know,
" How fond's the hope, how fooliſh and how vain,
" Of laſting love from the ungrateful ſwain!
" Who that ſoft lip ſo roughly can invade;
" Hurting, with cruel joy the tender maid.
" Quickly they're glutted who ſo fierce devour;
" They ſuck the nectar, and throw by the flower.

Mr. Glanvill. In *The Odes and Satyrs of Horace*; by the moſt eminent hands. London, printed for J. Tonſon, 1715.

We may, poſſibly, ſpeak of theſe kind of bites, in the article FLORA.

I am to acquaint the reader, that a very good critic tells us that there is no occaſion to correct ὀδόντας for ἵμερτας. *The true explication of this verſe*, ſays he, *is, that the wild boar* τῷ πυρὶ προσιλθὼν, (*throwing himſelf into the fire,*) ἴκαυε τὸς ἵμερτας, (*burnt his love at the ſame time.*) *It is not only rational, but witty, to obſerve that this wild boar, after having been burnt with love, had afterwards found the ſecret to burn it. Polytian has made a happy uſe of this thought, in his epigram on. Picus Mirandola, committing his amorous verſes to the flames. To which we ſhall add, that we cannot eaſily conceive how it was poſſible for the wild boar to burn his tuſks, without burning himſelf at the ſame time.*

(16) Venus, in the 31ſt *Idyllium* of Theocritus calls him her husband. Σύ μιν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔτυψας; *Haſt thou ſtruck my husband?* Bion, in the *Idyllium* on the death of Adonis, repreſents Venus, βοώσα πόσιν, *calling her husband:* and Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. cap. 23. ſpeaks of a Syrian Venus married to Adonis. See *Idyllium* 15 of Theocritus; and Firm. Matern. *de Error. prof. Relig.* p. 21.

(17) Amm. Marcel. lib. 19. c. 1.

[*E*] *A mighty train of anniverſary ceremonies.*] Ariſtophanes in his Comedy of *Peace*, deſcribes Adonis's feſtival, as one of the principal among the Athenians. It was ſolemnized by moſt of the Greek Nations, and the women were the chief perſons of this Drama, they bewailing the death of this gallant, or husband (16) of Venus. *Fœminæ miſerabili planctu in primævo flore ſucciſam ſpem gentis ſolitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrymare cultrices Veneris ſæpe ſpectantur in ſolemnibus Adonidis ſacris* (17). i. e. " The women with dreadful wailings, " called upon the hopes of the Nation cut off in " the flower of his age; in like manner as the " worſhippers of Venus are often ſeen to do upon the " ſolemn feſtivals of Adonis." They uſed to exhibit funerals in painting, as Plutarch relates in the *Lives of Alcibiades and Nicias:* The Curtizans celebrated this mighty feſtival with as much zeal as the reſt of the people; as may be gathered from a paſſage of the Poet Diphilus, quoted by Athenæus (18). Two beds were always ſet on this occaſion, in one of which the image of Venus, and in the other that of Adonis, were laid, as we are informed by Theocritus (19). The free thinkers uſed to laugh at a religious worſhip, which conſiſted of nothing but crying; *Quid abſurdius quam ... homines jam morte deletos reponere in Deos, quorum omnis cultus eſſet futurus in luctu* (20). That is, " What can be more abſurd, than to deify " deceaſed perſons; and to conſtitute their worſhip " only of tears." St. Auſtin approves this raillery: *Sacra ſunt Veneris*, ſays he (21), *ubi amatus ejus Adonis aprino dente extinctus juvenis formoſiſſimus plangitur.* i. e. " In ſome of the rites of Venus, her " beloved Adonis, a moſt beautiful youth who was " killed by a boar's tuſk, is bewailed." The Syrians acted ſtill more fooliſhly than the Greeks on this occaſion; for theſe, not contented with groaning and weeping, uſed to ſcourge themſelves; and after having done this, and wept their fill, they ſolemnized the ſacrifice of the dead in honour of Adonis, and ſhaved their heads. Such women as would not be ſhaved, were obliged to proſtitute themſelves a whole day to ſtrangers, and the monies ariſing from this commerce, was laid out in a ſacrifice that was offer'd up to Venus; but the mourning concluded with joy, it being pretended that Adonis was reſtored to life. Lucian, from whom we have extracted theſe particulars, relates farther, that the Syrians declared, that Adonis had been killed by a wild boar in their country (22). See the remark [*I*], where we ſhall obſerve, among other particulars, that this feſtival was ſolemnized, ſo late as St. Cyril's time in Alexandria. The proceſſion muſt have been pompous, ſince the Queen herſelf uſed to carry the image of Adonis on that occaſion; for which Arſinoe, conſort to Ptolomy Philadelphus, is applauded by Theocritus (23). The women who accompanied the Queen, carried fruits, flowers, and a great variety of other things; all which, we are told, and even Adonis's image, were thrown into the ſea, or into fountains. See Heſychius, Zenobius, Suidas, and the Scholiaſt on *Theocritus* cited by Faſoldus, page 75 and 76 of his *Hierologia* of the ancient Greeks. The gardens of Adonis have been mentioned in a proverbial ſenſe, to ſignify a tranſient thing, a thing that is but of a ſhort duration. It is manifeſtly in this ſenſe, that Plato, Plutarch and the Emperor Julian, employed this proverb, the hint of which was borrowed from the pots and baskets of flowers, which were carried in proceſſion on Adonis's feſtival. See Eraſmus's *Adagia*, page 23. By the way, it is probable that this feſtival was celebrated as many years in Antioch as in Alexandria. Julian the apoſtate made his entry into the former city, anno 362, during the ſolemnization of Adonis's feſtival, which was look'd upon as an evil omen. *Evenerat autem iiſdem diebus, annuo curſu completo, Adonia ritu veteri celebrari, amato Veneris, ut fabulæ fingunt, apri dente ferali deleto, quòd in adulto flore ſectarum eſt indicium frugum. Et viſum eſt triſte, quòd amplum urbem Principumque domicilium introëunte Imperatore nunc primum ululabiles undique planctus & lugubres ſonus audiebantur* (24). i. e. " It happened at the " time of the celebration of the ancient anniverſary " rites of Adonis Venus's darling, who, as the fables " relate, was killed by the teeth of a wild boar. And " it ſeemed an ill omen, that upon the Emperor's " entry into a large city, the reſidence of Princes, " the firſt thing heard ſhould be howlings, lamenta- " tions and mournful cries on all ſides." An incident of this kind appeared of evil augury to the Athenians on two occaſions (25).

(18) Athen. lib. 7. p. 292.

(19) Theocrit. *Eidyll.* 15.

(20) Cicero *de Natura Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

(21) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei.* lib. 6. cap. 7. *See alſo* Firm. Matern. *de Errore profan. Relig.* pag. 21.

(22) Lucianus *de Dea Syria.*

(23) Theocrit. *Eidyll.* 15. See the *Summary of this Idyllium.*

(24) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 9.

(25) Plutarch. *in Alcib.* p. 200. *in Nicia*, p. 532.

venge, becauſe Venus had preferred this rival to him. Apollo, ſay the latter, was hurried to this exceſs of violence, to revenge his ſon Erymanthus, who had been ſtruck blind, for having ſeen Venus bathing, the inſtant after ſhe was come from the arms of her Adonis (*g*). The part where the wound was given would make one imagine that there was ſomething of jealouſy in the caſe (*b*); but the ſecond tradition does not quadrate with thoſe writers who relate, that Adonis was an hermaphrodite, who, in his male character enjoyed Venus, and in that of a female, was embraced by Apollo (*i*). Others relate, that though he was but of one ſex, he yet was the favourite both of Venus and Bacchus [*F*]. One of the Scholiaſts aſſures, that Adonis was dear to Jupiter (*k*), and that Proſerpine fell in love with him in hell [*G*]. The latter had yet ſome compaſſion for her diſconſolate rival, who earneſtly imploring that her lover might be reſtored to life (*l*), Proſerpine conſented that Venus ſhould poſſeſs him ſix months, and it was agreed, that Adonis ſhould ſpend ſo many months with this Goddeſs, and the ſame number with Proſerpine. The Scholiaſt abovecited tells us ſome contradictory particulars on this head [*H*]; and there are writers who don't ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of Proſerpine's complaiſance [*m*]. This diviſion of the year is allegoriz'd, as though we were thereby to underſtand, either the time that the ſeeds are ſucceſſively under and above the ground (*n*); or the time which the ſun employs in his courſe through the northern and ſouthern ſigns of the Zodiac (*o*). Methinks there is leſs

(*g*) Διότι ἰδοῦσα λουομένην Ἀφροδίτην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδώνιδος μίξεως. i. e. "Becauſe he "had ſeen Venus bathing "herſelf, after "her amorous "dalliance with "Adonis. ibid.

(*b*) *Trux aper inſequitur, totoſque ſub inguine dentes Abdidit.* Ovid. Metam. lib. x. ver. 715. "And now too "late to fly the "boar he ſtrove, "Who in his "groin his tuſks "impetuous "drove. Euſd.

(*i*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, p. 485.

(*k*) Scholiaſt. Theocriti *in Syracuſ. ſive Eidyll.* 15.

(*l*) *Vide* Seldenum *de Diis Syris*, lib. 2. c. 11. p. 259. and the remark [*I*].

(*m*) See the remark [*G*].

(*n*) Scholiaſt. Theocrit. *Eidyll.* 15.

(*o*) Macrobius *Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 21.

[*F*] *Favourite both of Venus and Bacchus.*] Athenæus does not omit, in that part where he gives ſome examples of enigmatical expreſſions (26), the oracle that was pronounced to Cinyras, which is as follows:

(26) Athen. lib. x. c. 22. p. 456.

Ὦ Κινύρα βασιλεῦ Κυπρίων ἀνδρῶν δυσπρόσλων
Παῖς σοι καλλίσσος μὲν ἔφυ θαυμασότατός τε
Πάντων ἀνθρώπων, δύο δ' αὐτὸν δαίμονε ἔχητον
Ἡ μὲν ἐλαυνομένην λαθρίοις ἑρετμοῖς, ὁ δ' ἐλαύνων.

English'd,

" O Cinyras, King of Cyprus, whoſe poſteriors
" Are rough with hair, to thee a ſon is born
" Whoſe beauty far exceeds the reſt of mortals.
" He, by two Deities, ſhall be poſſeſt.
" One he ſhall preſs in lonely, ſecret paths;
" And he by th' other Deity be preſt.

Athenæus tells us, that Venus and Bacchus were ſignified by theſe, Adonis being dear to both. This oracle had been quoted by Plato the comic writer (27), who is not the only Poet that has taken notice of theſe amours of Bacchus; for we find by two verſes in *Plutarch*, that Bacchus happening to ſee the beautiful Adonis in the iſland of Cyprus, fell in love with him, and carried him off (28). What Plutarch adds is curious; and may, upon occaſion, ſerve as a leſſon to thoſe, who give us ſo many Eaſtern genealogies of the religion and mythology of the Heathens. One of the interlocutors in *Plutarch* aſſerts with great ſeriouſneſs and gravity, that Bacchus and Adonis are the ſame Deity; and that the Jews abſtained from eating ſwine's fleſh, becauſe Adonis had been killed by a wild boar. Now he pretends, that their religion, their feſtivals and ceremonies, differed very little from thoſe with which Bacchus was honoured in Greece; and even tells us, that their Levites were ſo called, from Λύσιος or Εὐιος, *Lyſius*, *Evius*, two names of that Divinity. Auſonius aſſures, that Bacchus, Oſyris, Adonis &c. were one and the ſame God (29); but Macrobius goes ſtill farther (30).

(27) *In Adonide, apud Athen.* lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 456.

(28) Plut. *Sympoſ.* lib. 4. cap. 5.

(29) Auſon. *Epigramm.* 30.

(30) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 1. cap. 18 and 21.

[*G*] *Proſerpine fell in love with him in hell.*] If Apollodorus may be credited (31), her heart was fired before this, and even when he was in his cradle; Venus being ſmit with the beauty of the babe, laid him in a trunk, and ſhewed him only to Proſerpine. This Goddeſs proteſted that ſhe would have the keeping of him, upon which they carried their diſpute ſo far, that Jupiter was obliged to decide it, which he did in the following manner, viz. that Adonis ſhould have the firſt four months in the year to himſelf; that he ſhould ſpend the ſucceeding four with Proſerpine, and the four laſt with Venus. Adonis's diviſion ſhould rather have been between the other two; and, perhaps, it was ſo expreſſed, before the epitomizers and copiſts of Apollodorus, put his *Bibliotheca* into the condition we now ſee it. But however this be, Adonis would not accept of the vacation which Jupiter granted him, Venus charming him to ſuch a degree, that he devoted his own months to her ſervice. Other authors (32) relate firſt, that Jupiter having commanded the Muſe Calliope to decide the diſpute, ſhe decreed, that Venus ſhould enjoy Adonis ſix months, and Proſerpine poſſeſs him as many. Secondly, that Venus, enraged that ſhe was allowed but half of what ſhe would have engroſs'd wholly to herſelf, inſpired all the Thracian women with ſo violent a paſſion for Orpheus, the ſon of Calliope, that each ſtriving to get him from the reſt, they at laſt tore him to pieces. Among the complaints which Venus makes of her ſon in *Lucian's Dialogues*, this is one; that he ſometimes ſends her a rambling over mount Ida after Anchiſes, and at other times over mount Libanus after the beautiful Aſſyrian, half of whom he had robbed her of, by ſo induſtriouſly inſpiring Proſerpine with a paſſion for her dear Idol (33). Arnobius (34) and Clemens Alexandrinus (35) mention the paſſion which the laſt named Goddeſs had for Adonis; and Sylburgius had no reaſon to read Ἀιδωνῆ for Ἀιδώνδι in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; for if we read Ἀιδωνῆ, this Greek Father would be made to aſſert a falſhood, viz. that Proſerpine had an adulterous paſſion for Pluto. We owe this laſt remark to Meziriac, for which, ſee page 403 of his *Commentary on Ovid's Epiſtles*. The judgment of Calliope puts me in mind of theſe two verſes,

(32) *Hygin. Aſtronom.* lib. 2. cap. 7.

(33) Lucian. *Dial. Veneris & Lunæ.*

(34) *Arnob.* lib. 4. p. 145.

(35) Clem. Alex. *in Protrep.* p. 21.

Et vitula tu dignus, & hic, & quiſquis amores,
Aut metuet dulces, aut experietur amaros (56).
That is,

(36) Virg. *Ecl.* III. ver. 99.

" So nice a difference in your ſinging lies,
" That both have won, or both deſerve the prize.
" Reſt equal happy both, and all who prove
" The bitter ſweets and pleaſing pains of love.
Dryden.

[*H*] *Tells us ſome contradictory particulars on this head.*] Firſt, with very little probability, that Adonis paſſed ſix months with Proſerpine, and as many with Venus, without touching them, they lying in ſeparate beds; Ἄνευ τοῦ συγκαθεύδειν καὶ προσμίζεσθαι (37): and ſecondly, that he ſpent ſix months in the arms of Proſerpine, and as many in thoſe of Venus. Ἐξ μῆνας ἱποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τῆς Περσεφόνης (38). We are to obſerve, that ſomething like this was ſaid of the agreement between Ceres and Pluto, viz. that Proſerpine ſhould live ſix months with this God, and ſpend the remaining part of the year with Ceres. The ancients had not variety of invention enough, ſince they applied the unravelling of their fables to ſo many ſubjects. Beſides, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the iſland of Cyprus, in which places Adonis is ſaid to have lived, are not far enough diſtant from the ſun, from the month of September to the month of March, for it to be ſaid, that Adonis is then in the grave, or in hell; and I don't know what Moreri means, *by his ſix months, during which the days are ſo ſhort, and the nights ſo long:* for in the countries abovementioned, the difference between the longeſt day in the year and the ſhorteſt is not conſiderable enough, to give room for ſuch an expreſſion. A great many other particulars in the *Adonis* of this author want correction.

(37) Scholiaſt. Theocriti, *ad verſ.* 21. *Idyll.* 5.

(38) Ibid.

leſs ſolidity in this allegorical interpretation, than in the notion of thoſe writers, who explain the fable of Adonis into the hiſtory of Oſiris (*p*). The Antients are not agreed upon the country, which was the ſcene of Adonis's gallantries; for ſome place it in Syria, others in the iſland of Cyprus, or in Egypt, as may be ſeen in the remarks. Two particulars of a very oppoſite nature have been related of Hercules with reſpect to Adonis: the firſt, that he had a paſſion for him; and that Venus, out of jealouſy, inſtructed the Centaur Neſſus, how to enſnare Hercules (*q*): the ſecond, that this Hero, ſeeing a great crowd of people coming out of a temple in a city of Macedonia, was for entring it, in order to pay his devotions there; but upon hearing that Adonis was the Deity worſhiped in it, he ridiculed him (*r*). A writer tells us, that Adonis ſprung from Jupiter, without the concurrent aſſiſtance of woman (*s*). St. Jerom is of opinion, that the Prophet Ezekiel mentions the feſtival of Adonis [*I*]. By the way, we cannot eaſily account, why the Ancients have feigned that Venus concealed, or even buried her minion under lettices [*K*], ſince they obſerve that this plant cauſes impotency. We, perhaps, ſhould comprehend their allegory, had they thereby underſtood, that Venus had quite exhauſted her gallant, and had ſo much worked him in the *Still*, that he was now become, as it were, a mere chymical *terra damnata*, a *caput mortuum* of the Chymiſts, but they don't hint at any ſuch explication. It is not univerſally allowed, that he died of his wound [*L*]. Near the city of Byblos was a river called ADONIS, which deſcended

(*p*) See Vol. III. of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, pag. 7. Berkelius *in Stephanum Bizant. Voce* Ἀμαθοῦς.

(*q*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, p. 473.

(*r*) Scholiaſt. Theocriti, *ad* ver. 21. Eidyll. *V.* Zenobius *and* Apoſtolius *in Proverb.*

(*s*) Val. Probus *in Ecl.* x. Virgil *ex* Philoſtephano.

[*I*] *That the Prophet Ezekiel mentions the feſtival of Adonis.*] St. Jerom is of opinion, that the Tammuz mentioned in theſe words of Ezekiel, *Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's houſe, which was towards the North, and behold, there ſat women weeping for Tammuz* (39), is Adonis. He has not forgot the double face under which the feſtival appeared; for, in the beginning of it, Adonis was bewailed as dead, and afterwards his praiſe was ſung by the women as reſtored to life: *Plangitur à mulieribus quaſi mortuus, & poſtea reviviſcens canitur atque laudatur* (40). We learn ſeveral particulars of this feſtival from St. Cyril, who relates, that it was ſtill ſolemnized in his time in Alexandria (41); and tells us, that by the following words, *Woe to the land.... that ſendeth Embaſſadors by the ſea, even in veſſels of bulruſhes upon the waters* (42), we are to underſtand, the letters which were ſent, to give notice of Adonis's being found again. *They uſed*, ſays he (43), *to take an earthen veſſel; and afterwards writing a letter to the women of Byblos, as tho' Adonis had been really found again; they put it into this veſſel, and ſealing it, they committed it to the ſea, after employing ſome ceremonies. This veſſel, as they aſſured, went of itſelf to Byblos on certain days of the year, when ſome women there, who were dear to Venus, ceaſed their tears after having opened the letetr, as though Venus had found her Adonis.* Lucian informs us, that he had ſeen in Byblos the paſteboard head, which the Egyptians uſed to ſend annually thither, with no other ceremony, than barely throwing it into the ſea; when the winds uſed to waft it directly to Byblos in ſeven days, which was the time uſually employed in ſailing from Egypt to that city. Procopius Gazæus relates theſe particulars in the ſame manner as St. Cyril (44). According to the latter, the Greeks believed that Venus was gone to hell, in order to recover Adonis from thence; and as they declared that at her return, it was well known ſhe had found him (45); it was but natural, that as the feſtival opened with ſorrow and mourning, it ſhould conclude in a very joyful manner.

(39) Ezekiel viii. 14.

(40) Hieron. lib. 3. *Comment. in Ezekiel.*

(41) Cyrill. *in Eſaiam*, lib. 2.

(42) Iſaiah xviii. ver. 1, 2.

(43) *Cyrill. in Eſaiam*, lib. 2. I made uſe on this occaſion of Mr. Longepierre's French verſion, who has this paſſage in his notes on Bion, p. 45.

(44) Procop. Gaz. *Comment. in Eſai.* cap. 18.

(45) Ἀνελθόσης δὲ ἐξ Ἅιδου καὶ μὴν καὶ ἠυρῆσθαι λεγόντας τὸν ζητούμενον συνήδεσθαι καὶ ἀνασκιρτᾶν. *Cyrill. in Eſaiam*, lib. 2.

(46) *Apud* Athenæum, lib. 2. cap. 28. p. 69.

(47) Ibid.

[*K*] *Under lettices.*] It is Callimachus who informs us that Venus hid Adonis under lettices (46). According to Cratinus, ſhe concealed Phaon, whom ſhe paſſionately loved, after the ſame manner. What was Athenæus thinking of, when he declared, that the Poets ſignify by ſuch an allegory, that lettices reduce thoſe to a kind of impotency, who eat frequently of them? Had they this property, would Venus have made theſe a coverlet for her minions? Would ſhe not have abhorred their very name and ſight; and feared leſt their bare touch ſhould be noxious? We are to obſerve a circumſtance in which Callimachus and Eubulus differ; the latter declaring, that Venus buried the corps of her Adonis under lettices, whence he infers, that this plant is of uſe only to the dead (47). Poſſibly, the circumſtance which gave riſe to all theſe fictions, was, its having been ſaid that Adonis, after having eat very heartily of a certain lettice which grew in the iſland of Cyprus, was killed by a wild boar. They who conſider the part where this beaſt gave the wound, will eaſily ſee thro' the myſtery of all this: Adonis rendred himſelf impotent, by feeding too heartily on theſe lettices; whence it was feigned, that after this he was wounded mortally in the groin. We muſt not, therefore, prefer the word καταφυγὼν to καταφαγὼν (48); and it is much more natural to ſuppoſe, that Nicander ſpeaks of this lettice as a food uſed by Adonis, than to believe it ſpoke as an aſylum which Adonis ſought, to ſecure himſelf from the fury of the wild boar.

(48) In the paſſage of Nicander, quoted by Athenæus, *ibid.*

I am to acquaint my readers, that Mr. de la Monnoie is of a different opinion, as appears from the following remark he was pleaſed to favour me with. "The καταφυγὼν of the manuſcripts, is much preferable to the καταφαγὼν of the printed copies. Nicander, in the paſſage cited by Athenæus, ſpeaks of a kind of lettice, under which, he tells us, Adonis had ſhelter'd himſelf, when the wild boar killed him. This is very good ſenſe, whereas it would hardly be ſo, to aſſert that Adonis had fed too heartily on this lettice when the wild boar killed him; ſince the expreſſion would be obſcure and unconnected, and a mere confuſed medley of allegory and fiction. Beſides, it muſt be obſerved, that θρίδαξ being of the feminine gender, it then ſhould be ἧς or ἣν καταφαγὼν, becauſe then οὗ is taken adverbially for *quo*." It is certain that Caſaubon preferred καταφυγὼν to καταφαγὼν (49); and confirmed his opinion by the following words which are found in the ſame page of Athenæus, ἐν καλαῖς θριδακίναις ἀποκρύψαι (50) (lay hid in beautiful lettices); but he ſhould have obſerved, that Athenæus ſpeaks thus, after giving us a long quotation from a Poet, who declared, that whoever eats of thoſe lettices, can never have any commerce with a woman (51). We are to take particular notice, that the words of this Poet follow immediately thoſe of Nicander. Now this ſhews that Athenæus did not write οὗ καταφυγὼν, but ἣν or ἧς καταφαγὼν. This proves it ſo much the more clearly, as we find that this author having cited Callimachus, who relates that Venus hid Adonis under lettices; obſerves that this is uſed by way of allegory to denote, that thoſe who eat often of this herb, become ſo many invalids in love-matters; Ἀλληγορεῖσθαι τῶν ποιητῶν ὅτι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια οἱ συνεχῶς χρώμενοι θριδακῖ. We are not to regard the objection that is raiſed, viz. that Nicander in this caſe would have given us a confuſed jumble of allegory and fiction, ſince the Poets are full of them. We are farther to obſerve, that he did not underſtand the word he attempted to explain. Βρίνθιν λέγεσθαι φησὶ παρὰ Κυπρίοις θρίδακα (52). That is, "He ſays that the lettice is called "*Brenthis* by the Cyprians." He miſtook a fir-tree for a lettice (53). This error muſt have prompted him to change the tradition; for he found it would be ridiculous to ſuppoſe that Adonis ſhelter'd himſelf under a lettice, and therefore he ſays, that he fed upon it.

(49) Caſaubon. *in Athen.* lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 144.

(50) Caſaubon ſays καταχρίσαι. The ſenſe is the ſame.

(51) *Amphis in Falemo.*

(52) Athenæus, lib. 2. cap. 28. p. 69.

(53) *See* the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 3. p. 28.

[*L*] *It is not univerſally allowed that he died of his wounds.*] See the third volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*

ed from mount Libanus. The waters of this river grew red once a year, occaſioned by a great quantity of duſt of the colour of vermilion, which was carried thither by the winds. On this occaſion the general cry was, that this was the ſeaſon for bewailing Adonis; that he was then receiving wounds on Mount Libanus, and that his blood flowed in that river (*t*).

(*t*) Lucian. *de Dea Syria.*

(54) Pag. 31.
(55) *Apud* Photium, p. 472.

verſelle (54). To the remarks we there meet with, we may add a paſſage of Ptolomy Ephæſtion (55); the paſſage I mean where it is aſſerted, that the following verſe of Euphorion's Hyacinth,

Κωκυτὸς μοῦνος τὸν ἀφειλκέα νίψεν Ἄδωνιν,

" Cocytus only waſh'd the wound
" Of beautiful Adonis,

has not been underſtood. It ſignifies a very different thing from what it is ſuppoſed to imply; for it informs us, that one Cocytus, diſciple to Chiron, had healed the wound which Adonis had received from the wild boar. We may be perſuaded from the ceremonies of the feſtival, that Adonis did not die of it. The people mourned at the beginning of it, as tho' he were really dead; and afterwards rejoiced, as tho' he were reſtored to life. " We may ſuppoſe with " probability, that this fable took its riſe from ſome " ſtrong expreſſions of the Egyptians or Phœnicians, " who uſed to ſay of thoſe who were recovered from " a grievous fit of ſickneſs, or had eſcaped an immi- " nent danger, that they had been taken out of the " grave, of which we have ſeveral inſtances in " the Pſalms (56)." Add to this, " that it was " the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Nations, to conſecrate " golden figures, ſhaped like thoſe parts of the body, " in which they had been afflicted, whereof we " have an example in Samuel, book I. chap. vi. " ver. 4. Adonis having been wounded in the " groin, and recovered of his wound, conſecrated " a golden *Phallus*... which figure was highly ve- " nerated in the myſteries of Oſiris (57)" We here ſee the preceding remark confirmed; the clouds begin to diſappear, and day breaks in upon us. Venus imagined ſhe had loſt for ever, not the life, but the ſex of her husband, whether a wild boar had really injured that part, or ſome principle which we know nothing of, had thrown a mortification into it. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*, i. e. " hence her tears." But the wound cloſing, or the ſpell being taken off, Venus was perſuaded, that her husband roſe from the dead, and came from the deepeſt hell; hence her joy; and therefore, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this, in a more myſterious and at the ſame time more ſolemn manner; it was declared, that Adonis's feſtival ſhould be celebrated annually, in a certain manner. The explications of Macrobius might eaſily be made to ſquare with this hypotheſis; his Sun deſcending to the inferior parts of the Zodiac, and afterwards returning to the ſuperior parts of it; his wild boar; the image of cold, and conſequently of thoſe which belong to that head of the canon-law *De frigidis & maleficiatis*; his Venus, grievouſly afflicted becauſe ſhe is the relict of her darling Sun; and afterwards ſmiling or laughing at the return of that beautiful planet, which renders her fruitful. It is very plain, that it would be no difficult matter to apply to ſome uſe the agreement between Venus and Proſerpine; I mean thoſe ſeeds concentred in the boſom of the earth during ſome months, which afterwards iſſue from it to propagate the ſpecies.

(56) *Biblioth. Univerſ.* tom. 3. p. 31.

(57) Ibid. p. 33.

ADRASTUS King of Argos, ſon of Talaus and Lyſianaſſa (*a*) daughter of Polybius, King of Sicyon, acquired great fame in the celebrated war of Thebes, in which he engaged to ſupport the rights of Polynices his ſon-in-law [*A*], who had been excluded the Sovereignty of Thebes by Eteocles his brother (*b*), notwithſtanding their reciprocal agreement. Adraſtus, followed by Polynices and Tydeus his other ſon-in-law, by Capaneus and Hippomedon his ſiſter's ſons, by Amphiaraus his brother-in-law, and by Parthenopæus (*c*), marched againſt the city of Thebes; and this is the expedition of the ſeven *Worthies*, which the Poets have ſo often made the ſubject of their Muſe. They all loſt their lives in this war, Adraſtus excepted, who was ſaved by his horſe, called Arion. This was a horſe of mighty importance, as we ſhall ſhew in his place. This war was followed by ſome others; for Adraſtus being denied the bodies of ſuch Argives as had been killed before Thebes, applied for ſuccour to the Athenians (*d*), who, under Theſeus their leader, forced the new King of Thebes (*e*) to comply with Adraſtus's requeſt. However, the ſatisfaction that was thus made did not put an end to the war; for the ſons of thoſe warriors who had been ſo unſucceſsful in the firſt expedition, undertook a ſecond ten years after, called the war of the Epigones [*B*], which ended with the taking and plundering of Thebes. None of the Chiefs loſt their lives in it (*f*), Ægialeüs ſon of Adraſtus excepted, which was a kind of compenſation made by Fortune (*g*); but Adraſtus, being very much weakned by old age, was ſo ſenſibly afflicted with this loſs, that he died of grief [*C*] in Megara (*h*), as he was leading back

(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 50.
(*b*) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 286.
(*c*) Hygin. cap. 70. Apollod. lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 6.
(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 37.
(*e*) Eteocles and Polynices had killed each other.
(*f*) Hygin. cap. 71.
(*g*) See the remark [*H*].
(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 41.

[*A*] *The rights of Polynices his ſon-in-law.*] According to Pauſanias, Adraſtus had given his daughter in marriage to Polynices, before the diviſion broke out, with regard to the crown of Thebes (1); but others pretend, that this marriage was not ſolemnized till Polynices was come to Adraſtus's court, after his brother had excluded him the kingdom. Theſe tell us, that Tydeus fled thither for refuge at the ſame time, and that the latter was covered with the ſkin of a wild boar, and the former, with that of a lion; upon which account, Adraſtus gave them his daughters in marriage; he recollecting that an oracle (2) had commanded him to marry them to a wild boar and to a lion (3). A falſhood is inſerted in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary, where it is ſaid, that Tydeus being ask'd the reaſon why he wore a wild boar's skin, anſwered, it was becauſe Oeneus his father had killed the *Calydonian wild boar*. He did not make any ſuch anſwer, and it was Meleager, not Oeneus, who ſlew that furious wild boar. In the abovementioned ſupplement, the oracle which had been pronounced to Adraſtus, is not juſtly quoted.

(1) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 286.

(2) 'Tis in the Scholiaſt of *Euripides ad Phæniſ.* ver. 415. *See alſo* Statius, *Theb.* lib. 1. ver. 395.

(3) Hygin. cap. 79. Apollodorus lib. 3. ſays, *in the ſhields of one of theſe the figure of a boar's head was repreſented.*

[*B*] *The war of the Epigones.*] Had the compilers of the third volume of Moreri's *Dictionary* conſidered, that there was but an interval of ten years, between theſe two expeditions, they would not have tranſlated the word *Epigones*, *Thoſe who were born after the ſiege of Thebes*; but have contented themſelves with writing, *Thoſe who ſurvived their fathers*; or in general, *The Deſcendants of the firſt Chiefs.*

[*C*] *That he died of grief.*] According to Moreri's ſupplement, he *threw himſelf upon his ſon's funeral pile*, and for this purpoſe *Hyginus fab.* 242, and *Herodotus*, *Book* 5. are cited. Now it is to be obſerved, that this laſt author does not mention one of thoſe particulars concerning Adraſtus, which have been employed in this article of the ſupplement. The only circumſtance which one might ſuſpect was borrowed from Herodotus, is the following, which is in the beginning of that article. *Adraſtus was forced to withdraw*

back the victorious army, who had taken the city of Thebes. This proves, that he was perſonally preſent at the ſecond expedition [*D*], though very few writers take notice of it. The citizens of Megara paid great honours to his memory, which, however, were not to compare to thoſe by which the Sicyonians ſolemnized it [*E*]; for the latter erected a Mauſoleum to him in the middle of the great ſquare of their city, and inſtituted feſtivals and ſacrifices in his honour, which they celebrated annually with great pomp. We may read in Herodotus, how Caliſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, ſuppreſt all theſe things, out of hatred to the Argives (*i*). The reader is to know, that Adraſtus had inherited the crown of Sicyon (*k*), by virtue of the laſt will of Polybius his uncle, by the mother's ſide, to whom he once fled for refuge, after having been forced to leave Argos [*F*]; and that during his reign, the city of Sicyon (*l*) became very famous, by his inſtituting the Pythian Games in it (*m*). Some writers obſerve, that Sicyon was his hereditary kingdom, and that he obtained the kingdom of Argos by election; he being of ſo mild and gentle a nature, that the Argives had beſought him [*G*] to come and civilize their ſavage manners. Homer does not tell us all this, but only, that he firſt reigned in Sicyon (*n*), which Servius likewiſe aſſerts in his Commentary on the ſixth Æneid, and alſo Pindar (*o*) and his old Scholiaſt. 'Tis commonly ſaid he had but two daughters, viz. Orgia wife to Polynices, and Deiphyle wife of Tydeus (*p*); but he had alſo two ſons, Ægialeüs and Cyanippus; and a daughter, Ægialea by name, who was married to his nephew Diomedes, ſon of Tydeus, and overwhelmed him with grief, by her lewd conduct. Some writers inform us, that Adraſtus was the firſt who built a temple in honour of the Goddeſs Nemeſis (Revenge) and that ſhe was thence called Adraſtea [*H*]; but I am perſuaded that they confound him with another ADRASTUS. He who raiſed the firſt altar to this Goddeſs, built it on the river Æſepus in Phrygia (*q*). Now it does not appear that the Adraſtus of this article was ever in Aſia, but we meet with a King of that name in Phrygia, at the time of the ſiege of Troy (*r*). It will therefore be more reaſonable to aſcribe the eſtabliſhment of this worſhip of Nemeſis, to an Aſiatic Prince called Adraſtus, than to a King of Argos of that

(*i*) Herod. lib. 5. cap. 67.
(*k*) Id. ibid. and Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 150.
(*l*) Pindar. *Nem.* Od. 9.
(*m*) Scholiaſt. Statii, *apud* Barthium, tom. 2. p. 361, *in hæc verba Statii, Thebaidos*, lib. 2. ver. 179. *Quis te ſolio Sicyonis avitæ Excitum in frenos componere legibus Argos Neſciat?*
(*n*) Homer. *Il.* lib. 2. ver. 79.
(*o*) Pindar. Nem. Od. 9.
(*p*) Stat. Theb. lib. 1. ver. 393.
(*q*) Antimachus *apud* Strabonem, lib. 13. p. 405.
(*r*) Homer. *Il.* lib. 2. ver. 337.

withdraw to the city of Sicyon, to King Polybius, who received him very graciouſly, and gave him Amphitea his daughter in marriage; but even this differs widely from the account of Herodotus, who declares, that Polybius bequeathed his kingdom to Adraſtus his daughter's ſon. Peruſe the following remark. The citing Hyginus is ſtill worſe; for this author does not ſpeak of our Adraſtus in that place, but of another, who was father to Hipponoüs, and who threw himſelf into the flames, in obedience to the command of Apollo; which Hipponoüs did alſo from the ſame motive. The author of the *Index to Hyginus* in the Amſterdam edition of 1681, makes the abovementioned Adraſtus and Hipponoüs ſons to Hercules; and yet he pretends, that this very Adraſtus is the father of Ægialea, mentioned by Hyginus chap. 71ſt, who is manifeſtly father in-law to Polynices and the ſon of Talaüs. This is owing to his miſtaking the ſenſe of the following words; *Hercules Jovis filius ipſe ſeſe in ignem miſit. Adraſtus & Hipponoüs ejus filius, ipſi ſe in ignem jecerunt ex reſponſo Apollinis* (4). i. e. "Hercules the ſon of "Jupiter threw himſelf into the fire. Adraſtus and "Hipponoüs his ſon, threw themſelves into the fire, "in compliance with the anſwer which the oracle of "Apollo gave."

(4) Hygini *Fabul.* cap. 242.

[*D*] *That he was in perſon at the ſecond expedition.*] We have not only the teſtimony of Pauſanias but that of Pindar, who declares expreſly, that Adraſtus having got together the ſcattered bones of his ſon, marched back the army very happily to Argos (5). He does not therefore tell us, with Pauſanias, that he died in his march, at Megara; however, theſe two authors agree in this, viz. that Adraſtus was preſent in the ſecond Theban war.

(5) Pindar. *Pyth.* Od. 8.

[*E*] *By which the Sicyonians ſolemnized it.*] We find in the Scholiaſt on Pindar (6), that Dieutuchides aſſerts, that there was only a *Cænotaphium* (an empty or honorary Mauſoleum) of Adraſtus in Sicyon; and that his real monument ſtood in Megara (7).

(6) Schol. Pindari *in Nem.* Od. 9.
(7) Dieutuchides, *Hiſtoriæ Megaricæ*, lib. 3.

[*F*] *Being conſtrained to leave Argos.*] It is related in the *Supplement to Moreri*, that Adraſtus *was drove from the kingdom of Argos by Amphiaraüs his brother-in-law, and obliged to withdraw to the city of Sicyon*; but from a negligence that is not very pardonable, no teſtimony is given of this; which conſequently muſt give a reader, who will not take things upon truſt, a great deal of trouble in turning over authors. I ſearch'd ſo long that I at laſt found in *Pindar*, that Adraſtus left Argos, and withdrew to Sicyon, to ſecure himſelf from Amphiaraüs; becauſe the family of Talaüs was diſpoſſeſſed of the ſovereign power (8). This Poet adds, that Adraſtus put an end to the troubles; and that the marriage of Eriphyle with Amphiaraüs heal'd all their diviſions; conſequently, Amphiaraüs was not brother-in-law to Adraſtus, when the latter was forced to ſhelter himſelf in Sicyon. Pindar does not ſay, that this fugitive Prince married King Polybius's daughter, nor that Amphiaraüs ſlew Talaüs; but both theſe incidents, (the former of which is ſo contradictory to Herodotus,) are found in Pindar's *Scholiaſt*. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the marriage of Amphiaraüs with Eriphyle ſiſter of Adraſtus, did not reconcile the diviſions; ſince theſe two brothers-in-law, were ſtill diſputing for the crown, a little before the Theban war broke out (9). They were divided upon another account, for Amphiaraüs did not care to join in the expedition, and Adraſtus earneſtly deſired that he ſhould: Eriphyle being appointed to judge all their differences, pronounced in favour of her brother. Apollodorus ſays partly the ſame thing, but in a pretty confuſed manner (10). Barthius has quoted Diodorus Siculus wrong, when he ſuppoſes that Eriphyle was Adraſtus's daughter (11). The Latin verſion of this hiſtorian, printed at Baſil, in 1548, ſays erroneouſly, that Eriphyle decreed that her husband ſhould wear the crown.

(8) Pindar. *Nem.* Od. 9.
(9) Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 6.
(10) Apol. lib. 3. p. 187.
(11) Barth. *in Stat.* tom. 2. p. 870. *See* alſo pag. 914.

[*G*] *The Argives beſought him.*] Had Moreri known this, he would not have declared that Adraſtus, *after a reign of four years, left the city of Sicyon, but for what reaſon is not known; and came to Argos where he reigned, and had two daughters &c.* (12). But be this as it will, here is a ſubject for hiſtorical ſcepticiſm, the ancients claſhing with regard to the two kingdoms of Adraſtus; I mean, with reſpect to the order and title of the poſſeſſion. Conſult the article TALAUS.

(12) He ſhould have ſaid three ſons and two daughters.

[*H*] *And that ſhe was thence called Adraſtea.*] The Scholiaſt on *Pindar* ſays, that the Goddeſs Nemeſis was ſo called from the compenſation abovementioned. Adraſtus was the only Chief, who eſcaped with his life in the firſt Theban war; and his ſon was the only Chief who was ſlain in the ſecond. The equilibrium is much better preſerved according to the ſuppoſition of thoſe, who declare that the Epigones had the whole management of the ſecond war; but ſuch as aſſert that Adraſtus was perſonally engaged in it; and give him the glory of leading back the triumphant army, ſuppoſe neceſſarily that he commanded there. He therefore ſhould have been ſlain in this battle, in order that the balance might have been kept even, between himſelf and his ſix collegues in the firſt war.

that name. Herodotus takes notice of one ADRASTUS, who fled for refuge to the court of Crœsus King of Lydia, and who killed the son of this Monarch inadvertently (s). Moreri has given us a pretty good article of this Adraſtus [*I*].

(s) Herod. lib. 1. cap 35, & *ſeq.*

[*I*] *Moreri has given us a pretty good article of this Adraſtus.*] I have found only the few ſmall errors following. I. Adraſtus is there made ſon of Gordius, inſtead of ſon of Midas, and grandſon of Gordius agreeable to the Latin tranſlation of Herodotus. I know indeed, that, according to the Greek text, he was ſon of Gordius, and grandſon of Midas (13); but then, I am ſenſible, firſt; that Moreri was not capable of rectifying the verſion of a Greek author from the original; and ſecondly, that there is a Greek reading agreeable to the Latin tranſlation. II. He ſhould not have omitted, that Crœſus cauſed ſuch expiatory ceremonies to be performed for Adraſtus, as were employed to purify involuntary murthers. III. It ſhould not have been ſaid, that Adraſtus killed himſelf on the body of Crœſus's ſon, but on his monument: for Herodotus obſerves that Crœſus, after having pardon'd and comforted the murtherer, cauſed his ſon to be interred. IV. He ſhould not have cited *Clio* or *Li:* for the names of the Muſes, by which the books of Herodotus are diſtinguiſhed, are of no uſe in quotations; and eſpecially in a French work of ſo general a uſe as an hiſtorical Dictionary; at leaſt he ſhould have told the reader, that Clio anſwered to *the firſt book*.

(13) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 35.

ADRIAN Emperor, Pope, &c. Look for HADRIAN.

ADRIANI (JOANNI BATTISTA) born in Florence, anno 1511, of a Patrician family, wrote a *Hiſtory of his own Times* in Italian. This work is a continuation of Guicciardine, and begins at the year 1536 [*A*]. It is written with a great deal of judgment, ſincerity, care and accuracy; and we find that Coſmo, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, a Prince of a prodigious genius, and the moſt conſummate prudence, had communicated his own memoirs to our author [*B*]. Thuanus, from whom I borrow the abovementioned particulars, confeſſes ingenuouſly, that he was very much obliged to this Hiſtory, and that none had furniſhed him with a greater number of materials (*a*). He is ſurprized that the Italians don't conſider Adriani according to his merit. Beſides this Hiſtory, there are extant ſix funeral orations of this author's compoſition, viz. *On the Emperor Charles V*; *the Emperor Ferdinand*; *Eleonora of Toledo, Conſort to Coſmo Duke of Florence*; *Iſabella, Queen of Spain*; *Coſmo, Grand Duke of Tuſcany*; and one *Joan of Auſtria*, wife to Francis de Medicis (*b*). He died in Florence, anno 1579. I believe he alſo writ a long *Letter relating to antient Painters and Sculptors*, which is prefixed to the third volume of *Vaſari*.

(a) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 68. *ſub fin.*

(b) Jacobo Rilli, *Notizie Litterarie ed Iſtoriche intorno à gli huomini illuſtri dell' Academia Fiorentina*, p. 45. That is, "James "Rilli's Literary "and Hiſtorical "Advice concerning the illuſtrious Men "of the Academy of Florence."

He was ſon to the learned Marcello Virgilio (*c*), Secretary to the Republic of Florence, and Profeſſor of Polite Literature in the Academy. He ſucceeded him in that chair (*d*), and left a ſon called MARCELLO ADRIANI who was a man of vaſt erudition, and who exerciſed the ſame function (*e*), and aſſumed the title of *il Torbido*, in the Academy *de gli Alterati* (*f*). Some authors are of opinion, that our Adriani was a little prejudiced againſt Pope Paul III. (*g*).

(c) Michael Poccianius, *de Scriptor. Florent.* pag. 103.
(d) Rilli *Notizie Literarie*, p. 253.
(e) Ibid. p. 255.
(f) *See* Bocchi, in book I. of *Elogiums* annex'd to Rilli, p. 48.
(g) Spondan. *Annal. ad Ann.* 1545, numb. 18. p. 492.

[*A*] *Begins at anno* 1536.] Not having this work by me, I muſt depend on the teſtimony of Thuanus; but I muſt obſerve, that according to Spondanus (1), Adriani's hiſtory begins at anno 1537, and ends at 1574. It conſiſts of 22 books, and was printed in Folio at Florence by the Giunti, in 1583, and at Venice in two volumes 4to, in 1587. Marcello Adriani, the author's ſon, publiſhed this hiſtory, which he dedicated to Francis de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuſcany. According to Bocchi (2), it takes in forty four years.

(1) Spond. *Ann. ad Ann.* 1534, num. 18. p. 426.

(2) *See* Bocchi *in* Book I. annex'd to the *Elogiums* of Rilli, p. 49.

[*B*] *Communicated his own memoirs to our author.*] Thuanus had already given, in his 37th book, his thoughts, on this head, with reſpect to the ſecret conferences between Catherine de Medicis and the Duke of Alva, at the interview of Bayonne. *Thoſe of the reformed religion, who are a very ſuſpicious people* (3), *gave out*, ſays he, *that it was debated in theſe controverſies by what arts their ſect might beſt be extirpated. What happened afterwards will truly inform poſterity, whether this be a true or a falſe aſſertion.* He adds, that Joanni Battiſta Adriani, a very ſincere and very judicious hiſtorian, who probably collected a great number of particulars from the Duke of Tuſcany's *Memoirs* (4) relates, that it had been concluded in this interview, (purſuant to the opinion of the King of Spain explained by the Duke of Alva,) that the Heads of the principal Proteſtants ſhould be ſtruck off; and that after this, they ſhould all be butcher'd after the manner of the Sicilian veſpers. I wiſh, d'Aubigné had not improved upon, or heightened the author from whom he copied. *Moſt hiſtorians*, ſays he (5), *and among theſe, Joanni Battiſta Adriani, who was poſſeſſed of the cyphers and ſecrets of the Duke of Florence, unanimouſly pretend, that this was the ſcene where the wars of the Low-Countries were projected, and the maſſacres which followed after them.* There is no doubt but Thuanus is the original whence d'Aubigné copied theſe particulars; but has not the latter taken too much liberty? Has not he related a thing as fact, which Thuanus gives us only as probable? Does not he ſpeak of the great Duke's cyphers and ſecrets, when Thuanus does not mention any thing like them? for *Commentarii* does not ſignify cyphers and ſecrets. The more heinous an accuſation is, the more we ought to keep the very words of the depoſition, even when, as on this occaſion, the appearances are very favourable. Had Zeiller caſt his eye on this paſſage of Thuanus, he would not have ventured to aſſert that Adriani's hiſtory ends at the death of Charles V (6).

(3) *Genus hominum ſuſpicax*, i. e. "A miſtruſtful, "ſuſpicious kind "of people," Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 37. p. 749. *ad Ann.* 1565.

(4) *Ex Coſmi Etruriæ Ducis Commentariis, ut vero ſimile eſt, multa hauſit*, id. ibid.

(5) D'Aubigné, *Hiſt.* tom. 1. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(6) Zeiller, *de Hiſtoricis*, Part 2. pag. 1.

ADRICHOMIA (CORNELIA) a Nun of the order of St. Auſtin in the ſixteenth Century, daughter to a Dutch Gentleman, acquired great fame by her poetical genius, which ſhe applied to ſubjects ſuitable to her character; ſhe having put the *Pſalms of David* into verſe, and written ſeveral other *ſacred Poems*. Faber Stapulenſis admired her fine ſenſe and erudition; and Cornelius Muſius had an intimate, but very chaſte correſpondence with her, as Franciſcus Swertius informs us (*a*). I am ſurprized that Valerius Andreas takes no notice of this illuſtrious Dutch Maiden, ſince his *Collection of the Writers of the Low-Countries*, is much more copious than that of Francis Swertius; for he could not but have read what the latter has related of her.

(a) Swertius, *Athen. Belgic.* pag. 181.

ADRICHOMIUS (CHRISTIAN) was born at Delft in Holland, anno 1533. He was a Prieſt zealous for the religion he profeſſed, and applied himſelf to ſtudy. He was a conſiderable time Director of the Nuns of St. Barbara in the place of his birth; but the civil wars which broke out upon the account of religion, obliging him to leave his country, he withdrew firſt to Brabant [*A*], and afterwards to Cologne, where he undertook a conſiderable work, which was printed after his death [*B*]. The ſubject of his ſtudies, was, a Deſcription of the Holy Land in general, and that of the city of Jeruſalem in particular, as appears from his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, printed with Geographical Maps, at Cologne, anno 1593, in folio. This work, beſides what I juſt now obſerved, contains a Chronicle of the Old and New Teſtament. It is pretty much eſteemed, and would be more ſo, had not the author relied too much on the *Manetho*, the *Beroſus*, and ſuch other chimerical writings of the Monk Annius of Viterbo. Adrichomius ſometimes took the name *Chriſtianus Crucius*, under which he publiſhed at Antwerp (*a*), the *Life of Chriſt*, and an oration *de Chriſtiana beatitudine*, which had been ſpoke in a general chapter (*b*). He died at Cologne in June 1585, being the 13th year of his exile, and was buried in the convent of the Canoneſſes of Nazareth, of which he had been Director for ſome time (*c*).

(*a*) In 1578.
(*b*) The 23d of July 1570.
(*c*) *Ex* Valer. Andrea, *Bibl. Belg.* p. 131.

[*A*] *To Brabant.*] The author whom both Moreri and I quote, expreſſes himſelf thus; *Inde à primis Gueſio-Calviniſtis pulſus, Machliniæ, Trajectæ & Coloniæ vixit* (1). i. e. "Being drove away by the be-" garly * Calviniſts, he lived at Machlin, Maeſtricht " and Cologne." I am perſuaded that Moreri is here miſtaken in taking *Trajectum* for Utrecht, he ſhould rather have tranſlated it Maeſtricht.

(1) Idem, p. 132.
* The Calviniſts in the Low-Countries were called *Gueux*, i. e. *Beggars*, by the Spaniards.

[*B*] *A conſiderable work, which was printed after his death.*] Moreri aſſerts a double falſhood, in declaring that Adrichomius publiſhed this work himſelf; and that his *Theatrum terræ ſanctæ*, i. e. "the " Theatre of the Holy Land," is diſtinct from the deſcription of the Holy Land &c.

ÆGEATES (JOHN), a Prieſt of the ſect of Neſtorius, ſirnamed Διακενόμυκτος, i. e. *Separated*, which was a title generally aſſumed by the followers of Dioſcurus and Eutyches (*a*). He flouriſhed according to Voſſius (*b*) under the Emperor Zeno, about the year 483. But Dr. Cave (*c*) is of opinion, that he lived ſome years later, ſince he continued his hiſtory five books after the depoſing of *Peter the Fuller*, which are not extant. He wrote an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [*A*], which began with the reign of Theodoſius the Younger, when Neſtorius publiſhed his opinions, and was depoſed on account of them, and ended with the reign of Zeno, and the depoſition of *Peter the Fuller*, who had uſurped the See of Antioch. He wrote likewiſe a particular Treatiſe againſt the council of Chalcedon, in which he treated it with the utmoſt ſeverity and the keeneſt reproaches imaginable (*d*). Photius ſays (*e*), that his ſtyle was clear and florid, and adorned with the greateſt nobleneſs; but he ſtiles him an *Heretic* (*f*), and *an impious man* (*g*), on account of his favouring the *Neſtorian* party.

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Litter.* p. 294. edit. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.
(*b*) *De Hiſt. Græc.* l. 2. c. 21.
(*c*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*d*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*
(*e*) Cod. xli. and Cod. lv.
(*f*) Cod. xli.
(*g*) Δυσσεβὴς, Cod. lv.

[*A*] *An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*] It contained ten books, but Photius (1) ſays, that he had read only five of them, which began with Neſtorius, and ended with depoſing of Peter the Fuller. In this Hiſtory he ſhewed every where his peculiar attachment to the Neſtorian party; he gave an account of the third general Council at Epheſus, and of another Council held in the ſame city under Dioſcurus, which was ſtigmatized with the name of the *Council of Robbers*, σύνοδος ληστρικὴ; and yet he calls this a *Divine Council*, and repreſents Dioſcurus and his followers as Saints; but in his accouut of the Council of Chalcedon, he ſpeaks of it in the moſt injurious and reproachful terms imaginable. We have a fragment of this work of Ægeates in the 5th Seſſion of the ſecond Council of Nice (2), and in the Collections of Theodorus Lector (3).

(1) Cod. xli. p. 27. edit Rhotomagi, in fol. 1653.
(2) Concilior. tom. 7. p. 369.
(3) L. 2. p. 563.

ÆGIALEA, daughter of Adraſtus King of Argos, and wife to Diomedes [*A*], was ſo infamouſly looſe, that one of Ovid's imprecations againſt a man whom he mortally hated, was, to wiſh him ſuch a wife [*B*]. 'Tis related that Venus (*a*) out of revenge to

(*a*) Schol. Homeri, *Iliad.* lib. 5. verſ. 412.

[*A*] *Wife to Diomedes.*] By this marriage Diomedes, who was grandſon to Adraſtus, (for he was ſon of Tydeus and Deïpyle (1), daughter of Adraſtus, became alſo his ſon-in-law. They therefore who read *gener* inſtead of *genus* in the following paſſage of Ovid, muſt have had a very critical eye;

Seu gener Adraſti, ſeu furtis aptus Ulyſſes,
Seu pius Æneas eripuiſſe ferunt (2).
Engliſhed,
" Whether Adraſtus' ſon, or ſly Ulyſſes,
" Or good Æneas took the fam'd Palladium.

(1) He is thus called by Apollodorus, p. 49: but others, and Statius among the reſt, call her *Deïpyle*.
(2) Ovid. *Faſtor.* lib. 6. ver. 433. *See* Meziriac on Penelope's *Epiſtle*, p. 77.

[*B*] *One of Ovid's imprecations againſt a man he mortally hated, was, to wiſh him ſuch a wife.*] Theſe are his words:

Nec tibi contingat matrona pudicior illa
Qua potuit Tydeus erubuiſſe nuru (3).
Engliſhed,
" Nor may thy wife be more for virtue fam'd,
" Than ſhe whom Tydeus bluſh'd to call his
" daughter.

(3) Idem, *in Ibin.* ver. 349.

I have therefore taken notice (4), that it was the cuſtom to wiſh the wives of criminal offenders might bring diſhonour on them. Since the writing this circumſtance, the learned Mr. Drelincourt has inform'd me, that we meet with a confirmation of this in the *Iliad*; and indeed, Homer tells us, that thoſe who ſwore to a treaty of peace, uſed to wiſh, among other puniſhments, that their wives might cuckold them (5).

(4) Citation (16) under the article CAIN.

(5) Ἄλοχοι δ' ἀλλοῖσι μιγεῖεν. *Uxores vero aliis miſceantur*, i. e. " (may their " wives have in-" trigues with " other men." Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 3. ver. 301.

The abovementioned Mr. Drelincourt referred me to verſe 11th of chapt. xiith of the ſecond book of Samuel. I have read in the *Menagiana*, that the Lacedemonians uſed to make three or four wiſhes, *againſt thoſe who were odious to them*; they wiſhed, they might have a paſſion for building, *for fine clothes and houſes, and that their wives might have gallants* (6). Adrianus Valeſius told Menage in a letter, that *we meet with the form of this oath three times in Suidas . . under the words* ἀμφιδρόμους, διακόμενος, and οἰκοδομεῖν (7). Briſſonius cites only two words of Suidas, one of which differs from the three abovemention'd. Theſe are his words (8): *Lacedæmonios quidem cum acerbiſſima execratione adverſus eos quos vehementer odiſſent, uti vellent, inter cætera domus exitia, hoc imprecari ſolitos traditum eſt, ut eorum uxores adulteris delectarentur.* i. e. "It is ſaid, that " the

(6) *Menagiana*, p. 341 of the Dutch edition.
(7) Ibid. p. 342. it ſhould have been οἰκοδομὰ.
(8) Barnab. Briſſonius *ad Leg. Julian de Adult.* p. 135. *editio Lugdun.* 1558, *verbo* διακόμενος *& in verbo* ἵππους.

to Diomedes [C], who had wounded her in the arm at the ſiege of Troy, fired his wife with ſo laſcivious a paſſion [D], that ſhe was for ever running after all the young fellows ſhe met with. However, ſhe was particularly fond of a man who fell naturally in her way, and was at all times within call, I mean the ſon of Sthenelus, whoſe name was Cometes. To him Diomedes had left the care of his houſhold, and the government of his kingdom, during his abſence. Hiſtorians have not told us, whether he acquitted himſelf worthily of this part of his commiſſion; but for the other kind of Viceroyalty with which he was not entruſted, I mean the acting as the huſband's deputy, he was the more careful and aſſiduous in this employment, as he undertook it merely out of inclination; for Venus had inſpired him with a paſſion for Ægialea. This woman did not only diſgrace her huſband, but conſpired againſt his life as ſoon as he was returned to Argos [E]; and he very narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated, when he fled for ſanctuary to the temple of Juno, a little after which he withdrew into Italy. According to ſome writers he ſailed directly for that country (b), firmly reſolved not to return any more to his own kingdom, becauſe of his wife's ſcandalous character.

(b) Servius, *in Æneid.* lib. 8. ver. 9.

Ennodius ſuppoſes, 1ſt, that he reſolved to return on board again, the inſtant he heard of his wife's infidelity; and to remove for ever from a place, where it was impoſſible but he muſt lead a life of infamy; 2dly, That at the ſame time he bewailed his own unhappy fate, he applauded his wife's former conduct [F].

" the Lacedemonians uſed to vent moſt horrid exe-
" crations againſt thoſe they hated; and among other
" family diſtractions they wiſh'd them, one was,
" that they might be cuckolds."

[C] *Venus out of revenge to Diomedes.*] This is a very odd ſort of revenge, which plainly ſhews, that the Heathen Poets have proſtituted the glory of God to all ſorts of abominations for what can be more unjuſt, than to puniſh the ſin of a man by prompting his wife to ſin? They have aſcribed a hundred ſuch pranks to Venus, as when they relate that ſhe blew up ſuch a flame in Clio's boſom, that this poor Muſe ſuffered herſelf to be got with child. Such was the return that was made for prudent counſels; for Clio's only crime was, her having repreſented to Venus the injury ſhe did her character, in loving Adonis (9). Don't the abovementioned Poets tell us (10), that Tyndarus father of Helen had the misfortune to have daughters who either had two or three husbands each, or abandoned their husbands; and this for no other reaſon but becauſe he had forgot Venus in a ſacrifice he offered to all the Gods? Had writers made this Goddeſs only play ſuch pranks, the circumſtance would not be ſo extraordinary; but they make Pallas the Goddeſs who preſided over the ſciences and the polite arts, notwithſtanding the chaſte character under which they repreſent her, practiſe the ſame tricks. See after what manner Minerva puniſhes a crime in Alcinoë, in Parthenius (11): but I ſhall make this an article apart.

(9) Κλειὼ δὲ Πιέρα τὸ Μάγνητος ἠράσθη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης. ὠνείδισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν τὸ Ἄδωνιδος ἔρωτα συνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Ὑάκινθον. *Clio Pierum magnetis filium Veneris ira, quod ei Adonidis amorem exprobraſſet deperivit, cujus compreſſu Hyacinthum filium concepit.* Apollod. lib. 1. That is, " Clio, becauſe " ſhe reproached " Venus with " loving Adonis, " was by her in- " ſpired with " a violent paſſi- " on for Pierus " ſon to Magnes, " and had a ſon " by him called " Hyacinthus.

(10) Heſich. *apud Schol. Euripid. in Oreſt.*

(11) *Parthen.* cap. 27.

(12) Lycophron. *in Caſſand.* ver. 612.

(13) *In Iliad.* lib. 5. ver. 412.

(14) Stati. Sylv. 5. lib. 3. ranks Ægialea among thoſe wives who were very faithful to their huſbands.

(15) *See* de Boiſſieu on Ovid's *Ibis*, pag. 72. where he ſuppoſes the error occurs in the text of Dionyſius, whereas it is only in Euſtathius's *Commentary.*

(16) Under the article DOMITIAN, note [B].

[D] *Fired his wife with ſo laſcivious a paſſion.*] The words which the Greek authors employ on this occaſion are much ſtronger. Lycophron points out Ægialea as follows:

Ὅταν θρασεῖα θουρὰς οἰστρήσῃ κύων
Πρὸς λέκτρα (12).

Engliſhed,

" When the bold, luſtful B——— ſhall be excited
" To Venery (12).

His Scholiaſt borrows the explication of this enigma from Minermus, and paraphraſes it thus: Ὅταν ἡ θρασεῖα θουρὰς καὶ ἡ ὁρμητικὴ κύων ἤτοι ἡ γυνὴ Διομήδους Αἰγιάλεια οἰστρήσῃ καὶ μανικῶς ὁρμήσῃ πρὸς τὰ λέκτρα καὶ τὰς μίξεις. The Scholiaſt on *Homer* (13), not conſidering the elogium which is given in the text of his author to Ægialea, viz. that ſhe was capable of vaſtly regretting the loſs of her husband, ſays (14), that ſhe was mad with love. Ἐκμῆναι περὶ πορείαν ὡς περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν νέων ἡλικίαν συγχορεύειν ἀσελγαίνουσαν. See Euſtathius on the 486th verſe of Dionyſius Periegetes, where he has miſtaken one name for another (15). Μιχθῆναι, ſays he, Σθένελῳ τῷ τοῦ Κομήτου; he ſhould have ſaid, Κομήτῃ τῷ τοῦ Σθενέλου.

[E] *Conſpired againſt his* (her husband's) *life, as ſoon as he was return'd to Argos.*] Had we the liſt of all the wives who have followed her example, I mean of thoſe who, after violating the marriage-bed, have endeavoured to diſpatch their husbands, ſuch a collection would be very voluminous. We ſhall ſhew hereafter (16), that the wife of Domitian would juſtly deſerve a place in ſuch a liſt. But how large ſoever the number of theſe wives may be, it is yet much ſmaller than that of thoſe wives who go no farther than adultery; and who, this caſe excepted, are very kind and officious to their husbands, provided they are but informed with a ſpirit of patience; for if we take notice, it will be found that moſt of thoſe gay women, who get rid, or endeavour to make away with their husbands, never go ſuch violent lengths, unleſs theſe are jealous, and check the liberty their wives would take. Only blot from the minds of husbands, that reſtleſs principle of jealouſy, which prompts them to interfere with the gallantry of their wives, and they will be ſecure from the ſword or poiſon; and could the Lacedemonians have ſuppoſed, that husbands could be endued with the patience which many of them have, (and that early,) in ſeveral countries, and ſometimes even from a principle of œconomy, they would not have entertained ſo formidable an idea of the imprecation abovementioned; but taking it undoubtedly for granted, that a wife's intrigues would inſpire her husband with a moroſe temper, which would occaſion a multitude of domeſtic jarrs, and from which the ſuffering party would endeavour to rid herſelf by all the arts that could poſſibly be thought of, they conſider'd this as a terrible imprecation. The reader muſt not object to me, that in the News-papers, and particularly under the article of France, we are frequently told of certain proſecutions carried on againſt women whoſe husbands have been murthered, or very near being ſo; for how few are theſe, when compared to the multitudes who live very comfortably, till they are ſeparated by a natural death from their adulterous wives? Neither let the reader cite Mr. Tiquet, who was ſo vaſtly kind, ſo very gracious, as to ſue for his wife's pardon, after being found guilty of an attempt to aſſaſſinate him, and ſo fully convicted, that ſhe was beheaded for it (17), after having confeſſed her crime: this does not prove, that he indulged his wife in all the liberties ſhe would gladly have taken. In a word, if the maxim of Cato the Cenſor (18), viz. that thoſe women who commit adultery, alſo poiſon their husbands, was verified in that age, when the Romans were but beginning to have a taſte for luxury, it was quite otherwiſe in the times of extreme pravity and corruption, and in the age we live in; for as depravity gathers ſtrength, cuckoldom grows more familiar; it is look'd upon as a trifle, and is ſubmitted to with patience; this forces the murthering weapon out of the adultereſs's hand, and prevents her having recourſe, either to the ſword of her gallant, or to poiſonous drugs.

(17) In Paris, anno 1699.

(18) I ſhall ſpeak of that in the note [Q] of his article under the word PORTIUS.

[F] *Ennodius ſuppoſes that Diomedes, at the ſame time that he bewailed his own unhappy fate, applauded his wife's former conduct.* We find in Ennodius's works, a little diſcourſe entitled *Verba Diomedis cum uxoris adulteria cognoviſſet* (19). i. e. " The Diſ- " courſe of Diomedes, after he was inform'd of " his wife's adulteries." Diomedes owns therein, that his wife had been the mirrour of modeſty. Nature and education had conſpired to form her mind to chaſtity, ſo that thus ſecured by this double bulwark, ſhe was thought incapable of committing an impure

(19) It is the XXIVth among thoſe which are called *Dictiones*, and is in pag. 331 of the 15th tome of the *Bibliotheq. des Peres*, Paris edition 1644.

☞ÆGISTHUS was the ſon of Thyeſtes, by his own daughter Pelopeia, who, to conceal her ſhame, expoſed him in the woods. Some ſay that he was found by a ſhepherd, who brought him up; others that he was ſuckled by a goat (*a*), whence he was called Ægiſthus. He corrupted Clytemneſtra the wife of Agamemnon, and with her aſſiſtance ſlew her huſband [*A*], and reigned ſeven years in Mycenæ [*B*]. He was afterwards, together with Clytemneſtra, ſlain by Oreſtes [*C*]. Pompey uſed to call Julius Cæſar *Ægiſthus*, on account of his having corrupted his wife Mutia, whom he afterwards put away, though he had had three children by her (*b*).

(*a*) Αλλα και τον Αλιτης Αλεξανδρον τον Πριαμιδ. υπο αρκτα φασι τραφηναι. Αιγισθον δε τον Θυεστ και Πηλοπιας, υπο αιγος, Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 42.

(*b*) *Pompeio & à Curionibus patre & filio & a multis exprobatum eſt, quod cujus cauſa poſt tres liberos exegiſſet uxorem, & quem gemens Ægiſthum appellare conſueſſet, ejus poſtea filiam potentiæ cupiditate in matrimonium recepiſſet.* Sueton. *in* Julio Cæſ.

impure action. *Ut gemino defenſa propugnaculo, nullatenus facinorum crederetur ictibus ſubjacere, nec dura caſtimoniæ obſcænitatis eviſceratione mollire* (20). She never delighted to adorn herſelf with gold and pearls, but always behaved like a woman of honour. *In ſumma*, it concludes, *talis periit, quales ſolent à maritis lachrymas impetrare. Circæo, ut aiunt, poculo à ſe tranſlata eſt, & in votum migravit adulteri* (21). i. e. "She was bewailed by her husband as tho' "ſhe had been the beſt of wives; ſhe was made to "ſwerve from her duty, and follow the advice of "her aſſociate in adultery, by the Circæan cup, as "the phraſe is." Theſe words reflect an honour on Diomedes: they are prudent, and very different from the unjuſt violence with which the diſcourſes of a thouſand husbands in this ſituation would be enflamed. Theſe, on ſuch an occaſion, would forget all the good qualities their wives poſſeſſed; and would give the name of preciſeneſs, hypocriſy and treachery, to the wiſdom which till then had ſhone forth in their conduct. Let us on the other ſide obſerve, that the morality of this little work of Ennodius is of dangerous conſequence; as it may awake diſtruſt in the minds of the moſt contented husbands: for if a wife, of ſo conſummate a virtue as that of Diomedes, is not proof againſt frailty during her husband's abſence, how can a man be ſure that thoſe wives won't go aſtray, who delight in dreſs, and have not received either from nature or education, thoſe principles which may enable them to reſiſt the allurements of vice? But then, few husbands are ſo long abſent from their families as Diomedes was; and if the Grecian Generals who continued ten years at the ſiege of Troy, fancied, at their return, that their wives could not poſſibly live without gallants, they might partly thank themſelves for it. Why ſhould they leave them for ſo many years? They ſhould have had the ſame advice at parting from their husbands, as a Prelate's miſtreſs one day gave her gallant. "The Biſhop of—going one day to "take leave of the Counteſs of U--whom he loved, de-"clared: how much he regretted to go from her, tho' "it was but for a little time. After a great many "compliments had paſt between them, the Biſhop "roſe up to go away, when the Counteſs as ſhe "was waiting upon him out, ſpoke as follows: "Well, Sir, let your ſtay be as ſhort as poſſible, and "remember that a miſtreſs is a benefice which the "incumbent is obliged to reſide upon." Vol. II. pag. 355.

(20) Ennodius, ibid.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) Menagiana, pag. 112 of the firſt edition of *Holland.*

[*A*] *He corrupted Clytemneſtra the wife of Agamemnon, and with her aſſiſtance ſlew her husband.*] Homer tells us that Agamemnon had committed the care of his young wife to a Poet, whoſe leſſons kept her a long time in the paths of virtue: but that at laſt, by the inſtigation of Ægiſthus, the Poet was baniſhed, and then ſhe fell a prey to his luſt.

——— Ὁ δ' ἰύκηλος μυχῷ Ἀργεία ἱπποβότοιο
Πολλ' Ἀγαμεμνονίην ἄλοχον θελγεσκε ἐπέεσσιν,
Ἠδ' ἤτοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀναίνετο ἔργον ἀεικὲς
Διὰ Κλυταιμνηστρη (φρεσὶ γὰρ κέ χρητ' ἀγαθῇσι·
Παρ' γὰρ ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ πολλ' ἐπέτελλεν
Ἀτρείδης Τροίηνδε νέον ἴμεναι ἄκοιτιν.)
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι,
Δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἀγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην,
Κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι,
Τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀπήγαγεν οἴκαδε δόμοιδε (1).

(1) Hom. Odyſſ. γ.

" He, ſtretch'd at eaſe in Argos' calm receſs,
" (Whoſe ſtately ſteeds luxuriant paſtures bleſs)
" With flattery's inſinuating art
" Sooth'd the frail Queen, and poiſon'd all her heart.
" At firſt with worthy ſhame and decent pride,
" The royal Dame his lawleſs ſuit deny'd.
" For virtue's image yet poſſeſt her mind,
" Taught by a Maſter of the tuneful kind:
" Atrides, parting for the Trojan war,
" Conſign'd the youthful conſort to his care,
" True to his charge, the Bard preſerv'd her long
" In honour's limits (ſuch the pow'r of ſong):
" But when the Gods theſe objects of their hate
" Dragg'd to deſtruction, by the links of fate;
" The Bard they baniſh'd from his native ſoil,
" And left all helpleſs in a deſart iſle:
" There he, the ſweeteſt of the ſacred train,
" Sung dying to the rocks but ſung in vain.
" Then virtue was no more (her guard away)
" She fell, to luſt a voluntary prey. Pope.

Strabo (2) quotes this as an inſtance of the excellence of Poetry and Muſick. They ſlew Agamemnon and his companions treacherouſly at a banquet, who defended himſelf ſo well, that of the aſſaſſines Ægiſthus alone ſurvived (3).

(2) Lib. 1.

[*B*] *He reigned ſeven years in Mycenæ.*] Homer informs us of this;

——— Δέδμητο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ' αὐτῷ.
Ἑπτάετες μὲν ἄνασσε πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης (4).

(3) Hom. Odyſſ. δ, λ.

(4) Idem, Odyſſ. γ.

" Sev'n years, the traytor rich Mycenæ ſway'd
" And his ſtern rule the groaning land obey'd."
Pope.

[*C*] *He was afterwards, together with Clytemneſtra, ſlain by Oreſtes.*] Homer does not tell us expreſly, that Oreſtes ſlew his mother along with the adulterer, but he ſeems to imply as much, by ſaying that he made a funeral feaſt for them both.

Τῷ δὲ οἱ ὀγδοάτῳ κακὸν ἦλυθε δῖος Ὀρέστης
Ἂψ' ἀπ' Ἀθηάων, κατὰ δ' ἔκτανε πατροφονῆα
Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν, ὅς οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα.
Ἤτοι ὅ τὸν κτείνας δαῖνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισιν
Μητρός τε ψυχρῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο (5).

(5) Ibid.

" The eighth, from Athens to his realm reſtor'd,
" Oreſtes baniſh'd the revenging ſword
" *The murd'rer ſlew* (6), and gave to fun'ral flame
" The vile Aſſaſſin, and adult'rous dame." Pope.

(6) Mr. Pope has it, *Slew the dire pair.* I was obliged to alter theſe words, for a reaſon, which the learned reader cannot but obſerve.

He mentions only the killing of Ægiſthus at the beginning of the Odyſſey.

☞ÆLIAN (CLAUDIUS), was a native of Præneſte a city of Italy (*a*). He taught Rhetoric at Rome, as Suidas tells us (*b*), after the time of Adrian the Emperor, but as Perizonius is of opinion, under Alexander Severus. He was ſirnamed Μελίγλωσσος or Μελίφθογγος (*c*), on account of the delicacy and ſweetneſs of his ſtyle; and Philoſtratus tells us (*d*), that he wrote Greek with the ſame elegance, as if he had been a native of Athens. However, he valued himſelf upon his never having been upon the ſea, to leave his own country, of the manners of which he was very tenacious (*e*). He was High-Prieſt, as Suidas informs us; from whence we may infer with Perizonius that he was of a noble extraction, and in favour with the great men of thoſe times. He was likewiſe honoured with the title of *Sophiſt* (*f*), which in his days was beſtowed upon

(*a*) Suidas *in Lexico.*

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) L. 2. *de Vitis Sophiſt.* Αιλιανος δε Ῥωμαιος μεν ην, αττικιζε δε ωσπερ οι εν τη μεσογαια Αθηναιοι.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Philoſtrat. and Suidas.

upon thoſe only, who were eminent in learning and wiſdom; whence Philoſtratus adds, that he was not elated with pride on account of the great honour conferred upon him (g). He tells us of himſelf in his *Epilogue* to *the Hiſtory of Animals*, that he lived far from the noiſe of courts, where he might have acquired great riches, as others had done, but that he preferred a retired and ſtudious life to all the wealth and grandeur of the world. His works ſhew him to have been a man of excellent principles and ſtrict honeſty; we have not one indecent or improper expreſſion in all his writings; on the contrary, he recommends virtue and honeſty, inveighs againſt vice, mentions often the puniſhments reſerved by the Gods for the vicious, profeſſedly attacks the Atheiſts, Epicurus, and all ſuch as deny the providence of the Gods. He ſeems to have ſtudied with great application, not only Plato, Ariſtotle, Iſocrates, Plutarch, but likewiſe Homer, Anacreon, Archilochus, &c. and he commends them highly, and indeed thoſe of the Greek nation in general, whom he openly declares (*h*), tho' a Roman himſelf, to love above all others (*i*). He lived to about ſixty years of age, and left no children behind him, having an averſion to the married ſtate (*k*) [*A*]. Voſſius has committed a miſtake concerning him [*B*]. Authors are divided in their opinions with regard to his works [*C*]. Beſides his *Various Hiſtory*, and that of *Animals*, he wrote ſeveral other works [*D*]. We ſhall mention an objection that has been made againſt his manner of writing [*E*]. There

(g) Οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, οὐδὲ ἐκόλασεν (perhaps ἐκολάκευσεν) τὴν ἑαυτῦ γνώμην, οὐδὲ ἐπήρθη ὑπὸ τῦ ὀνόματος ὥτω μεγάλα ὄντος.

(h) *Var. Hiſt.* l. 9. c. 32.

(i) Ὃυς φιλῶ πάντων μάλιστα.

(k) Philoſtrat. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Having an averſion to the married ſtate.*] Philoſtratus having mention'd this particular, obſerves, that it may bear a diſpute, whether celibacy or the contrary ſtate is the moſt happy; tho' he ſays it was not a proper opportunity for him to diſcuſs that point there. Matrimony has been conſider'd by ſome writers as a condition not ſo well ſuited to the circumſtances of Philoſophers and Men of learning. We have a particular examination of this queſtion in a little Tract intitled, *De Matrimonio Literati, an cælibem eſſe, an verò nubere conveniat.* i. e. "Of the Marriage of a Man of letters, with an enquiry whether "it is moſt proper for him to continue a batchelor, "or to marry (1)." The author alledges the great merit of ſome women, and particularly that of Iſabella Gonzaga, the wife of Guido Ubaldo de Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who was a Lady of ſuch diſtinguiſh'd accompliſhments, that Peter Bembus ſaid, that he muſt be a man of uncommon ſtupidity, who would not prefer one of her converſations to all the formal meetings and diſputations of the Philoſophers. *Quid de Elizabethâ Gonzagâ? quam Bembus ita laudat, ut lapideum eum eſſe dicat, qui non unam ejus ſeſſiunculam omnibus Philoſophorum ambulationibus & diſputationibus anteponat.* The Ladies perhaps will be ſurprized to find, that it is a queſtion among the Learned, *whether they ought to marry*; and will think it an unaccountable property of learning, that it ſhould lay the profeſſors of it under an obligation to diſregard the ſex. But whatever opinion theſe Gentlemen may have of that amiable part of the ſpecies, it is very queſtionable whether, in return for this want of complaiſance in them, the generality of Ladies would not prefer the Beau and the Man of modern gallantry to the Man of ſenſe and learning. However if the latter be conſidered as valuable in the eyes of any of them, let there be Gonzaga's, and I dare pronounce, that this queſtion will be ſoon determined in their favour, and they will find converts enough to their charms.

(1) It was printed in a collection of pieces of that kind, *Urſellis* 1606, and in a book intitled, *Baudii Amores.*

[*B*] *Voſſius has committed a miſtake concerning him.*] He is of opinion (2), that our Ælian was the ſame, who is mentioned by Martial, and diſtinguiſh'd by him with the epithet of *Eloquent*, in the xxivth epigram of his xiith book,

O jucunda, Covine ſolitudo,
Carrucâ magis, eſſedoque gratum,
Facundi mihi munus Æliani.

(2) *De Hiſtor. Græcis*, l. 2. c. 11.

He grounds this opinion upon the ſuppoſition, that Martial and Ælian were contemporaries, and upon Suidas's obſervation, that the latter was celebrated for the delicacy of his ſtyle. But Perizonius has confuted this notion of Voſſius without leaving any room for a reply.

[*C*] *Authors are divided in their opinions with regard to his works.*] Some writers, and particularly John Gerard Voſſius, aſcribe the *various* or *miſcellaneous Hiſtory*, that *De Animalibus*, and the work intitled *Tactica* or *De Re Militari* to the ſame author. Bochart (3), and Iſaac Voſſius (4) are of opinion, that the two firſt belong to different authors. But Perizonius maintains, that theſe two books were written by the ſame Ælian, whom he diſtinguiſhes from the author of the *Tactica*, who was likewiſe nam'd *Ælian*. He obſerves, that the author of the *Tactica* was a native of Greece, as plainly appears from his Preface; whereas the author of the *Varia Hiſtoria*, and *De Animalibus* was born according to Suidas at Præneſte; and as Philoſtratus aſſerts, a Roman Citizen; whence in the Medicean Manuſcript he is called Ῥωμαῖος, and he himſelf often tells us in his *Varia Hiſtoria*, that he was a Roman (5). It is true we read at the end of the *Tactica* in the Medicean Manuſcript, Αἰλιανῦ ἀρχιερέως Τακτικὴ Θεωρία, i. e. "*The Theory of Tactics of Ælian the High-prieſt*, which ſeems to inſinuate, that Ælian, whom Suidas mentions and calls Ἀρχιερέα, was likewiſe the author of the *Tactica*; but as the author of this piece was without doubt a native of Greece, and Ælian, whom Suidas mentions, a Roman, Perizonius is of opinion, that this was inſerted by ſome ignorant tranſcriber: We may add, that the author of the *Tactica* lived under the Emperor Adrian, who began to reign in the year of the Chriſtian Æra 117, and to whom he dedicates his work; whereas our Ælian wrote about the end of Alexander Severus's reign, who was created Emperor in 222, as Perizonius demonſtrates (6).

(5) L. 2. c. 38. L. 12. c. 25. L. 14. c. 45.

(6) See *Hiſtoria Litteraria, or an early and exact Account of the moſt valuable Books publiſhed in the ſeveral parts of Europe*, Vol. 2. N° 8. Art. 19. p. 158. printed for N. Prevoſt 1731, 8o.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral other works.*] An invective intitled Κατηγορία Γύννιδος, where by the fictitious name of *Gynnis* he meant, as he declared to Philoſtratus Lemnius, that *Tyrant, who had lately diſhonoured the Roman empire with his lewd converſation and infamous behaviour.* This tyrant was very probably the Emperor Heliogabalus, tho' Voſſius is of opinion it was Domitian. Philoſtratus told Ælian upon this occaſion, that he ſhould have admired his reſolution more, if he had accuſed the tyrant, while he was living, ſince it would have ſhewn a noble and manly ſpirit to have attacked him then; whereas the meaneſt of mankind might ſafely fall upon him, when he was dead. Ælian compoſed alſo a book intitled, Περὶ Προνοίας, i. e. "Of Providence," mentioned by Euſtathius (7); and another, Περὶ Θείων Ἐναργειῶν, i. e. "Of the divine Appearances," or rather, "Of the Declarations of Providence," which ſome maintain to be the ſame with the former, tho' under a different title. Stephanus Byzantinus in the word Χερρόνησος quotes Ælian's firſt book Ἱστορικῆς Διαλεξίως; which Voſſius (8) ſuppoſes to be a diſtinct work from the Ποικίλης Ἱστορίας, i. e. "The various Hiſtory," ſince Stephanus tells us, that Ælian in that book forms Χερρονήσιος from Χερρόνησος; whereas we have no ſuch word in the firſt book of Ælian's *Various Hiſtory*.

(7) *In* Periegetam Dionyſii.

(8) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *An objection, that has been made againſt his manner of writing.*] It is ſaid (9), that there is juſt reaſon of complaining of him, for borrowing ſo frequently from other writers what he relates, and even in their own words, without ſo much as making mention of them. The authors from whom he has chiefly copied are Plato, Ariſtotle, Iſocrates, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Athenæus. He ſometimes relates the ſame thing twice and with quite different circumſtances, having found it ſo reported by different authors. We have a plain inſtance in L. 2. c. 6. and

(9) *Hiſtor. Litteraria, ubi ſupra.*

(3) *Hierozoic.* Part I l. 2. c. 46. p. 522. and c. 55. p. 627. Part II. l. 1. c. 4. p. 21.

(4) *Append. Obſerv. ad Pompon. Melam*, p. 38.

There have been ſeveral editions of his *Various Hiſtory* [*F*].

and L. 14. c. 8. of his *Various Hiſtory*; in both which places he tells us of one Hippomachus, who chaſtiſed his diſciple, becauſe in performing his exerciſe he had been applauded by the people; adding, that without doubt he had done ſomething amiſs, and not according to art, ſince they had been ſo favourable to him. In the ſecond book he calls Hippomachus Γυμναστὴς, or the *Wreſtling-maſter*, and tells us, that this happened while he was teaching his diſciples to wreſtle; whereas in the 14th book he calls the ſame Hippomachus Αὐλητὴς, or *a Player upon the flute*, and acquaints us that this happened while he was teaching his diſciple to play upon that inſtrument. In this *Hiſtoria Animalium*, he in two different places deſcribes the Apes of India, viz. L. 16. c. 10. and L. 17. c. 39. In the former he tells us, that their head is white, and the reſt of their body black; in the latter, that their head is reddiſh, but the reſt of their body white. However, we may obſerve, that ſome critics, and particularly Gerard John Voſſius, are of opinion, that he died before he had revis'd and finiſhed his *Various Hiſtory*, ſince the ſtyle of it is not near ſo elegant as that of his *Hiſtoria Animalium*; and it is very probable, that he would have put thoſe chapters, which begin with the word ὅτι, into another form, ſince no writers but thoſe, who give abſtracts of other authors, expreſs themſelves in that manner; as appears from the *Abridgment of Strabo*, *Photius's Bibliotheca*, and other works of that nature. This conſideration may extenuate the miſtakes, which our author may have committed in a work of that various and complicated kind; but it is undoubtedly a conſiderable error in him not to mention the originals, from which he borrowed his accounts of things.

[*F*] *Several editions of his Various Hiſtory.*] The Greek text was firſt publiſh'd at Rome in 1545, by Camillus Peruſcus; ſoon after Juſtus Vulteius tranſlated it into Latin, which tranſlation was printed ſeparately by John Oporinus in 1548, and joined to the Greek text in a new edition by Henricus Petrus, at Baſil, 1555. This is a large volume, containing beſides Ælian's *Various Hiſtory*, the works of ſeveral other authors, who have treated on ſuch ſubjects as Ælian. The year following Conrad Geſner publiſh'd all the works of Ælian at Bern with ſome ſhort notes. He likewiſe confronted Vulteius's verſion with the original, altering it in ſome places. John Tornæſius did the ſame in his Lyons editions of 1587, 1610, and 1625. In the Preface to the firſt edition he tells us, that he had followed Geſner's edition in the Greek text, that Vulteius's had been compared with the original, and corrected in innumerable places; and in the Preface to the two latter editions he informs us, that he had illuſtrated the text with the learned notes and conjectures of Iſaac Caſaubon added in the margin; but the reader will ſcarce find in both theſe editions any thing beſides the bare notes and conjectures of Geſner. However Ælian was reprinted with the ſame preface and marginal notes by John Libertus, at Paris 1618, and Jac. Stoerius at Geneva in 1630. All theſe editions were eclipſed by that of John Schefferus in 1647 and 1662. This judicious commentator, by only confronting Ælian with other authors, and collating the ſeveral editions, without receiving the leaſt help from manuſcript copies, rectified the text in many places; corrected ſeveral faults, which had not been obſerved by others, and illuſtrated the whole with very learned notes and animadverſions. But at the ſame time he ſhews himſelf but a very indifferent Greek Scholar. As for inſtance, wherever he meets with οἱ, he takes it to be the nominative of the plural number, not knowing that it is often uſed by the Greek writers in the dative of the ſingular inſtead of αὐτῷ. This leads him into ſome groſs miſtakes, and makes him confound paſſages, which are otherwiſe very clear; as he likewiſe confounds the compounds of the verbs εἰμὶ, εἶμι, and ἵημι. This tranſlation of Schefferus was republiſhed by Tan. Faber at Saumur 1668; which edition is the moſt incorrect of all, tho' Faber pretends in his Preface, that he had reviſed it with the utmoſt care imaginable, and corrected it wherever it was neceſſary: *Se Græcum Æliani contextum quanta maxima fieri potuerit diligentia recenſuiſſe, & ubi res poſtulabat emendaſſe.* The ſame verſion of Schefferus was publiſh'd again in 1685 by Joach. Kuhnius, who added his own notes to thoſe of Schefferus and Faber. But Perizonius finding ſeveral defects both in the notes of other commentators, and the tranſlation of Vulteius, gave a new edition of Ælian's *Various Hiſtory* in two volumes in 8vo at Leyden 1701, after having collated the ſeveral editions, and whatever manuſcript copies he could procure. He followed the tranſlation of Vulteius, which he rectified in many places, together with the Greek text, illuſtrating the moſt intricate paſſages with learned notes. The laſt edition is that of Abraham Gronovius, who has given the Greek text and Latin verſion of Vulteius as rectified and corrected, by Perizonius; together with the notes of Conrade Geſner, Joh. Schefferus, Tanaquil Faber, Joach. Kuhnius, and Jac. Perizonius: to which he has added ſhort Notes of his own, and the Fragments of Ælian, which Kuhnius collected from Suidas, Stobæus, and Euſtathius. He has annexed to this edition two copious Indexes, the one Greek and the other Latin; and prefixed to it all the Dedications and Prefaces of the other commentators (10). T.

(10) See *Hiſtoria Litteraria, ubi ſupra.*

☞ÆLIUS, the name of ſeveral eminent men among the Romans. I. Ælius (*a*) Pætus, a Roman Prætor, who gained the eſteem of the Romans by a very remarkable inſtance of his diſintereſted love for his country [*A*]. II. Ælius Catus a Conſul, famous for his knowledge of the civil law (*b*), and for his plain and frugal manner of living. The Embaſſadors of the Ætolians having paid him a viſit during his Conſulſhip, and finding him eating out of earthen diſhes, made him a preſent of ſilver ones; which he excuſed himſelf from accepting, and never uſed any veſſels of that metal in his houſe, except two cups, which L. Paulus gave him after the conqueſt of King Perſeus on account of his diſtinguiſhed merit (*c*). III. Luc. Ælius, who was called *Stylo*, becauſe he uſed to dedicate orations to all the men of quality (*d*). He was born at Lanuvium an ancient city of Latium, near Rome. He was Varro's maſter, which ſhews the time when he flouriſhed (*e*). Varro gives him the character of a man of great learning, though he differed from him very frequently in the etymology of words.

(*a*) Some writers call him *Lælius*, and others *Cælius*.

(*b*) Cicero *de Oratore* l. 1.

(*c*) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 33. c. 11.

(*d*) Sueton. *de Illuſtrib. Grammatic.* c. 3.

(*e*) Aul. Gell. l. 16. c. 8.

[*A*] *A remarkable inſtance of his diſintereſted love for his country.*] While he was upon the bench, hearing cauſes, a wood-pecker ſat upon his head. The Augurs being conſulted upon this occaſion, gave anſwer, that if he kept the bird alive, his family ſhould enjoy the greateſt proſperity imaginable, while the commonwealth ſhould labour under the moſt dreadful misfortunes. But if he killed it, the reverſe ſhould happen both in his family and in the commonwealth. Upon this he immediately tore the bird to pieces with his teeth before the Senate. Agreeable to this preſage he loſt ſeventeen of his family, all men of diſtinguiſh'd valour, in one day at the battle of Cannæ, while the Roman Republic was gradually raiſed to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and magnificence. Valerius Maximus obſerves, after relating this ſtory, that Sylla, and Marius, and Cinna, thoſe oppreſſors of their country, muſt certainly have laugh'd at ſuch inſtances of public ſpirit as the greateſt folly. *Hæc nimirum exempla, Sylla, & Marius, & Cinna tanquam ſtulta riſerunt* (1). The ambitious and the tyrant are apt to conſider virtue in others either as hypocriſy or ſtupidity; for their own vicious minds are too often the ſtandard, by which they judge of other men.

(1) Valer. Max. l. 5. c. 6. Exemp. 4.

words (*f*). Aulus Gellius ſtiles him *the moſt learned of all the Romans of his age* (*g*). He wrote ſeveral works, and particularly one *de Proloquiis* (*h*). He followed Quintus Metellus Numidicus into baniſhment (*i*). Cicero gives him a very noble character [*B*]. IV. Ælius (*k*) Mancia of Formiæ, ſon of a freedman, who in his old age accuſed L. Libo before the Cenſors, and being oppoſed by Pompey the Great, made a very keen repartee to him [*C*]. V. Ælius Gallus, a Roman Knight (*l*), and a particular friend of Strabo the Geographer (*m*). He was Governor of Egypt (*n*), and was ſent by Auguſtus on an expedition into Arabia [*D*]. VI. Ælius Lamia, the firſt huſband of Domitia Longina, was condemned to death by Domitian's order, who had debauched his wife. His pretence for this ſeverity was a few innocent jeſts that Ælius had made (*o*). VII. Ælius Meliſſus who lived in the time of Aulus Gellius, and had the character of a conſiderable Grammarian at Rome. But he had more oſtentation than real knowledge, and more pedantry and ſophiſtry than polite learning. He wrote ſeveral Treatiſes, and among the reſt a book *De Loquendi Proprietate*, i. e. *Of the Propriety*

(*f*) Id. l. 1. c. 18.
(*g*) L. 10. c. 21.
(*h*) Id. l. 16. c. 8.
(*i*) Sueton. *ubi ſupra*.
(*k*) He is named *Helvius* in ſome editions of Val. Maximus.
(*l*) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 6. c. 28.
(*m*) Strabo l. 2. p. 179. edit. Amſtelod. 1707.
(*n*) Idem, ibid.
(*o*) Sueton. *in Domitian*, c. 10.

[*B*] *Cicero gives him a very noble character.*] He tells us, that he was an excellent man, and a very honourable Roman Knight; that he was extremely well skill'd in the Roman and Greek learning, and particularly in the Roman Antiquity, and Hiſtory, and in the ancient Writers; *which kind of Literature*, ſays he, *our Varro learn'd of him, and as he is a man of admirable genius, enlarged the bounds of it himſelf, and explain'd it with the greateſt learning and elegance. Fuit is vir omnino egregius, & Eques Romanus cum primis honeſtus, idemque eruditiſſimus & Græcis literis, & Latinis, antiquitatiſque noſtræ & in inventis rebus & actis, ſcriptorumque veterum literatè peritus; quam ſcientiam Varro noſter acceptam ab illo, auctamque per ſeſe, vir ingenio præſtans, omnique doctrinâ pluribus & illuſtrioribus literis explicavit* (2). He tells afterwards that Ælius was a Stoic, but never affected the character of an Orator; tho' he wrote Orations for others, as for Qu. Metellus the younger, Qu. Cæpio, and Qu. Pompeius Rufus.

(2) Cicero *in Bruto ſeu de Claris Oratoribus.*

[*C*] *Made a very keen repartee to him.*] Pompey had reproach'd him with the meanneſs of his birth, and his extreme old age, and told him, that he ſeem'd to have come from the infernal regions in order to form accuſations againſt men. "Yes, ſays Mancia, "it is true, Pompey, I am come from thence to ac- "cuſe L. Libo; but while I ſtaid there, I ſaw Cn. "Domitius Ahenobarbus all bloody and lament- "ing, that himſelf who was born of a noble fami- "ly, and was a man of excellent character, and a "great lover of his country, was ſlain by your or- "ders in the very flower of his youth. I ſaw Bru- "tus, who had all the ſame accompliſhments as Do- "mitius, covered with wounds, and complaining, "that your perfidiouſneſs at firſt, and afterwards your "cruelty, was the occaſion of his misfortune. I ſaw "Cn. Carbo, who had ſo vigorouſly defended you "in your childhood, and ſecured your father's eſtate "to you, and who was bound by your orders in "chains in his third Conſulſhip, and expoſtulated "with you in vain; while you, without any regard "to his high quality and your own rank, (for you "was but a Roman Knight then,) and contrary to "all law and reaſon, commanded him to be put to "death. I ſaw Perpenna, a man of prætorian qua- "lity, in the ſame condition, curſing your cruel diſ- "poſition. In ſhort, all of them were unanimouſly "expreſſing their reſentments, that you who was "but a mere boy, ſhould prove their executioner, "without ever admitting any defence from them "(3)."

(3) Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2. Exem. 8.

[*D*] *Sent by Auguſtus on an expedition into Arabia.*] We have a very particular account of this expedition in *Strabo* (4), who, as we obſerved above, was an intimate friend of this General. Auguſtus Cæſar ſent Ælius into Arabia, in order to diſcover that country, and likewiſe the boundaries of Æthiopia, and Troglodytica, which borders upon Ægypt, and the Arabian bay, which is very narrow, and divides the Arabians from the Troglodytes. His deſign was, that the General ſhould either treat with them, if they would comply, or ſubdue them by force, if they ſhould reſiſt. He had heard that they were extremely rich, and exchanged their ſpices for gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones. So that he was in hopes of making uſe of their riches if they ſhould agree to an alliance with him, or of ſeizing them, if they ſhould prove enemies. He was encouraged to this deſign by his friendſhip with the Nabatheans, who promis'd to aſſiſt him in every reſpect. Gallus upon theſe news march'd his army forward; but he was deceived by Syllæus the Procurator of the Nabatheans, who had engaged to ſhew him the way, and ſupply him with proviſions and all things neceſſary, tho' he acted in the moſt treacherous manner imaginable. For inſtead of directing him to the quickeſt and ſafeſt paſſage both by ſea and land, he expoſed him to the utmoſt dangers and fatigues. The firſt miſtake was in building ſhips of war, which were unneceſſary, becauſe there was no probability of any ſea-fight, ſince the Arabians are not very formidable at land, much leſs at ſea, and are generally merchants rather than ſoldiers. Ælius had built ninety ſhips of war and galleys at Cleopatris near the old canal of the Nile. But when he had diſcovered his error, he ordered a hundred and twenty ſhips of burden to be built, and ſet ſail with ten thouſand foot of the Romans, who were in Egypt, and the allies, beſides five hundred Jews, and one thouſand Nabatheans under Syllæus. After fifteen days ſailing, and a variety of fatigues, he came to the White Town (5), a great mart of the Nabatheans, having loſt ſeveral ſhips with the men in them in the voyage. This was occaſioned by the treachery of Syllæus, who affirmed that there was no paſſage by land thither for an army, when the caravans of Merchants with their camels, which are as numerous as an army, go thither, and even beyond, with the utmoſt ſecurity. This misfortune happened to Gallus, becauſe King Obeidas took no manner of care of theſe affairs, which was the common fault of the Arabian Kings, but truſted the whole to Syllæus his Procurator; whoſe deſigns were very treacherous. For he wanted to view the country, and reſolved to attend the Romans, till they had ſubdued ſome cities and nations; and when they were deſtroyed by diſeaſes, and hunger, and labour, to take poſſeſſion of all they had conquer'd. When Ælius's army were come to the White Town, they were ſeized with the diſtempers common in that country, which affected their mouths and legs, and are called *Stomacace*, and *Scelotyrbe* (6), and were occaſioned by the water and the herbs they made uſe of. So that they were obliged to winter there, in order to recover the ſick. Gallus then march'd his army thro' ſuch places, that he was forced to carry water upon camels, which was occaſioned by the treachery of the guides. After ſeveral days he reached the country of Aretas, who was related by marriage to Obeidas. He ſhew'd the utmoſt civility to Gallus, and preſented him with ſeveral valuable gifts. But they met with a great many difficulties in their paſſage thro' this country, thro' Syllæus's means. However they paſs'd thro' it in thirty days, and came into the country of the Nomades, which is for the moſt part a deſert. It was call'd *Ararena*, and the King of it *Sabus*. This they paſs'd thro' in fifty days, and then came to the city of the Agranians, and to a country remarkable for its fertility, and the peaceableneſs of its inhabitants. The King fled, and the city was taken at the firſt aſſault. Six days after they came to a river, where they were met by the Barbarians, ten thouſand of whom were ſlain, while only two of the Roman ſoldiers were killed. For this people were very unſkilful in the uſe of their arms, which were bows and

(4) L. 16. pag. 1126. edit. Amſtelod. 1707.

(5) Εἰς Ἀυκὴν Κώμην.

(6) See likewiſe Plin. l. 25. c. 3.

priety of Words, and their different Significations, in which he obſerved, that *matrona* is a woman, who has been brought to bed but once; whereas *mater familias* is one who has had ſeveral children. Aulus Gellius has given an account of this trifling criticiſm of Meliſſus, but explodes it with the utmoſt contempt (*p*). Suetonius mentions one Lenæus Meliſſus (*q*), and likewiſe Caius Meliſſus, who was a great favourite of Mecænas, and recommended by him to Auguſtus (*r*). VIII. Ælius Serenianus, a Civilian, and one of the ſcholars of the famous Papinian, and Counſellor to the Emperor Alexander Severus (*s*). Lampridius ſays (*t*), that he was a man of exemplary integrity. Baronius pretends, that this was the Governor of Cappadocia, mentioned by Firmilian Biſhop of Ceſarea, in one of his letters to St. Cyprian. IX. Ælius Succeſſus, the father of Pertinax the Emperor, was a Ligurian (*u*), and traded in wood (*x*). He brought up his ſon to learning, but he choſe rather to follow his father's buſineſs, and could not be induced to alter his reſolution; which obſtinacy of his occaſioned his father to give him the name of Pertinax (*y*). X. Ælius Xifidius, Prefect of the Exchequer under the Emperor Valerian. We have a letter of that Emperor to him in favour of Aurelian, who was then Conſul, inſerted in Vopiſcus's *Life of Aurelian* (*z*). Moreri has committed ſeveral errors in theſe ſhort articles [*E*]. Collier is likewiſe very faulty.

(*p*) *Noct. Attic.* l. 18. c. 6.
(*q*) *De Illuſtrib. Grammat.* c. 3.
(*r*) Idem, ibid. c. 21.
(*s*) Lamprid. *in Vitâ Alex.* c. 68.
(*t*) Ibid.
(*u*) Dion. Caſſius *in Pertinace.*
(*x*) Jul. Capitolinus *in Pertin.* c. 1.
(*y*) Id. ibid. and Caſaubon *in loc.*
(*z*) C. 12.

and lances, and ſwords, and ſlings, and for the moſt part axes. They afterwards took the city Aſca, which was abandon'd by the King. Then they came to Anthrulla, which they ſoon took, and fortified with a garriſon; and having furniſh'd themſelves with corn and fruits of palm-trees, they marched to Marſyabus a city of the Rhamanites, who were under Ilaſarus. They beſieged this city for ſix days, but were obliged to leave it for want of water. Ælius found by the priſoners whom he had taken, that he was but two days journey from the country which produces ſpices. But he ſpent ſix months in the journey thro' the fault of his guides. He found out their treachery too late, but when he diſcovered it, he return'd another way, and came in nine encampments to Anagrana, where there was a battle fought; and in his eleventh encampment to the Seven Wells (7). He march'd then thro' a peaceable country to the town of Chaalla, and afterwards to that of Malotha, ſituated upon a river; and ſo thro' deſerts, which had very little water, to the town of Nera, which is under Obida, and lies by the ſea. In his return he performed the whole journey in ſixty days, which he had been ſix months in performing before. From hence he tranſported his army in eleven days to Myos-hormos, and thence to Coptus, and ſo to Alexandria, with the beſt of his troops; for the reſt periſhed thro' hunger, fatigue, diſeaſes, and the difficulty of the journey; whereas ſeven only were killed in battle. This expedition made ſome diſcovery in thoſe countries, tho' not very conſiderable. The blame of all theſe misfortunes was juſtly imputed to Syllæus, who was puniſhed at Rome for it; for being convicted of other crimes beſides this treachery, he was beheaded. The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to find here an account of an expedition little known, and which very probably has never been tranſlated into our language.

(7) Ἑπτὰ φρέατα.

[*E*] *Moreri has committed ſeveral errors in theſe ſhort articles.*] 1. He ſays, that Ælius Stylo wrote two books *De Ratione Vocabulorum*. He quotes no authority for this. II. He ſays that *Ælius Serenianus was couſin to the Emperor Alexander Severus, and one of the moſt learned men of his time.* He quotes Lampridius for this aſſertion; whoſe words are very different from ſuch a ſenſe; *Catilius Severus cognatus ejus vir omnium doctiſſimus, Ælius Serenianus omnium vir ſanctiſſimus, &c.* (8). i. e. "Among his "other Counſellors were Catilius Severus his couſin, "the moſt learned man of his time, and Ælius Se"renianus a perſon of the moſt exemplary charac"ter." Here Moreri confounds Catilius Severus and Ælius Serenianus, and applies what Lampridius ſays of the former to the latter. III. He ſays, that Ælius Succeſſus was ſurnamed *Pertinax*, becauſe he could not be perſuaded to leave off his trade in wood; whereas it is plain from Julius Capitolinus, that this name was given by him on that account to his ſon, who was afterwards Emperor upon the death of Commodus. IV. He ſays, that Flavius Vopiſcus has given us in the *Life of Aurelian* a letter of Ælius Xifidius to Valerian the Emperor; whereas it is evident, that this letter was written by that Emperor to Ælius. T.

(8) Lamprid. *in Vitâ Alex. Severi*, c. 68.

ÆMILIUS (ANTHONY) Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Utrecht, was born on the 20th of December 1589, at Aix la Chapelle, whither his father had fled on account of his being a Proteſtant [*A*]. He went thro' his firſt ſtudies in his own country, and in the country of Juliers under John Kunius, and afterwards at Dort under Adrian Marcellus, and the famous Gerard John Voſſius. When he had gone through the Claſſes, he went to Leyden, and attended principally the Lectures of Baudius. He afterwards viſited the Univerſities of foreign countries, and ſpent four years in thoſe travels. He lodged at Heidelberg with David Pareus, and conſulted the Palatine Library at his leiſure. At Saumur, he was particularly known to Mr. du Pleſſis-Mornai, who procured him as many books as he deſired. At his return to his own country he ſucceeded Voſſius, as Rector of the College at Dort. He was then in his 26th year. Three or four years afterwards (*a*) he removed to Utrecht, to exerciſe a like function there. He diſcharged this office ſome years, and then quitted it, I know not for what reaſon, and reſumed it at the end of four years (*b*) with the addition of a more honourable office, that of Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Illuſtrious School. This School was ſoon after raiſed to an Univerſity: Ælimius continued Profeſſor there till his death, and gained a great eſteem both for his learning and eloquence. They had a great

(*a*) In 1619.
(*b*) In 1634.

[*A*] *His father had fled to Aix la Chapelle, on account of his being a Proteſtant.*] His name was John Meles (1): In his youth he was a Merchant at Antwerp; afterwards at Rome, and after that wherever he dwelt. He was born a Catholic, but having obſerved at Rome, that many entertained one another in the time of divine ſervice with their love adventures, he began to ſuſpect his religion, and examined it more cloſely: he grew every day more and more out of conceit with it, and ſecretly embraced the Reformed Religion. At laſt, that he might have an opportunity to profeſs it openly he quitted Liege, and went to ſettle at Aix la Chapelle, from whence he retired into the dutchy of Juliers, when the Emperor commanded the church and ſchool of the Proteſtants at Aix la Chapelle to be ſhut up. At laſt he fled to Dort (2).

(1) His ſon Anthony latiniſed this name very honourably, turning it into that of a moſt illuſtrious Roman family, the *Gens Æmilia*.

(2) Extracted from the funeral Oration of Anthony Æmilius.

great desire to get him to Leyden, to fill the Greek Professor's chair, which was vacant by the call of Vossius to Amsterdam. He stopped however at Utrecht; but to promote this resolution, the Curators of the University of Utrecht augmented his salary, without which, as was acknowledged in his funeral oration (c), he would infallibly have changed his situation. The principal subject of his Lectures for above twenty six years which he continued in his office, were taken out of the *Annals of Tacitus*. He died the tenth of November 1660 (d). His attachment to the new Philosophy was not mentioned in his funeral oration. That would have renewed the memory of his intimacy with Des Cartes [B]. He published in 1651 a *Collection of Latin Orations and Poems*.

(c) *Haud dubiè secutura fuerat alia* (vocatio) *priori pinguior, secutura dico, sed longo intervallo in locum Heinsii emeriti, nisi Pallas Ultrajectina huic conatui injecisset securim auctо stipendio Æmiliano sub decessum Schotani Juris-consulti ad prensatores Batavos.*

(d) Extracted from his *Funeral Oration*, pronounced by Daniel Berckringerus the 21st of Nov. 1660. The *Diarium* of the Sieur Witte mistakes in placing his death in the year 1661.

[B] *He was intimate with Des Cartes.*] Æmilius highly extolled Des Cartes in his funeral Oration for Reneri, who had publickly taught the opinions of that Philosopher in the university of Utrecht. In which he followed his own inclination and the desire of the chief Magistrate of Utrecht, *who sent him expres orders*, to commend Des Cartes and the new Philosophy in the funeral Oration of Mr. Reneri (3). The author of the *Elogium* sent his manuscript Oration to Des Cartes with a letter full of respect. He received such an answer as became these honourable advances, and thence began their intimacy. This passed in 1639. He had no ocasion to be a Nicodemus, a concealed Disciple *propter metum Judæorum*, for the storm against Regius had not yet begun: so that this is no proof of Æmilius's courage; but here follows one: he not only refused having any hand in the proceedings of the university of Utrecht in 1642 against Des Cartes and Regius his follower, but he *formed* also an *opposition* to the *judgment* that was given (4).

(3) Baillet, *Vie de des Cartes*, tom. 2. p. 22.

(4) Ibid. p. 755.

ÆMILIUS (PAULUS) was a native of Verona. The reputation he had acquired in Italy, made Stephen Poncher Bishop of Paris, advise King Lewis the XIIth to prevail with him to write the History, in Latin, of the Kings of France (a). For this purpose he was invited to Paris, where a Canonry in the Cathedral Church was given him. He withdrew to the college of Navarre, in order to compose this work (b), and followed it very close; but though he spent many years at it, he yet had not an opportunity of finishing the tenth book (c), which was to include the beginning of the reign of Charles the Eighth. Æmilius was very nice and difficult with regard to his own writings [A], and had always some correction or other to make. Although I have read what upwards of twenty writers say of him, I yet don't find that one of them tells us, at what time he came to Paris; how he was employed in Italy; which is the first edition of his History, and whether it preceded his death. He died in 1529 [B], and was buried in the Cathedral at Paris. Lipsius was mightily pleased with his *History of France*, and it is generally looked upon as well written [C]; but, on the other side, it is

(a) See the note [F].

(b) Launoius, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarræ*, p. 13.

(c) *Vide* the remark [F].

[A] *He was very nice and difficult with regard to his own writings.*] Erasmus imputes the same fault to him, that was objected to the Painter who thought he never had finish'd his pieces (1). *Huic vitio affinis fuit vir eximiè doctus Paulus Æmilius Veronensis, qui sibi nunquam satisfaciebat, sed quoties recognoscebat sua, mutabat pleraque: diceres non opus correctum sed aliud; idque subinde faciebat. Quæ res in causa fuit, ut citius elephanti pariant quàm ille quicquam edere posset. Nam historiam quam edidit, plusquam triginta annis habuit præ manibus. Et suspicor huc adactum ut evulgaret* (2). i. e. "That "very learned Man Paulus Æmilius of Verona "gave pretty much into this fault; for he was never satisfied with himself, but whenever he revised his own compositions, he made so many "alterations, that one would not look upon it as a "piece that had been corrected, but a quite different "one; and this he used to do very often. This made "him so slow, that elephants could bring forth sooner "than he could compose. For he employed above 30 "years in writing the History he published. And I "believe he was compelled to give it to the world." We shall examine hereunder, whether he really employed thirty years in composing the *History of France*, as Erasmus and other authors assert.

(1) This was *Protogenes. Manum de tabula tollere nesciebat.* i. e. "He did not "know when to "take off his "pencil." In this Apelles boasted himself his superior. *See* Erasmus, *Apopht.* lib. 6. p. m. 524.

(2) Idem, ibid.

[B] *He died in* 1529.] This I find in his *History of France*, printed at Basil anno 1601, *in folio*, under some Latin verses where he speaks of his condition. According to Bucholcer (3) and Vossius (4), he died the fifth of July, 1529. Spondanus fixes it to the fifth of May, 1519 (5), but is mistaken. I shall cite Erasmus hereunder, who, in a book, the epistle dedicatory whereof is dated anno 1528, mentions Paulus Æmilius as living. Here follows a pretty strong proof. Father du Breul (6) assures, that the epitaph of Paulus Æmilius, *engraved on a flat stone*, in the North window of the church of *Notre Dame*, or *Our Lady*, at Paris, is as follows: *Paulus Æmilius Veronensis, hujus Ecclesiæ Canonicus, qui præter eximiam vitæ sanctitatem, quanta quoque doctrina præstiterit index atque testis erit Historia de rebus gestis Francorum, posteris ab eodem edita. Obiit anno Domini* 1529, *die quinta mensis Maii.* i. e. "Paulus Æmilius of Ve- "rona, a Canon of this church, who, besides the great "sanctity of his life, was very conspicuous for his "learning, of which his *History of France*, written "for the information of posterity, is a proof. He "died the fifth of May, in the year of our Lord "1529." This would be look'd upon as a sufficient proof, even by such as had not been upon the spot, did Printers never mistake in their accounts of public inscriptions; but they so often alter figures, that there is no trusting them. We have an example of this in the subject we are now writing upon; for Mr. B, in his *Description of the city of Paris*, gives us the same epitaph of Paulus Æmilius, and puts *Judex* instead of *Index*; and 1526 instead of 1529 (7). Note that he assures us, that *the place where this author was buried is not exactly known, and that his epitaph was visible not many years since*; a proof that it is now obliterated.

(3) Bucholc. *in Judice Chronol.* p. m. 518.

(4) Vossius, *de Hist. Lat.* p. 675.

(5) Spond. *Ann. Eccl. ad ann.* 1488, num. 5. pag. 189. edit. Lugdun. 1678 and cites Gall. Christ. *in Præf. Paris.* num. 103.

(6) Du Breul, *Antiquitez des Paris*, liv. 1. p. m. 14.

(7) Page 182. Vol. 2. Hague edition 1685.

[C] *Justus Lipsius was mightily pleased with his History of France, which is generally said to be well written.*] It is divided into ten books, and extends from Pharamond to the fifth year of Charles the VIIIth, that is, to 1488. The tenth book was found among his papers in a pretty confused condition, so that the editor was obliged to collect a great number of papers full of rasures, before it could be published in the manner we now see it. The person who undertook this task was a relation of the author, whose name we shall see in the following Latin words. *Ac libros quidem novem perfecit: decimum morte præventus reliquit imperfectum. Sed eum propinquus illius, Daniel Zavarisius Veronensis ex schedis dispersis, multaque litura obductis collegit, ac digessit ita uti nunc legitur* (8). i. e. "He compleated nine books, "but left the tenth imperfect, being prevented by "death. But his relation Daniel Zavarisio of Ve- "rona collected it and gave it the form we now see, "from his scattered papers, in which were a great "number of rasures." Michael Vascosan tells us, that the edition which he dedicates to Francis I, deserves

(8) Vossius, *de Hist. Lat.* pag. 674.

ſerves a more favourable reception, ſince he had annex'd to it the tenth book, which he had lately received from Daneſio (9). He had juſt before ſaid, that he gave a more beautiful and more correct edition of that hiſtory, *Elegantius à nobis excuſum (opus) & caſtigatum*. His epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Paris, the fifth of May 1539, whence we may naturally conclude, that there was an edition of this work, containing but nine books, before the year 1539. I expreſs my ſelf with this caution, becauſe I know that the word *elegantius* is not neceſſarily a comparative. Here follows a circumſtance which might induce one to think that the author died before his firſt edition was publiſhed. It is aſſured in the abovementioned Epiſtle Dedicatory, that he would have dedicated his Hiſtory to Francis I, had he not been prevented by death. *Paulus ipſe ſi viveret, tuæ majeſtati, cujus auſpiciis cæptum opus fere abſolvit, conſecraret. Quare quoniam morte præventus id non potuit, vicariam illi operam in hac re præſtabo* (10). This might make us doubt what Eraſmus aſſerts, viz. that Paulus Æmilius was forc'd, in ſome manner, to print his *Hiſtory of France* againſt his will. *Suſpicor huc adactum ut evulgaret* (11). He expreſſes himſelf in this manner in a work the Dedication of which is dated Febr. 26. 1531, whence we may conclude, that the firſt edition of Paulus Æmilius's work was publiſhed before that year; however as it may be objected to me, that poſſibly Eraſmus might not know exactly the circumſtances of that edition, and that he did not reflect attentively neither on the date in which it appeared, nor that of the hiſtorian's death; we therefore ought not to conclude from his words, that the author publiſhed his own work himſelf. But I ſhall now preſent ſome ſtronger arguments to thoſe who ſtart theſe objections, and ſhow that Eraſmus was acquainted with the qualities and ſtyle of this *Hiſtory of France* before Paulus Æmilius died. This I prove from the words of Ciceronianus quoted hereunder (12). It will perhaps be anſwered that he had read it in manuſcript; but I can ſcarce think that in this place he would have made uſe of an example that was not public. I am therefore very apt to think, that Paulus Æmilius had publiſh'd ſomething, and we have even ſeen that according to his epitaph, he himſelf publiſhed his *Hiſtory of France*. By a letter dated in 1516, we find he at laſt had put to the preſs his *Hiſtory of France*, in the compoſition of which he had employed upwards of twenty years, which the letter-writer ſuppoſes muſt therefore be a perfect piece. *Ex oratore veſtro cognovi Paulum Æmilium tandem evulgare rerum Gallicarum hiſtoriam. Non enim poterit non eſſe abſolutiſſimum opus quod à viro non minus docto quam diligenti plus annis viginti ſit elaboratum* (13). Theſe are Eraſmus's words, which we find were told him by a French Embaſſador. But what follows will put the matter quite out of diſpute, for a letter written from Paris informs me that there is in the King of France's Library, *An edition containing the firſt four books of Paulus Æmilius, printed at Paris without a date; but it was certainly before the year* 1520, *and in the beginning of the reign of Francis I, this copy having been preſented to him before he wore the cloſe crown.* Let us point out an error in Eraſmus. 'Tis falſe to aſſert that Paulus Æmilius had employed upwards of twenty years in writing this Hiſtory. He was invited into France, in order to compoſe this work by Lewis XII; now the reign of this Prince began but in 1498; and had he ſent for this author immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, Paulus Æmilius could not have employed above eighteen years at moſt in writing his *Hiſtory of France*, at the time when Eraſmus wrote the letter abovecited. Thoſe who declare that this hiſtorian employed thirty years in writing his work, muſt ſuppoſe that he came into France the firſt year of Lewis the 12th's reign, otherwiſe their calculation would not be exact, ſince he died in 1519. Spondanus (14) was very much in the wrong to ſuppoſe the three things following; firſt, that Lewis the XIIth prevailed upon Æmilius to come into France; ſecondly, that he ſpent above thirty years in writing a Hiſtory; and thirdly, that he died in 1519. In caſe the firſt and third of theſe circumſtances were true, the ſecond would be very falſe; for it would be ridiculous to ſuppoſe that Paulus Æmilius devoted ten years to this Hiſtory, before Lewis the XIIth engaged him to write it. We are to obſerve that it has bore ſeveral impreſſions. The edition I make uſe of is that of Paris in folio, printed by Vaſcoſan in 1550. This edition had been preceded by thoſe of 1539 and 1544, and was followed by thoſe of 1555 in 8vo, and of 1566, folio, all printed by Vaſcoſan abovementioned. Du Cheſne (15) cites the edition of 1576, *ex officina Vaſcoſani*. With his leave, this does not do him much honour; for an author of his claſs, in a work which he entitles *Bibliotheque des Auteurs qui ont eſcript l'Hiſtoire & Topographie de France*, ought to take notice of the various editions, and thoſe which were firſt made expreſly. I have already ſpoke of the edition of Baſil, in 1601, fol. I ſhall now take ſome notice of the French verſions. Simon de Monthiers Counſellor of the Parliament of Roan, tranſlated the two firſt books into French, and theſe were printed at Paris, in quarto, for Vaſcoſan, 1556 (16). John Regnart a Gentleman of Anjou, Seigneur (Lord) de la Mictiere, tranſlated the firſt five books, which were printed at Paris by Claude Micard, folio (17). He alſo tranſlated the five laſt books, if we are to credit the Bookſellers who publiſhed the entire edition of Paulus Æmilius in French. I have the Paris edition of 1598, folio (18).

Here follows the judgment of Lipſius (19), which is very much to the honour of our author, tho' it be intermixed with ſome ſatyrical touches: *Paulus Æmilius, ut rem dicam, pæne unus inter novos, veram & veterem Hiſtoriæ viam vidit, eamque firmo pede calcavit. Genus ſcribendi ejus doctum, nervoſum, preſſum; ad ſubtilitatem & argutias inclinans, & relinquens, deſigenſque aliquid in animo ſerii lectoris. Sententias & dicta ſæpe miſcet, paria antiquis. Rerum ipſarum ſedulus ſcrutator, ſeverus judex: nec legi noſtro ævo, qui magis liber ab affectu. Dedecus ævi eſt, quòd minus illi placeat, quaſi pauci ſint qui capiant hæc bona. In tantis tamen virtutibus etiam hæ labeculæ. Quòd ſtilum parum nectit, & ſpargit dividitque eum in minuta quædam membra. Hoc cùm in omni ſerioſâ oratione parum congruum, tum in Annalibus minimè* (20), *quorum eſt, ut ille ait, tarda quædam & iners ſcriptura* (21). *Deinde, quòd inæqualis. Alibi nimium anxius & caſtigatus, ideoque ſubobſcurus; alibi (ſed rarè uter) laxus & ſolutus. Vetuſtatis etiam neſcio quid affectat in nominibus hominum, locorum, urbium immutandis, & in veterem formam redigendis: ſæpe eruditè, interdum vanè; ſed, ut ego judico, ſemper indecorè. Quorſum Charterius Gallorum Cancellarius, Quadrigarius mihi ſit? Ille ipſe Cancellarius, dicatur* Præfectus, Præfectus Juris? *Et ubique* Rex Tarraconenſis, Caſtulonenſis, Dux Geldubenſis: *qui nobis & majoribus fuerunt,* Arragoniæ, Caſtellæ, Geldriæ? *Talia infinita ſunt audacter & ambitioſè innovata, & cum fraude pariter ac cruce lectoris. In his, & paucis aliis, ſi refingere leviter eum nobis & fas: (audeo dicere) virum daremus ſupra omnem hanc novitiam, & ad priſcam laudem.* "Paulus Æmilius was almoſt the only Modern "who diſcovered the true and ancient way of writ- "ing Hiſtory, and followed it very cloſely. His "manner of writing is learned, nervous and cloſe, "inclining to points and conceits, and ſtriking "ſtrongly the mind of a ſerious reader. He often "intermixes maxims and ſayings equal to thoſe "of the ancients. A careful examiner and ſevere "judge of his own writings; nor have I met with "an author of our time who is leſs prepoſſeſſed. It is a ſhame to our age, that the people of "it are not pleaſed with him, whence one would "conclude that few are capable of underſtanding "theſe excellent things. However, there are a few "blemiſhes among theſe perfections; for his ſtyle is "unconnected, and his periods vaſtly ſhort. This "circumſtance which is in no manner ſuitable to ſeri- "ous ſubjects, is much leſs ſo to Annals, the ſtyle "of which, according to Tacitus, ſhould be ſlow "and diffuſed. He is alſo unequal. Sometimes he "is too ſtudied and correct, and by that means a "little obſcure: at other times, (this however but "ſeldom) looſe and negligent. He affects I know "not what air of antiquity in the names of men, "of places, of cities, which he changes and would "reduce to the ancient form, often learnedly, ſome- "times vainly; and, in my opinion, always unbe- "comingly. Why ſhould Chartier (the Chancellor of "France) be called *Quadrigarius* * ? and *Cancella-* "*rius*, (the Chancellor) be call'd *Præfectus Juris*? "and every where *Rex Tarraconenſis, Caſtulonenſis,* "*Dux*

(9) *Eo etiam nomine gratior eſſe debet quod acceſſit liber decimus ad eos nuper ex Italia miſſus à Petro Daneſio*; Michael Vaſcoſanus; *Epiſt. Dedicat.* Note that there is not any ſubſtantive in what goes before to which we can refer the word *gratior*.

(10) Michael Vaſcoſanus, *Epiſt. Dedic. Hiſt. P. Æmilii.*

(11) Eraſmus, *in Apoph.* lib. 6. p. 524.

(12) In the remark [F], citation (33).

(13) Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 16. lib. 1. p. 60, 61.

(14) Spondan. *Annal. Eccleſiaſt. ad ann.* 1488. num. 5.

(15) Du Cheſne *Biblioth. des Auteurs qui ont écrit l'Hiſtoire de France.* i. e. "(*Bibliotheque* "of the Au- "thors who have "writ the Hiſ- "tory of France) p. 60. edit. of 1618.

(16) Du Verdier & la Croix du Maine.

(17) Ibid.

(18) For Robert Fouet. The Dedication to Henry III. is ſubſcribed Frederic Morel. It is not dated, but I know that the edition of this Frederic Morel was of Paris in 1581, folio.

(19) Lipſius *Not. ad L. Librum Politicorum*, cap. 9. p. m. 217. tom. 4. *Operum edit. Veſal.* 1675. In Moreri Juſtus Lipſius (*Not. in* lib. 1. *Polit.*) is citèd.

(20) La Popeliniere, who has copied this judgment of Lipſius, did not well underſtand this paſſage: *That which is found improper,* ſays he, Book 8. of *L'Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, p. 439, *in all narrations of a grave and ſerious kind, is allowed in Annals, which, as Tacitus ſays, are written in an undelicate, heavy manner.*

(21) Tacit. *de Cauſis corrupt. Eloq.* cap. 22.

* A Carman.

is cenſured for ſeveral things [*D*], and a great many Frenchmen look upon it as a paltry piece. He has been unjuſtly animadverted upon for not taking notice of the holy vial at Rheims [*E*]. A French writer has diſcovered ſome diſguſt, that the court ſhould make a foreigner Hiſtoriographer, in prejudice of all the French; but all he ſays on this head are ſo many falſhoods [*F*]. We are not to omit, that Paulus Æmilius led a very

" *Dux Geldubenſis*, when we and our predeceſſors " us'd to ſay, *King of Arragon, of Caſtile, Duke of* " *Geldres*. A numberleſs multitude of ſuch phra- " ſes as theſe are boldly and oſtentatiouſly intro- " duced to the great trouble and prejudice of " the reader. But were I allowed to retouch him a " little, I will be ſo bold as to ſay, that he then " would be equal to the ancients." It is to be obſerved, that among other applauſes which Lipſius beſtows on Paulus Æmilius, he commends him for examining things thoroughly, and for being free from prejudice. But neither La Popeliniere nor Boeclerus allow this. *Beſides ſeveral other faults*, ſays the former (21), *which ſome obſerve in this author's ſtyle, which Lipſius only examines; we ſhall ſhew elſewhere the little credit which ought to be given to his writings*. Here follows the judgment of Boeclerus: *Paulus Æmilius, cui de ſcriptoribus Gallicis, plurimùm creditur, ſæpe hiſtoriam confundit, ſæpe non ex rerum fide, ſed ex impetu calami interpolat, fingit multa, ut animo concepit, non commemorat ut memoriis publicis ea debere potuit. Non parùm adulari Pontificiæ curiæ doctus* (22). i. e. " Paulus Æmilius " to whom great credit is given among the writers " of the French nation, frequently conſounds Hiſ- " tory; has often no regard to truth, but ſets down " any thing in the hurry of his writing; in- " vents a great many things, and does not relate " them with the veracity due to public writings; " and does not a little flatter the Papal Court." Could we rely on the encomiums which bookſellers make on the authors they print, we ſhould entertain a high idea of Paulus Æmilius's merit, for here follows what we read in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his work (23): *Quo in negotio ſit verſatus eſt vir eloquentiſſimus, ut non ſolum recentiores omnes, qui eandem materiam tractârunt, ſuperaverit, ſed etiam veterum hiſtoricorum permultos qui populi Romani res geſtas ſcripſerunt, longo intervallo poſt ſe reliquerit. Etenim ſi vel rerum geſtarum fidem vel dicendi genus ſtudioſe velis expendere, nihil per Deos immortales hoc quidem genere ſcribendi abſolutius inveniri poſſit. Res geſtas liberè quidem, ſine ulla tamen aut ſimultatis aut gratiæ ſuſpicione narrat. Ordinem temporum ita diligenter obſervat, ut hoc nomine Livio ſit præferendus, quòd ſemper ſibi conſtet, nec uſquam pugnantia loquatur; quod plerumque in illo deprehendere licet. Regiones porro & loca quum res poſtulat ita deſcribit ut illa oculis luſtrare videaris. Ad hæc, conſilia deinde acta, poſtremò eventus ita ſuo ordine inferuntur, ut lector etiam parùm attentus turbari nullo modo poſſit. Genus dicendi fuſum atque tractum, & cum lenitate quadam æquabili profluens* (24), *ita ut eum Livio aliquanto magis compoſitum & perſpicuum ſentire poſſis*. i. e. " In which this moſt elegant wri- " ter is ſo well verſed, that he not only ſurpaſſes all " the moderns who have written on the ſame ſub- " ject, but even very much excels a great num- " ber of the ancient *Roman* Hiſtorians. For if " you will diligently conſider the truth of his narra- " tions or his diction, by the immortal Gods, nothing " will be found more perfect in this ſpecies of writ- " ing. He relates facts with freedom, but without " the leaſt air of ſecret hatred or prejudice. He is " ſo careful in chronology, that on this head he is " preferable to Livy, for Æmilius is always con- " ſiſtent with himſelf, and never relates contra- " dictory particulars, which the former generally " does. Beſides, he deſcribes wherever it is neceſ- " ſary, the ſeveral places and countries, in ſo lively " a manner, that we fancy they are before our eyes. " To this we ſhall add, that the ſeveral enterprizes, " and laſtly the events are related with ſo much order " and method, that the reader who beſtows ever ſo " little attention on them, cannot be in any manner " perplexed. His ſtyle is diffuſe and flowing with a " certain eaſy evenneſs; ſo that he is a little clearer, " and may be ſooner underſtood than Livy.

[*D*] *But then he is cenſured for ſeveral things.*] This the reader will ſee from a paſſage of Sorel. " Paulus Æmilius has this encomium beſtowed upon " him, that he was the firſt who applied the ancient " rules in writing of our Hiſtory. It is ſaid that his " ſtyle is grave and nervous, and ſometimes acute " and ſubtil, but every where learned and ſententi- " ous. This is the judgment of thoſe who admire " beautiful Latin. To this we ſhall anſwer, that if " we are deſirous of uſing this author as a claſſical " one, in order to learn propriety of ſpeech by him, " there is ſome reaſon to value him upon that ac- " count; but then, there is as much reaſon to " ſtudy the Roman Hiſtorians who ought to under- " ſtand their own tongue much better. We are not " to fancy that we are bound to have a greater " eſteem for his Hiſtory becauſe it is written in beau- " tiful Latin; the natives of France ſhould under- " ſtand their Hiſtory better than he does; and we " don't find that he has been careful in his reſearches " into it. That which makes his work more copi- " ous and diffuſive is, the forged harangues and other " pieces. Such particulars as relate to truth of Hi- " ſtory are vaſtly conciſe, and in an obſcure and " perplex'd manner. We are not better ſatisfied be- " cauſe his oratorical pieces are imitated from thoſe " of the Greeks and Romans; all are not in their " proper places, becauſe the hiſtorian in ſeveral " makes Barbarians to ſpeak in a learned and eloquent " manner, which is ſeen almoſt univerſally (25). To " give one remarkable inſtance, tho' our moſt authen- " tic hiſtorians declare, that Hauier or Hanier the " Counſellor, who ſpoke an invective in preſence of " King Lewis Hutin, againſt Enguerrand de Marig- " ny, came off very wretchedly, and ſaid a great " many filly things; yet Paulus Æmilius who changes " even his name, calling him *Annalis*, makes him " ſpeak with an affected eloquence, nothing like " what is related of him. He alſo makes this En- " guerrand pronounce a defence, tho' it is ſaid on " the contrary that he was not allowed to ſpeak; ſo " that what the hiſtorian writ on this occaſion was " only to exerciſe his pen. This diverts the reader, " but it is not a means to inform him of the " truth (26)." Du Haillan has cenſured Paulus Æmilius upon another account, for he finds him too prolix on foreign matters, and too ſhort on his principal ſubject. *He has written*, ſays he, *elegantly and in pure Latin, the* Hiſtory of France (27), *but is too conciſe on the affairs of France, and more diffuſive than is neceſſary on the holy wars, and on the ſchiſms of the church, and on the affairs of Italy.*

[*E*] *He is unjuſtly accuſed of being ſilent on the holy vial of Rheims.*] *Claude du Verdier looks upon this ſilence as malicious. Pauli Æmilii Veronenſis*, ſays he (28), *malignum ſilentium non filebo, qui multorum non meminit quæ ad Gallorum gloriam pertinerent. Nec ea ignoraſſe dici poteſt, quæ nullus ante eum præteriit, ut oleum illud ad unctionem Regum cœlitus demiſſum, & lilia ſimiliter: quibus ſi fidem non adhibuit, eam ſaltem hominum mentibus opinionem infitam eſſe dicere oportuit.* i. e. " I ſhall not, ſays he, " paſs over Paulus Æmilius of Verona's malicious ſi- " lence, who omitted many things that relate to the " glory of the French nation. Nor can it be ſaid he " was ignorant of thoſe things which none were ſi- " lent upon before himſelf, ſuch as that oil which " was ſent from heaven for the anointing of our " Monarchs, and alſo the lilies. But in caſe he " had not credited theſe things, he ought to have " declared that it was the opinion of mankind." " Voſſius approves this ſilence (29).

[*F*] *A French writer diſcovered ſome uneaſineſs, that the Court made a foreigner their Hiſtoriographer, preferable to all the French. Whatever he advances on this head is falſe.*] The paſſage I am going to quote is pretty long, but I am certain it will not tire thoſe who love an exact detail of circumſtances. By this means they will know the thoughts of the author whom I ſhall cenſure in this place (30): " King

(21) Popeliniere, *Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, p. 440.

(22) Joh. Henric. Boecler. *in Præfat.* Ser. German. *apud* Pope Blount, *Cenſ. Author.* p. m. 384.

(23) Michael Vaſcoſanus, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Hiſtoriæ Pauli Æmilii.* Frederic Morel, in his Dedication to Henry III. of his French verſion of this Hiſtory, copied moſt of the elogiums which are given to the author in Vaſcoſan's Dedication.

(24) This is very different from Paulus Jovius, in *Elog.* cap. 139. p. 182, who ſays that Paulus Æmilius's ſtyle was laconic.

(25) Compare with this the remark [*L*] of the article ABDERAMA, and that of VALDES JAMES.

(26) Sorel, *Bibliotheq. Françoiſe*, in chap. 8. of the *Guide de l'Hiſtoire de France*, pag. m. 370.

(27) Du Haillan, in the Preface to his *Hiſtoire de France.*

(28) Claud. Verderius, *in Auctor. Cenſione*, p. 88. *apud* Pope Blount *Cenſ. cel. Autorum*, p. 385.

(29) Voſſius *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 675.

(30) La Popeliniere, Book I. of the *Hiſtoire nouvelle des François*, p. 371, *& ſeq.* See alſo *Hiſt. des Hiſtoires*, Book VIII.

a very exemplary life, and that his morals were as pure as his diction [G]. Some notice

" King Lewis the XIIth, altho' a good Prince, " and juſtly call'd the father of his people, nevertheleſs having little regard for the honour of his " ſubjects, or ill adviſed, or not mindful enough of " either of thoſe circumſtances; not condeſcending " to awake or excite any of his ſubjects to ſupply " the want of French Hiſtorians, (as tho' there had " not been men of abilities enough in France) bought " and cauſed to come into France by the perſuaſions " of Biſhop Poncher and others, Paulus Æmilius of " Verona in Lombardy. Perſuaded by his Counſellors, as favourable in that as ſeveral others who " have followed them to this day; that an Italian " could much better heighten (but rather ſtifle) the " honour to which his own ſubjects were dead, " than any of the French writers. A deſign as lightly followed and practis'd, nay confirmed by Francis " I. his ſucceſſor, who, by ſmall favours, increas'd " the general liberality of Poncher (31), with a pre- " bend in our Lady of Paris, which he conferred on " the native of Verona abovementioned. Not con- " ſidering the prejudice he did to ſo many fine ge- " nius's whom he had awak'd and well ſharpned, in " order to employ themſelves in this buſineſs as " well as in others. And eſpecially brother Robert Gaguin a Monk of the convent of the Mathu- " rins in Paris, who had already given ſo beautiful " a beginning of the *Hiſtory of France* in Latin, that " had he been as ſtrongly animated by the royal pre- " eminencies as the Italian, France would perhaps, " from that time, have been freed, in the mind of " foreigners, from ſuch an ignominy. But the poor " Monk not having (thro' narrowneſs of circum- " ſtances) wings ſtrong enough to fly, and diſplay " his graces beyond the cloiſter of his convent; his " mind thus bound down and a priſoner as it were, " was forc'd to ſhew that the graces how great ſoe- " ver they may be, immediately wither, and cannot " ſhine without they be fed by ſuch things as natu- " rally nouriſh the heat, and make it blaze out. " Theſe two genteel genius's, who were both well- " affected to the Government, ſtrove, under theſe " two Princes, to rival one another in their endea- " vours to give the greateſt teſtimony and devotion " to that edifice, the *Hiſtory of France:* which was " written by them in the ſame tongue, in the ſame " city, and from the ſame ſubjects and materials, " but not under the ſame royal auſpices; and both " left us the inheritance of their noble labours. But " Paulus Æmilius drew up his Hiſtory with ſo much " care, eloquence and truth; that the French having " yet not ſeen any thing ſo laudable, received it as " the beſt *Hiſtory of France* that was ever writ. " This work, to ſay the truth, has ſince ſerved as a " foundation and lively ſpring, from whence all the " ſurvivers have drawn, and made to flow, all thoſe " little rivulets, with which they thought to quench " the thirſt of their inflamed cotemporaries. Ga- " guin Prior of the Trinity, otherwiſe called the " *Mathurins*, did not ſhew himſelf leſs liberal of " his time, his pains, and his endeavours than the " other. But whether he found himſelf as unpro- " vided with the graces of nature, as of the favour " of his Sovereign and others, (his compoſitions be- " ing inferior in the beauty of the incidents, in or- " der, in eloquence and the weight of the ſubjects;) " the only advantage he gained over the Lombard " abovemention'd, was, that his narration was found " more ſimple and authentic; and his endeavours to " ſearch into a great number of curious particulars, " greater than thoſe of Paulus Æmilius, which the " little affection he had for our country made him " deſpiſe."

(31) Biſhop Poncher of Touraine was a Mecænas to Paulus Æmilius, and was chiefly inſtrumental in getting him from Italy, in order to his writing the *Hiſtory of France* in Latin. Moreover, finding his circumſtances in France not conſiderable enough for him to be able to purſue ſo laborious a work, he therefore gave him a Prebend in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris, the revenue of which enabled him to defray the greateſt part of the expences of his Hiſtory. ibid. pag. 343, 344.

There are three inexcuſable falſities in this diſcourſe. Firſt, Gaguin was not a Frenchman as la Popeliniere ſuppoſes, but a Flemming, and almoſt as much a foreigner as Paulus Æmilius; conſequently, the contraſt between the favours which were ſhewn to this Lombard, and the neglect of this pretended Frenchman, is ridiculous. Secondly, Gaguin had been dead thirteen years (32), when Francis I. ſucceeded to the crown. How then can he preſume to complain, that the liberality of this Monarch to the Italian was of great prejudice to Gaguin? How dares he repreſent theſe two hiſtorians as two rivals, who diſpute during a very long time for the palm? The one died three years after the acceſſion of King Lewis the XIIth to the throne, and the other was prevailed upon by that Monarch to come to Paris, where he lived till the fifteenth year of Francis the firſt's reign. I am to obſerve farther, that if we compare the favours and liberalities which the Court of France indulged Gaguin, with thoſe which Paulus Æmilius received, it will be found, that the ſervices of the pretended Frenchman met with a greater reward than thoſe of the Lombard. Finally, I ſay it is abſurd to aſſert, that had a conſiderable penſion been ſettled on Gaguin, he would have compiled a better Hiſtory than Paulus Æmilius. Had he been allowed an annual penſion of ten thouſand livres, he would never have been equal to his competitor. Gaguin had ſo little taſte for, and knowledge of antiquity, and wrote ſuch poor Latin, that to praiſe him juſtly, it will be ſufficient to affirm that he is not ſo barbarous as the Monks were at that time. *Robertus Gaguinus non ita pridem habitus eſt magni nominis, dictione tamen quam ſcriptis venditilior. Verum ſuo ſeculo, nunc vix inter Latinè loquentes reciperetur* (33). i. e. " Robert Ga- " guin was not long ſince had in great reputation, " and more valuable for his diction than for his " matter. In his own age he was look'd upon a " writer of pure Latin, but his ſtyle is now conſi- " der'd as barbarous." This is the character Eraſmus gives of him, which indeed he juſtly deſerves. But Paulus Æmilius was a quite different man, and Lewis XII. is very unjuſtly blamed for having preferr'd him to his ſubjects. There was not one man in all France at that time (34) maſter of ſo beautiful and juſt a Latin ſtyle, or underſtood ſo well the laws of Hiſtory. But when I ſay this, I don't pretend to equal him to Saluſt, Livy and other writers of their eminence.

(33) Eraſmus, *in Ciceroniano*, pag. m. 73.

(34) I ſpeak of the firſt years of Lewis XIIth's reign.

Quique alter haberis
Et Titus, & Criſpus, noſtræ unus conditor ingens
Hiſtoriæ Æmili (35).

Engliſh'd.

" Æmilius, who haſt juſtly got the fame
" Of equalling a Livy or a Saluſt;
" Thou only mighty builder of our ſtory.

(35) Rodolphus Botereius, *in Lutetia*, *apud* du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, Book I. p. m. 14.

We muſt take notice of another miſtake of la Popeliniere. He tells us that Lewis the XIIth prevailed upon Paulus Æmilius to leave Verona, and come to France (36), which is not true, this author being at Rome when he was invited into France. This we may infer from the Latin verſes prefixed to his Hiſtory, where he ſpeaks of his family and condition, as alſo from the Latin verſes prefixed to the French tranſlation of this Hiſtory, ſubſcribed *Fed. M. F.*

(36) La Popeliniere, *Hiſt. des Hiſtoires*, p. 437.

[G] *His life was as chaſte as his diction.*] We will again cite Michael Vaſcoſan: *Atque hoc etiam nomine præſtantius eſſe debet hoc opus quòd non ingenium ſolum Francorum Regibus ſuppeditatum eſt, ut Cyro à Xenophonte, ſed etiam authoritas ſpectatiſſimi atque in primis probati viri. Non enim magis in eo fuit admiranda eruditio excellens, cum pari eloquentia, quam perpetua vitæ integritas atque ſanctimonia.* i. e. " This perfect work ought to be had in greater " eſteem upon this account, viz. that it not only " makes the Kings of France ſpeak with genius and " learning, in the ſame manner as Xenophon does " Cyrus, but alſo as the author of it was a man of " the higheſt merit. For he was no leſs to be ad- " mired for his piety and integrity than for his ex- " cellent erudition and eloquence." This is confirmed by his epitaph quoted above (37). But in caſe the reader deſires a ſtill more authentic teſtimony, let him read what follows: *Pauli Æmilii & reconditam eruditionem, & diligentiam, & VITÆ SANCTITATEM, & ſummam in hiſtoria fidem exoſculor. Tullianam dictionem nec affectavit nec habet* (38). i. e. " I revere the profound erudition, aſſiduity, SANC- " TITY OF LIFE, and great fidelity of Paulus Æmi- " lius. He neither affected, nor employed Tully's " ſtyle and manner of writing." Theſe are Eraſmus's words, which I extracted from a book, the Epiſtle Dedicatory of which is dated the 14th of February 1528: and it is to be obſerved, that Eraſmus ſpeaks in this place of Paulus Æmilius as of an author ſtill living.

(37) In the remark [B].

(38) Eraſmus, *in Ciceroniano*, p. m. 72.

(32) He died in 1501.

tice muſt be taken of a work which Julius Scaliger aſcribes to him [*H*], and the mighty buſtle that Scioppius made on that account.

[*H*] *Some mention muſt be made of a work which has been aſcribed to him by Scaliger &c.*] Julius Scaliger boaſted his having ſeen a book containing the Hiſtory of the family della Scala, and which was tranſlated into beautiful Latin by Paulus Æmilius. *Nondum hæc nomina, quæ Comitum atque Marchionum circumferuntur, exorta erant: & Scaligerorum florebat imperium. Vultis annales noſtros aſſeramus; quos rudes, atque barbaros (ut tunc ea ferebat ætas) vir bonus atque eloquens Paulus Æmilius pulcherrimis Latinitatis donavit monumentis* (39). i. e. "Thoſe "titles of Count and Marquiſs, that are now ſo com- "mon, were not then known, nor did the authority of "the Scaligers then flouriſh. Would you have me "aſſert our annals, which being rude and barbarous, "(as was the complexion of thoſe times) were drawn "up in the moſt beautiful Latin by Paulus Æmilius, "that worthy man and eloquent writer." Joſeph Scaliger relates this more at large in a letter written by him, in 1504, on the antiquity of his family. *Injuria temporum*, ſays he (40), *malevolentia hoſtium, imperitia ſcriptorum, eos cuniculos in generis noſtri memoria egerunt, ut de totius nominis Scaligeri ruina metuendum eſſet, niſi præſto fuiſſet eloquentiſſimus vir, & antiquarum originum vindex Paulus Æmilius Veronenſis, qui nactus in Norico acta & annales proſapiæ noſtræ vetuſtiſſimos, pingui ſtilo, ut ipſe ait, conceptos, edolavit eos, & Latine loqui docuit. Ex eo libro parens meus ea excerpſit, quæ ad noſtri generis claritatem præcipue pertinere viſa ſunt. Cætera per otium deſcribere non licuit. Quod utinam feciſſet, & nobis edendi laborem reliquiſſet.* i. e. "By the wild "havock of time, the malice of enemies and the "ignorance of writers, a great number of memoirs "relating to our family were loſt, ſo that the name "of Scaliger would probably have been extinct, "had it not been for Paulus Æmilius of Verona, "that moſt eloquent writer and preſerver of antiqui- "ties, who having found in Bavaria very ancient "Annals of our family, written, as he himſelf tells "us, in a courſe ſtyle, he poliſh'd and tranſlated "them into Latin. From this book my father ex- "tracted ſuch particulars as ſeemed to reflect the "greateſt honour on our family. He had not lei- "ſure to go through with the reſt, which I wiſh "however he could have done, and had left me the "labour of publiſhing it." He alſo ſpeaks of it in the firſt edition of his *Commentary on Catullus*, in 1576, and in the ſecond anno 1600; but in ſuch a manner as, with regard to certain circumſtances, does not agree with what I have cited of his letter *De vetuſtate & ſplendore gentis Scaligeræ*, i. e. "Of the "antiquity and ſplendor of the Scaliger family." Scioppius inſulted him in the moſt cruel terms upon account of theſe little variations; and aſſerted farther, that whatever the two Scaligers advanced relating to this work of Paulus Æmilius was all impoſture. Among other reaſons he employed theſe, viz. that no mention was made either of the place where it was pretended this manuſcript was found, nor the name of the perſon who poſſeſſed it; and that ſuch authors as had ſearched with the greateſt care the Bavarian Libraries had never met with thoſe Annals (41). *Ut ſum curioſulus*, ſays he (42), *libet de Paulo Æmilio nonnulla exquirere. Primum, eſt ne veriſimile in Norico nunquam fuiſſe, & Germanicum ſermonem, eumque vetuſtiſſimum intellexiſſe? & quo in angulo Bavariæ iſtos Scaligerorum annales invenit, qui ſummam Aventini, Hundii, Lazii, & ipſorum Scaligerorum Bavarorum diligentiam effugerint? Potuitne fieri, ut illuſtris vir Marcus Velſerus reip. Auguſtanæ præfectus, ſingulare illud ætatis noſtræ ornamentum, ne ſeriniſſimi quidem Bavariæ Principis auctoritate ſubnixus eoſdem illos annales aliunde non erueret? Et fuitne quiſquam, qui de hoc Æmilii libro (tu quatuor libros fuiſſe in Catullum ſcribis) vel tenuiſſimam unquam auditionem acceperit?* i. e. "Being "a little curious, I have thought proper to make ſome "enquiries about Paulus Æmilius. Firſt, is it likely "that Æmilius was ever in Bavaria, and underſtood "the oldeſt German language? And in what corner "of Bavaria did he find thoſe annals of the Scaliger "family, when they had eſcaped the utmoſt diligence "of Aventinus, Hundius, Lazius, and even of the "Bavarian Scaligers themſelves? Was it poſſible that "the illuſtrious Marcus Velſerus, Governor of the city "of Augsburgh, that ſingular ornament of the age, "could not have diſcovered thoſe Annals in ſome "place or other? Has any man once heard the leaſt "thing (you ſay that there were four books of Ca- "tullus) of that book of Æmilius?" To this Joſeph Scaliger replied, that a great many books were ſtill unknown; ſo that no one ought to conclude that Paulus Æmilius's had never exiſted becauſe it was not to be found (43). He proved Scioppius guilty of an untruth; for Julius Scaliger had not declared that Paulus Æmilius had tranſlated this work from the German language. *Ego quæro unde colligunt Julium dixiſſe eos annales lingua Norica ſcriptos? Sed Julii verſus conſulere nulla invidia eſt. Ii ſunt in libello De Regnorum Everſionibus.*

Nam Paulus utrumque Æmilius monet referri
Deprompta libro, quem, ut retulit, fide vetuſta
Incude Latina igneque Noricum recoxit.
Torellius omiſerat iſta Saraina.

Et puero patet illorum Annalium librum Noricum ideo dici à Julio, quod in Norico compoſitus, & ibi ab Æmilio inventus, non utique quod lingua Norica ſcriptus eſſet. Quem magis idoneum verborum Scaligeri interpretem dare poſſumus, quam ipſi Julium Scaligerum (45)? i. e. "I ask, whence do they infer that Julius "ſaid, that thoſe Annals were written in the Bava- "rian tongue? But it may not be improper to con- "ſult the verſes of Julius. We find them in the "little book *Of the ſubverſion of kingdoms.*

"For Paul Æmilius ſays that both are mention'd:
"Extracted from the book, which, he relates,
"Was by him poliſh'd, (juſtly) from the Latin,
"Writ in Bavaria: Theſe had been omitted
"By Torellus Saraîna.

"Now it is plain to a child, that Julius called that "book of Annals, Bavarian, becauſe it was wrote "in Bavaria, and found in that country by Æmi- "lius, not that it was writ in the Bavarian language. "What better interpreter can we give of Scaliger's "words than Julius Scaliger himſelf?" Thereupon Joſeph Scaliger quotes his father's words, which we introduced at the beginning of this remark (46). Scioppius did not deny but he was miſtaken in this; but aſſerted that this was not a conſiderable article in their diſpute (47); and pretended that he was not able to anſwer his other obſervations. I ſhall conclude with the following remark: Paulus Æmilius was one of the heroes of Julius Scaliger, who complemented him with a little Poem conjointly with Torellus Saraina, and who inſerted this Poem in a work entitled *Heroes* (48).

(39) Jul. Cæſ. Scaliger. *Orat. in Luctu Audeti Cæſaris filii*, p. m. 74, 75.

(40) Joſeph. Scaliger. *in Epiſtola de vetuſtate & ſplendore Gentis Scaligeræ*, p. 8, 9.

(41) Scioppius, *in Scaligero Hypobolimæo*, folio 40 *verſe*.

(42) Idem, ibid.

(43) Joſeph. Scaliger. *confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*, pag. 389, 390.

(44) Ibid. p. 386, 387.

(45) Joſeph. Scaliger, *Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*, pag. 386, 387.

(46) Citation above (39).

(47) *Breviter concedo tibi, verba patris tui, quibus Æmilium Annales Noricos Latinos ſciſſe dicit, non rectè à Scioppio intellecta fuiſſe tametſi id adhuc controverſi juris eſt) ſed nego id attuliſſe Scioppium quaſi de quo tecum litigare vellet.* Oporinus Grubinius, Amphot. Sciop. p. 271. i. e. "I grant "you that your "father's words, "by which he "ſays that Æ- "milius tranſ- "lated into "Latin the Ba- "varian An- "nals, were not "rightly under- "ſtood by Sci- "oppius (which "however may "ſtill admit of "diſpute) but I "deny that Sci- "oppius intro- "duced them, "as tho' they "were the ſub- "ject he deſign- "ed to contend "about.

(48) *See* Scaliger's *Latin Poems*, pag. 321. edit. 1591.

ÆNEAS TACTICUS is one of the moſt antient Greek authors who have written of the Art Military [*A*]. Some Bibliographers (*a*) ſay, that the manuſcript of his book

(*a*) The Abridgers of Geſner.

[*A*] *He is one of the moſt antient Greek authors who have written of the art military.*] Cineas of Theſſaly, Counſellor to Pyrrhus King of Epirus, and Diſciple of Epicurus, has abridged Æneas's book concerning the *Duty of a General* (1). Beſides, in what we have remaining of Æneas, there is no example, but what precedes the 110th Olympiad, and if there is mention made of ſome machines, which began to be in vogue in the time of Ariſtotle, there are others not mentioned which were invented a little after Ariſtotle (2). Thus we may without temerity advance, that if it is not this ÆNEAS of Stymphalia that was

(1) Ælianus *in Tacticis*, cap. 1.

(2) Caſaub. *in Præfat. Æneæ de toleranda Obſidione.*

book is in the Vatican Library; but probably that is to be underſtood only of a particular Treatiſe publiſhed by Caſaubon [*B*]. Mr. Moreri's miſtakes are of no conſequence [*C*].

was General of the Arcadians about the 103d Olympiad (3), he is not very far from that time.

(3) Xenophon, *de Rebus geſtis Græcor.* lib. 7. p. m. 368. Obſerve, that in the IVth book *de Expedit. Cyri*, pag. m. 199, he ſpeaks of another Æneas of Stymphalia, who periſhed in the expedition of the younger Cyrus about the end of the 94th Olympiad.

(4) *De Studio Militari*, p. m. 45.

[*B*] *Of a particular Treatiſe publiſhed by Caſaubon.*] In this book is deſcribed the manner in which a ſiege is to be maintained, and it was joined to the edition of Polybius in 1609. The Preface informs us, 1. That it is printed from a manuſcript, tranſcribed from a copy brought from Italy, and that this manuſcript is in the Library of the moſt Chriſtian King. 2. That Æneas had compoſed ſome other books. Naudæus (4) was miſtaken when he ſaid that the *Commentarius Poliorceticus* of Æneas is different from the Treatiſe *de Toleranda Obſidione*; for the title of this Treatiſe in Caſaubon's edition runs thus: *Τακτικὸν τε καὶ πολιορκητικὸν ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκούμενον ἀντέχειν. Commentarius Tacticus & Poliorceticus de toleranda Obſidione.*

[*C*] *Mr. Moreri's miſtakes are of no conſequence.*] 1 He ſays, that Æneas wrote a Treatiſe on the *Art Military*, and that Cineas *made an abridgment of this Book*. This is not exact. Ælian makes uſe of the plural number, when he ſpeaks of the works of Æneas on the Art Military. *Ἀινείας τε δὴ πολιόνων, καὶ στρατηγικὰ βίβλια ἱκανῶς συντεταχέναι· δὲ ἐπιτεμὼν ὁ Θέσσαλος κινέας ἐποίησε* (5). "Æneas has accurately "treated of military affairs in ſeveral books, and "Cineas the Theſſalian has epitomiſed them (6)." Mr. Moreri quotes a work of Voſſius (7), wherein are theſe words of Ælian, why then did he affect to expreſs himſelf as he has done? 2. He ſays, that *Geſner affirms that* the work of Æneas *is in manuſcript in the Vatican Library*. Geſner ſays nothing of Æneas; thoſe who have abridged him ſay that Æneas's book *de re Militari* is in the Vatican. Caſaubon applies that to the Treatiſe *de toleranda Obſidione*. Obſerve that Voſſius, in the 287th page of the book *de Scientiis Mathematicis*, aſcribes to Geſner what I have reprehended Moreri for aſcribing to him.

(5) Ælian. *Tact.* cap. 1.

(6) Why then does Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 287, ſay only that Cineas made an abridgment of the *Tacticks of Æneas?*

(7) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Græc.* lib. 4. cap. 11.

☞ÆNEAS GAZÆUS, a Sophiſt by profeſſion, was originally a Platonic Philoſopher, but afterwards became a Chriſtian (*a*). He flouriſhed about the year 487; for he aſſures us, that he ſaw the African Confeſſors, whoſe tongues were cut out by Hunneric King of the Vandals in the year 484, under the reign of the Emperor Zeno, as appears from Victor Biſhop of Utica, who wrote an account of that perſecution by the Vandals, under their Kings Genſeric and Hunneric (*b*). Æneas Gazæus affirms, that he heard theſe Confeſſors ſpeak very plainly and diſtinctly, after their tongues were cut out at Conſtantinople; but this miracle is very much conteſted. He wrote a Dialogue, intitled *Theophraſtus*, becauſe the chief perſon in it is called *Theophraſtus, concerning the Immortality of the Soul and the Reſurrection of the Body* [*A*].

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Litterar.* p. 297. edit. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.

(*b*) Auberti Miræi *Auctarium de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis* § 109, and 110.

[*A*] *A Dialogue, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Reſurrection of the Body.*] He endeavours to enliven his ſubject with ſeveral curious enquiries into the ſentiments of the Philoſophers, and many agreeable ſtories. He is of opinion, that God creates ſouls the moment he infuſes them into bodies; that though the number is fixed, it is known only to God; that the ſoul is ſenſible of nothing without the body; that man is very free in his actions; that the body ſhall be raiſed in the ſame form, which it had in this world; that the Devils aſſume the forms of the dead, in order to diſturb the living; that the relics of Martyrs have an efficacy to drive away Devils; that many miracles have been performed by the prayers of the juſt; and that perſons deceas'd have been ſeen to riſe from the dead. This Dialogue was firſt tranſlated into Latin by Ambroſius Camaldulenſis, and publiſhed at Baſil in 1516 (1). It was afterwards publiſhed in Greek among other pieces at Baſil in 1560, with a Latin tranſlation by Wolfius; and at Leipſic in 1658, with a tranſlation and notes by Barthius, in 4°, with Zachary of Mitilene, another Chriſtian Philoſopher who was later than Æneas Gazæus (2). It is printed likewiſe in the fifth volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, publiſhed at Cologne in 1618 (3). T.

(1) Cave and Aubertus Miræus, *ubi ſupra.*

(2) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bib. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 4. p. 280. edit. *de Mons*, 1691.

(3) Aub. Miræus, *ubi ſupra.*

☞ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, known afterwards by the name of Pius II. was of the noble family of the Piccolomini, and born in the year 1405 at Corſigny [*A*] in the territory of Sienna, where his father lived in exile. His father's name was Sylvius Piccolomini, and his mother's Victoria Forteguerra. He learned Grammar in the town where he was born, but the circumſtances of his family were then ſo mean, that he was obliged to ſubmit to all low employments of a country life. In the year 1423 by the aſſiſtance of his friends he was enabled to go to the Univerſity of Sienna, where he applied himſelf to polite literature, and heard lectures upon the Poets and Orators, and in ſhort time publiſhed ſeveral Poems both in the Latin and Tuſcan languages (*a*). He afterwards turned his ſtudies to the Civil Law. Being now qualified for buſineſs he left Sienna, upon the breaking out of a war in his own country, and went in the year 1431 with Cardinal Dominic Capranica to the council of Baſil as Secretary to him; in which poſt he likewiſe ſerved Cardinal Albergoti, who ſent him to Scotland [*B*]. Upon his return he was made Secretary to the council of Baſil, and defended it in the moſt vigorous manner againſt the authority of the Popes both by his ſpeeches and writings, particularly in a Dialogue and Epiſtles, which he wrote to the Rector and Univerſity

(*a*) *Append. ad* Cave, *Hiſt. Litter.* p. 114. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

[*A*] *Born in the year* 1405 *at Corſigni.*] Mr. Wharton (1) and Oudin (2) call the place in Latin *Corſinianum*, and Mr. Fleury (3) *Corſigny*. Mr. Du Pin (4) ſays, that he was born at Pienza; but this is very conſiſtent with what the abovementioned writers, as well as Platina, aſſert; for when Æneas Sylvius was raiſed to the Popedom, in order to honour the place of his birth, which was called before *Corſigni* or *Corſignana*, he made it an epiſcopal city, and called it *Pienza* from the name *Pius* which he aſſumed, when he became Pope. When his mother was with child of him, ſhe dreamt, that ſhe was brought to bed of an infant, who had a miter upon his head; and as it was the cuſtom of degrading Prieſts by placing a miter made of paper upon their heads, ſhe was apprehenſive, leſt her ſon ſhould prove the diſgrace of the family; but the event ſhewed the contrary (5). We have many ſtories in antiquity of the events of the children's fortune correſponding with ſome remarkable dream of the mothers; but what credit is to be paid to ſuch relations, or how far ſuch a correſpondence may be accidental, let every one determine as he thinks proper.

(1) Idem, p. 114. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(2) *Comm. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Col. 2643. edit. Lipſ. 1722.

(3) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 23. l. 3. p. 52. edit. Bruxelles 1726.

(4) *Nouvelle Biblioth.* tom. 12. p. 98. edit. Paris 1702.

(5) *Platina in Vita Pii II.* and Fleury *ubi ſupra.*

University of Cologne (*b*). He was likewiſe made by that council Clerk of the Ceremonies, Abbreviator and one of the *Duodecemviri*, or *Twelve Men*, which was an office of importance there. He preſided very often among the Collators of Benefices. He was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, once to Trent, twice to Conſtance, once to Francfort, twice to Savoy, and three times to Straſburg, where he had an affair with a Lady, which he gave his father an account of in a letter to him (*c*) [C]. About the year 1437, when the ſchiſm between Eugenius and the council of Baſil was carried to a great height, and the Pope proceeded to excommunicate and deprive his oppoſers, while ſome perſons ſlipt away out of fear, and others openly went over to him. Æneas declared that he would conſtantly adhere to the council; *for*, ſays he (*d*), *ſince I had nothing, which I could be deprived of, I thought my ſelf under an obligation of continuing firm; leſt by abandoning that ſide, which ſeemed to me the moſt juſt, I ſhould endanger the ſalvation of my ſoul.* In the year 1439 he was engaged in the ſervice of Pope Felix; and being ſoon after ſent Embaſſador to the Emperor Frederic, he was crowned by him with the poetic laurel, and ranked among his friends. In the year 1442 he was ſent for from Baſil by the ſame Emperor to his court, and made Protonotary or Secretary

(*b*) Oudin. *Comment. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Sect. 15. Col. 2643. edit. Lipſiæ 1722.

(*c*) Lib. 1. Epiſt. 15.

(*d*) *Nos, cum nihil haberemus, quod nobis auferri poſſet, perſeverandum putavimus; ne partem, quæ verior nobis apparebat, relinquentes, detrimentum animæ faceremus.* Bulla Retract.

[*B*] *Who ſent him to Scotland.*] The deſign of ſending him thither was to mediate a peace between the Engliſh and Scots. While he was there a fatal tragedy happened. On the 20th of February 1436, King James I. of Scotland was aſſaſſinated in the night by means of a conſpiracy form'd againſt him by Walter Earl of Athol his uncle, who wanted to ſeize the kingdom for himſelf. The Queen received two wounds by interpoſing between the aſſaſſins and the King her husband, whom they diſpatched with twenty eight wounds. Æneas Sylvius uſed all his endeavours to excite the Scots to puniſh the murderers of their King with the utmoſt ſecurity. They were immediately tried, and the Earl, who was the author of this conſpiracy, was publickly put to the torture for three days together. He had an iron crown red-hot plac'd upon his head, while they ridiculed him with the title of King of Traitors; till at laſt he expir'd in the midſt of theſe torments (6).

(6) Hector Boet. l. 7. Buch. l. 10, 11. *Comment. Pii II*, lib. 1. Fleury, lib. 107. c. 22.

[*C*] *An affair with a Lady, which he gave his father an account of in a letter to him.*] Mr. Wharton in his *Appendix to Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria* (7), obſerves, that he was ſo far from lamenting this crime, that he even boaſted of it in his letter to his father. We ſhall give that letter at length, which it muſt be owned is written with an air of the utmoſt gaiety. "ÆNÆAS SYLVIUS THE POET TO HIS "FATHER SYLVIUS. You write to me, that you "are doubtful, whether you ought to rejoice or to "be ſorry, becauſe God has given me a ſon. For "my own part I ſee reaſon for joy, but none for "ſorrow. For what greater pleaſure is there in life, "than to beget another like one's ſelf, to extend "one's own blood, and to leave a perſon, who "may ſurvive you? What is more agreeable than to "ſee one's ſons ſons? To me it is the higheſt ſatisfaction, that my ſeed has propagated, and that I "have produced ſomething before I die, which may "ſurvive me; and I return thanks to God, who has "form'd the fœtus into a male, that the little boy "may divert you and my mother, and afford you "that comfort and aſſiſtance, which it was my duty "to do. If my birth was any pleaſure to you, why "ſhould not the birth of my ſon be ſo likewiſe? "Will not the ſight of the little infant give you "ſome ſatisfaction, when you ſhall ſee my image in "his countenance? Will it not be agreeable to you, "to have him hang about your neck, and ſhew his "little fondneſſes for you? But you ſay that you are "ſorry for my crime, becauſe I have begot this child "in an unlawful way. I cannot imagine, Sir, what "opinion you have form'd of me. It is certain "that you, who partake your ſelf of fleſh and blood, "did not beget me of a rigid inſenſible conſtitution. "You are conſcious to your ſelf what a man of gallantry you was. For my part, I am neither an eunuch nor impotent; nor an hypocrite, in chooſing "to ſeem good rather than really be ſo. I frankly "own my fault, becauſe I am neither more holy than "King David, nor wiſer than Solomon. This is a "crime of a very ancient ſtanding, and I cannot tell "who is exempt from it. This plague is very extenſive, (if it be a plague to uſe one's natural "powers); ſo that I cannot ſee why this appetite "ſhould be ſo much condemned, ſince nature, "which does nothing amiſs, has implanted it in "all creatures, in order to preſerve the ſpecies. "But you ſeem to ſay, that there are certain limits, "within which this is lawful; and that this appetite "ſhould never be indulged beyond the juſt boundaries of marriage. This is very true; and yet even "in the married-ſtate there are frequently crimes "committed. There is a certain rule and meaſure "for eating, and drinking, and ſpeaking; but who "obſerves them? Who is ſo righteous, as *not to fall "ſeven times a day?* Let the hypocrite ſpeak, and "declare himſelf to be conſcious of no ſin; I know "that there is no merit in me, and only depend upon God's goodneſs for mercy, who knows, "that we are liable to fall, and to be hurried away "by irregular pleaſures. He will never ſhut up to "me the fountain of pardon, which is open to all. "But I have ſaid ſufficient of this point. And ſince "you ask my reaſons, why I think this child my "own, leſt you ſhould maintain another man's inſtead of mine, I will give you a ſhort account "of the whole affair. It is not two years ſince I "was Embaſſador at Strasburgh. While I was there "at leiſure for ſeveral days, a Lady who came from "England, and had beauty and youth about her, "lodged in the ſame houſe with me. She being "very well skilled in the Italian tongue, addreſs'd "me in the Tuſcan Dialect; which was ſo much "the more agreeable to me as it was very uncommon in that country. I was charm'd with her "wit and gaiety, and immediately recollected, that "Cleopatra had engaged the affections of Anthony, "as well as Julius Cæſar, by the elegance of her "converſation. I ſaid to myſelf, Who will blame "me, inconſiderable as I am, for doing what the "greateſt Men have not thought beneath them. I "ſometimes thought upon the example of Moſes, "ſometimes that of Ariſtotle, and ſometimes that of "Chriſtians themſelves. In ſhort, pleaſure overcame "me, I grew fond of the Lady, and addreſſed her "in the ſofteſt terms. But ſhe reſiſted all my applications, as firmly as the rock repells the waves of "the ſea, and for three days ſhe kept me in ſuſpence. "She had a daughter five years old, who was recommended to our Landlord by Milinthus the father; "and the Lady was fearful leſt our Landlord ſhould "perceive ſomething of the affair, and ſhould turn "the child out of doors becauſe ſhe might follow "her mother's example. The night came on, and ſhe "was to go away the next day; ſo that I, apprehenſive leſt I ſhould loſe my prey, deſired her not "to bolt her door at night, and told her I would "come to her at midnight. She denied me, and "gave me no manner of hopes. I urged her, but "ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her denial. She went to bed. "I reſolved with my ſelf to ſee whether ſhe had "done as I had deſired her. I recollected the ſtory "of Zima the Florentine, and imagin'd, that perhaps "ſhe might follow the example of his miſtreſs. Upon this I determined to try. When I found every "thing ſilent in the houſe, I went to her chamber. "The door was ſhut, but not bolted. I opened it, and "went in, and obtained the Lady's favour, and "from hence came this ſon. The mother's name "is Elizabeth. From the Ides of February to the "Ides of November there is juſt the number of "months, which is the uſual term from a woman's "firſt

(7) P. 114. *An.* 1458.

tary of the Empire, and raiſed to the Senatorial Order. He could not yet be induced to condemn the council of Baſil, nor go over abſolutely to Eugenius's party, but continued neuter. However, when the Emperor Frederic began by degrees to favour Eugenius, and eſpouſe his intereſts, Æneas likewiſe changed his opinion gradually. He acted afterwards in the Emperor's name in the Diet of Nuremberg, where they were conſulting about methods to put an end to the Schiſm, and was ſent Embaſſador to Eugenius [*D*], ſo that at laſt, upon the perſuaſion of Thomas Sarzanus, the Apoſtolical Legate in Germany, he ſubmitted to Eugenius entirely; and about the end of the year 1446, or the beginning of 1447 he was ſent by Frederic to Rome, where he acknowledged Eugenius's authority, and promiſed obedience to him in the name of the German nation. After Eugenius's death, he was choſen by the Cardinals to preſide in the Conclave till another Pope was elected. He was made Biſhop of Targeſtum by Pope Nicholas, and went again into Germany, where he was made Counſellor to the Emperor, and managed the moſt important affairs of the Empire (*e*). Four years after, being made Archbiſhop of Sienna, he attended Frederic to Rome in the year 1452, when the latter went thither to receive the Imperial crown. Upon his return Æneas was

(*e*) *Append. ad Cave, ubi ſupra.*

" firſt pregnancy to the birth. She told me this, " when ſhe was afterwards at Baſil. And tho' I had " procured her favour not by gifts, but by the ut- " moſt ſollicitation and courtſhip, I imagined ſhe " ſaid this with a deſign to get money from me, " and did not believe her. But ſince I ſee ſhe af- " firms this, now when ſhe can have no hopes of " obtaining any thing of me, and the circumſtances " of the name and time agree, I believe the child is " mine; and I deſire you to take him, and bring " him up till he is able to come under my care and " inſtruction; for you have no reaſon to ſuppoſe " that a rich Lady would tell a falſity in the caſe of " her ſon."

[*D*] *Sent Embaſſador to Eugenius.*] The deſign of his embaſſy was to engage the Pope to conſent to the calling of a Council, and by that means to put an end to the ſchiſm. However he could obtain nothing of the Pope, who would by no means agree to the Council, which, he ſaid, he conſidered as a means rather of diſturbing and dividing the Church, than of reſtoring peace to it. Sylvius had taken an effectual method to gain a favourable audience of the Pope, for he deſired him very ſubmiſſively to excuſe him for what he had ſaid, or done, or written againſt him in favour of the Council of Baſil. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the ſpeech, which he made upon that occaſion to Eugenius, as it is related by John Gobelin his Secretary, in his *Commentaries of the Life of Pius II*, if that work is not of Æneas Sylvius's own writing, as is juſtly ſuſpected by learned Men. " Moſt holy Father, *ſays he*, before I " declare to you the Emperor's commiſſion, give me " leave to ſay one word concerning my ſelf. I do " not queſtion but you have heard a great many " things, which are not to my advantage. They " ought not to have been mentioned to you; but I " muſt confeſs, that my accuſers have reported no- " thing but what is true. I own, I have ſaid, and " done, and written at Baſil many things againſt " your intereſts. It is impoſſible to deny it. Yet " all this has been done with a deſign, not to in- " jure you, but to ſerve the Church. I have been " in an error, without queſtion: but I have been " in juſt the ſame circumſtances with many great " Men, as particularly with Julian Cardinal of St. " Angelo, with Nicholas Archbiſhop of Palermo; " with Lewis du Pont (Pontanus), the Secretary of " your holy See; Men, who are eſteemed the great- " eſt Luminaries in the Law, and Doctors of the " truth; to omit mentioning the univerſities and " colleges, which were generally againſt you. Who " would not have erred with perſons of their cha- " racter and merit? It is true, that when I diſco- " vered the error of thoſe at Baſil, I did not at firſt " go over to you, as the greateſt part did. But be- " ing afraid to fall from one error to another, and " by *avoiding Charybdis*, as the proverb expreſſes it, " *to run upon Scylla*, I joined my ſelf after a long " deliberation and conflict within my ſelf, to thoſe, " who thought proper to continue in a ſtate of neu- " trality. I lived three years at the Emperor's court " in this ſituation of mind, where having the op- " portunity of hearing conſtantly the diſputes be- " tween thoſe of Baſil and your Legates, I was con- " vinced that the truth was on your ſide. It was " upon this motive, that when the Emperor thought " fit to ſend me to your clemency, I accepted the " opportunity with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, in hopes, " that I ſhould be ſo happy as to gain your favour " again. I throw my ſelf therefore at your feet; " and ſince I ſinned out of ignorance, I entreat " you to give me your pardon. After which I " ſhall open to you the Emperor's intentions (8)."

(8) Raynald. *Contin. Annal. Baronii* 1445. N. 25.

This was the prelude to the famous retractation, which Æneas Sylvius made afterwards. The Pope pardoned every thing that was paſt, and in a ſhort time made him his Secretary, without obliging him to quit the ſame poſt, which he had with the Emperor (9).

(9) Fleury, tom. 22 l. 109. cap. 107. pag. 447, 448.

He was ſent a ſecond time by the Emperor on an embaſſy to Eugenius; the occaſion of which was as follows: That Pope having depoſed Thierry and James Archbiſhops and Electors of Cologne and Treves, becauſe they had openly declared for Felix and the Council of Baſil, and having given the former See to Adolphus of Cleves, and the latter to John Biſhop of Cambray, the Electors of the Empire being ſhock'd at ſuch an act of violence againſt their collegues, and againſt the privileges of the Empire, call'd together a Diet at Francfort to conſult upon that affair and other points, which concern'd the liberties of Germany. It was reſolved there amongſt them, that if Eugenius would not declare the depoſition of thoſe Prelates null and void, and remove the taxes which that nation was loaded with by the Court of Rome, and acknowledge the ſuperiority of Councils, as it had been determined at Conſtance, the two Archbiſhops ſhould adhere to the ſentence of depoſition, which had been given againſt that Pope at Baſil. They ſent Deputies therefore to the Emperor and to ſix of his Counſellors, to inform them of their reſolution, and to deſire his Imperial Majeſty to join with them, and to ſend to the Pope to acquaint him with their agremeent. He refuſed to engage in their league, conſidering it as a rebellion; but he promiſed to ſend to Eugenius to deſire him to revoke the ſentence of depoſition, and to treat the Electors in a gentler manner. Æneas Sylvius was again choſe for this Embaſſy. He was ordered to repreſent to the Pope, that " if he would reſtore " the Archbiſhops of Cologne and Treves to their " dignities, the neutrality ſhould be put an end to " in Germany, and every one would declare for him; " but if he ſhould perſiſt in maintaining the ſen- " tence, which he had paſſed, it was to be feared " that the Schiſm would continue a long time, and " that Felix's authority would be acknowledged as " the Electors had reſolved in a particular treaty a- " mong themſelves." Æneas Sylvius diſcharged this commiſſion very faithfully, and Eugenius promiſed to ſatisfy the Emperor and the Princes, and to anſwer in every point their good intentions for the peace of the Church. However it was not abſolutely in his power to do all this. Adolphus of Cleves, elected by him Archbiſhop of Cologne, was nephew to the Duke of Burgundy, and John Biſhop of Cambray elected Archbiſhop of Treves was that Duke's natural brother. So that he was obliged to procure the Duke's conſent to remove them from the dignities, which he had conferred upon them at his ſollicitation. However the Duke agreed to it, and the Pope reſtored the Prelates, whom he had depoſed (10).

(10) Fleury, tom. 22. p. 457, 458. and Lenfant, *Hiſt. du Concile du Baſle*, lib. 21. c. 54.

was made Legate of Bohemia and Auſtria. About the year 1456, being ſent by the Emperor into Italy to treat with Pope Callixtus III. concerning a war with the Turks, he was made a Cardinal by him; and after his death, in the year 1458, he was elected Pope [*E*] on the 19th of Auguſt by the name of Pius II, and crowned on the third of September. There were great hopes conceived of him, on account of his vaſt learning, and the promiſes which he had made, that he would take ſome meaſure to reform the church; but he abſolutely diſappointed thoſe expectations (*f*), for he retracted all that he had written in defence of the council of Baſil [*F*]. He ſuppreſſed

(*f*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He was elected Pope.*] There were ſeveral remarkable circumſtances, that happened in the conclave, before he was elected. On the third day, it was found that the Cardinals of Boulogna and Sienne, (which laſt was Æneas Sylvius) had moſt voices: the reſt had not above three. William Cardinal of Roan had not one, either becauſe he was not at all reſpected, or thought incapable of that dignity. However the latter was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt to gain the Papacy, and being more apprehenſive of Æneas Sylvius than of any other, he went to every one of the Cardinals, and ask'd what they intended by endeavouring to raiſe him to the Popedom? "Don't you "ſee, *ſays he*, that he is poor and gouty? Can he "bear the weight of ſuch an important office? How "do we know, whether his affection for Germany, "which he is but lately come from, will not induce "him to remove the See of St. Peter thither? "Can it be ſaid, that he has the leaſt tincture of "Polite Learning and the Canon-Law? Is a Poet, "as he is, a proper perſon to govern the Church? "He will be for governing it according to the laws "of the Pagans." He then proceeded to declaim againſt the Cardinal of Boulogna. In ſhort he drew over eleven Cardinals to his intereſt. Upon this the Cardinal of Boulogna went to Æneas Sylvius, and adviſed him to give his vote for the Cardinal of Roan, as he propoſed to do himſelf, in order to avoid his reſentment, when he ſhould become Pope. But the other replied, that for his own part he would not give his vote to a man, whom he thought ſo unworthy of that ſacred character. That he deſpiſed the Cardinal of Roan's enmity as well as his favour. "As for poverty, *ſays he*, it is not difficult to ſup"port it, when one is uſed to it. I have lived poor, "and ſhall die poor: He can never prevent me "from enjoying the converſation of the Muſes, "which is the greateſt conſolation to me imaginable "in misfortune. Beſides I cannot think that God "will permit his ſpouſe the Church to have a Head "ſo unworthy of her, and that a man convicted of "ſimony ſhould become his Vicegerent upon earth. "He will not ſuffer this palace, which has been the "reſidence of ſo many holy Popes, to be defiled "with an ambitious mortal, who has no regard to "any thing but temporal honours and advantages. "It is God, who gives the Popedom, and not men: "he will deſtroy theſe unjuſt caballings; to morrow "it will appear, that it is he, who makes Popes: "If you are really a Chriſtian, you'll never give "your vote to a man ſo unworthy this important "character." Theſe words had ſo great an effect upon the Cardinal of Boulogna, that he immediately altered his opinion, and promiſed not to give his vote to the Cardinal of Roan. The next day Æneas Sylvius went to the Cardinal of Pavia, the Vice-Chancellor, who had engaged his vote to the Cardinal of Roan, for fear of loſing his office of Vice-Chancellor. He expoſtulated with him upon it ſo pathetically, that the latter promiſed to abandon the Cardinal of Roan's intereſt. In ſhort, when they came to a ſcrutiny, Æneas Sylvius was choſen Pope; upon which Cardinal Beſſarion addreſſed to the new Pope, in order to excuſe himſelf and the others, who had been of the Cardinal of Roan's party, in the following terms: "Holy Father, we "are all poſſeſſed with the moſt exquiſite joy "at your exaltation; and it is eaſy to perceive from "the choice, which has been made of you, that it "is the Holy Ghoſt, who preſides in every conclave, "and conducts the ſentiments of the Cardinals ac"cording to the deſign, which he propoſes in the "government of his Church. If at firſt we had "different thoughts, it was merely from the appre"henſion, that you could not be able to ſupport "the fatigues which attend this exalted ſtation, your "health being ſo very precarious, and ſo often inter"rupted with the gout. It ſeemed to us, that in "the dangers, which the Church is threatned with "during the war, which is going to be carried on "with the Infidels, it was neceſſary to elect into "the place, which you are now to fill, a man in the "vigour of life, and one who was active and able "to bear the inconveniencies of long voyages. "Your infirmities were the only reaſon, that pre"vented us giving you our votes; but ſince God "has diſpoſed things contrary to our views, he will "give your Holineſs all the neceſſary ſtrength to exe"cute the duties of this function; and as we have "erred only out of ignorance, we ſhall endeavour "by our faithfulneſs and readineſs to ſerve you, to "atone for the fault, which we have committed in "preferring the Cardinal of Roan to you." The new Pope replied to this in the manner following. "You have judged more favourably of my perſon "than I did, ſince you have found no other defect "in me than my want of health and the gout. I "know my ſelf unworthy of the rank, which I have "been raiſed to, and I can aſſure you, that I ſhould "have refuſed it, if I had not been afraid to con"demn the judgment of thoſe who gave me their "votes, and to draw down upon me the anger of "heaven, which has cauſed two thirds of the ſacred "College to declare for me. Though I ſhall ſub"mit to the divine call, yet I cannot but approve "of their conduct, who named the Cardinal of "Roan, ſince after they had followed in that point "the ſecret dictates of their conſcience, they not"withſtanding readily confirmed my election, when "they conſider'd it as a work of the Holy Ghoſt. "I ſhall treat every one of you as my brethren, "ſince you have all done your duty, tho' in a diffe"rent way (11)."

(11) *See* Fleury, P. 41, &c. tom. 23.

[*F*] *He retracted all that he had written in defence of the Council of Baſil.*] This he did in a bull dated the 26th of April 1463, which is publiſh'd in Father Labbe's *Collection of Councils* (12). It will not be unentertaining to ſee in what manner he apologizes for his former conduct, and how much his ſentiments were altered by his preſent ſituation. He excuſes himſelf for having written thoſe acts of the Council when he was young, and incapable of forming a right judgment of things. He owns, that he had committed an error in writing that work; and he deſires the Univerſity of Cologne, to whom he addreſſed his bull, not to regard what he had ſaid in favour of the Council of Baſil, but to condemn Æneas Sylvius, and to follow the ſentiments of Pius II. "We are "men, *ſays he*, and we have err'd as men; we don't "deny, but that many things, which we have ſaid "or written, may juſtly be condemn'd. We have "been ſeduced like Paul, and perſecuted the Church "of God thro' ignorance. We now follow St. Au"ſtin's example, who having ſuffer'd ſeveral erro"neous ſentiments to eſcape him in his writings, "retracted them. We do juſt the ſame thing; we "ingenuouſly confeſs our ignorance, being appre"henſive leſt what we have written in our youth "ſhould occaſion ſome error, which may prejudice "the holy See. For if it is ſuitable to any perſon's "character, to maintain the eminence and glory of "the firſt throne of the Church, it is certainly ſo to "our's, whom the merciful God out of pure good"neſs has raiſed to the dignity of Vice-gerent of "Chriſt without any merit on our part. For all "theſe reaſons we exhort you, and adviſe you in "the Lord, not to pay any regard to thoſe writings, "which injure in any manner the authority of the "Apoſtolic See, and which aſſert opinions which "the holy Roman Church does not receive. If

(12) Tom. 13. P. 1407.

preſſed the war which Piccinus was raiſing in Umbria, and recovered Aſſiſi and Nucera. He ordered a convention of Kings and Princes at Mantua, and was preſent at it himſelf, where they formed reſolutions for a war againſt the Turks. Upon his return to Rome he went to Viterbo, and expelled ſeveral tyrants from the territories of the Eccleſiaſtical State. He confirmed Ferdinand in the kingdom of Naples, and ſent Cardinal Urſini thither to crown him King. He excommunicated Sigiſmund Duke of Auſtria, becauſe he had impriſoned the Cardinal of Cuſa, and Sigiſmund Malateſta, for refuſing to pay the hundredths to the church of Rome. He made a treaty with the King of Hungary, and commanded Pogebrac King of Bohemia to be cited before him. He deprived the Archbiſhop of Mentz of his dignity. He built a great many magnificent ſtructures at Rome, and other places. The Patriarchs of the Eaſt ſent Embaſſadors to him [G], and he received others from Peloponneſus [H]. He ſent an Embaſſy to Lewis XI. King of France, in order to perſuade him to aboliſh the Pragmatic Sanction, who readily agreed to it (g). In the latter part of his Pontificate he made great preparations againſt the Turks, whoſe power grew every day more formidable to Europe; for which purpoſe he called upon the ſeveral Kings and Princes for their aſſiſtance; and having raiſed a conſiderable army of Croiſſes and others, he went to Ancona, in order to ſee them embarked, where he was ſeized with a fever, and died the 14th of Auguſt 1464, in the 59th year of his age. We ſhall mention ſome of the circumſtances of his death [I]. He enjoyed the See of Rome ſix years, eleven months, and twenty ſeven days (b). His body was carried to Rome, and interred in the Vatican. Spondanus tells us (i), that he was *inferior to none in learning, eloquence, dexterity and prudence, and ſo fond of writing, that though he was perpetually troubled with the gout, and engaged in a variety of buſineſs, he could not refrain from it.* Platina (k) gives us a ſaying of his, which ſhews, that he had no opinion of the celibacy of the Clergy. He uſed to remark, that *if there were any good reaſons for reſtraining them from marrying, there were much better for permitting them to marry.* The Cardinal of Pavia, in a ſpeech which he made to his collegues concerning the choice of a ſucceſſor, gives this elogium of Pius II, that he was a Pope, who had all the virtues in his character; and that he had deſerved the utmoſt commendation by his zeal for religion, his integrity of manners, his ſolid judgment, and profound learning. However, he was blamed for not being generous enough to the learned men of his age; which Platina obſerves can only

(g) Gobelin. *Comment. Pii II.* l. 7. Æn. Sylv. *Epiſt.* 387.

(b) Oudin, *ubi ſupra.*

(i) *Annales Eccleſ. ad ann.* 1438, § 9. 13.

(k) Pag. 311. Col. 2.

" If you find any thing contrary to this in our dia- " logues or letters, or in any other of our works, " deſpiſe ſuch notions, reject them, follow what " we maintain now; believe what I aſſert now I " am in years, rather than what I ſaid when I was " young; regard a Pope rather than a private man; " in ſhort reject Æneas Sylvius, and receive Pius II. " *Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam ſummum* " *Pontificem; Æneam rejicite, Pium accipite.* That " family name was given me by my parents at my " birth; but this Chriſtian name we aſſumed, when " we were raiſed to the Apoſtolical character. *Il-* " *lud Gentile nomen parentes indidere naſcenti; hoc* " *Chriſtianum in Apoſtolatu ſuſcepimus.*" And becauſe it might be objected, that his dignity was the only reaſon of his changing his opinion, he anſwers that by giving a ſhort account of his life and actions, and relating the hiſtory of the Council of Baſil, which he went to with Cardinal Capranica in 1431, when he was very young, as he ſaid, and without experience, like a bird juſt out of its neſt.

[G] *The Patriarchs of the Eaſt ſent Embaſſadors to him.*] This happened while he was at Sienna in the year 1460. The chief of this embaſſy was the Archdeacon of Auſtria, whoſe name was Moſes, a man well vers'd in the Greek and Syriac languages, and of a diſtinguiſh'd character. He appeared before the Pope in the name of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jeruſalem, and told him that the enemy, who ſows tares, having prevented them till then from receiving the decree of the Council of Florence concerning the union of the Greek Church with the Latin, God had at laſt inſpired them with a reſolution of ſubmitting to it; that it had been ſolemnly agreed to in an aſſembly call'd together for that purpoſe, and that for the future they would all unanimouſly ſubmit to the Pope as Vicegerent of Jeſus Chriſt. The Pope commended the Patriarchs for their obedience, and ordered Moſes's ſpeech to be tranſlated into Latin, and placed among the Archives of the Roman Church (13).

(13) Fleury, tom. 23. pag. 118, 119.

[H] *He received others from Peloponneſus.*] A few days after the former Embaſſadors from the Eaſt, came others from a city in Peloponneſus ſituated upon a mountain near the ſea, which was called Monobaſſe, or Monembaiſſe, one of the three ancient Epidaurus's. The deſign of their embaſſy was to deſire the Pope to receive them and their city under his protection. They repreſented to him, that they were unwilling to ſurrender to Mahomet II, as Demetrius Paleologus their Lord had done; that Thomas his brother, whom they inclined to obey, not finding himſelf able to defend them from the oppreſſion of the Turks, had adviſed them to acknowledge the Pope for their Sovereign, and that they were now come to offer their obedience to him. The Pope received them very readily in the name of the Church of Rome, and ſent them a Governor with ſtore of proviſions (14).

(14) *Phranz.* lib. 3. cap. 24. *Comment. Pii II.* lib. 3.

[I] *We ſhall mention ſome circumſtances of his death.*] When he found himſelf near his end, he ſent for the Cardinals to him, and ſpoke to them for two hours, exhorting them to conſider only real merit in the choice of his ſucceſſor, and eſpecially to purſue the deſign of the war againſt the Turks. Having then ask'd pardon of them, he gave them his indulgences, and deſired to receive the laſt Sacraments. But here a very perplexing circumſtance happen'd. As he had before received Extreme Unction at Baſil, when he was ſeized with the plague, Laurence Roverella Biſhop of Ferrara, an eminent Divine, maintained that he could not receive it a ſecond time. It is true, there was ſuch an opinion among ſome Divines ſince the twelfth Century; tho' it had but few followers. The Pope diſputed this point with him, and thought himſelf not obliged to ſubmit to his opinion; ſo that he received Extreme Unction and the Euchariſt, and died ſoon after (15). Olearius tells us (16), that he regretted at his death three things; 1. that he had written a book intitled, *Hiſtoria de duobus Amantibus, Eurialo videlicet & Lucretia*, i. e. " The Hiſtory of two Lovers, Eurialus and " Lucretia;" 2. becauſe he had canonized Catherine of Sienna, who had been miſtreſs to a Pope; and 3. becauſe he had excited the Chriſtians to a war againſt the Turks. This he ſays he learned from a manuſcript Chronicle of Sileſia. But what regard is to be paid to ſuch an authority, let the reader judge; it is certain that the laſt particular, that is, his regret for exciting the Chriſtians to a war againſt the Turks is directly contrary to what is affirmed by other writers, as we have ſeen above.

(15) Fleury, tom. 23. p. 196, 197.

(16) *Bibliotb. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 98. edit. Jenæ in 4°. 1710.

only be vindicated in him, by conſidering the prodigious expence of the three wars which he was engaged in. The Cardinal of Pavia likewiſe excuſes him in another point, which he had been reproached for, and that is, his reſiding ſo little at Rome, and travelling more than was conſiſtent with the character of a Pope. It is ſaid, that he was ſenſible that all his great preparations againſt the Turks would prove ineffectual; but being apprehenſive of the raillery, which he ſhould be expoſed to, if he abſolutely quitted his deſign, he had reſolved to ſail no further than Brunduſium, and to winter there, and then to return to Rome; after which he would never think of the war again. And that he might not be accuſed of having engaged in it too precipitately and raſhly, it is added, that he propoſed to caſt the blame of the ill ſucceſs upon the Princes, who had neglected to ſecond him; but death prevented all perplexities of that kind (*l*). His Secretary, John Gobelin, publiſhed an *Hiſtory of his Life*, which is ſuppoſed by the beſt critics, to have been written by this Pope himſelf. It was printed at Rome in 4*to* in 1584 and 1589, and at Francfort in folio in 1614. We have an edition of Æneas Sylvius's works printed at Baſil in folio in 1551 (*m*). He wrote before he was raiſed to the Popedom *Commentariorum de Geſtis Concilii Baſilienſis Libri II.* i. e. *Two Books of Memoirs of what paſt in the Council of Baſil, printed in Orthuinus Gratius's Faſciculus Rerum expetendarum at Cologne in* 1535. This piece was dedicated by Gratius to John Helmand, a grandſon of Helmand, who was preſent at that council, and whom Gratius tells us he had ſeen when he was a very old man (*n*). It was printed ſeparately at Baſil in 1577, in 8vo (*o*). He wrote likewiſe *De Ortu, Regione, ac Geſtis Bohemorum*, i. e. *An Hiſtory of the Origin, Country and Actions of the Bohemians*, which he continued to the year 1458. It was printed at Rome in 1475 in fol. at Baſil in 1532 and 1575. Hanov. 1602 in fol. Salingiaci 1528. Ambergæ 1593 4to, (*p*). His other works ſhall be mentioned in a Note hereunder [*K*].

(*l*) *See* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 23. l. 112. pag. 197. edit. Bruxelles 1726.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Voſſius *de Hiſtor. Latin.* l. 3. c. 7.

(*o*) Cave *Append.*

(*p*) Ibid.

ÆRODIUS

[*K*] *His other works ſhall be mentioned in a note hereunder.*] *Bulla Retractionum omnium ab eo olim contra Eugenium Papam in Concilio Baſilienſi geſtorum* (17). i. e. "A Bull retracting all that he had done "againſt Pope Eugenius in the Council of Baſil." This is extant in the *Body of Councils* (18). *De Coronatione Fælicis V. Pontificis maximi liber.* i. e. "A Book concerning the Coronation of Pope Felix "V." *Abbreviationem Flavii Blondi Hiſtoriarum ab inclinatione Imperii uſque ad tempora Joannis XXIII Papæ Libri viginti* (19). i. e. "An abridgment of "Flavius Blondius's Decades of Hiſtories from the "decline of the Empire to the time of Pope John "XXIII, in twenty books." This was printed with Blondus at Venice in 1484, and ſeparately at Baſil in 1533. *Coſmographiæ, ſeu Hiſtoriarum de Mundo univerſo Liber primus, in quo de Aſiâ minori agit* (20). i. e. "The firſt Book of Coſmography, or the Hiſto-"ry of the World, in which he treats of leſſer Aſia." Printed at Paris in 1534, in 8vo, and at Cologne in 1573. *Europa, ſeu Coſmographiæ Liber ſecundus.* i. e. "Europe, or the ſecond Book of Coſmogra-"phy;" in which he comprehends ſeveral hiſtories of his own times. Printed at Paris in 8vo, 1543; at Cologne in 8vo, 1573; and in Freher's SCRIPT. GERMAN. Hanov. 1602. Tom. II. p. 37 (21). *In Antonii Panormitæ Poetæ de dictis & factis memorabilibus Alphonſi Aragonum Regis libros IV, Commentaria.* i. e. "Notes upon Anthony Panormitanus's "four Books concerning the remarkable ſayings and "actions of Alphonſus King of Arragon." Hanov. 1611, 4to; at Wittemberg 1585, 4to; with the Commentaries of Jacobus Spiegelius; and at Roſtoch, 1590, 4to, by the care of David Chytræus (22). *In Triumphum Alphonſi Regis* (23). i. e. "Upon the "Triumph of King Alphonſus." *In Alphonſum Aragoniæ Regem Oratio* (24). i. e. "An Oration "upon Alphonſus King of Arragon." A Volume of letters, containing 432 in number, many of which are treatiſes upon different ſubjects, and ſome of them upon Queſtions of Divinity or Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. The 103d letter is, *The Reſolution of a threefold Problem*; the 108th, *A Dream concerning fortune*; the 111th, *Of the Praiſes of Poetry*; the 114th, *The Hiſtory of Euryalus and Lucretia, who were in love with each other*; this was publiſh'd ſeparately at Louvain in 4to, in 1479; the 130th is, *A Dialogue againſt the Taborites and Bohemians concerning the Communion under one kind*, written in the year 1451; the 131ſt is, *An Oration concerning the Deſtruction of Conſtantinople, and carrying on a war againſt the Turks*; the 162d is *concerning the Deſtruction of the univerſal Church*; the 165th is, *A Deſcription of the City of Vienna.* The 166th is, *Of the Miſeries of Courtiers*; the 187th is, *Of his own Actions*; the 188th, *Of the Duties of a Pope and his Officers*; the 369th, *An Excuſe againſt the complaints of the German Nation*; the 395th, *A Retractation of his book concerning the two Lovers*; the 396th, *Of the Chriſtian Faith addreſs'd to Mahomet King of the Turks, and of the Vanity of the Mahometan Sect*; the 397th, 398th, and 399th are *Diſcourſes upon the War againſt the Turks*; the 310th is, *A Treatiſe concerning the dreadful event of the loves of Guiſcard and Sigiſmunda, daughter of Tancred Prince of Salerno*, tranſlated by him out of the Italian into Latin. We have this ſtory beautifully told in Mr. Dryden's Fables. The 311th is *concerning the Revenge, which Lucretia, the mirror of Roman chaſtity, took of her ſelf on account of the violence, which her modeſty had ſuffer'd.* All theſe Epiſtles were publiſh'd together at Nuremberg in 1481, at Louvain in 1483, and at Lyons in 1497. He wrote likewiſe, *In Salvatoris noſtri Paſſionem Carmen Sapphicum.* i. e. "A Sapphic Ode upon the Paſſion of our Savi-"our." *De Liberorum Educatione ad Ladiſlaum Hungariæ & Bohemiæ Regem.* i. e. "Concerning the "Education of Children to Ladiſlaus King of Hun-"gary and Bohemia." *De Grammatica ad eundem.* i. e. "Of Grammar to the ſame King." *De Arte Rhetoricâ & Epiſtolarum Partibus ad Archiepiſcopum Trevirenſem.* i. e. "Of Rhetoric and the Parts of "Epiſtles to the Archbiſhop of Treves." *Deſcriptio de ritu, ſitu, moribus, & conditione Germaniæ ad Antonium S. Chryſogoni Cardinalem.* i. e. "A Deſcrip-"tion of the cuſtoms, ſituation, manners, and ſtate "of Germany, to Anthony Cardinal of St. Chryſo-"gonus." Theſe laſt pieces were printed at Baſil in fol. in 1571 (25). *Tractatus de ortu & autoritate imperii Romani ad Fredericum Imperatorem.* i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the Riſe and Authority of "the Roman Empire, dedicated to the Emperor "Frederic." This is publiſh'd in Melchior Goldaſt's Monarchy (26). *Reſponſio ad Orationem Oratorum Galliæ in Conventu Mantuano.* i. e. An An-"ſwer to the Speech of the French Embaſſadors in "the Council of Mantua." This is publiſhed in Dacherius's *Spicilegium* (27), and in the *Body of Councils* (28). *Alia ad eoſdem Reſponſio ſive Oratio.* i. e. "Another Anſwer or Speech to the ſame Embaſſa-"dors." This is printed in the *Body of Councils* (29). *Bulla contra Appellationes à Sede Apoſtolicâ ad Concilium; & Decreta II. de Bello Turcis inferendo.* i. e. "A Bull againſt Appeals from the Apoſtolical "See; and two Decrees concerning carrying on a "war againſt the Turks;" publiſh'd in the ſame *Body of Councils* (30). *Ilias contra Venerios ex Homero*, at London 1509, with a Preface in praiſe of Homer. *De pravis Mulieribus.* i. e. "Of bad "Women," at Strasburg 1507. *Conſtitutiones Eccleſiaſticæ*

(17) *Append. ad* Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(18) Tom. 13. p. 1407.

(19) *Append. ad* Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(20) Cave, *Append.*

(21) Idem.

(22) Idem.

(23) Idem.

(24) Idem.

(25) Idem.

(26) Tom. 2. p. 1558.

(27) Tom. 8.

(28) Tom. 13. p. 1775.

(29) Tom. 13. p. 1765.

(30) Ibid. pag. 1801.

ÆRODIUS, a Civilian of the ſixteenth Century. See AYRAULT.

cleſiaſticæ variæ. i. e. "Various Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions," publiſh'd in a Collection at Rome in 1579. *Sermo primus dum eſſet Paſtor factus, ad populum.* i. e. "His firſt Sermon to the people, when he was made a Paſtor," in manuſcript, *in Bibliothecâ Auguſtanâ.* Ludovicus Jacob à S. Carolo gives an account of thoſe works of his, which are not yet publiſhed (31). Hieronymus Occalus, Catalanus, John Falinus, and Balbus Epiſcopus, quoted by Father L'abbe (32), informs us, that he wrote *A Dialogue againſt the pretended donation of the Emperor Conſtantine.* Thus far we have been partly obliged to Mr. Henry Wharton, who wrote the *Appendix to Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Litteraria,* for an account of Æneas Sylvius's works. But he has omitted ſome, which we ſhall endeavour to ſupply. He wrote beſides the abovementioned *Hiſtoria Rerum Friderici III. Imperatoris,* in which he deſigned not only to give an account of that Emperor's actions, but likewiſe of the moſt remarkable affairs, which paſt in Europe at that time; but he never finiſh'd this work, and it was carried down no farther than the troubles of Hungary. The learned Mr. John Henry Boeclerus undertook the publiſhing this work from a correct manuſcript, and illuſtrating it with notes; and deſigned to ſubjoin it to an *Univerſal Hiſtory* written by himſelf; but he was prevented by death. But the deſign was reſumed by Kulpiſius, who publiſh'd this work with a ſpecimen of Boeclerus's *Notes,* and ſeveral *Diploma's* and *Documenta,* collected for the moſt part by Boeclerus; with a long Preface by the editor, who ſubjoined to the whole ſeveral ſcarce writers, that were proper for illuſtrating the affairs of Germany. This book was printed at Strasburg in 1685, fol. Oudin obſerves upon this work of Æneas Sylvius, that ſome reſerve is to be uſed in reading it, ſince the author owed all his fortune to the Emperor Frederic III, whoſe Hiſtory he then wrote (33). *Judicent autem cordati, quam fidem debeant Æneæ Sylvio de Rebus Friderici III. agenti, à quo fortunam omnem habuit.* Peter Lambecius tells us (34), that in the Imperial Library at Vienna there is *The Hiſtory of Auſtria* by Æneas Sylvius, but imperfect, in two manuſcripts, written with his own hand, but full of alterations, as is common in imperfect works. Sign. Lud. Antonio Muratori has likewiſe publiſh'd in the ſecond volume of *Anecdota* (35), which he found in the Ambroſian Library at Milan, *An Oration pronounced at Vienna in defence of the authority of the Pope in the year* 1452; to which the editor has ſubjoined a Diſſertation, in which he gives a ſhort account of the author, and endeavours from that Oration to confute Maimbourg, who had affirmed, that Sylvius had declared before he was raiſed to the Popedom, that a Pope was ſubject to a general Council. He has likewiſe mentioned thoſe writings of Æneas Silvius which were never printed, and which he propoſed himſelf to publiſh ſoon from the manuſcripts. We have lately had a book printed with the following title. *Cl. V. Æn. Sylvii, qui poſtea ſummus Pontifex Pii II. Nomen obtinuit, Hiſtoria Gothorum, palmaria Gentis Monumenta complectens: quæ in hanc diem nunquam fuit edita, & inter ejus ſcripta nuſquam reperta. Cum luculenta præfatione Jo. Car. Neweni, Colon. Cæſ. Aul. Poet. Laur. Francofurt, & Lipſiæ,* 1730. i. e. "The Hiſtory of the Goths by "Æn. Sylvius, &c. never before printed, nor any "where found amongſt his writings, with an am"ple Preface by Jo. Car. Newen, &c. in 4° p. 40. Neither the editor nor the author of the Preface mention how they procured this Hiſtory. The Dedication as well as Preface, run wholly upon commending Hiſtory in general; and this in particular, ſuppoſed to be Æneas Sylvius's, whom the editor calls *lucentiſſimus luculentiſſimuſque Scriptor:* But this work, whether by Æneas Sylvius, or not, is only an abridgment of Jornandes's *Hiſtory of the Goths;* which is confeſſed by a later edition of the ſame work in folio, publiſh'd by one Raym. Duellius, who has ſubjoined it to another work, intitled, *Chorographia Auſtriæ Willelmi Lazii* (36). The author of this Abridgment advances nothing of his own, but only brings into a narrow compaſs what is related by Jornandes more at length.

T.

(31) *Biblioth. Pontif.* p. 187.

(32) *Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 228.

(33) *Comment. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Col. 2645.

(34) *Commentar. Biblioth. Vind.* tom. 2. p. 4, 7, 463 and 972.

(35) Printed at Milan in 1699, in 4°.

(36) See *Hiſtoria Litteraria,* Vol. 1. Art. 27. p. 274.

☞ÆSCHINES, a Socratic Philoſopher, was the ſon of Charinus a ſauſage-maker, or as other writers aſſert, of Lyſanias (*a*). He was even from his childhood a perſon of great application and induſtry, ſo that he never left Socrates's company; which occaſioned the latter to ſay of him, that the ſauſage-maker's ſon was the only perſon who knew how to pay a due regard to him. Idomeneus, according to Diogenes Laertius, affirmed, that it was he, and not Crito, who adviſed Socrates to make his eſcape out of the priſon; but that Plato aſcribed this particular to Crito, becauſe Æſchines was of Ariſtippus's party. It is ſaid, that he was obliged by poverty to go to Sicily to Dionyſius the Tyrant, where he met with contempt from Plato [*A*], but was highly commended by Ariſtippus; and having ſhewn the Dialogues which he wrote, he was very handſomly rewarded. Upon his return to Athens he would not venture to profeſs Philoſophy, becauſe Plato and Ariſtippus were in ſuch high eſteem there; but he ſet up a ſchool there, in order to maintain himſelf. He afterwards wrote Orations to be ſpoken in the Courts of Juſtice, in defence of thoſe who were injured. Laertius tells us, that Polycritus Mendæus affirmed in his firſt book of the *Hiſtory of Dionyſius,*

(a) *See* Diog. Laertius *in Vita Æſchinis, & Photii Biblioth.* Cod. lxi; Suidas and Philoſtrat. *in Vitâ Apollonii,* l. 1. c. 35.

[*A*] *Where he met with contempt from Plato.*] We are informed of this by Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of Æſchines*; and he repeats the ſame in his *Life of Plato*; where he tells us, that Plato had a conteſt with Æſchines, and aſcribed the converſation, which Idomeneus ſays Æſchines held with Socrates in priſon, to Crito; and that he never mentioned him in any of his works except in his book *Of the Immortality of the Soul,* and *the Defence of Socrates,* and even there in a very ſlight manner. But wherever Laertius got theſe particulars, they are plainly inconſiſtent with a paſſage in Plutarch, in his *Book concerning the difference between a Friend and a Flatterer,* where that author introduces Plato recommending Æſchines to Dionyſius (1). The paſſage is as follows. "Plato addreſſed himſelf to Dionyſius in "this manner: *If you knew, Dionyſius, that a man "was come to Sicily with an hoſtile deſign againſt you, "but wanted an opportunity of executing it, would "you ſuffer him to go away with impunity? By no "means,* ſaid Dionyſius; *for we ought not only to "reſent and puniſh the actions, but even the intentions "of our enemies. If therefore,* replied Plato, *a "perſon ſhould come hither out of friendſhip to you, "and deſire to do you a kindneſs; and you ſhould not "give him a proper opportunity to do it, does he de"ſerve to be ungratefully neglected?* Upon this Dio"nyſius, inquiring who the perſon was, Plato an"ſwered, *It is Æſchines, a man, who of all Socra"tes's friends is moſt eminent for his integrity and "virtue, and who is qualified to inſtruct and reform "thoſe whom he converſes with. He has taken a "long voyage at ſea, in order to talk with you in a "philoſophical way; and yet he is entirely neglected.* "This touched Dionyſius ſo ſenſibly, that he imme"diately took Plato by the hand, and embraced him, "and treated Æſchines in the moſt friendly and ho"nourable manner." This paſſage is very agreeable to Plato's character and diſpoſition, and is therefore rather to be credited than Diogenes Laertius's ſuggeſtions to the contrary.

(1) *See* Iſ. Caſaubon. *ad Menagii Not. in Diog. Laert. Vit. Æſchin.*

Dionyſius, that he lived with that Tyrant till he was depoſed, upon Dion's coming to Syracuſa; and that Carcinus the comic writer was with him. There was likewiſe an Epiſtle of Æſchines to Dionyſius extant. Phrynicus in Photius (*b*) ranks him amongſt the beſt Orators, and repreſents his Orations as the ſtandard of the pure Attic Style. Hermogenes has alſo paſt the ſame judgment upon him [*B*]. Laertius tells us, that he was very well ſkilled in Oratory, as appeared from his apology for Phæax the General, and for Dion, and that he imitated Gorgius Leontinus. Lyſias wrote an Oration againſt him, which he intitled, *Concerning Calumny*. Ariſtippus ſuſpected Æſchines's Dialogues; for when the latter read them to him at Megara, he aſked him with a tone of raillery, *Where did you get them, you plagiary* [*C*]? Menedemus Eretrienſis likewiſe accuſed him for having aſſumed to himſelf thoſe Dialogues, which were actually written by Socrates, and which he received from Xanthippa (*c*). Suidas ſays, that he wrote the following Dialogues, intitled *Miltiades*, *Callias*, *Rhinon*, *Aſpaſia*, *Axiochus*, *Telauges*, *Alcibiades*, and thoſe which are called *Acephali*, *Phædon*, *Polyænus*, *Eryxias*, *Concerning Virtue*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Scythici*. We have three Dialogues of Æſchines ſtill extant. I. *Concerning Virtue, whether it can be taught.* II. *Eryxias* or *Eraſiſtratus, concerning Riches, whether they are good.* III. *Axiochus, Concerning Death, whether it is to be feared.* Theſe Dialogues were tranſlated into Latin by Rodolphus Agricola, Sebaſtian Corradus and John Serranus; but their verſions, as Mr. Le Clerc has obſerved (*d*), are too remote from the author's words, and very often from his meaning. This conſideration induced the latter to undertake a new tranſlation, which he publiſhed in 1711 in 8vo, with Notes, and ſubjoined to it ſeveral Diſſertations, which he intitled *Silvæ Philologicæ*; in the ſecond chapter of which he examines very accurately the doctrine of Æſchines's firſt Dialogue. He has added likewiſe a fragment of another Dialogue *De Moribus Conjugum*, i. e. "Concerning the Behaviour of married Perſons [*D*], extracted from Cicero (*e*). There is a fine paſſage in the third Dialogue concerning the immortality of the ſoul [*E*]. Philoſtratus in his Epiſtles to Julia Auguſta ſays,

(*b*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Diog. Laert. & Photius, *Cod.* clviii. and Athen. *Deipnoſ.* lib. 13. pag. 611. and Heſychius Illuſtris *de Vitâ Philoſophorum.*

(*d*) *In præfatione* edit. *ſuæ Dialog. Æſchinis.*

(*e*) *De Invent.* l. 1. c. 31.

[*B*] *Hermogenes has paſt the ſame judgment upon him.*] He tells us (2), that Æſchines made uſe of the utmoſt ſimplicity of ſtyle, but much oftner of the greateſt purity and perſpicuity. He is more ſubtle, ſays Hermogenes, in Diction, than Xenophon. He introduces a great many ſentences, and thoſe of the moſt weighty kind; but very ſeldom any ornaments or alluſions from fables and fabulous writers. But as much as Xenophon was ſuperior to Plato in the ſimplicity of his manner of writing, ſo much was Æſchines ſuperior to Xenophon in ſubtlety. Beſides, he is much purer, and with all his ſimplicity very accurate, and even more ſo than Xenophon himſelf.

(2) *De formis Orationis*, lib. 2. cap. 12.

[*C*] *He asked him with a tone of raillery, where did you get them, you plagiary?*] Phrynicus in Photius (3) tells us, ſome writers aſcribe Æſchines's ſeven Dialogues to Socrates. Mr. Le Clerc in his Notes upon Laertius's Life of our Philoſopher (4), obſerves upon this occaſion, that we have reaſon to congratulate ourſelves, if we can ſuppoſe theſe Dialogues to have been of Socrates's own compoſition. On the other hand, it muſt undoubtedly have been the moſt exquiſite ſatisfaction imaginable to Æſchines, to find that his Dialogues were eſteemed ſo exactly agreeable to the genius and manner of Socrates, that they were commonly aſcribed to him. However, we may juſtly think our ſelves happy, that we have ſome of the remains either of Socrates, or of Æſchines, who ſo faithfully copied that excellent Philoſopher's doctrine, as is acknowledged by Ariſtides (5), who ſays, that he wrote what Socrates ſaid, or what was very like it; whereas Plato indulged his own fancy, and publiſhed a great many things under Socrates's name, which it is certain he never ſaid.

(3) *Cod.* clviii. p. 327. edit. Rhotomagi 1653.

(4) Pag. 4.

(5) *Orat. Platon.* pag. 367. edit. Canter.

[*D*] *Dialogue de Moribus Conjugum*, i. e. *Concerning the behaviour of married perſons.*] Cicero has given this as an inſtance of the uſe of Induction, which is a manner of arguing, by which we gain the aſſent of the perſon whom we diſpute with, by propoſing to him things, which are evident; and by this aſſent of his we prove another point, which was before doubtful, by means of the ſimilitude which there is between the two caſes. Socrates, in this Dialogue of Æſchines, gives an account of the method which Aſpaſia took, in order to perſuade Xenophon and his wife to obſerve the reciprocal duties of a married ſtate in the beſt manner. The perſons in the Dialogue are Aſpaſia, Xenophon, and his wife, whom Mr. Le Clerc (6) ſuppoſes from a paſſage in Laertius (7) to have been named Phileſia. "Tell

(6) *Not. in Æſchin.* Dial. iv. p. 122.

(7) *In Vita Xenophont.* § 52.

"me, Phileſia, ſays Aſpaſia, whether, if your neighbour had a piece of gold of more value than your own, you would not chooſe it before your own? Yes, anſwered Phileſia. If ſhe had a gown, or any of the female ornaments better than your's, would not you chooſe them rather than your own? Yes, anſwered ſhe. But, ſays Aſpaſia, if ſhe had an husband of more merit than your own, would not you chooſe the former? Upon this Phileſia bluſhed. Aſpaſia then addreſſed herſelf to Xenophon. If your neighbour, Xenophon, had an horſe better than your own, would not you chooſe him preferably to your own? Yes, anſwered he. If he had an eſtate or farm of more value than your own, which would you chooſe? The former, anſwered he, that is, that which is more of value. But if his wife was better than your own, would not you chooſe your neighbour's? Here Xenophon was ſilent upon this queſtion. Aſpaſia therefore proceeded thus: Since both of you then have refuſed to anſwer me in that point only, which I wanted you to ſatisfy me in, I will tell you myſelf what you both think: for you, Phileſia, would have the beſt of husbands, and you, Xenophon, the beſt of wives. And therefore if you don't endeavour that there be not a better husband and wife in the world than your ſelves, you will always be wiſhing for that which you ſhall think beſt; you, Xenophon, will wiſh you might be married to the beſt of wives, and Phileſia, that ſhe might have the beſt of huſbands." *Quare niſi hoc perfeceritis, ut neque vir melior, neque fœmina lectior in terris ſit; profecto id ſemper quod optimum putabitis eſſe, multo maximè requiretis; ut & tu maritus ſis quam optimæ, & hæc quam optimo viro nupta ſit.*

[*E*] *A fine paſſage in the third Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul.*] The interlocutors of this Dialogue are Socrates, Clinias and Axiochus. Clinias had brought Socrates to his father Axiochus, who was ſick, and apprehenſive of death, in order to ſupport him againſt the fears of it. Socrates diſcourſes with him in a very ſtrong and convincing manner by a variety of arguments, and then proceeds as follows (8). "Beſides, there are many and very noble things which are ſaid concerning the immortality of the ſoul. For the human nature could not have raiſed itſelf to ſo high a pitch in executing the greateſt affairs, ſo as to deſpiſe even the ſtrength of brute creatures, though ſuperior to our own, to paſs over ſeas, build cities, and found commonwealths, contemplate the heavens, view

(8) Æſchin. *Dialog.* 3 *de Morte*, p. 166, *& ſeq.* edit. J. Clerici 1711.

"the

says, that he wrote an Oration concerning *Thargelia*, and that he imitated Gorgias (g) in it, which is agreeable to what we obſerved above from Laertius. Menage tells us, that Athenæus mentions a Dialogue of Æſchines, which he intitled Πολιτικὸς; but Mr. Le Clerc (*b*) obſerves, that he cannot find any ſuch paſſage in Athenæus. There were eight eminent men of this name among the ancients: I. The Philoſopher, whom we are ſpeaking of. II. The Author of an Art of Rhetoric. III. The Orator who was contemporary with Demoſthenes. IV. An Arcadian. V. A Mitylenean, who was called Rhetoromaſtix

(g) Γοργιάζων.

(*b*) *Not. in Laertii Vitam Æſchinis*, p. 8.

" the revolutions of the Stars, the courſes of the " Sun and Moon, their riſings and ſettings, their " eclipſes and immediate reſtoration to their for- " mer ſtate, the equinoxes and double returns " of the Sun [or the two Solſtices,] the ſigni- " fications of the Pleiades concerning winter and " ſummer, the winds and deſcents of ſhowers, " and the unſeaſonable ſtorms and whirl-winds; " and to foretell for ever by certain rules what " ſhall happen to the world; this, I ſay, the " ſoul could never do, unleſs it was really poſ- " ſeſs'd of a divine Spirit, by which it gains the " knowledge of ſo many great things. And there- " fore, Axiochus, you will not be changed to a " ſtate of death or annihilation, but of immortality; " nor will your delights be taken from you, but " you will enjoy them more perfectly; nor will " your pleaſures have any tincture of this mortal " body, but be free from every kind of pain. When " you are diſengaged from this priſon, you will be " tranſlated thither, where there is no labour, nor " ſorrow, nor old age. You will enjoy a ſtate of " tranquillity and freedom from evil, a ſtate perpe- " tually ſerene and eaſy; and you'll then be ena- " bled to contemplate nature, and ſtudy Philoſophy, " not for the ſake of the multitude and the public, " but out of regard to the pure and genuine truth. " Axioch. You have drawn me over, Socrates, to " your opinion by your diſcourſe; I am now no " longer fearful of death, but ambitious of it and " impatient for it; ſo that I ſhall ſay ſomething very " noble and excellent, in imitation of the Rhetoricians. " My mind is tranſported into ſublime thoughts, " and I run the eternal and divine circle; I have " diſengaged my ſelf from my former weakneſs, " and am become a new man. Socrates: But if " you will give your attention to another diſcourſe, " which I had from Gobryas (9) the Magus, I will " relate the ſtory. He told me at the time, that " Xerxes paſſed over to Europe, that his Grandfa- " ther, who was of the ſame name with himſelf, be- " ing ſent to Delos, in order to ſecure the iſland, " in which the two Deities were born, learn'd there " from certain books of braſs, which Opis and Eca- " ergus had brought from the Hyperboreans, that " the ſoul after it is freed from the body, goes into " an inviſible place beneath the earth, in which Pluto " has his kingdom not the leaſt inferior to Jupiter's " palace; for as the earth poſſeſſes the middle region " of the world, and the pole is of a ſpherical form, " the celeſtial Gods have claimed the upper hemiſ- " phere, and the infernal Gods the lower. Some of " whom are brothers, and others brothers ſons. " The porch of life, which leads to Pluto's palace, " is fortified with iron bolts and bars. But when a " perſon has opened this, he goes on to the river " Acheron, and then to Cocytus; which muſt be " paſs'd in a ferry-boat, in order to go to Minos " and Rhadamanthus, in the place, which is called " the *Plain of Truth* (10). Here the Judges ſit, " examining every one who comes, what kind of " life he has led, and after what manner he has act- " ed in the body; and it is impoſſible for any of " them to return a falſe anſwer. Whoever therefore " have followed the impulſes of their good genius " in this life, they are ordered to dwell in the ſeats " of the good and pious. Here the ſeaſons produce " all the various kinds of fruits in the moſt plenti- " ful manner; here the fountains flow with the moſt " limpid ſtreams, the meadows ſmile with all the " variety of beautiful flowers; here are the ſchools " of Philoſophers, the theatres of Poets, the moſt " elegant conſorts of muſic and dancing, and the " richeſt banquets of fruits, which the earth ſponta- " neouſly affords; in ſhort, here are all the bliſsful " ſcenes of immortal happineſs, and undiſturbed " eaſe and tranquillity. Here are none of the in- " clemencies of the ſeaſons, neither too intenſe " cold, nor immoderate heat, but the air is always " temper'd with gentle beams of the Sun. Thoſe " who are initiated have a right to the principal " ſeats here, and they perform the ſacred purifica- " tions. Why then ſhould not you be the firſt " partaker of this honour, when you are of the " ſame origin and family with the Gods? It is ſaid, " that Hercules and Bacchus were initiated here be- " fore they deſcended to the Infernal regions, and " that the reſolution with which they went thither, " was inſpired into them by the Goddeſs Eleuſinia. " But whoever have led a vicious life, are hurried " away by the Furies thro' Tartarus into Erebus " and Chaos: there is the ſeat of the impious, " the pitchers of Danaus's daughters, which are ne- " ver filled, the everlaſting thirſt of Tantalus, and " Tityus with his bowels ever conſuming, Siſyphus " rolling up the ſtone, which can never reach the " top of the mountain,

His labour ſtill revolving on itſelf.

" There are thoſe criminals who are ſurrounded by " ſerpents, which perpetually lick them, and are al- " ways burning with the Furies torches, and tortur'd " with all the various forms of puniſhment to all " eternity. Theſe things I heard from Gobryas; " you, Axiochus, may paſs your own judgment of " them; for I only know from the principles of " reaſon this to be a certain truth, that the ſoul is " immortal. And when it is removed from this " world, it is freed from pain and ſorrow. Whe- " ther therefore you are placed above or below, " you muſt be happy, ſince you have lived virtu- " ouſly. Axiochus: I am aſhamed, Socrates, to " ſay any thing to you; for I am now ſo far from " fearing death, that I long for it, ſuch an effect " has this divine diſcourſe had upon me. I now " deſpiſe life, ſince I ſhall be tranſlated to an hap- " pier ſituation. I ſhall now ſilently revolve in my mind " what has been ſaid; but do you, Socrates, viſit " me again in the afternoon. Socrates: I will " gratify your requeſt; but for the preſent I ſhall re- " turn to my walk in the Cynoſarges (11), from " whence I was ſent for hither." Cicero ſeems to have borrowed a great deal from this Dialogue of Æſchines in his *Tuſculan Queſtions* (12), and in his book *De Finibus* (13), and in a Fragment of his Treatiſe *De Philoſophia*, quoted by St. Auſtin (14). We may obſerve, that Socrates does not ſeem to lay any ſtreſs upon the credit of theſe fables, which he learned from Gobryas, but only made uſe of them in order to mitigate the uneaſineſs of his friend's mind. He thought it was ſufficient for him to believe the immortality of the ſoul, without any regard to the particular circumſtances of the other life, of which they had then no certainty. And we find the following remarkable paſſage in Plato's *Phædo* (15), where Socrates having advanced a great many things concerning the ſtate of ſouls after death, concludes thus: " But that theſe things are juſt in the ſame " manner as I have repreſented them, it does not be- " come a man of judgment abſolutely to affirm. " However I cannot but think it very conſiſtent " with reaſon to aſſert, that theſe or ſuch like will " be the circumſtances of our ſouls, and their pecu- " liar reſidence in a future ſtate, ſince it is plain the " ſoul is immortal; and that whoever thinks thus, " has the greateſt reaſon to make the trial." Τὸ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διαχρίσασθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς ἐγὼ διελήλυθα, οὐ πρέπει τοῦ ἔχοντι ἀνδρί, ὅτι μέντοι ἢ ταῦτ' ἐστιν, ἢ ταῦτ' ἄλλα περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις, ἐπείπερ ἀθάνατόν γε ἡ ψυχὴ φαίνεται οὖσα, τοῦτο καὶ πρέπειν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιον κινδυνεύσαι οἰομένῳ οὕτως ἔχειν.

T.

(9) Perhaps this is the ſame with *Gobryes*, who is ſaid by Ariſtotle to have been a *Syrian Magus*, and to have foretold to Socrates, that he ſhould die a violent death. See *Laertius*, l. 2. 42.

(10) Πεδίον ἀληθείας.

(11) A place near Athens.

(12) Lib. 1, 28.

(13) Lib. 5. cap. 19.

(14) *De Trinitate*, lib. 4. c. 2. *See* Le Clerc's Notes upon Æſchines's 3d *Dialogue*, p. 108 and 111.

(15) § 46.

Rhetoromaſtix. VI. A Neapolitan, who was an Academic Philoſopher, and ſcholar and minion to Melanthius of Rhodes. VII. A Mileſian, who wrote concerning the Adminiſtration of a Commonwealth. VIII. A Statuary *(i)*.

(i) *See* Diogenes Laertius *in Vita Æſchines.*

ÆSCHYLUS the tragick Poet was of Athens [*A*]. There are a thouſand diſputes about the year of his birth [*B*]; but we may know for a certainty at what time he flouriſhed, ſeeing it is known *(a)* that he ſignalized his bravery at the battle of Marathon *(b)*, at that of Salamis and at that of Platæa. He told the publick himſelf that he ſet about writing Tragedies by the order of Bacchus [*C*]. Some ſay that he never laboured at them but when he had drank liberally [*D*]; they mean perhaps that he gave himſelf up in ſuch a manner to the exceſſive tranſports of his imagination, that he wrote more like a man that had drank too much, than one of ſolid ſenſe. The character of his genius is admirably repreſented by Mr. le Fevre of Saumur (*c*). This Poet was not in reality the inventor of Tragedy; but he made ſeveral alterations in it [*E*], which brought him ſo near perfection, that he deſerves greater praiſes than thoſe who

(a) Scholiaſtes, *in Vita Æſchyli.*
(b) In the 2d year of the 72d Olympiad.

(c) In his *Vie des Poëtes Grecs.* See alſo Mr. Baillet, *Jugem. ſur les Poëtes*, tom. 1. pag. 148, &c.

(1) Saturnal. l. 5. cap. 19.

[*A*] *He was of Athens.*] Macrobius (1) who has made him a Sicilian is miſtaken; and it cannot be ſaid that he ſpoke of another Æſchylus; for he ſpeaks of him that wrote a Tragedy intitled *Ætna*. Now it is certain that he who compoſed this Tragedy is not different from him that was overcome by Sophocles, and out of ſpite baniſhed himſelf from Athens his own country, and retired to Hiero King of Syracuſa. Hiero was at that time building the city of Ætna, which was the reaſon that Æſchylus gave that name to his Tragedy (2). The learned Giraldi had not erred as he has, if he had conſidered this circumſtance. He pretends (3) that the Æſchylus of Macrobius was a Sicilian, and a different perſon from him whoſe Tragedies are remaining. He queſtions alſo whether Athenæus has not ſpoken of this Sicilian Æſchylus, when he ſays (4) that Æſchylus made uſe of Sicilian phraſes. I do not know what theſe words mean, *Fuit Cyrenæus* (Æſchylus) *familiaris Callimachi. Athenæus lib. viii.* They are in the Variorum Edition of Valerius Maximus, in the notes upon the twelfth chapter of the ninth book. They are aſcribed to Colerus.

(2) Scholiaſtes, *in Vita Æſchyli.*
(3) *In Dialogis de Poët. Græc.*
(4) Athen. lib. 9.

[*B*] *There are a thouſand diſputes about the year of his birth.*] The life of Æſchylus compoſed by his Scholiaſt places his birth in the 40th Olympiad, and mentions his giving proofs of his valour at the battle of Salamis. Theſe two facts are incompatible; for this battle was fought in the laſt year of the 74th Olympiad (5). Could Æſchylus perform the duty of a good ſoldier, when he was about 140 years old? There is no diſpute amongſt the criticks whether the number 40 crept into this life of Æſchylus by the ignorance of the copyiſts: every body allows it; but it is diſputed what other number ought to be ſubſtituted for it. Caſaubon (6) ſubſtitutes 63; Samuel Petit (7) 65; Meurſius (8) 70. This laſt opinion cannot be ſupported, for Æſchylus ſignalized himſelf at Marathon the ſecond year of the 72d Olympiad, according to the author of his life. Voſſius corrects it as Meurſius does, and to get clear of the objection, ſuppoſes that the Scholiaſt has not pointed out the birth, but the flouriſhing of Æſchylus (9). But this is wrong; for the Scholiaſt made uſe of the word γεγονὼς. Stanley relying on the Arundelian marbles places the birth of this Poet in the 4th year of the 63d Olympiad. According to theſe marbles, Æſchylus died at the age of 69 years, when Callias was Archon, that is, in the firſt year of the 80th Olympiad. The conſequence which Stanley (10) has drawn from this principle is juſt. Barnes in his *Life of Euripides* regulates himſelf by the ſame marbles, with regard to the birth of Æſchylus.

(5) According to others, the 1ſt of the 75th Olympiad; a difference which might ariſe from the laſt months of one Olympiad and the firſt of the next anſwering to the ſame year of the Romans.
(6) *De Satyrica Poëſi*, lib. 1. cap. 5. *apud* Stanleium *Not. in Æſchyl.* p. 702, 703.
(7) *Miſcellan.* lib. 3. cap. 14. *apud eundem*, ibid.
(8) De Archont. *apud eundem*, p. 704.
(9) Voſſius, *de Poët. Græc.* pag. 25.
(10) *Not. in Æſchyl.* p. 704.

[*C*] *He ſays himſelf that he ſet about writing Tragedies by the order of Bacchus.*] When he was a little boy he was ſent into the country to look after the vineyards. He dreamed one night that Bacchus commanded him to write Tragedies: as ſoon as it was day he endeavoured to obey the Divinity, and found that his endeavour met with good ſucceſs, and no difficulty. Ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ μειράκιον ὄντι καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσειν σταφυλάς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πειθόμενος γὰρ ἐθέλειν) ῥᾳδίως ἤδη ποιοῦντος ποιεῖν (11).

(11) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 19.

[*D*] *Some ſay that he never laboured at them but when he had drank liberally.*] This is obſerved by Chameleon in his book of the *Life of Æſchylus.* Μεθύων δὲ ἐποίει τὰς τραγῳδίας Αἰσχύλος, ὡς φησὶ Χαμαιλέων (12). Hence he came to be reproached with making his Tragedies as he ought, but not knowing what he did. Sophocles was the author of it: Σοφοκλῆς οὖν ὀνειδίζων αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε (13). He was very happy in arriving at the height of perfection blindly and by accident, which ſo many others know not how to effect with all their ſtudy. He was reproached with another fault, that of being the firſt who introduced drunken perſons into a dramatic piece, as if he would have juſtified his own faults by imputing them to the Heroes of his Tragedies (14). Chameleon is not the only teſtimony we can quote; Calliſthenes had ſaid the ſame thing. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ἔφη τι λέγων, τὰς τραγῳδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν, ἐξεφρωδῆσαι καὶ ἀναθερμαίνεσθαι τὴν ψυχήν. That is, "Not as Calliſthe-" nes ſaid of Æſchylus, that he wrote his Tragedies " when he was heated and enraged with wine (15)." Plutarch relates the ſame thing, and pretends that all the pieces of Æſchylus, not excepting that which paſſes for an enthuſiaſm of the God Mars (16), were the effects of an inſpiration of Bacchus (17). To avoid all equivocation, I muſt declare, that by this inſpiration of Bacchus I mean a real drunkenneſs without a metaphor, and not ſuch tranſports as thoſe which Horace ſpeaks of in the xixth Ode of the ſecond book, and in the xxvth of the third, where he evidently ſpeaks of the enthuſiaſm of the God of Poetry. See Mr. Dacier's Commentary. You will find there, that Bacchus and Apollo were but the ſame God.

(12) Athenæus, lib. 1. p. 22. and lib. 10. p. 428.
(13) Idem, ibid.
(14) Athenæus, lib. x. p. 428.
(15) Lucian. *in Demoſthenis Encomio Oper.* tom. 2. p. m. 924.
(16) It is intitled Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις, i. e. *Seven againſt Thebes.*
(17) Plut. *Sympoſ.* lib. 7. *Quæſt.* 10. pag. m. 715. Stanley, *Not. in Æſchyl.* p. 701, has reſtored this paſſage very ingeniouſly; he would have it read μέγιστον Ἄρεως, inſtead of μίστιν Ἄρεως.

[*E*] *He made ſeveral alterations in Tragedy.*] Horace has not taken notice of them all:

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora
Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis
Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno (18).

(18) Horat. *de Arte Poëtica*, ver. 275.

" When Theſpis firſt expos'd the tragic Muſe,
" Rude were the Actors, and a cart the ſcene,
" Where ghaſtly faces ſtain'd with lees of wine,
" Frighted the children, and amus'd the crowd;
" This Æſchylus (with indignation) ſaw,
" And built a ſtage, found out a decent dreſs,
" Brought vizards in (a civiller diſguiſe)
" And taught men how to ſpeak, and how to act.
Lord Roſcommon.

Mr. Dacier's note is as follows: " It is not ſo eaſy " to invent as to add to the inventions of others. " The alterations which Theſpis had already made " in Tragedy, gave Æſchylus an opportunity of " making new ones and more conſiderable. He gave " his Actors a mask; for *perſona* in this place ſig- " nifies *a mask*, and not *a perſon*; he dreſſed them " with long robes, and gave them the buskin; in- " ſtead of a cart he built a ſtage a little elevated, and " entirely changed their ſtyle which became grave " and ſerious, whereas before it was ludicrous, λίξις " γελοῖα; but I am ſurprized that Horace ſhould ſay " nothing of ſome more important alterations which " Ariſtotle aſcribes to Æſchylus; for he ſays in his *Poe-* " *ticks*, that he added an Actor to Theſpis, that he " diminiſhed the ſinging of the Chorus, and that he " invented

who went before him. His conduct with regard to religion was not always prudent, which drew him into difficulties that had like to have been fatal to him [*F*]. The mortification of seeing that his pieces were less pleasing to the Athenians than those of Sophocles, who was much younger than he [*G*], obliged him to leave his country, and retire

" invented a first part, προταγωνιςὴν λόγον. These " were worth being taken notice of (19)." There is an innovation ascribed to Æschylus which was not very agreeable to the impetuosity of his poetic rage. The ancients gave him the praise *of having been the first that removed murders and shocking sights from the eyes of the spectators* (20). It is he then that first practised the rule, of not staining the stage with blood. Mr. Dacier pretends that those who find this rule was not observed in the Tragedies of Æschylus, are mistaken. As to what he says after Aristotle, that Æschylus diminished the Chorus, I shall add a word or two. A sad accident was the occasion of this reformation. In the Tragedy of the Eumenides (a piece of Æschylus's) the Chorus being composed of fifty persons appearing on the stage with frightful habits (21) so affrighted the spectators that the women with child miscarried, and the children fell into fits. This occasioned a law to be made to reduce the Chorus to fifteen persons (22). Philostratus (23) has spoken very advantageously of the reformation of the theatre, invented and brought to perfection by Æschylus. The decorations, the machines, the tombs, the altars, the phantoms, the furies, the trumpets, which appeared upon the theatre were the invention of this Poet (24).

(19) Dacier *sur Horace*, tom. 10. p. 290, of the Holland edition.

(20) Dacier, ibid. p. 214, upon these words of Horace, *Nec coram populo natos Medea trucidet, &c.* de Arte Poetic. ver. 185.
That is,
" Medæa must
" not draw her
" murthering
" knife,
" And spill her
" childrens blood
" upon the stage.
Ld Roscommon.

(21) Æschylus was the first that put serpents upon the head of the Furies, instead of hair.

(22) *See the* Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Equit.* and Julius Pollux, lib. 4. cap. 15. *apud* Stanleium, pag. 702, 707.

(23) Philostrat. *in Vita Apolloni*, lib. 6. cap. 6.

(24) *Vita Æschyli Editioni* Robortelli *præfixa, apud* Stanleium, p. 702.

[*F*] *His conduct with regard to religion was not always prudent, which drew him into difficulties that had like to have been fatal to him.*] They had condemned him as an impious person on account of a Play, and were just going to stone him, when his brother Amynias turning up his sleeve shewed the people that he had lost a hand in the service of the Republic. Amynias had been thus maimed at the battle of Salamis, where he had signalized himself above all the Athenians (25). The Judges reflecting on his valour, and on the friendship which he shewed for his brother, favoured Æschylus and declared him innocent. It is thus that Ælian relates the story (26). I have read somewhere (27) that he had been stoned upon the stage, if he had not retreated behind an altar of Bacchus, and that he was afterwards brought before the Judges because he had given a stroke in one of his Tragedies upon the mysteries of Ceres. Plato is very reasonable when he prescribes that no Tragedies should be acted, wherein the Gods are ill treated as they are in some verses that he relates. He also forbids Masters to make use of such books for the instruction of their Scholars (28). The verses which I mention are Æschylus's; in which he rallies the Gods terribly: he introduces Thetis speaking much after this manner. *On the day of my nuptials Apollo sung a hymn wherein he assured me I should have a son who should live a long time without any distemper, his praises and the fine hopes he gave me filled me with joy. I thought he would be a true Prophet, and yet it is he himself that has slain my son.* There are none that take a greater swing in libertine maxims than those who write for the stage; for if you call them to account, they can answer that they only put such speeches as probability requires in the mouths of profane persons, or such as are displeased with their fortune. It is very certain that the author of a Tragedy ought not to be supposed to believe all the sentiments that he delivers; but there are some affectations that discover what may be imputed to him, and be it as it will, one may justly forbid the stage some pieces, whether the author expresses his own sentiments or not. Cirano Bergerac uttered some impieties in his *Agrippina*, which caused it to be forbid (29).

(25) See Diodorus Siculus, l. 11. cap. 27.

(26) *Var. Hist.* lib. 5. cap. 19.

(27) *Apud* Bentleium, *Not. ad Malalæ Chronicon*, p. 14.

(28) Plato, *de Repub.* lib. 2. *sub finem.*

(29) See the *Guerre des Auteurs, par Gueret*, p. m. 155.

[*G*] *His pieces were less pleasing to the Athenians, than those of Sophocles, who was much younger than he.*] This is a disgrace to which the most famous authors are subject. There are some who raise themselves in such a manner above their rivals, that the voice of the Public confers the Supremacy upon them in the science which they have cultivated. One reigns in dramatic pieces, another in romances, &c. but alas this Monarchy is not always for life. A new Sun arises, which by degrees attracts all the suffrages; and so the great Author, who had worn the crown several years, sees himself degraded by a young man. This stabs him in a hundred places, and it is but a poor consolation, to complain of the ill taste or injustice of the Public, and to appeal to posterity (30). The Poet who gives so good a representation of the disadvantages of a long life (31), should not have forgotten that it exposes the authors of the first rank to this sad disgrace. They must die as soon as their glory is arrived at its height, and not give time to a new Star to overtake them in their celestial course (32). Be that as it will, it is pretended that the triumph of Sophocles over Æschylus was attended with a surprising distinction. The dispute had been appointed to honour a great solemnity which was celebrated at that time (33). Cimon, who was the principal Actor at this festival, named the Judges, one out of each tribe, and it was the first time that Sophocles appeared as a Dramatic Poet. What a blow was this for Æschylus, to see himself, a veteran full of glory, and exalted with many poetical triumphs, overcome by a first attempt! This was the cause of his abandoning his native soil. Νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον καὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα, χρόνον οὐ πολὺν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, εἶτ' οἴχεσθαι δι' ὀργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τέθαπται (34). i. e. " It is reported " that, when Sophocles had gained the victory, Æ- " schylus was so vexed and disturbed in mind, that " he did not stay long at Athens, but went in a rage " to Sicily, where he died and was buried near Gela." This the Scholiast relates; he adds, it is true, that others will have it to be Simonides, and not Sophocles that triumphed over Æschylus. The dispute between Simonides and Æschylus was not about Tragedy, but about Elegy. There Simonides was in his strength, and Æschylus in his weakness. Such a gigantic imagination as that of Æschylus, such a turn of thought as his, his affectation of extravagant sublimity, were not proper for Elegy (35). It is observed that he never represented women in love in his Tragedies; he would have given but an ill representation of that passion: but when he was to represent a woman transported with fury, he was incomparable (36). However it must be confessed that the subject of this Elegy was to the advantage of Æschylus; for it was to be composed in honour of those who had lost their lives at the battle of Marathon: now he was greatly interested in that battle, seeing he had given proofs of his courage therein, and preferred this glory to that which he had acquired by his Poems: see the following note. I shall observe by the way, that every body has not understood Suidas, where he says that Æschylus retired into Sicily, because the seats were broken down during the representation of one of his Tragedies. Some have taken that literally, without considering that in this sense that accident did a great deal of honour to Æschylus; it would have been a sign that his pieces drew such a crowd of spectators, that the seats unable to bear them broke under them. We must take the thing as Scaliger understood it; that Æschylus's piece was despised and rejected. *Eamdem forsan occasionem innuit Suidas, qui Æschylum in Siciliam demigrasse refert, quod dum fabulam exhibuerit ruerent subsellia* διὰ τὸ πιεῖν τὰς ἰκρία ἐκδιδικυμένης ἀυτοὺ, subsellia frangere dicebatur; *qui ut comici loquuntur non stetit, sed excidit, hoc est, non placuit, sicut à viro doctissimo Josepho Scaligero jamdiu monitum est Auson. Lect. Nec me movet quod alii aliter Juvenalis verba* fregit subsellia versu, *sint interpretati* (37). " Perhaps Suidas alludes to the same acci- " dent, when he relates that Æschylus removed to A- " thens, because whilst his play was acting the seats " broke down. He was said amongst the Comedians, " *to break down the seats*, whose piece could not " stand, but fell to the ground, that is, did not " please; as was long ago observed by the learned " Joseph Scaliger. Nor does it affect me at all, that " others have given a different interpretation to those " words of Juvenal, *fregit subsellia versu.*"

(30) Æschylus *did thus, when he sunk. I consecrate my pieces*, says he, *to time*, Athen. lib. 8. pag. 374.

(31) Juvenal, Sat. x. ver. 190, *& seq.*

(32) *Hæc data pœna diu viventibus*, idem, ibid. ver. 243. i. e. " This is the " punishment of " long livers.

(33) *It was the discovery and the translation of the bones of Theseus.* Plut. *in* Cimone, p. 483.

(34) Plut. ib. F.

(35) *See* M. Le Fevre, in his *Life of Æschylus.*

(36) *Fœminam amantem nunquam exhibuit, sicut ab Aristophane in Ranis observatum est: at in exprimendâ insania usque ad stuporem simul & commiserationem eliciendum, qui Cassandræ orationem in Agamemnone legerit, nemo unquam superatum agnoscet.* Stanleius, p. 706. The passage of Aristophanes in Ranis, is in the 2d Scene of the 4th Act, pag. m. 243.

(37) Stanleius, p. 707.

(d) Scholiaſtes, *in Vita Æſchyli.*

retire to Hiero King of Syracuſe (*d*). This is not without difficulty [*H*]. He lived but three years after his arrival in Sicily. The inhabitants of Gela erected a monument for him with a fine inſcription [*I*]. The Athenians gave a public teſtimony of the very particular eſteem they had for his Tragedies [*K*]. We have but ſeven of them

[*H*] *This is not without difficulty.*] I have ſaid already, that according to the Arundelian Marbles, we muſt place the birth of Æſchylus in the laſt year of the 63d Olympiad, and his death in the firſt year of the eighty firſt. Now, according to Diodorus Siculus (38), we muſt place the death of King Hiero in the ſecond year of the ſeventy eighth Olympiad; thus it cannot be true, as ſo many affirm, that Æſchylus retired to King Hiero, and died three years afterwards. He ſurvived this Prince about twelve years. I queſtion if one might not ſuppoſe that he retired into Sicily twice, and that the authors who ſpeak of him do not diſtinguiſh theſe two voyages It is agreed that the victory which Sophocles obtained over him, obliged him to go to the court of Hiero. Sophocles was then beginning to enter the liſts, and might be twenty eight years of age. This diſpute falls upon the laſt years of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiad. Hiero died three years after, more or leſs. It is probable that Æſchylus, on the loſs of ſo good a patron, quitted Sicily, and returned into his own country, whence other diſcontents obliged him to depart again ſome years afterwards. What better retreat could he chooſe than Sicily, where, without doubt, he had left ſome friends, when he departed thence the firſt time? Obſerve that they were the inhabitants of Gela, who built him a ſepulchre (39). If Hiero had been alive, would not he have been deſirous to aſſume the honour of this monument? And it is probable that he would have erected it in Catanea, his favourite city, to which he gave the name of Ætna (40). And here is a new difficulty. It was at the beginning of the ſeventy ſixth Olympiad (41) that Hiero would have the name and the inhabitants of Catanea changed, and was in haſte to finiſh the eſtabliſhment of this new city. Now authors ſay, that when Æſchylus retired to the court of Hiero, he found him engaged in building the city of Ætna, and that he wrote a Poem on this new city. Therefore he did not retire out of pique becauſe of the triumph of Sophocles; for this young Poet did not vanquiſh him till after the middle of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiad (42). Of all the parts of antient hiſtory, that which relates to the learned is beyond all contradiction the moſt confuſed and the moſt inacceſſible to the exact computations of a Chronologer.

(38) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 66.

(39) See the Note [*I*].

(40) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 49.

(41) Ibidem.

(42) *Anno tertio Olympiad is ſeptuageſimæ ſeptimæ.* Samuel Petitus, *Miſcell.* lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 173.

[*I*] *The inhabitants of Gela erected a monument for him with a fine inſcription.*] The words of the Scholiaſt who has written the life of Æſchylus are as follows. Ἀποθανόντα δὲ Γελῶοι πολυτελῶς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι θάψαντες, ἐτίμησαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιγεάψαντες οὕτως:

Αἰχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει,
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.
Ἀλκὴν δὲ εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
Καὶ βαθυλαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπισάμενος.

" When he was dead the inhabitants of Gela buried
" him magnificently among their publick monuments,
" and honoured him greatly with the following in-
" ſcription:

" This tomb Athenian Æſchylus contains
" Euphorion's ſon, in Gela's fertile plains.
" His courage Marathonian fields proclaim,
" And Medes unwilling tell the Hero's fame.

Pauſanias leaves us no room to queſtion that Æſchylus himſelf was the author of this epitaph. I ſhall tranſcribe his words, becauſe Romulus Amaſeus did not underſtand them. Φροιῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάζω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰχύλος, ὡς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευτὴ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενὸς δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει, καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ, τό τε ὄνομα προτιθεὶς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρείας μάρτυρας ἴσχοι τὸ Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. *Nullam autem fuiſſe victoriam qua ſint magis Athenienſes, gloriati, quàm ea quam ex Marathonia pugna ſunt adepti, hinc præcipue ut credam adducor; quod Æſchylus, cum propè jam eſſet ut è vita decederet, qui de ſeipſo antè prorſus conticuerat, vir tanta in poëſi nominis celebritate, cujuſque virtus, navalibus prœliis ante ad Artemiſium & Salaminem enituerat,* de Marathonia pugna cùm ſuum carmen ederet, *in ipſa operis fronte ſuum & patriæ nomen inſcripſit: Marathonium enim ſaltum, & Perſas qui illuc deſcenderant, ſuæ teſtes virtutis citat* (43). That is, " I am perſuaded that the A-
" thenians never gloried in any victory more, than
" in that which they gained at Marathon, chief-
" ly for this reaſon; that Æſchylus, when he was
" near his end, though he had till that time been
" altogether ſilent with regard to himſelf, being a
" man ſo famous in Poeſy, and whoſe valour had
" before ſhone forth in the ſea-fights at Artemiſium
" and Salamis, *when he publiſhed his Poem on the*
" *battle of Marathon,* inſcribed his own and his
" country's name in the very front of his work: for
" he appeals to the plain of Marathon, and the Per-
" ſians who were then preſent, as witneſſes of his
" valour." The tranſlator ſeems here to have made three miſtakes. I. When he ſaid that Æſchylus had never ſpoken of himſelf before. II. When he preſuppoſed that this Poet ſignalized himſelf in the ſea-fights of Artamiſium and Salamis, before he fought at Marathon. III. When he imagined that Æſchylus put what Pauſanias ſpeaks of at the beginning of a Poem compoſed on the battle of Marathon. This is not the thought of the Greek author: he intended to prove that the victory at Marathon was that in which the Athenians gloried the moſt; and to that end, he alledges, that Æſchylus perceiving his death to approach laid every thing elſe aſide, and contented himſelf with writing his own name and that of his country, and appealing to Marathon and the Medes who there loſt their lives, as witneſſes of his valour. However, he gained himſelf a great name by his Poems, and was really at the fights of Artemiſium and Salamis. When one compares the words of Pauſanias with the epitaph of Æſchylus, one cannot queſtion his having the epitaph in view. But if any one will obſtinately doubt of this Poet's being the author of the inſcription, which the inhabitants of Gela engraved on his ſepulchre, let him look in Athenæus (44), who obſerves that Æſchylus, having acquired a very great reputation by his verſes, did not however ſelect this part of his glory for the ſubject of his epitaph, chooſing rather to mention that which he had acquired by his valour (45). For proof of this, Athenæus cites the two laſt verſes of the epitaph quoted above.

(43) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 13.

(44) Ἀισχύλος τοσαύτην δόξαν ἴσχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν, ὅμως ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγραφῆναι ἀξιοῖ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, σεμνύσας ἀλκὴν δ' αὐτὸν εἶπεν, &c. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

(45) Alcæus had the ſame taſte, ſee hereafter citation (36) of the article ARCHILOCHUS.

[*K*] *The Athenians gave a public teſtimony of the eſteem they had for his Tragedies.*] They made a public decree that his Tragedies ſhould be played after his death, and he was the only one, whoſe pieces were honoured in ſuch a manner (46). Hence he has been introduced boaſting that his Poetry did not die with him, as it did with Euripides (47). Philoſtratus in the ſixth chapter of the ſixth book of the *Life of Apollonius* obſerves that the Athenians conſider'd Æſchylus as the father of Tragedy, and he ſeems alſo to inform us, that they invoked him after his death in the feaſts of Bacchus. Ἐκάλουν δὲ ἔτι τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια. Rhinuccinus tranſlates it, *In Dionyſii feſtis etiam mortuum invocant*; i. e. " They invoke him
" even after his death in the feaſt of Bacchus." Morel has tranſlated it *convocant.* Vigonere has tranſlated it *ayans encore accouſtumé de l'invoquer ès jeux & feſtes de Dionyſius,* that is, " having been ſtill ac-
" cuſtomed to invoke him in the plays and feaſts of
" Dionyſius." But without doubt he meant nothing elſe than that they invited him to theſe feaſts, in as much as they had ordered by a public decree his Tragedies to be acted there, whence he carried away new triumphs. Conſult Voſſius in the 30th page of his *Treatiſe of the Greek Poets.* Quintilian leſſens this honour a little, for he contents himſelf with ſaying they ſuf-

(46) Scholiaſtes Ariſtophanis, *apud* Stanleium, pag. 707.

(47) Ariſtophanes, *in Ranis.*

them remaining, though he compoſed a great number of them. The beſt edition of Æſchylus is that of London 1663 [*L*]. See in Moreri the manner in which this unhappy Poet is ſaid to have been killed. It was by an eagle's letting fall a tortoiſe upon his head [*M*]. I forgot to ſay that Salmaſius, being diſcouraged by the difficulties he met with in Æſchylus, has declared, *that this Poet is more obſcure than the holy Scriptures* [*N*]. Mr. Moreri has made a conſiderable number of miſtakes [*O*].

ÆSOP,

fered at Athens the Tragedies of Æſchylus to contend for the prize after they had been corrected; and adds that ſeveral of thoſe who had corrected them obtain'd it. Of this number were Euphorion and Bion the ſons of Æſchylus (48). The Scholiaſt who has written the *Life of Æſchylus*, gives another form to the decree of the Athenians: he pretends they ordered that all thoſe who play'd the Tragedies of Æſchylus ſhould obtain a Chorus (49). He ſays alſo, that the Tragic Poets had a cuſtom of going to the tomb of Æſchylus, to do honour to his memory, and that they there played their pieces. Once again, Quintilian was not a man framed for relating theſe little ſtories; for he degrades this Poet from the rank that others give him. Some (50) place him above Sophocles and Euripides, and others, without deciding who has the preference, ſay that each of theſe three Poets excelled in certain things (51). But hear Quintilian's opinion: *Tragœdias primus in lucem Æſchylus protulit, ſublimis & gravis, & grandiloquus ſæpe uſque ad vitium: ſed rudis in pleriſque & incompoſitus, propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre poſterioribus Poëtis Athenienſes permiſere; ſuntque eo modo multi coronati. Sed longè clarius illuſtraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in diſpari dicendi via uter ſit Poëta melior, inter plurimos quæritur* (52). i. e. "Æſchylus was the firſt that publiſhed Tragedies; his ſtyle is grave and ſublime, and frequently lofty even to a fault: but generally harſh and incorrect; wherefore the Athenians gave the later Poets leave to correct his Plays when they contended for the crown, by which means many obtained it. But Sophocles and Euripides ſhone much brighter; and many make a doubt which of them is to be accounted the beſt Poet." Menedemus the Philoſopher always allowed Æſchylus the firſt rank. See his life in *Diogenes Laërtius*, Book II. Sect. 133.

(48) *Vide* Voſſium, *de Poët. Græcis*, p. 30.

(49) Τὸν βυλόμενον διδάσκειν τὰ Αἰσχύλε χορὸν λαμβάνειν (others read) χρυσὸν *Gold.*

(50) Ariſtophanes, *in Ranis.*

(51) Plutarchus *apud* Stanleium, *and* Phrynichus *apud* Photium, *citante eodem* Stanleio, p. 701, 702.

(52) Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1.

[*L*] *The beſt edition of Æſchylus is that of London* (53).] Thomas Stanley publiſhed it in 1663, *in folio*. He added a Latin Tranſlation and a learned Commentary of his own, the Notes of the ancient Scholiaſt, the Fragments of the loſt pieces, the various Readings of the manuſcripts, and the obſervations of ſome learned Critics who have commented upon this Poet. The order of the preceding editions is as follows: The firſt was, that of Aldus Manutius at Venice in 1518: it contained only ſix Tragedies (54). Turnebus reprinted them at Paris in 1552, with *Variæ Lectiones*. The ſame year Franciſcus Robortellus publiſhed the ſeven Tragedies of Æſchylus at Venice, with his Conjectures and thoſe of Michael Sophiani, and with as many *Scholia*, as he was able to collect by conſulting the old Copies. Five years afterwards Henry Stephens printed an edition that ſurpaſſed thoſe which went before it. It contained the *Agamemnon* entire, which till then had appeared mutilated. The text of Æſchylus was corrected in ſeveral places, the ſame was done by the *Scholia*, and they were alſo enlarged. This was the work of Petrus Victorius. To theſe were added the Obſervations of Henry Stephens. At laſt Gulielmus Canterus publiſhed a new edition at Antwerp in 1580, in which he corrected an infinite number of faults, and diſpoſed each verſe in its proper order, which had not been done before. The Latin verſion which Oporinus publiſhed for Joannes Sauromannus is good for nothing (55). Thoſe who hereafter ſhall engage in the perfecting of the *Hiſtorical Dictionaries*, ought not to forget the *Hiſtory of the Editions*.

(53) See the *Journal des Savans*, for the 2d of March 1665.

(54) That which is intitled *Choëphoræ* is wanting in it.

(55) Taken from the Preface of Thomas Stanley.

[*M*] *He was killed by a tortoiſe, &c.*] Valerius Maximus (56), whom Mr. Moreri quotes, is not the only one that ſays this: Suidas declares it in two places (57): The Scholiaſt upon Æſchylus affirms it alſo (58). Pliny had ſaid it before them (59), and with this circumſtance, that Æſchylus was gone into the open fields, to avoid the fulfilling of a prediction which threatned him with the fall of ſomething that day. *Ingenium eſt ei* (aquilæ) *teſtudines raptas frangere è ſublimi jaciendo, quæ ſors interemit Poetam Æſchylum prædictam fatis* (*ut ferunt*) *ejus diei ruinam ſecura cœli fide caventem* (60).

(56) Lib. 9. cap. 12.

(57) *In voce* Αἰσχύλος *& in voce* Χιλεών.

(58) *In Vita Æſchyl.*

(59) This does not relate to Val. Maximus.

(60) Plin. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. mihi 391.

[*N*] *Salmaſius has declared that this Poet is more obſcure than the Holy Scriptures.*] Theſe are the words of Salmaſius (61): *Quis Æſchylum poſſit adfirmare Græcè nunc ſcienti magis patere explicabilem quam evangelia aut epiſtolas Apoſtolicas? Unus ejus Agamemnon obſcuritate ſuperat quantum eſt librorum ſacrorum cum ſuis Hæbraiſmis & Syriaſmis, & tota Helleniſtica ſupellectile vel farragine.* "Who "that is now skilled in Greek can find Æſchylus "more intelligible than the Goſpels or the Apoſtoli-"cal Epiſtles? His Agamemnon only exceeds the "ſacred Writings with all their Hebraiſms, Syria-"ciſms, and ſtuff of Helleniſms."

(61) *De Helleniſtica*, p. 37. *Epiſt. Dedicat.*

[*O*] *Mr. Moreri has made a conſiderable number of miſtakes.*] Having ſaid that Æſchylus had diſcovered in three battles *that he was no leſs a ſoldier than a man of letters*; he adds, that *to give a more particular proof of his courage, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that he was the brother of that famous Cynegirus, who having both his hands cut off, as he laid hold of a veſſel of the enemy, did not however give over fighting with the Barbarians.* I find four miſtakes in theſe words. I. To have a very brave brother is no proof that a man is brave himſelf. II. At leaſt it is not ſo convincing a proof, that the mention of it is enough to perſuade the reader. III. At leaſt it is not a more particular proof of it, than that which is borrowed from the courage one has ſhewn on three great occaſions. IV. As for Cynegirus, we muſt abide by what Herodotus ſays of him: that he was killed after his hand had been cut off, that hand, I ſay, with which he held a veſſel of the Perſians. What the Greek authors have added to this, does not ſo much reſemble the Legends of Orlando Furioſo, and of the *quatre fils Aimon*. Who can believe that a man, whoſe two hands were juſt cut off, could have ſtrength enough to ſeize upon a galley only with his teeth, and to hold it? *Cynegiri quoque militis Athenienſis gloria magnis ſcriptorum laudibus celebrata eſt, qui poſt prælii innumeras cædes, cum fugientes hoſtes ad naves egiſſet, onuſtam navem dextra manu tenuit, nec prius demiſit quam* (*manum*) *amitteret; tum quoque amputata dextra, navem ſiniſtra comprehendit, quam & ipſam cum amiſiſſet, ad poſtremum morſu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuiſſe, ut non tot cædibus fatigatus; non duabus manibus amiſſis victus; truncus ad poſtremum, veluti & rabida fera, dentibus dimicaverit* (62). i. e. "The "glory of Cynegirus an Athenian Soldier is cele-"brated by authors with great praiſes, who after he "had ſlain innumerable enemies in the battle, when "he had drove others to their ſhips, held one of them "that was well mann'd with his right hand, and "did not let go his hold till he had loſt it: when "he had loſt his right hand, he ſeized the ſhip with "his left, and when he had loſt that, he held it "with his teeth. So great was his valour, that not "being wearied with ſo great a ſlaughter; not con-"quered by the loſs of both his hands, maimed as "he was, fought like a wild beaſt with his teeth." I ſhould as ſoon believe what Pliny ſays of the *Remora* in the firſt Chapter of the third Book. The Vth miſtake of Mr. Moreri is his ſaying that Æſchylus, *after the battles of Marathon, Salamis and Platææ, devoted himſelf to the compoſing of Tragedies.* He tells us (63), that he had applied himſelf to it, when he was but a little boy, and he had diſputed the prize for Tragedy with Pratinas about twenty years before the battle of Platææ (64). VI. The Scholiaſt does not place the death of this Poet under the 78th Olympiad.

(62) Juſtinus, lib. 2. cap. 9.

(63) See above, Citation (11).

(64) In the 70th Olympiad. Suidas *in* Πρατίνας.

ÆSOP, in Latin *Æſopus*, the name of ſome ancient perſons of whom I am going to ſpeak in diſtinct articles. I begin with him on whom both the order of time, and his own merit beſtow the firſt place.

ÆSOP, the firſt or the principal author of the Fables [*A*], was a Phrygian, and flouriſhed in the time of Solon, that is, about the fiftieth Olympiad (*a*). His life, as Planudes has given it, is ſo well known, even to little children, that this alone might determine me not to give any extracts of it. But another reaſon determines me to have no regard to this work; namely, that it is agreed on by all judges to be a romance [*B*], and that the groſs abſurdities in it render it unworthy of all credit. I ſhall

(a) See the Note [*C*].

[*A*] *He was the firſt or principal author of the fables.*] I would not ſay that Æſop was the inventor of them, for Quintilian is not of that opinion. *Illæ quoque fabulæ*, ſays he (1), *quæ etiamſi originem non ab Æſopo acceperunt (nam videtur eorum primus autor Heſiodus) nomine tamen Æſopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos ſolent, præcipue ruſticorum & imperitorum, qui & ſimplicius quæ ficta ſunt, audiunt, & capti voluptate, facile iis quibus delectantur conſentiunt.* That is, "Thoſe Fables alſo, which, "though they were not originally invented by "Æſop, (for Heſiod ſeems to have been the firſt "author of them) are yet very much celebrated un- "der the name of Æſop, draw the attention chiefly "of the rude and ignorant, who more eaſily at- "tend to fictions, and being caught by pleaſure "ſoon give their aſſent to what delights them." I ſhould rather aſcribe therefore the glory of the invention to Heſiod; but without doubt he left the thing very imperfect. Æſop improved it ſo happily, that he is eſteemed as the true author of this ſort of productions.

(1) Quint. *Inſtitut. Orator.* l. 5. c. 11. p. m. 241.

Æſopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis.

"If any thoughts in theſe Iambics ſhine,
"Th' invention's Æſop's, and the verſe is mine."

It is thus that Phœdrus begins his fables. Avienus makes the ſame obſervation in the Preface to his (2). Priſcian makes uſe of the word *inventor* with reſpect to Æſop; but he corrects himſelf preſently, and reduces the affair to the proper terms: *Uſi ſunt ea*, (fabula) ſays he, *vetuſtiſſimi quoque autores, Heſiodus, Archilochus, Plautus, Horatius. Nominantur autem ab inventoribus fabularum aliæ Æſopiæ, aliæ Cypriæ, aliæ Lybicæ, aliæ Sybariticæ, omnes autem communiter Æſopiæ; quoniam in conventibus frequenter ſolebat Æſopus fabulis uti.* That is, "The moſt an- "cient authors, Heſiod, Archilochus, Plautus, Ho- "race wrote in this way. Some fables are by the "inventors of them called Æſopian, others Cyprian, "others Libyan, others Sybaritic, but all in general "commonly Æſopian; becauſe Æſop often made "uſe of fables in aſſemblies." This is not exact; for if Heſiod, who is more ancient than Æſop, made uſe of fable, it follows that Æſop was not the inventor of them. Of the four ſorts of fable, of which Priſcian ſpeaks; three of them have the name of a country and not of their inventor. In fine, if all theſe four ſorts are called in common *Æſopiæ*, becauſe Æſop uſually ſpoke in Fables, why was it ſaid a few lines before, that the Fables, which were called *Æſopiæ*, were ſo named on account of their inventor? Aphthonius has fallen into moſt of theſe errors, Καλεῖται δ, ſays he (3), Συβαριτικὸς, καὶ Κίλιξ, καὶ Κύπριος παρὰ τὰς εὑρούσας μεταθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα, νικᾷ δ μᾶλλον Αἴσωπος λέγεσθαι τῷ τὸν Αἴσωπον ἄριστα πάντων συγγράψαι τὰς μυθούς. That is, "It is "called *Sybaritica*, and *Cilix*, and *Cypria*, the names "being taken from the inventors. But becauſe Æ- "ſop has excelled all others in the writing of fables, "they have obtained the name of *Æſopiæ*." Macrobius makes a remark, not foreign to our preſent purpoſe. He diſtinguiſhes between *fabula* and *fabuloſa narratio*; he would have a Fable to be a relation abſolutely falſe, and a fabulous narration to be a number of fictions built upon a foundation of truth. This is the nature of Epic poems and Romances, Macrobius gives the fictions of Æſop as an example of Fable, and the relations of Heſiod, the rituals or books of religion as an example of fabulous narration. *In quibuſdam & argumentum ex ficto locatur, & per mendacia ipſe relationis ordo contexitur, ut ſunt illæ Æſopiæ fabulæ elegantia fictionis illuſtres. At in aliis argumentum quidem fundatur veri ſoliditate: ſed hæc ipſa veritas per quædam compoſita & ficta profertur, & hoc jam vocatur fabuloſa narratio, non fabula, ut ſunt Ceremoniarum ſacra, ut Heſiodi & Orphei quæ de Deorum progenie actuve narrantur* (4). That is, "In ſome the very argument is taken from a fiction, "and the order of the narration is woven together "with untruths, as the Fables of Æſop, which are "famous for the elegance of their fiction. But in "others the argument is founded on the ſolidity of "truth; but this very truth is delivered in ſome "compoſitions and fictions, and this is called a fa- "bulous Narration, not a Fable, as the ſacred Books "of Ceremonies, and thoſe of Heſiod and Orpheus "about the genealogy and acts of the Gods." Freinſhemius did not perfectly comprehend Macrobius's thought, when he made uſe of it to explain the paſſage of Priſcian, where it is ſaid that Heſiod, Archilochus, &c. brought Fables into uſe. Freinſhemius gives an admonition upon this; that there is a great difference between the Fables of Heſiod, and thoſe of Æſop: thoſe of Heſiod are fabulous Narrations, thoſe of Æſop are properly a Fable (5). He takes this diſtinction in the ſenſe of Macrobius, and quotes him: this is miſtaking the point; for when Quintilian and Priſcian and others ſay, that Heſiod uſed Fables; they mean that he makes uſe of the fictions of the Apologue: they never thought of the fabulous Narrations which he ſung on the birth and actions of the Gods (6). Thus the Fables of Heſiod now in queſtion, and thoſe of Æſop are of the ſame nature.

(4) Macrobius, *in Somn. Scipion.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

(5) Freinſhem. *in Notis ad Fabulas Phædri, init.*

(6) Conſider theſe words of Mr. Menage in Laert. lib. 1. num. 72. *Dictus eſt Æſopus λογοποιὸς, non quod primus muta loqui docuerit, nam ante eum Heſiodus hoc fecerat in ſermone Luſciniæ ad Accipitrem ſed quia præcipue hoc ſcribendi genus ſectatus eſt.* i. e. "Æſop was "called λογο- "ποιὸς, not be- "cauſe he firſt "taught dumb "creatures to "ſpeak, for He- "ſiod had done "this before, in "the nightin- "gale's ſpeech "to the hawk, "but becauſe he "chiefly follow- "ed that way "of writing.

[*B*] *It is agreed on by all judges that his life by Planudes is a romance.*] It is not without reaſon that in the Dutch edition of Moreri, the reader is informed, that Planudes has not given the Hiſtory of Æſop, but a rhapſody of lies and abſurdities. Mr. de la Fontaine was not ignorant of the judgment which the public form'd of this *Life of Æſop: I ſee hardly any body*, ſays he (7), *who does not look upon that which Planudes has left us as fabulous.* He has followed it however, and has even ſaid, *that he has found at the end but little certainty* in the Criticiſm on the work of Planudes. *It is partly founded*, continues he, *upon what paſſes between Xanthus and Æſop: where we find too many fooleries.* He anſwers, that ſuch things happen to every wiſe man. But if this anſwer appeared very ſolid to him, why has he retrenched from the work of Planudes, *every thing that ſeemed to him too childiſh; or not over decent?* Thus Mr. de la Fontaine approves a criticiſm in Deed which he had oppoſed in words. This is not the only thing in which we may criticiſe upon him; for we may affirm to him, that the hiſtorical falſhoods, Lycerus King of Babylon, contemporary with Nectenabo King of Ægypt, and ſuch marks of ignorance, are the chief cauſe of our rejecting the *Life of Æſop.* Mr. de la Fontaine has not retrenched that for this reaſon: *As Planudes*, ſays he (8), *lived in an age wherein the memory of Æſop's adventures could not yet be extinguiſhed, I thought he knew by tradition what he has left us.* If Planudes had lived two hundred years after Æſop, his knowledge derived from tradition muſt have been at that time very uncertain. A cautious man would hardly believe the traditions of two Centuries concerning the life of a perſon: he would ask whether the facts related were put in writing when they were recent; and if he ſhould be anſwered no, but that the memory of them has been preſerved by oral tradition from father to ſon, he knows Scepticiſm to be the prudent part. The reaſon is much ſtronger for rejecting the

(7) *La Fontaine*, Preface *des Fables choiſies.*

(8) Ibid.

(2) *Hujus materiæ ducem nobis Æſopum noveris qui reſponſo Delphici Apollinis monitus ridicula orſus eſt ut legenda firmaret.* i. e. "You know "Æſop is our "leader in this "ſubject, who "being admo- "niſhed by the "Oracle of Del- "phi, wrote in "a ludicrous "way, to ſtrike "the more.

(3) *In Præexercitamentis.*

ſhall refer therefore to Mr. Moreri thoſe who deſire an article extracted from Planudes, and ſpeak here only of ſuch things as come from good hands (*b*). Plutarch affirms (*c*), I. That Crœſus ſent Æſop [*C*] to Periander the Tyrant of Corinth, and to the Oracle of Delphi. II. That Socrates found no other expedient to obey the God of Dreams, without injuring his profeſſion, than to turn the Fables of Æſop into verſe (*d*) [*D*]. III. That Æſop and Solon were together at the court of Crœſus King of Lydia (*e*). IV. That

(*b*) That is, borrowed from ancient authors.

(*c*) *In Convivio ſapientium*, pag. 150.

(*d*) *De audiendis Poëtis*, p. 16.

(*e*) *In Vita Solonis*, p. 94.

the relations of Planudes, if they come only by tradition, ſeeing he did not come into the world, till about eighteen Centuries after Æſop. Had Mr. de la Fontaine been aware of this, would he have ſaid that *Planudes lived in an age wherein the memory of Æſop's adventures could not yet be extinguiſhed?* Somebody has ſaid very well, that as to the things which regard the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Jews of the ſixth Century deſerve credit no more than thoſe of the ſeventeenth; I ſpeak of the Jews who quote only oral traditions. We may ſay the ſame thing of Æſop. He was known with no more certainty by tradition to the Greek Monks of the thirteenth or fourteenth Century, than to thoſe of the preſent.

I had forgot the groſs ignorance of Planudes in point of Chronology. He did not know that Æſop lived a long time before Euripides: He has introduced Æſop quoting two or three verſes of Euripides, and even naming him. We may conclude from thence that all the harſh things that Æſop ſaid to his maſter's wife the firſt time he ſaw her, are the invention of Planudes; and if he forged this firſt converſation, he might as well forge more. He ſuppoſes that Xanthus the Philoſopher having bought Æſop, was ſcolded at by his wife becauſe of the prodigious uglineſs of his ſlave, and that Æſop ſaid to this woman, *You, Madam, would have had the Philoſopher have bought you a young, handſome, luſty fellow, to ſee you naked in the bath, and play with you at a game, fatal to your husband's honour. O Euripides, thy mouth was a golden one, ſince theſe words came out of it* (9). He recited ſome verſes of Euripides againſt women. Is it not true that Planudes, having a mind to disburthen himſelf of a common place that loaded his head, has made Æſop ſpeak thus without any judgment? I have read in Mr. Menage (10) that this error in Chronology has been taken notice of by Meziriac and F. Vavaſſeur. As to the laſt, ſince I have his book *de Ludicra Dictione*, I can verify the quotation of Mr. Menage. It is very juſt; for theſe are the words of the Jeſuit (11). *Quale autem Balzaci, putas quod Æſopo primum in herilem domum ingreſſo, cumque hero* (12) *colloquenti ſententiolam affingit Euripidis adverſus mulieres, atque ipſum etiam Euripidem appellari nomine facit qui octoginta* (13) *minimum annis natus eſt poſtquam Æſopus vivere deſiit?* i. e. "What do you think of his "making Æſop at his firſt coming into his maſter's "houſe, and diſcourſing with his miſtreſs, to uſe a "ſaying of Euripides againſt women, and to men"tion the very name of Euripides who was born at "leaſt eighty years after the death of Æſop?" But as for the life of Æſop by the learned Meziriac, I have never been able to find it. I know it only by theſe words of Mr. Pelliſſon, in his catalogue of Meziriac's works (14); *The true life of Æſop in French, I ſay the true one, becauſe that of Planudes is accounted fabulous by the learned.* See the Note [*O*].

[*C*] *Plutarch affirms that Crœſus ſent Æſop.*] I think it probable that Æſop was at the court of Crœſus, though I have read in Sethus Calviſius, that he flouriſhed in the third year of the forty ſixth Olympiad; that he died in the fourth year of the fifty third, and that Crœſus aſcended the throne in the ſecond year of the fifty fourth. I do not regard Calviſius's quoting Suidas, I rely more upon Plutarch, who obſerves in ſeveral places that Æſop appeared at the court of Crœſus, and that he travelled for the ſervice of this Prince. Mademoiſelle de Scuderi (15) might therefore ſuppoſe him to be at this court with Solon, and ſeveral other great perſonages; ſhe might, I ſay, ſuppoſe this without laying hold on the privilege of Anachroniſms, of which the authors of Romances are no leſs in poſſeſſion than the Poets. She has made Æſop ſupport his character very well, whoſe *ingenious fables*, ſays ſhe, *conceal ſo ſolid and ſerious a moral, under natural and diverting inventions*. I am afraid that Mr. de la Fontaine has not been ſo exact in an Hiſtorical Work, as Mademoiſelle de Scuderi in a Romance. He places (16) the birth of Æſop about the fifty ſeventh Olympiad; now it appears that Crœſus loſt both his kingdom and liberty in the fifty eighth Olympiad: where then ſhall we place what paſſed between Crœſus and Æſop, according to Mr. de la Fontaine himſelf? I have ſaid that I preferred Plutarch's authority to that of Suidas, and I do not repent it, for there is nothing but incompatible confuſions in Suidas. On one ſide he ſays the inhabitants of Delphi threw Æſop from a precipice in the fifty fourth Olympiad, and on the other, that Æſop compoſed two books about the middle of the fortieth Olympiad concerning his adventures at Delphi. He adds, that Æſop lived with Crœſus (17), and had a ſhare in the friendſhip of that Prince. Scaliger pretends (18) that the laſt of theſe two paſſages refutes the other: His reaſon is, that a man who writes the Hiſtory of what befel him at Delphi, could not have been thrown from a precipice at that place. But this does not prove that Suidas was miſtaken in the firſt paſſage: Æſop might go to Delphi more than once, and the Hiſtory of his Adventures might relate only to his firſt journey. To refute Suidas it ſhould be ſaid, I. That a man of Æſop's condition could not have been of any conſequence when he was very young, that he muſt therefore have been at leaſt 30 years old, when in the 40th Olympiad he wrote the *Hiſtory of his Voyage to Delphi*, and that he muſt conſequently have been eighty ſix years of age when the people of Delphi threw him from a precipice in the fifty fourth Olympiad. Now it is abſurd to make him ſo old. II. If Æſop had been important enough to publiſh his adventures at Delphi in the fiftieth Olympiad, he could not live till the reign of Crœſus. Thus the authority of Suidas is nothing in this article. That of Euſebius is ſtronger. He places the death of Æſop in the fourth year of the fifty fourth Olympiad.

[*D*] *Socrates found no other expedient to obey the God of Dreams, than to turn the Fables of Æſop into verſe.*] To ſee this particular in its juſt extent, we muſt have recourſe to Plato, who tells us that Socrates was often admoniſhed in his dreams to apply himſelf to the exerciſes of the Muſes (19). He took this for ſo many exhortations to continue in what he was about: he thought Philoſophy was the grand and real buſineſs of the Muſes. But when he ſaw himſelf condemned to death, he thought that Poetry perhaps might be the exerciſe commanded him in his dreams. So to play the ſureſt game (20) he determined to obey the order of the God of Dreams, by interpreting it according to the uſual ſenſe of the words; and ſitting down to Poetry, began with a Poem in honour of the God (21) whoſe feaſt was at that time celebrating. Afterwards conſidering that to be a Poet (which he was not) he muſt publiſh ſome Fables, he turned ſome of Æſop's Apologues into verſe, ſuch as firſt occurred to his memory (22). Socrates gave this

(15) See the 4th Part of the *Grand Cyrus*.

(16) In the *Eſprit of Æſop*.

(17) Διήτριψε παρὰ Κροίσῳ εἰς λόγους.

(18) *Animadverſ. in Euſeb.* num. 1453, pag. 92, 93.

(19) Μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου. Plato *in Phædone*, p. m. 46. C. that is, "Make "and exerciſe "Muſick." It appears by what follows that μουσικὴ is to be taken in this place for Poeſy, the art over which the Muſes preſide.

(20) Ἀσφαλέστερον γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀπιέναι πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι ποιήματα ἀποθέμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ. "For I thought "it would be "the ſafeſt way, "not to leave "the world "before I had "compoſed the "Poems com"manded in my "dreams. Plato ibid.

(21) It was Apollo.

(22) Plato, *in Phædone*, p. 46. C.

(9) Σύ, ὦ θέοπομπε, ἐβάλε τὸν φιλόσοφον ὠνήσασθαί σοι δοῦλον νέον, ἐυσωματοῦντα, σφριγῶντα, ἵν' ἐδὺς γυμνή σε καὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ θιασῶσθαι καὶ σοι προσπαίζει τὰ εἰς αἰσχυνὴν τῷ φιλοσόφῳ; Εὐριπίδη, χρυσοῦς ἐγὼ σε φημὶ τὸ στόμα τοιαῦτα λέγων. Planudes, *in Vita Æſopi*, p. m. 25.

(10) *In* Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 72.

(11) Vavaſſ. *de Ludicra Dictione*, p. 19.

(12) It ſhould have been *hera*.

(13) This does not agree with the words of the Extract of *Æſop's Fables* publiſhed by Mr. Leſtrange: *Entrè autres le P. Vavaſſeur fait remarque qu'on fait citer Euripide par Eſope qui vivoit près de deux-cens ans avant Euripide l'Anachroniſme eſt un peu violent.* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans. *Decembre* 1692, p. 153. *[*There is a miſtake here in quoting the words of Sir Roger Leſtrange: They are in the Preface, and again in the fourth chapter of his* Life of Æſop, *edit. in fol. London* 1692. *The words of the Preface are,* "Vavaſor the Jeſuit, in a Tract of his, *De Ludicra Dictione*, takes notice of ſome groſs miſtakes "[in Planudes]. He tells us of his going into Egypt in the days of King Nectenabo; which Nectenabo came not into the world till well nigh two "hundred years after him. And ſo he makes him greet his miſtreſs upon his firſt entrance into his maſter's houſe, with a bitter ſentence againſt wo"men out of Euripides (as he pretends) when yet Æſop had been dead a matter of fourſcore years before t'other was born." *His words in the* Life of Æſop, *are as follows*; "Vavaſor the Jeſuit, in his *De Ludicra Dictione*, takes notice of a blunder here in the Chronology of the ſtory. For Æſop "was murdered at leaſt fourſcore years before Euripides was born." *Perhaps either Mr. Bayle, or the Author of the* Hiſt. des Ouvr. des Savans *by a great overſight, quoted what Sir Roger ſays in the* Preface *of* Nectenabo, *inſtead of what he ſays of Euripides.*] CRIT. REM.

(14) *Hiſtoire de l'Academie Françoiſe*, pag. m. 262.

IV. That thoſe of Delphi having put Æſop to death [*E*] cruelly and unjuſtly, and finding themſelves expoſed to ſeveral calamities on account of this injuſtice, made a public declaration that they were ready to make ſatisfaction to the memory of Æſop (*f*). V. That having treated thereupon with a native of Samos they were delivered from the evil that afflicted them. We may eaſily diſcover from the converſation of Æſop and Solon, that if the firſt ſpoke like a Courtier, the laſt ſpoke like a true Philoſopher [*F*]. Notwithſtanding this it muſt be allowed that Æſop's Lectures againſt the faults of men were the fulleſt of good ſenſe and wit that can be imagined [*G*]. Thoſe who have ſaid that his Apologues are the moſt uſeful of all the fables of

(*f*) *De ſera Numinis Vindicta*, p. 556, 557.

this anſwer on the day of his death to Cebes, as a reaſon for his making Poems in priſon. Cebes it ſeems had asked him the reaſon of this new conduct. Plutarch explains to us the *medium* that Socrates found to reconcile the characters of Poet and Philoſopher together. It was to chuſe ſuch a ſubject for the Fables as contained the moſt ſolid truths, and excellent rules of morality: Ὅθεν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ πόνων ἐνυπνίων ποιητικῆς ἀψάμενος, αὐτὸς μὲν, ἅτε δὴ γεγονὼς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστὴς τὸν ἅπαντα βίον, οὐ πιθανὸς ἦν οὐδ' ἐυφυὴς ψευδῶν δημιουργός. τὸς δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῖς ἔπεσι μύθους εἰσήμοιζεν, ὡς ποίησιν οὐκ οὖσαν ἢ ψεύδος μὴ πρόσοιζι (23). That is, "Socrates being prompted to write Poeſy by "ſome dreams, he who had all his life time been a zealous contender for truth, was not at all formed to give "a probability to fiction. So he took the Fables of "Æſop for his ſubject: not eſteeming that as Poe"try, which was not fiction." Mr. de la Fontaine, the happieſt man in France at giving a turn to a ſtory, did not think himſelf obliged to follow Plato's narration ſervilely. It may be judged by the following remarks, whether the turn he has given to this be ſo happy as one might expect from ſuch a pen.

(23) Plutarchus, *de Audiendis Poëtis*, p. 16. C.

1. The beginning and ending of Mr. de la Fontaine's narration do not ſeem to be made one for the other (24). *The Fables aſcribed to Æſop had hardly been publiſhed when Socrates thought fit to cloath them in the livery of the Muſes.* This is his beginning; but ſee how he concludes: *he employed his laſt moments, in turning them into verſe.* The beginning prepares us for ſeeing ſome great impatience in Socrates; and the concluſion informs us that he waited till the hour of his death: and as he lived ſeventy years, it is eaſy to find that he was in no great hurry; for it cannot be ſaid that the Fables of Æſop did not appear till towards the latter part of the life of Socrates: they appeared during the life of the author, and there were about a hundred years between the death of Æſop and the birth of Socrates. Judge now whether it can be ſaid, that theſe Fables *had hardly been publiſh'd, when Socrates thought fit to turn them into verſe.* II. Mr. de la Fontaine has carried on the thread of his narration in ſuch a manner, that one cannot tell by it whether Socrates tranſlated Æſop's Fables on the very day of his death, or ſome days before, and that it ſeems to make the former moſt probable of the two; and yet the former is falſe. III. The author advances that the dream return'd after the condemnation of Socrates; and yet Socrates does not ſay this to Cebes. IV. The author ſuppoſes that Socrates was admoniſhed by a dream to apply himſelf to Muſic, and that he was uneaſy about the ſenſe of ſuch a dream, on account of the inutility of Muſic with regard to morality. But it is plain from Plato's account, that Socrates never imagined that the God of Dreams required him to ſing and play upon inſtruments. This Philoſopher always ſuppoſed that even in the literal ſenſe his dreams exhorted him to Poeſy.

(24) La Fontaine, *Preface des Fables choiſies.*

[*E*] *Thoſe of Delphi having put Æſop to death.*] His ſtory is in *Plutarch* (25). He relates that Æſop came to Delphi, with a great quantity of gold and ſilver, being ordered by Crœſus to offer a great ſacrifice to Apollo, and to give a conſiderable ſum to each inhabitant. The quarrel which aroſe between the Delphians and him, was the occaſion (after his ſending away the ſacrifice) of his ſending back the money to Crœſus; for he thought that thoſe for whom this Prince deſigned it, had rendred themſelves unworthy of it. The inhabitants of Delphi contrived an accuſation of ſacrilege againſt him, and pretending they had convicted him, caſt him down from the top of a rock. God being incenſed at this action, chaſtiſed them with plague and famine: inſomuch that to gain a ceſſation of theſe ſcourges, they ſignified in all the aſſemblies of Greece, that if any one ſhould come for the honour of Æſop, to demand that his death ſhould be avenged, they would give him ſatisfaction. In the third generation there preſented himſelf a native of Samos (26), who was no otherwiſe related to Æſop, than as he was deſcended from perſons who had bought that Fabuliſt at Samos. The Delphians gave this man ſatisfaction, and thereby delivered themſelves from the diſeaſes and famine that tormented them (27).

(25) Plut. *de Sera Numinis Vindicta*, pag. 556, 557.

(26) His name was *Idmon* according to Plutarch, and *Iadmon*, according to Herodotus, book II. chap. cxxxiv. who ſays, *he was grandſon to that* Iadmon, *to whom Æſop was a ſlave at the ſame time with* Rhodope the Courteſan.

(27) Καὶ τότε τινὰς δίκας δοῦναι τοὺς ὁσίους Δελφοὺς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάγησαν. Plut. *de Sera Numinis Vindicta*, p. 557. A. i. e. "The "Delphians "having expiated this crime "were deliver'd "from their afflictions.

[*F*] *If Æſop ſpake as a Courtier, Solon ſpake like a true Philoſopher.*] Solon abated nothing of his rigid maxims before Crœſus: he ſpake to him of the vanity of human grandeur in the ſame tone of voice, as if he had been to comfort a poor ſick man; and ſhewed no manner of complaiſance to the prejudices of that Monarch, who was infatuated with the thought that riches are the ſource of happineſs. This behaviour gave ſuch offence to Crœſus, that he ſent Solon back without any mark of eſteem. Æſop, who had been ſent for by this Prince, found himſelf much honoured at his Court: he was grieved at Solon's diſgrace, and ſpeaking to him as a friend, *You ſee, Solon,* ſays he, *we muſt either not come near Kings, or elſe we muſt entertain them with things that are very agreeable to them. That is not the caſe, anſwered Solon, we muſt either ſay nothing at all to them, or ſay only what is good* (28). It cannot be denied but this admonition of Æſop ſhews him to have been acquainted with a court, and with great men: but Solon's anſwer is the true teſt of thoſe Divines that direct the conſcience of Princes.

(28) Ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος Αἴσωπος ἐντύχαι γάρ φησι Σάρδεσι γηγονὼς μετέπεμπτος ὑπὸ κρύσου, καὶ τιμαόμενος) ἠξίου Σόλωνα, μυθήμασί τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ προτρέπων αὐτὸν Ὦ Σόλων (ἔφη) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ὡς ἥδιστα ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ὁ Σόλων Μὰ Δί' (ἔφην) ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα ἤ ὡς ἄριστα. Plut. *in Solone*, p. 94. That is, "But Æſop, "he that writ "the Fables "(being then at "Sardis, upon "Crœſus's invitation and "very much eſteemed) was "concerned that "Solon was ſo "meanly treated, and gave "him this advice: Solon, "let your viſits "to Kings be as "ſeldom, or as "pleaſant as "you can: and "Solon replied, "No in truth, "but rather let "them be as "ſeldom, or as "profitable as "you can.

[*G*] *Æſop's lectures againſt the faults of men were the fulleſt of good ſenſe and wit that can be imagined.*] Can any inventions be more happy, than the images which Æſop made uſe of, to inſtruct mankind? they are exceedingly fit for children, and no leſs proper for grown perſons: They have all that is neceſſary to perfect a precept, I mean the mixture of the uſeful with the agreeable (29). Aulus Gellius expreſſes this very well in the 29 Chapter of the 2d Book of his *Noctes Atticæ*. *Æſopus ille è Phrygia fabulator haud immeritò ſapiens exiſtimatus eſt; quum quæ utilia monitu ſuaſuque erant, non ſeverè, non imperiosè præcepit & cenſuit, ut philoſophis mos eſt, ſed feſtivos delectabileſque apologos commentus, res ſalubriter ac proſpicienter animadverſas, in mentes animoſque hominum cùm audiendi quadam illecebra induit.* That is, "Æſop the Phrygian fabuliſt "was not without reaſon eſteemed to be wiſe, ſince "he did not, after the manner of the Philoſophers, "ſeverely and imperiouſly command ſuch things as "were fit to be adviſed and perſuaded, but feigning "diverting and entertaining Apologues, he inſinuates "good and wholſome advice into the minds of "men, with a kind of willing attention." At all times theſe have been made to ſucceed the home-ſpun ſtories of nurſes. *Æſopi fabellas quæ fabulis nutricularum proximè ſuccedunt narrare ſermone puro, & nihil ſe ſupra modum extollente, deinde eamdem gracilitatem ſtylo exigere condiſcant* (30). That is, "Let them learn to tell the Fables of Æſop "which ſucceed the ſtories of the nurſery, in a "pure and eaſy ſtyle, and afterwards endeavour to "write in the ſame familiar manner." They have never fallen into contempt. Our age, notwithſtanding its pride and delicacy, eſteems and admires them, and ſhews them in a hundred different ſhapes. The inimitable la Fontaine has procured them in our time a great deal of honour and glory; and great commendations are given to the reflexions of an Engliſh Wit, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, on theſe very Fables. See what Mr. de Beauval ſays of him in his *Journal* for the month of December 1692.

(29) *Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci, Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.* Horat. *de Art. Poët.* ver. 343. "But he that "joins inſtructions with delight; "Profit with "pleaſure, carries all the "votes.

(30) Quintil. Inſtit. lib. i. cap. 9.

of Antiquity [*H*], knew how to form a good judgment of things. His anſwer to Chilo is wonderful [*I*]. It is not probable that the Fables which bear his name at preſent are the ſame that he wrote; the ſubject and the thought are his for the moſt part, but the words are another's [*K*]. If all the Fables of the Poets had been like theſe, there would

[*H*] *His Apologues are the moſt uſeful of all the Fables of Antiquity.*] Plato has made this judgment of them; for *having baniſhed Homer from his Commonwealth, he has given Æſop a very honourable place in it. He wiſhes that children were to ſuck theſe Fables with their milk; he recommends them to nurſes to teach them, for one cannot accuſtom them too ſoon to wiſdom and virtue.* I borrow theſe words from Mr. de la Fontaine's Preface. He has reaſon to ſpeak as he does; for tho' Plato did not name any Fabuliſt, whoſe inventions he would have children taught, it is enough that he ſays there are ſome Fables to be rejected, and others to be retained, and that he reckons among thoſe to be rejected ſuch as repreſent the Gods as Authors of many culpable actions. Of this kind, continues he, are the Fables of Homer and Heſiod: We may infer from thence that he has reckoned the Fables of Æſop among thoſe which are to be retained: but ſee in what manner he recommends thoſe of this claſs (31): τοὺς ϗ ἐγκριθέντας (μύθους) πείσομεν τὰς τροφούς τε καὶ μητέρας λέγειν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ πλάττειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς μύθοις πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σώματα ταῖς χερσίν. " As for thoſe Fables of which we have ap- " proved, we ſhall take care to have them told " children by their nurſes and mothers, that their " minds may be better formed by Fables, than their " bodies are by their hands." Apollonius of Tyana is more explicit than Plato on the preference of the Fables of Æſop. They are more proper, ſays he, (32) than all other Fables to inſpire us with wiſdom; for thoſe of the Poets do but corrupt the ears of the hearers: they repreſent the infamous amours of the Gods, their inceſts, their quarrels and a hundred other crimes; and ſhew us parents eating up their children. Thoſe who find ſuch things related by the Poets as real facts, learn to love women, riches and power; to believe they do not ſin in ſatisfying the moſt irregular appetites, ſeeing they do but imitate the Gods. Æſop, not content with rejecting Fables of this nature, in favour of wiſdom, has invented a new method. Apollonius, continuing his parellel, ſhews by ſeveral other reaſons how much the Fables of Æſop ſurpaſs thoſe of the Poets; after which he tells a ſtory that he had learnt of his mother in his infancy. Æſop, it ſeems, being a Shepherd and feeding his flock near a temple of Mercury, often beſought this God with ardent vows, to grant him the poſſeſſion of wiſdom. He had a great number of competitors. But what was the event? They all entered the Temple of Mercury, with their hands full of rich offerings. Æſop being poor was the only one that made no precious offering; he preſented only a little milk and honey, and a few flowers that were not ſo much as tied up together (33). When Mercury came to make a diſtribution of wiſdom, he had regard to the price of the offerings: he gave, according to this proportion, Philoſophy to one, Rhetorick to another, Aſtronomy to a third, and Poetry to a fourth. He did not remember Æſop till after he had finiſhed his diſtribution; and at the ſame time recollecting a Fable which the Hours had told him when he was at nurſe, he beſtowed on Æſop the gift of inventing Apologues, which was the only one remaining in wiſdom's apartment. A Hypercritic now might build upon this ſtory of Philoſtratus and fall upon Mr. de la Fontaine on account of the following paſſage. *I do not know how it comes to paſs that the* Ancients *have not made theſe very Fables deſcend from heaven, and that they have not aſſigned them a God to have the direction of them, as well as Poeſy and Eloquence* (34). One might have remembred this paſſage of Philoſtratus, and yet have ſpoken in the ſame manner with Mr. de la Fontaine; for there never was a well eſtabliſhed tradition in true Antiquity concerning the celeſtial origin of the Apologue. I ſhall avoid quoting Strabo; for tho' his Apology for Fables comprehends the Fictions of Æſop, it is certainly deſigned principally to juſtify thoſe of Homer. It is a ſtrange ſort of Apology, ſeeing Strabo ingenuouſly owns that it was neceſſary for Legiſlators and Republicks to adopt the Fables of the Poets, in order to imprint the ſentiments of Religion in the minds of the people: for do not imagine, ſays he, that women, and the lower rank of people, can be led to faith, and piety by philoſophical diſcourſes; there is need of ſuperſtition for that, and ſuperſtition cannot be formed without Fables. It was neceſſary therefore to invent Fables, to be made uſe of as ſpectres and phantoms to frighten the ignorant. Philoſophy is but for few people: Fables are a general good, and fill the theatres. Οὐ γὰρ ὄχλον τε γυναικῶν, ϗ παντὸς χυδαίου πλήθους ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, ϗ προκαλίσασθαι πρὸς ἐυσέβειαν, ϗ ὁσιότητα ϗ πίστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ϗ διὰ δεισιδαιμονιάς· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄνευ μυθοποιΐας, ϗ τερατείας. Κεραυνὸς γὰρ, καὶ ἀιγὶς ϗ τρίαινα, ϗ λαμπάδες, ϗ ὀφάκοῦλες, ϗ θυρσύλογκα τῶν Θεῶν ὅπλα μύθοι, ϗ πᾶσα θεολογία ἀρχαϊκὴ. Ταῦτα δ' ἀπεδέξαντο οἱ τὰς πολιτείας κατασκευάσαντες μορμολύκεια τινὰς πρὸς τοὺς ληπτοφρενας . . . Αὕτη μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὀλίγους, ἡ ϑ ποιητικὴ δημωφελεστέρα, ϗ θέατρα πληροῦν δυναμένη (35).

(31) Plato *de Republica*, lib. 2. p. m. 604. B.

(32) *See* Philoſtratus in the *Life of Apollonius*, book 5. chap. 5.

Whether the ancients have aſcribed a celeſtial origin to the Apologue.

(33) *He had not been at the pains to make them up into a noſegay: Would it be right, ſaid he to Mercury, for me to neglect my flock, whilſt I ſpend my time in making noſegays?* Philoſtratus, Life of Apollo, book 5. chap. 5.

(34) La Fontaine, *Preface des Fables choiſies.*

(35) Strabo, l. 1. pag. 13.

[*I*] *His anſwer to Chilo is wonderful.*] Chilo one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece was an old man in the 52 Olympiad (36), when Æſop was in the flower of his age. It is not well known when and where Chilo, having asked Æſop what was Jupiter's employment, received this anſwer, *He abaſes the high, and exalts the low* (37). This anſwer without doubt is an epitome of human life. Take the Hiſtory by which end you pleaſe, and follow the progreſs of it from the beginning to the end, you will ſee examples every where of the alternative that Æſop intended to ſignify. The world is a true game at See-ſaw; one goes up and another goes down in it. In this game we may admire the depths of a wiſe Providence, and the activity of our paſſions. A man becomes rich, his children being exalted with wealth grow full of vanity, are prodigal and ruin themſelves. Their children having nothing to depend on but their own induſtry, labour night and day to grow rich, and ſo raiſe themſelves. A Kingdom acquires a very great power, it grows full of pride, and treats its neighbours with contempt: every one is afraid of being conquered; and to eſcape the danger, they enter into ſuch formidable leagues, that they pull down the Prince who before was ſo much exalted. This rule has its exceptions, for there are families and ſtates which preſerve their elevation a long time. The Roman Commonwealth, that extirpated ſo many Sovereignties, augmented it ſelf by little and little for ſome centuries. The Pagans were ſo fully perſuaded that heaven made it its buſineſs to pull down the lofty, that they imagined there were Gods in whom the proſperity of men cauſed a violent jealouſy. The very Philoſophers who denied Providence acknowledged there is ſome hidden thing that affects to overturn grandeur (38). If man was not an indocible animal, would not his pride have been corrected, after ſo many proofs of Æſop's maxim repeated in each country and age? Two thouſand years hence, if the world continues ſo long, theſe continual repetitions of up and down will have gained nothing upon the heart of man. To what purpoſe then is it repeated ſo often and ſo inceſſantly? We muſt lay our finger on our mouth and humbly adore the wiſdom of the Conductor of this univerſe, and at the ſame time acknowledge the infinite corruption of our nature, and its ſervitude under the yoke of mechanical impreſſions, an inveterate diſeaſe that yields only to the miraculous operations of Grace. If one knew the whole extent of this ſervitude, and the particular laws of the union of the ſoul and body, one might make a whole book on the cauſes of the reciprocation contained in Æſop's anſwer; a book, I ſay, that might be intitled, *De centro oſcillationis moralis*, wherein one might reaſon upon principles almoſt as neceſſary as thoſe of Mr. Huygens, and other Philoſophers, who have treated *De centro oſcillationis*, or of the vibrations of Pendulums.

(36) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 72. *in Chilone.*

(37) Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Αἰσώπῳ πυθέσθαι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί ἴση ποιῶν, τὸν δὲ φάναι, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν. Idem, ibid. num. 69. *See* Mr. Drelincourt's *Index Achilleus*, num. 377.

THE WORLD is a game at See-ſaw.

(38) *Uſque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam Obterit, & pulcros faſces, ſævaſque ſecures Proculcare ac ludibrio ſibi habere videtur.* Lucretius, lib. 5. ver. 1223.

" And hence we
" fancy unſeen
" pow'rs in
" things,
" Whoſe force
" and will ſuch
" ſtrange confuſion brings,
" And ſpurns
" and overthrows
" our greateſt
" Kings.
Creech.

[*K*] *The ſubject and the thought of theſe Fables are his for the moſt part, but the words are another's.*]

would have been no neceſſity for Strabo to have undertaken their apology [*L*]. It is difficult to comprehend why Seneca lays it down for certain, that the Romans had not in his time attempted that ſort of compoſition [*M*]. The Athenians erected a ſtatue to Æſop (g). Some are of opinion that it is he who became ſo famous among the Oriental

(g) Phædrus, *Fable* x. lib. 2.

ther's.] I mean Planudes's. This is the opinion of a very good critic. *Veriſimile ac prope certum videtur*, ſays he (39), *Planudem partim auribus accepiſſe à majoribus natu commenta Æſopica, partim legendo diverſis ex auctoribus mutuatum: quædam etiam inveniſſe per ſe & concinnaſſe ad arbitrium ſuum: etiam ἐπιμύθιον & appendiculam illam explicatricem fabulæ ſubjeciſſe plerumque ex ſuo ſenſu: omnia porro verbis complexum fuiſſe propriis & ſuis.* That is, "It is "probable and almoſt certain, that Planudes partly "received the Fables of Æſop by oral tradition, "and partly borrowed them from the reading of "various authors: and that he alſo invented ſome "of them himſelf, and turned them according to "his own mind: that he alſo added the ἐπιμύθιον "that little explicatory appendix chiefly accord-"ing to his own ſenſe: in fine, that he delivered "the whole in his own words and expreſſions." He confirms his conjecture by the conformity of the ſtyle that is obſerved between the Life of Æſop and the Fables. Now no body is ignorant that Planudes is the author of this Life. It is obſervable, that Henry Stephens, in his *Theſaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, has never quoted Æſop's Fables (40); which ſhews that he took them for the work of a modern Greek. It will not perhaps be amiſs to bring in this place ſome other proofs of Francis Vavaſſeur's opinion. This learned Jeſuit obſerves (41), that there is mention made in one of Æſop's Fables, of the Piræus, which was not built till the 76th Olympiad; for till then Phaleron was the Athenian port: the Phaleron therefore and not the Piræus ſhould have been mentioned by Æſop, who died (42) long before Themiſtocles, cauſed the Piræus to be made. In the explication of one of Æſop's Fables are theſe words of St. James (43), *God reſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.* Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν. That is, "The Fable declares that the Lord reſiſts the proud, "but gives grace to the humble." We may conclude from thence that it was Planudes that compoſed this Fable, or at leaſt added this explication to it. If it was not Planudes, it was ſome other Chriſtian, or at leaſt a Jew (44). It is to no purpoſe to ſay that there are certain common notions that may as well come from the pen of a Phrygian, as from that of Solomon or Planudes; for beſides its being very ſeldom that chance furniſhes exactly the ſame words, and the ſame order of letters to two different perſons to expreſs the ſame thought, it is certain that Æſop would never have put the word Κύριος (*the Lord*) in his maxim. This word is never uſed by way of excellence for God, except in the Septuagint verſion, and in authors that imitate them (45).

(39) Franciſcus Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra Dictione*, p. 21.

(40) Father Vavaſſeur, *de Ludicra Dictione*, makes this remark.

(41) Ibidem, pag. 19.

(42) In the 54th Olympiad, according to F. Vavaſſeur, ibid. See above, the Note [*C*].

(43) Epiſt. cap. 4. verſ. 6.

(44) The ſame ſentence is in the 3d chap. of the *Proverbs of Solomon.*

(45) *See* Father Vavaſſeur, p. 19, 20. and the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Dec.* 1684. Art. I. towards the end.

F. Vavaſſeur is not the firſt that took Planudes for the author of the Fables of Æſop, as we have them at preſent. Nevelet, who publiſhed in 1610 *a Collection of the Fabuliſts*, declared himſelf of this opinion. *Ex manuſcriptis illis quos habui ne unicus quidem vulgatas jam habuit Æſopi fabulas quas à Planude, ut Æſopi vita eſt, ſcriptas exiſtimo* (46). That is, "Of thoſe manuſcripts which I had, not "ſo much as one had the common Fables of Æſop, "which I take to be written by Planudes, as the Life of Æſop is." The manuſcripts he ſpeaks of were in the Library of Heidelberg, and had furniſhed him with about an hundred and thirty ſix Fables, which he added to thoſe of Æſop that had been printed before. If he added theſe hundred and thirty ſix Fables to thoſe of Æſop, it was not that he thought him the author of them; for he acknowledges that he does not know to whom to aſcribe them, and that they ſeem to belong to ſeveral authors. He aſcribes to ſome Monks thoſe wherein the monaſtic life is ſpoken of with commendation (47). Father Vavaſſeur (48) obſerves, that there are an hundred and fifty Fables in the *Compilation of Æſop* by Planudes, and that there are wanting three (49) which antiquity aſcribed to Æſop. Nevelet's *Compilation* contains two hundred ninety ſix Fables of Æſop.

(46) Iſaacus Nicolaus Neveletus *in Præfatione.*

(47) Idem, ibid.

(48) *De Ludicra Dictione*, p. 16.

(49) Lucian, *in Philotimo*, ſpeaks of one. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 29. ſpeaks of another. Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 10. cap. 5. ſpeaks of another. But this laſt does not ſeem to have been an *Apologue.*

Note that the obſervations concerning Κύριος has need of correction. Father Vavaſſeur pretends that it is peculiar to the Septuagint to uſe this word to expreſs God, and therefore that Æſop would not have uſed it in that ſenſe. *Adde quod horum Interpretum proprium fuit pro* יהוה Κύριον *hic, ut ubique vertunt, uſurpare: quod Æſopum facere non convenit, ſed* τὸν Θεὸν *appellare, ſeu* τὸ Θεῖον (50); I believe he is in the right with regard to Æſop, but I give up my opinion in the firſt edition of this work. I know now that a Heathen writer, who lived after the Apoſtles, has given the name Κύριος to God, and has even joined it with ἐλέησον, as it is done in the Liturgies of the Church. Arrian is the author I mean, and theſe are his words: Νῦν ὄρνιθάριον τρέμοντες τὸ ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ, Κύριε ἐλέησον ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν (51). i. e. "But now trembling we hold the little "bird, and calling upon God we beſeech him ſay-"ing, have mercy on me, O Lord, and grant that "I may eſcape." We muſt not forget that in the ſame chapter he obſerves that thoſe who went to conſult a ſoothſayer, gave him the name of Κύριος; let us quote the paſſage: Διὰ τοῦτο κολακεύομεν τοὺς Μάντεις· κληρονομήσω Κύριε τὸν πατέρα; ἴδωμεν, ἐπικυσώμεθα. καὶ Κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει; ἐὰν εἴπῃ κληρονομήσεις. ὡς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν κληρονομίαν εἰληφότες, εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ. That is, "For this reaſon we flatter the ſooth-"ſayers: O Lord, ſhall I inherit after my father? let "us ſee, let us conſult the victims. Yes Lord; "what is the will of fortune? and when he has "ſaid you ſhall inherit, we thank him, as if we "had received the inheritance from him." Arrian very juſtly laughs at this practice.

(50) Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra Dictione*, p. 20.

(51) Arrianus *in Epicteto*, lib. 2. cap. 7. p. m. 85. Mr. du Rondel pointed out this paſſage to me.

[*L*] *If all the Fables of the Poets had been like his, there would have been no neceſſity for Strabo to have undertaken their Apology.*] We have ſeen above (52) what this Apology is. The author of it forgot the principal point. It is that which Plato and Apollonius Tyaneus touched upon, when they ſaid that thoſe, who ſee the Gods commit all ſorts of crimes, are induced to believe that there is no harm in doing as much (53). What could Strabo anſwer to ſuch an objection? The skill of Rhetoric might perhaps carry him ſo far as to pretend not to know that there was ſuch an objection againſt the Fables of the Poets.

(52) In the Note [*H*].

(53) See the note [*H*] quotation (32), and the *Penſées ſur les Cometes*, p. 559.

[*M*] *Seneca lays it down for certain, that the Romans had not in his time attempted that ſort of compoſition.*] Theſe are Seneca's words: *Non audeo te uſque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque & Æſopeos logos, intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus, ſolita tibi venuſtate connectas* (54). That is, "I dare not go ſo "far, as to perſuade you to read the Fables of Æſop, "a kind of work unattempted by the Roman Wits." When Seneca ſaid thus, were not the Fables of Phædrus, an incomparable work, ſeen at Rome? Lipſius anſwers to this queſtion, that Phædrus was not a Roman, and that Seneca ſpake only of the Romans, *Romanis ingeniis.* I can hardly believe that ſo able a man as Lipſius could ſatisfy himſelf with ſuch a weak reaſon. Did not the Comedies of Terence, who was born in Africa, paſs for the production of a Roman author? Why ſhould not the Fables of Phædrus, who was born in Thrace, and enfranchiſed by an Emperor, have the ſame fortune? It is certain that Seneca oppoſes the Latin tongue to the Greek; and means that there were at that time none but Greek Books on the ſubject of the Apologues. Shall we ſay that Phædrus did not publiſh his Fables himſelf, and that therefore they might be only a private manuſcript in the time of Seneca? This is neither probable nor compatible with all the preambles of that author. It muſt be ſaid then that Seneca had forgotten that there was ſuch a book in the world as the *Fables of Phædrus.* As able men as Seneca have been ſubject to like miſtakes in theſe latter ages.

(54) Seneca, *de Conſol. ad Polybium*, cap. 27.

Oriental nations under the name of Locman. He is reckoned in the number of those who have been restored to life [N].

Since the first edition of this work, I have read the *Life of Æsop* composed by Meziriac. I shall give some extracts of it [O].

[N] *He is reckoned in the number of those who have been restored to life.*] Ptolemy the son of Hephæstion spake perhaps more largely of it; but at present we know no more than these two lines: Ὡς Αἴσωπος ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἀνεβίωσε· καὶ στρατεύσας τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ Θερμοπύλας (55). That is, "How Æsop who had been killed by the Delphi- "ans, came to life again, and fought with the Greeks "at Thermophylæ." If I am not mistaken, it was the title of a chapter of which Photius has preserved some extracts, and it is not unlike a chapter of the *Chronicle of the ancient Worthies.* Scaliger (56), having quoted the Greek words just now recited, cries out very justly, *Nugæ Græculorum*, i. e. "The "idle tales of the Greeks;" but I do not understand what he said before he quoted them, *Nugatur Græculus Alexander apud Photium* 252. i. e. "Alexander the Greek trifles in Photius." He seems to mean some Alexander that had made a collection of extraordinary things (57). But besides, that Photius places him *numero* 189, he does not tell us that this author spake of Æsop. If we may believe an author of the sixteenth Century, Plato the Comic Poet had spoken of this resurrection (58). Or rather, if we may believe Suidas (59).

(55) Photius, *in Biblioth.* num. 190. p. 489.

(56) Scalig. *animadv. in Eusebium*, num. 1453 pag. 93.

(57) Θαυμασίων συναγωγή. Photius, num. 189. p. 468. *A collection of wonders.*

(58) *Porro ex Græcis sunt qui Æsopum hunc revixisse fabulentur, quod Comicus, item Plato significavit.* Cæl. Rhodiginus, lib. 15. cap. 26. p. m. 824. That is, "Amongst the "Greeks there "are some that "tell a tale of "his rising again, "which Plato "the Comic Po- "et has signi- "fied."

(59) *In* Ἀναβιῶναι, see a Note thereupon by Francis Portus, which contains a passage of the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes.*

[O] *The Life of Æsop composed by Meziriac. I shall give some extracts of it.*] It is a little Book printed at Bourg-en-Bresse, in 1632. It contains only forty pages in 16. It is become exceeding scarce. Mr. Simon de Valhebert (60), Librarian to the Abbé Bignon was so kind as to send me a copy of it. This is what I extract from it. It is more probable that Æsop was born at Cotiæum a town of Phrygia, than that he was born at Sardis, or in the Island of Samos, or at Mesembria in Thrace. *The first master that he served was one Zemarchus, or Demarchus surnamed Carasius, a native and inhabitant of Athens* (61). Thus it is probable *that it was there he learned the purity of the Greek tongue, as in its spring, and acquired the knowledge of moral Philosophy which was then in esteem ... in process of time he was sold to Xanthus a native of the Isle of Samos, and afterwards to Idmon or Iadmon the Philosopher, who was a Samian also, and who enfranchised him* (62). *After he had recovered his liberty, he soon acquired a great reputation amongst the Greeks; so that the report of his singular wisdom having reached the ears of Crœsus, he sent to enquire after him, and having conceived an affection for him, he obliged him by his favours to engage himself in his service to the end of his life. He travelled through Greece, whether for his own pleasure, or for the private affairs of Crœsus, is uncertain, and passing by Athens* (63), *soon after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereign power there, and had abolished the popular state; and seeing that the Athenians bore the yoke very impatiently, he told them the Fable of the Frogs that asked a King of Jupiter. Afterwards he met the seven Wise Men* (64) *in the city of Corinth at the Tyrant Periander's* (65). *Some* (66) *relate that, in order to shew that the life of man is full of miseries, and that one pleasure is attended with a thousand pains, Æsop used to say that when Prometheus took the clay to form man, he did not temper it with water, but with tears.* This is an Authority that confirms the opinion of Xenophanes, that evil surpasses good.

(60) *See* Mr. Menage's Epistle Dedicatory to his *Origines de la Langue Françoise*, edit. in fol. 1694.

(61) Meziriac, *ex Aphthonio.*

(62) *Idem, ex* Schol. Aristoph. *in Aves, Herodoto, & Plutarcho.*

(63) *Idem, ex Phædro.*

(64) Meziriac had said before that Æsop met with them at the court of Crœsus.

(65) *Idem, ex Plutarcho.*

(66) *Idem, ex Themistio.*

I pass over some other particulars collected by Meziriac, they may be found in the notes on this Article. He concludes his little book with these words, "If it be granted that this (67) is a genuine "work of Æsop, it must be confessed that we have "no writing so ancient as this except the books of "Moses, and some others of the old Testament." With due respect to the memory of this learned man, I shall say he has concluded with a horrid blunder, for who does not know that the Poems of Homer and those of Hesiod preceded all that Æsop could produce? Does he not confess himself (68) that the honour of the invention of Fables is due to the Poet Hesiod? whence then comes it that a few pages afterwards he makes Æsop prior to Hesiod? Distractions of the mind.

(67) Namely, the Fables that appear under his name.

(68) *Idem, ex Quintiliano.*

Note that M. Menage (69) falsly imputes to him the having refuted the chronological blunder of Planudes with regard to the citation of Euripides.

(69) See the Note [B] citation (10).

ÆSOP, the author of an Elogy on Mithridates, was Reader to this Prince. He wrote also a piece upon Helen (*a*), in which he related a thing that has intirely the air of a fable [A]. Mr. Moreri's article of this Æsop is full of falshood [B].

(*a*) Suidas, *in* Αἴσωπος.

[A] *He related a thing that had entirely the air of a Fable.*] He said there is found, in a fish called *Pan*, a stone which the rays of the sun will set on fire, and that it is called *Asterites*; and that good philters are made of it. We learn this from Suidas. Æsop probably spake of this philter, because to excuse Helen, he feigned that Paris did not carry her off till he had made her fall in love with him by extraordinary means.

[B] *Mr. Moreri's article is full of blunders.*] I. He says in the first place that Æsop a Greek Historian *wrote the History of Alexander the Great in Letters.* Thus Moreri has translated these Latin words of Vossius, *Vitam Alexandri Magni Literis prodidit* (1). He imagined no doubt that this Æsop was a follower of Alexander, and that he sent news of the army to his friends, and that the collection of his Letters was afterwards a History of this Conqueror. II. Moreri adds, *that he is different* (he speaks of the Epistolary Historian) *from him, whom Diogenes Laertius mentions in the Life of Chilo.* A man that knew that Diogenes Laertius spake of Æsop the Phrygian, would not have spoken as Moreri has done; for besides that, this Æsop was characterised by the wonderful talent he had for the Apologue, it must be known that Moreri had just given a long article concerning Æsop the Phrygian. He believed therefore that the persons named Æsop, of whom he speaks in the following Article, differ from Æsop the Phrygian; it is then incontestable that he was ignorant that the Æsop mention'd in the *Life of Chilo* is he who acquired so great a name by his Fables. We may reckon this for a second blunder. The IIId consists in his having said that Æsop the author of the *Elogy of Mithridates* was a friend of Pompey. He quotes Suidas and Vossius; not that he consulted the first of these two authors, for he found the quotation in the latter and that sufficed him. But see whence his mistake arose; he had read the following words in Vossius (2); *Pompeii familiari* (3) *ac Mithridatici belli scriptori subdatur Mithridatis Anagnostes Æsopus, cui Mithridatis encomium nomen peperit.* i. e. "To the friend of "Pompey and writer of the Mithridatic War must be "subjoined Æsop, Mithridates's reader, who got a "reputation by his encomium on Mithridates." He thought this meant that Æsop was the friend of Pompey. Such a deal of pains did he take to examine attentively what he copied.

(1) Voss. *de Histor. Græc.* pag. 316.

(2) Voss. *de Hist. Græc.* pag. 528, 529.

(3) He means Theophanes the Historian, whom he had just mentioned.

ÆSOP, a Greek writer of a romantic History of Alexander the Great. It is not known in what time he lived: his work has been translated into Latin by one Julius Valerius, who is not much better known than Æsop. The manuscript of this version has been in the hands of Francis Juret (*a*), and Gaspar Barthius. This last ascribes the

(*a*) See his Notes upon the 54th Letter of the book *de Symmach.* edit. 1601.

the whole work to a Monk: I ſhall relate [*A*] what both Barthius and Freinſhemius have ſaid of him.

[*A*] *I ſhall relate what both Barthius and Freinſhemius have ſaid of him.*] Here follows what we find in the liſt that the learned Freinſhemius has given us of all the authors of the *Hiſtory of Alexander* (1). JULIUS VALERIUS *Latinam fecit Hiſtoriam fabuloſam de Alexandro, quæ ab aliis Æſopo, ab aliis Calliſthæni adſcripta fuit. Unde fabulas ſuas certatim hauſerunt Antoninus, Vincentius, Urſpergenſis, alii. Precium videbatur adſcribere hoc loco judicium C. Barthii ex* 2, 10. *adverſariorum. Talia multa in non inerudito Monacho ſunt, qui vitam Alexandri magni prodigioſis mendaciis farctam edidit ante aliquam multa ſecula: quæ fabula tantum olim fidei habuit, ut à prudentibus etiam ſcriptoribus ſit teſtimonio citata, qualis ſane ante plus quam quatuor ſecula fuit in Anglia Silveſter Giraldus, qui non dubitavit ejus callionis auctoritate uti. An ea egregia hiſtoria edita unquam ſit neſcio, nos in charta ſcriptum habemus, ſed tanti vix æſtimamus, ut in Bibliothecam recipiamus. Eſt idem auctor quem Æſopum vocat, & interpretatum à Julio Valerio Franciſcus Juretus ad Symmachi lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 54. *Editione quidem priore. Ego vero neque de auctore neque de interprete credo Romani Græcive hominis eſſe, maxima enim in eo Græci ſermonis ignorantia, nec ulla Romani notitia eſt. Hactenus Barthius. Typis excuſa eſt Germanice, anno* 1486. *Argentorati. Citatur & Salmaſio ad Solinum, pag.* 1025. *vetus ſcriptor qui res Alexandri fabuloſe compoſuit.* That is, " JULIUS VALERIUS wrote a fabu- " lous Latin Hiſtory of Alexander, which is aſcribed " by ſome to Æſop, by others to Calliſthenes. " Hence Antoninus, Vincentius, Urſpargenſis and " others, have drawn their Fables. It may not be " amiſs to quote in this place the judgment of Bar- " thius in his *Adverſaria*. There are many ſuch " things in the learned Monk, who ſome ages ago " put out a *Life of Alexander the Great*, ſtuffed with " monſtrous lies; which Fable had ſo much credit " formerly, that it is quoted as a teſtimony even by " good writers; as above four Centuries ago was " Silveſter Giraldus in England, who made no dif- " ficulty to uſe the authority of that Recluſe. Whe- " ther that extraordinary Hiſtory was ever publiſhed, " I know not, I have it in manuſcript, but do not " think it worthy of a place in my Library. It is " the ſame author that Franciſcus Juretus mentions " under the name of Æſop, and ſays, that he was " tranſlated by Julius Valerius. For my part, I do " not take either the author or the tranſlator to " have been a Grecian or a Roman, for he ſhews " the greateſt ignorance of Greek, and no know- " ledge at all of Latin. Thus far Barthius. It was " printed in German, in 1486, at Strasburg. He " is quoted alſo by Salmaſius under the name of " the old author who wrote a fabulous Hiſtory of " Alexander." It is very probable that this Romance was formed in the barbarous ages; and as every thing was good to ſuch fine criticks as Vincent de Beauvais, it is no wonder that this wretched book ſhould be in ſuch eſteem.

(1) It is prefixed to his *Commentary* on Quintus Curtius.

ÆSOP (CLODIUS) a celebrated Comedian, flouriſhed at Rome in the ſeventh Century. He and Roſcius were the beſt actors that ever appeared among the ancient Romans; Æſop in Tragedy and Roſcius in Comedy. Cicero put himſelf under their diſcipline to perfect his action (*a*). Æſop lived in a very expenſive manner. An entertainment of his is much ſpoken of, wherein he ſerved up an earthen diſh that coſt him above eight hundred pounds [*A*]. This diſh was filled with birds that had learned either to ſing or ſpeak, and each of which coſt almoſt fifty pounds. Æſop's ſon was no leſs luxurious than his father. He did not content himſelf with entertaining his gueſts with the moſt coſtly ſinging birds, but diſſolved pearls alſo for them to drink. Some

(*a*) Plutarch *in Cicer. Vita*, pag. 863.

[*A*] *An entertainment of his is much ſpoken of.*] We find this Hiſtory in *Pliny*: his words according to F. Hardouïn's edition, are as follow: *Maxime inſignis eſt in hac memoria Clodii Æſopi tragici hiſtrionis patina Seſtertia centum taxata: in qua poſuit aves cantu aliquo aut humano ſermone vocales Seſtertia ſex ſingulas coëmptas: nulla alia inductus ſuavitate niſi ut in his imitationem hominis manderet, ne quæſtus quidem ſuos re veritus illos opimos & voce meritos* (1). That is, " But above all others Æſop the Tragedian's " diſh is moſt famous, which was valued at a hun- " dred *Seſtertia* *, in which were ſinging and talk- " ing birds, that coſt ſix *Seſtertia* † each: having no " other inducement to this extravagance, than the " humour of eating the imitators of the human " voice, not conſidering the great gain he had " made himſelf by his voice." Father Hardouïn has corrected this paſſage (2), by putting a hundred thouſand *Seſtertii* ‡, which according to him are worth ten thouſand livres of French money **. So much for the price of the diſh: as for that of the birds, he has put ſix thouſand *Seſtertii* ††, that is, two hundred French crowns ***. As for the hundred thouſand *Seſtertii*, he confirms his correction by a paſſage of Pliny, and another of Tertullian; for Pliny ſpeaks thus in the twelfth Chapter of the thirty fifth Book. *Nos cum unam Æſopi tragœdiarum hiſtrionis in natura avium diceremus ſeſtertiis centum ſtetiſſe non dubito indignatos legentes.* That is, " As " for one diſh of Æſop the Tragedian, which " coſt a hundred thouſand *Seſtertii* §, I do not " doubt but that it ſtirred up the indignation " of my readers, where I am ſpeaking of birds." As for Tertullian (3) he ſays Æſop's diſh coſt *centum millium*. Pliny ſeems to have had too great a mind to be witty, and his thought was falſe. Æſop, ſays he, found no other delight in theſe birds, but the thought that he eat in them a copy of mankind, and at the ſame time paid no reſpect to that immenſe gain which he had made by his voice. Pliny's alluſion is eaſy to comprehend. He propoſes to reproach Æſop for not having regard enough for his own ſimilitude: Æſop in his quality of Actor was but a copyer of a man; his voice was only the imitation of that of other men, and he had acquired immenſe ſums by means of ſuch imitation: he ſhould not therefore have been laviſh in deſtroying thoſe birds which like himſelf copied mankind. It will be granted me that this is refining too much. But when Pliny adds that the extravagancies of the father exceeded thoſe of the ſon, becauſe it is a greater fault to eat the tongues of men, than to eat the moſt excellent productions of nature (4), does he not manifeſtly diſcover the falſeneſs of his thought? Does not he ſhew that he ill explains Æſop's meaning? The great delight that this Actor found in this ſort of birds proceeded from the greatneſs of the expence. He did not make a diſh of them becauſe they could ſpeak (this motive was only by accident) but becauſe they could not be bought but at an extraordinary price. If there had been any birds that could not ſpeak, and yet were more ſcarce and dear than theſe, he would have furniſhed his diſh with them with more pleaſure. Do but read what follows: *O miſerabiles quorum palatum niſi ad pretioſos cibos non excitatur. Pretioſos autem non eximiis ſapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, ſed vanitas & difficultas parandi facit* (5). That is, " Unhappy " thoſe whoſe appetite cannot be raiſed without " the moſt precious meats; which at the ſame time " are not precious on account of the delicacy of " their taſte, but out of vanity and on account of " the difficulty of procuring them." Petronius has finely touched this vanity in his *Ales phaſiacis petita Colchis, &c.*

(1) Plin. lib. x. cap. 51. pag. m. 443.

[* Or a hundred thouſand *Seſtertii*.]

[† Or ſix thouſand *Seſtertii*.]

(2) See the corrections of the xth Book, num. 62, 63.

‡ The common editions have it *Sexcentis H. S.* ſix hundred *Seſtertia*.]

[** l. 808. 4. 2. Sterling.]

[†† The common editions have it, *numinis ſex*, ſix *Seſtertii*.]

[*** l. 48. 8. 9. Sterling.]

[§ Some editions have it ſix hundred thouſand *Seſtertii*.]

(3) *De Pallio*, p. m. 32. *See* Salmaſius's *Commentaries* thereupon, you will find there the corrections of Father Hardouin.

(4) *Non ſit tamen, ut verum fatear, facile inter duos judicium turpitudinis: niſi quod minus eſt ſummas rerum naturæ opes quam hominum linguas cænaſſe*, Plin. lib. 10. cap. 51. i. e. " To confeſs the " truth, it is no " eaſy matter to " decide which is " the moſt guilty " of the two: " only it ſeems " ſomething leſs " to ſup upon the " greateſt riches " of nature, than " upon the " tongues of men.

(5) Seneca *Conſol. ad Helviam*, cap. 9.

Some ſpeak of this, as if he had made a common practice of it [B]; but others hint that he treated with pearls but once [C]. Horace ſpeaks only of one pearl of great value [D], which Æſop's ſon diſſolved in vinegar and drank. Æſop, notwithſtanding his great expences, died worth above a hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds (b). It is ſaid that he was ſo tranſported on the ſtage, and ſo wonderfully taken with his part, that he was in an extaſy; and that one day he killed a man in theſe tranſports [E]. Moreri

(b) *Æſopum ex pari arte ducenties Seſtertium reliquiſſe filio conſtat.* Macrob. Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 10. *Ducenties Seſtertium*, according to Gaſſendus *in Abaco Seſtertiorum*, are 1,861,111 livres and ſome ſols. [According to Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, *Ducenties Seſtertium* makes l. 161,538. 6. 8 Sterling.]

[B] *He diſſolved pearls for his gueſts to drink. Some ſpeak of this, as if he had made a common practice of it.*] Valerius Maximus ſpeaks of it in that light. *Huic* (6) *nimirum magis Æſopus tragœdus*, ſays he (7), *in adoptionem dare filium ſuum, quam bonorum ſuorum hæredem relinquere debuit non ſolum perditæ, ſed etiam furioſæ luxuriæ juvenem: quem conſtat cantu commendabiles aviculas immanibus emptas prætiis in cœna pro ficedulis ponere, acetoque liquatos magnæ ſummæ uniones potionibus aſpergere* SOLITUM, *ampliſſimum patrimonium tanquam amaram aliquam ſarcinam quam celerrimè abjicere cupientem.* That is, "Æſop the Tragedian truly had better "have given him his ſon to be adopted, than "have left his eſtate to a young man of abandoned "and furious luxury, who could buy fine ſinging "birds at an exorbitant price and bring them to table "for Beccaficos, and *was accuſtomed* to diſſolve "pearls in vinegar and give them to drink, as if he had "a mind to throw off his very great patrimony, "like a heavy burthen." I think I am not miſtaken when I affirm that there are two things confounded in this paſſage, which ought to have been diſtinguiſhed. Æſop's ſon ſhould not be charged with the expence in diſſolved pearls, and that in ſinging birds: the latter ſhould be placed to the father's account, and the former to the ſon's. Pliny and Tertullian ſhall be my authorities: they diſtinguiſh between the luxury of the father and that of the ſon: they accuſe the father of having expended great ſums upon making a diſh, and filling it with ſinging and talking birds; but they ſay nothing of his diſſolving pearls to drink. It is to the ſon they aſcribe this prodigality and not the other. See Pliny in the place that I have quoted (8); you will find that he adds to the words above related, *Dignus prorſus filio à quo devoratas diximus margaritas.* That is, "Altogether worthy of ſuch a ſon, "by whom we have ſaid that pearls were ſwallow-"ed." We ſhall ſee in the following note the paſſage to which he refers his readers. But this is what Tertullian has ſaid: *Qua* (gula) *Æſopus hiſtrio ex avibus ejuſdem pretioſitatis ut canoris & loquacibus, quibuſque centum millium patinam confiſcavit. Filius ejus poſt tale pulpamentum potuit ſumptuoſius eſurire: margaritas namque vel ipſo nomine pretioſas debauſit, credo, ne mendicius patre cœnaſſet* (9). That is, "Æſop the Actor ſpent a hundred thouſand pieces "on a diſh of ſinging and talking birds. But his "ſon was more extravagant in eating than he, for "he drank up pearls of an extravagant price, for "fear, I ſuppoſe, of eating more meanly than his "father."

(6) That is, to Caius Sergius Orata, whoſe extraordinary gluttony he had juſt been repreſenting.

(7) Val. Maxim. lib. 9. cap. 1. num. 2.

(8) Lib. 10. cap. 51. pag. 443.

(9) Tertullianus, *de Pallio*, p. m. 56.

[C] *Others ſay that he treated with pearls but once.*] Weigh the words well which I ſhall ſubjoin; you will find I am perſuaded, that they prove that Æſop's ſon fell into this exceſs only on a particular day when he was treating his friends. Conſider principally the compariſon that Pliny has made between the ſon of this Player and Cleopatra, and you will find that he did not ſuppoſe this debauch to have been repeated; for if it had, he would have been much to blame not to ſay ſo; the advantage which he would give Æſop over Cleopatra would have been much more obvious. *Non ferent tamen hanc palmam* (Antonius & Cleopatra) *ſpoliabunturque etiam luxuriæ gloria. Prior id fecerat Romæ in unionibus magnæ taxationis Clodius Tragœdi Æſopi filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus hæres, ne triumviratu ſuo nimis ſuperbiat Antonius, pene hiſtrioni comparatus, & quidam nulla ſponſione ad hoc producto, quo magis regium fiat: ſed ut experiretur in gloria palati, quid ſaperent margaritæ: atque ut mire placuere, ne ſolus hoc ſciret, ſingulos uniones convivis quoque abſorbendos dedit* (10). That is, "And yet they (Anthony and Cleopatra) "ſhall not carry the prize, but ſhall loſe the glory of "being at the head of luxury. For before their time "Clodius the ſon of Æſop the Tragedian being left "heir to his immenſe wealth, did the ſame at "Rome with pearls of great price, ſo that Antho-"ny has no reaſon to be proud of his Triumvirate, "ſeeing a man that was little better than a ſtage-"player could vie with him, who had not laid any "wager, but after a more royal manner did it mere-"ly for the glory of knowing how pearls taſted; "and when he found them to be very delicate, "not being willing to be alone in his pleaſure, "he entertained every one of his gueſts alſo with "a pearl."

(10) Plin. lib. 9. cap. 35.

[D] *Horace ſpeaks only of one pearl of great value.*] Let us repreſent two men, one of which ſwallows a pearl in the preſence of his gueſts, and the other does not content himſelf with that, but gives every one of them a pearl alſo to ſwallow, we ſhall find a conſiderable difference between theſe two entertainments: the leaſt will appear much more ſumptuous than the firſt, all other things being equal. Wherefore, if Æſop's ſon did what Pliny aſcribes to him, it is certain that his feaſt was a great deal more remarkable, than if he had been the only one that ſwallowed a pearl. I go farther, and ſay that the principal ſingularity of this feaſt, and what ſhould make it moſt memorable, is that every one of the gueſts drank a diſſolved pearl. Whence then comes it that Horace ſays nothing of this remarkable and principal ſingularity? It is certain that if Pliny had forgotten it, he would have ſhewn that of two remarkable things he did not know how to pick out that which was moſt ſo, and that he had neglected his advantages; for, when he was to ſhew that a mere citizen of Rome, ſon of a Comedian had outdone Cleopatra, he had paſſed over in ſilence what principally raiſed the action of the Citizen above that of a great Queen. The ſame objection may be made to Horace; his reaſoning would have been much ſtronger, if he had ſaid of Æſop's ſon all that Pliny has ſaid of him. Why then did he forget it? Of two very remarkable facts why ſhould he make choice of the leaſt? why ſhould he neglect the advantages of his proof and of his morality? It will be anſwered perhaps, that he knew no more of the prodigality of this Comedian's ſon, than what he ſays of it. But this is admitting a great difficulty. How is it poſſible that this man's feaſt ſhould come to Horace's knowledge only by the leaſt remarkable part of it; a very ſingular one, I confeſs, if it be conſidered in it ſelf, but nothing near ſo ſingular, if compared with the other? Let us ſee however the words of this Poet:

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ
(Scilicet ut decies ſolidum exſorberet) aceto
Diluit inſignem baccam: qui ſanior, ac ſi
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretve cloacam (11)?

(11) Horat. *Sat.* 3. l. 2. ver. 239.

"A coſtly gem from his Metella's ear,
"Æſop's looſe ſon diſſolv'd in vinegar,
"And drank it down, and then profuſely laugh'd,
"To think he drank a Province at a draught.
"Was't not as mad as to have thrown the gem
"Into a common ſhore, or muddy ſtream?
Creech.

An old Scholiaſt on *Horace* ſays this Metella was Æſop's ſon's wife. Others (12) ſay, that ſhe was not his wife, but that ſhe granted him favours, and made him a preſent of that pearl which was worth twenty five thouſand crowns. They add that ſhe might very well be Q. Cæcilius Metellus's ſiſter, who was married to L. Lucullus. We ſhall examine this in another place (13).

(12) Mr. Dacier on this paſſage of Horace, tom. 7. p. m. 301.

(13) In the Article of METELLA, Note [A.]

[E] *One day he killed a man in theſe tranſports.*] The thing very well deſerves to be related. Let us ſee what Plutarch ſays of it: Τὸν δ' Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ἱστοροῦσιν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τῆ θυίστῃ βουλευόμενον Ἀτρέα, τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινος ἄφρω παραδραμόντος

Moreri has committed here a round number of groſs faults [*F*].

(14) Plutarch, *in Cicer. Vita*, p. 863.

(15) *Honoris cauſa in ſcenam rediarant ii quos ego honoris cauſâ de ſcena deceſſiſſe arbitrabar deliciæ vero tuæ noſter Æſopus ejuſmodi fuit ut ei deſinere per omnes homines liceret. Is jurare cum cœpiſſet, vox eum defecit in illo loco, ſi ſciens fallo*, Cicero Epiſt. 1. lib. 7. *ad Famil.*

(16) See the foregoing citation.

(17) Idem, Epiſt. 2. lib. 1. *ad Quintum fratrem.*

(18) *Hiſtriones non inter turpes habitos Cicero teſtimonio eſt quem nullus ignorat Roſcio & Æſopo hiſtrionibus tam familiariter uſum ut res rationeſque earum ſua ſollertia tueretur, quod cum aliis multis tum ex epiſtolis quoque ejus declaratur.* Macrob. Saturn. lib. 2 cap. 10. i. e. "Cicero is a teſtimony that "Actors were "not reputed in- "famous, whom "every body "knows to have "been ſo inti- "mate with "Roſcius and "Æſop, the ac- "tors, that he "defended their "cauſes with his "utmoſt art, as "appears from "his Epiſtles and "many other "places.

(19) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 10. num. 2.

(20) See the Note [*A*].

θραμὸ'ντος ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτῷ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ὄντα τῷ σκήπτρῳ παταξαι καὶ ἀπλεῖν (14). That is, "They "report of this Æſop, that whilſt he was repreſenting on the ſtage Atreus deliberating in what manner he ſhould revenge himſelf on Thyeſtes, he "was ſo tranſported beyond himſelf, in the heat of "action, that with his truncheon he ſmote one of "his ſervants haſtily croſſing the ſtage, and laid him "dead upon the place."

[*F*] *Moreri has committed here a round number of groſs faults.*] I. It is falſe that Æſop the Comedian was a Tragic Poet. II. He was in a declining age (15) when Pompey's Theatre was dedicated in the year of Rome 698. A good Chronologer therefore would not have placed him about the 700th year of Rome. III. The authors quoted by Mr. Moreri do not ſay that Æſop was Cicero's friend. If this friendſhip is to be ſpoken of, other authors are to be quoted; and for want of quoting them one deſerves in ſome reſpect the character of a liar. Cicero himſelf ſhould be quoted: I have quoted the place already wherein he ſtyles him *noſter Æſopus* (16), and informs us of a very particular accident; Æſop being quite worn out, and having a mind to appear in the magnificent Plays which Pompey exhibited to the people at the dedication of his Theatre, offended all the ſpectators, and quite loſt his ſpeech when he came to repeat that part of the oath, wherein the penalties were expreſſed that were voluntarily to be undergone if there was any fraud in the oath. In another letter Cicero deſires his brother Quintus to get information concerning a ſlave that had run away from Æſop. *Æſopi tragedi noſtri familiaris Lucinius ſervus tibi notus aufugit* (17). Macrobius alſo is one that might have been quoted on this occaſion (18). IV. What Moreri ſays, that Æſop *often accompanied Cicero when he went to hear the Orations of Hortenſius, as Valerius Maximus obſerves*, is a notorious falſhood. It was Charles Stephens that led Moreri out of the way here: he advances the ſame fact, and quotes Valerius Maximus, who ſays only that Roſcius and Æſop went to hear Hortenſius (19). Moreri gives a wrong repreſentation of what Pliny has ſaid of the luxury of Æſop. He did not know that we muſt read *centum ſeſtertium* inſtead of *ſexcentum ſeſtertium* (20). Was he not aſtoniſhed at the prodigious ſum to which he made the price of one diſh amount? And if the ten thouſand livres to which that price amounts according to Father Hardouin's calculation, ſuppoſing we are to read *centum*, is ſomething incredible, how monſtrous will it be if we are to retain the reading *ſexcentum*, and to ſay that each great ſeſterce *was worth twenty five crowns?* Muſt not Moreri in conſequence of this inevitably admit that Æſop's earthen diſh coſt forty five thouſand livres? Beſides what he calls the great ſeſterce is the ſame thing with a thouſand ſeſterces. Now I find according to the moſt exact authors that a thouſand ſeſterces are worth a great deal more than twenty five crowns. According to Gaſſendus they are worth ninety three livres, one ſou, one denier &c. According to Father Hardouin, they are worth a hundred livres. Thus Moreri is miſtaken on every ſide. VI. It is not true that Æſop's diſh was filled with birds tongues; for it was filled with the birds themſelves. One might ſay Moreri had a mind to confound this with the luxury of Vitellius (21), and that he took the one for the other. VII. Pliny does not ſay *theſe tongues were bought for ſix crowns a piece.* He ſays in the good editions that each bird coſt ſix thouſand ſeſterces, that is, ſix hundred livres according to Father Hardouin's calculation; and in the common editions that each bird coſt ſix ſeſterces, *nummis ſex.* One cannot imagine any thing more comical than the tranſlation which Moreri has given of theſe Latin words. He took the *Nummus* of Pliny for a French crown, and it was but a *Seſtertius*, that is about two ſols of our money: whence it appears, that this common reading imputes two abſurdities to Pliny; for thus he would ſay that the beſt ſinging and talking birds coſt but about twelve ſous a piece; and that Æſop in buying this ſort of birds had committed a notorious act of luxury and prodigality. VIII. No body has ſaid, not even Valerius Maximus, that Æſop's ſon *put powder of pearl in all his drink.* This is mounting a thouſand degrees above honeſt Valerius Maximus, who had been a little too hyperbolical himſelf, when he ſpoke of it as a common practice of this prodigal ſon. IX. It is very ſurpriſing to pretend, as Moreri does, that the pearls that were taken out of the ears of a miſtreſs, ſhould furniſh a ſufficient quantity of powder to be put in all his drink. X. And what is yet more aſtoniſhing, he depends on the teſtimony of Horace, and even quotes the verſes where this Poet ſays expreſly that Æſop's ſon diſſolved a pearl in vinegar and drank it. Therefore it was only a momentary buſineſs which according to Horace was not repeated. XI. Horace did not obſerve that Metella was Æſop's ſon's miſtreſs. XII. To conclude, he ſhould not have quoted the 30th book of *Pliny*, but the 10th.

(21) *In hac* (patina) *ſcarorum jecinora, phaſianorum & pavonum cerebella LINGUAS phœnicopterum, murænarum, lacteſ à Parthia uſque fretoque Hiſpanico per navarchos ac triremes petitarum, commiſcuit*, Sueton. *in Vitellio*, cap. 13. That is, "In "this diſh he "mixed the li- "vers of *Scari*, "the brains of "pheaſants and "peacocks, the "TONGUES "of phœnicop- "ters, and lam- "preys bellies "brought as far "as from Par- "thia and the "Streights of "Gibraltar, by "commanders of "gallies.

☞AETIUS was born at Amida [*A*], a town of Meſopotamia. There is a great diſagreement among the authors, who have written on the Hiſtory of Phyſick, about the time when our Aëtius lived [*B*]. Caſtellanus (*a*) is evidently miſtaken, who makes him to have enlarged *Paulus Ægineta*. Mercklin follows Caſtellanus, and ſays expreſly he was later than *Paulus Ægineta* (*b*). This cannot be, for this laſt author mentions Alexander Trallianus, and Alexander mentions Aëtius. He ſtudied at Alexandria, and in ſeveral places of his works agrees with the pharmacy of the Egyptians. His *Tetrabiblos*, as it is called, is a collection from the writings of thoſe Phyſicians, who went before him, chiefly from Galen; but contains nevertheleſs ſome new things, for which we are intirely indebted to this author. Dr. Freind ſeems to cenſure Mr. Le Clerc unjuſtly, in ſome particulars relating to Aëtius [*C*].

(*a*) *In hoc* (Aëtio) *habemus Galenum contractum, Oribaſium explicatum Paulum Æginetam ampliatum*, Caſtellan. *de Vitis Med. Illuſtr.*

(*b*) *Ætate poſterior Paulo Ægin.* Merck. *Linden. renovat.* p. 17.

☞AETIUS

[*A*] *He was born at Amida.*] Ptolemy calls this town *Ammæa*: it was ſeated on the river Tygris. It was beſieged and taken by the Perſians, who ſlew all the Romans they found in it. Conſtantine the Great reſtored it.

[*B*] *There is a great diſagreement among the authors — about the time when our Aëtius lived.*] M. le Clerc (1) places him, with Oribaſius, Alexander Trallianus and Paulus Ægineta in the fourth Century. Some place him in the year of Chriſt 350, others in 437, and others in 455, to which laſt opinion Merklin (2) ſeems to ſubſcribe. But Dr. Freind will have him to be much later. He tells us (3) *it is plain, even from his own books, that he did not write till the very end of the fifth, or the beginning of the ſixth Century: for he refers not only to St. Cyril, Archbiſhop of Alexandria, who died in 444; but to Petrus Archiater, who was Phyſician to Theodoric, and therefore muſt have lived ſtill later.*

(1) Le Clerc, *Eſſai d'un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de l'Hiſtoire de la Medicina*, pag. 766.

(2) *Linden. renovat.* p. 18.

(3) Freind, *Hiſt. of Phyſick*, part 1. pag. 4.

[*C*] *Dr. Freind ſeems to cenſure Mr. le Clerc unjuſtly in ſome particulars relating to Aëtius.*] I. He tells us (4) that *Mr. le Clerc beſtows no more than three pages upon all theſe four authors* (5); *and thinks this a ſufficient reaſon to give for it, that they were* Compilers. I do not find any reaſon aſſigned by Mr. le Clerc, for *beſtowing no more than three pages on them:* neither does he ſeem to ſlight them on account of their being *Compilers*. On the contrary he treats them with great reſpect, and acknowledges

(4) Idem, ibid. p. 10.

(5) Namely, Oribaſius, Aëtius, Alexander Trallianus & Paulus Ægineta.

☞AETIUS (FLAVIUS) a famous General was born in Mœsia (a) and lived in the fifth Century: His father's name was Gaudentius, and his mother was of a noble and rich family in Italy. From his childhood he bore arms under his father, who was ſo brave a warrior, that from a private ſoldier he was by degrees advanced to the poſt of General of the horſe (b). Aëtius having firſt ſerved in the Prætorian Guards, was afterwards raiſed to command armies in chief, and by his prudence and wiſe conduct he gained a great reputation (c). About the year 423 he was ſent by the Emperor Honorius at the head of a powerful army againſt the Franks, who had entered the country of the Gauls; Aëtius routed them, and forced them to return into Germany whence they came; but they ſoon invaded Gaul again with ſo numerous an army, that Aëtius being terrified by their number fled into Spain. This exaſperated Honorius againſt him to ſuch a degree, that he deprived him of the Generalſhip and inveſted Caſtinus with it, hoping that this man, who was of a noble and ancient family, would be able to withſtand the enemy. But the Emperor was diſappointed in his expectation; for the very name of the Franks ſtruck this General with ſuch a fright, that he could not maintain his ground againſt them; Honorius took this ſo much to heart, that it is thought it was the occaſion of his death (d). After the death of Honorius John Secretary of the Empire invaded the ſovereign power, and made himſelf maſter of Ravenna, being ſupported by Caſtinus General of the horſe. And Aëtius to maintain John in his uſurpation entered Italy with an army of about ſixty thouſand Huns *, but upon his arrival he found that John had already been vanquiſhed and ſlain [A] by the troops of Valentinian, who ſucceeded Honorius in the Imperial throne. However he engaged in battle againſt Aſpar Valentinian's General, in which a great number fell on both ſides. But

(a) The ancient *Mœſia (ſuperior and inferior)* upper and lower Mœſia, contained thoſe Provinces, which are now called Servia and Bulgaria.

(b) *Ad Magiſterii Equitum culmen evectus eſt.* Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. Francor.* lib. 2. *ap.* Du Cheſne, *Hiſt. Franc. Scriptor. cœtan.* t. 1. p. 277.

(c) Gregor. Turon. ibid.

(d) German. Chron. lib. 4. *ap.* Piſterium, *Rer. German. Scriptor.* t. 2. p. 642.

* A. C. 425.

knowledges that we are highly obliged to them. *But did they* compile *ſo*, continues the Doctor, *as to have nothing at all new, and what we may call their own in theſe very voluminous works? Far otherwiſe. For tho' I muſt confeſs, that there are not a great many things in them, in proportion to the bulk of their books, but ſuch as may be found in* Galen *and others, and yet ſome there are too, in regard to the real improvement of the art it ſelf; however as to what concerns the hiſtorical part of it, ſurely a great deal of matter may be pick'd out of theſe writers, fit to entertain our curioſity at leaſt, if not to inform our judgment.* This is not very different from what Mr. le Clerc himſelf had ſaid. *Les quatre auteurs, je veux dire Oribaſſe, Aëtius, Alexander de Tralles, & Paul d'Egine renferment toute l'ancienne Medecine Grecque, & en font, pour ainſi dire, la clôture. On y peut donc chercher, outre la plus grande partie de ce qui eſt déja dans livres des Médecins precedent diverſes choſes qui ne s'y trouvent plus, & que le tems nous a ravies, ſans compter ce que ces derniers auteurs peuvent avoir fourni du leur* (6). That is, "Theſe four authors "comprehend the whole ancient Greek Phyſic. "One may find in them, not only the greateſt "part of what was before to be met with in the "books of Phyſicians, but alſo ſeveral things which "are not now to be met with in thoſe ancient "writers, thro' the injury of time, not to mention "what they themſelves may have furniſhed of their "own." II. Dr. Freind obſerves, that *Mr. le Clerc ſays, theſe two* (7) *furniſh us with every thing which is eſſential to Theory or Practice, particularly in* Anatomy *and* Surgery. *But I muſt obſerve,* ſays he, *that Aëtius in his long work entirely omits Anatomy, and the uſe of the parts; and what is purely* chirurgical *in him, is ſcattered confuſedly here and there, and is imperfect as well as immethodical in compariſon of what we find upon the ſame ſubject in Paulus* (8). *Oribaſius has ſcarce any thing in all his* three *different works, which now remain, relating to* Surgery, *as far as it concerns* manual *operation* (9). Mr. le Clerc never ſaid that *each* of theſe authors furniſhed us with all that is eſſential in Anatomy and Surgery. He ſaid that both of them together did ſo. And Dr. Freind himſelf allows that *Oribaſius has deſcribed all the parts then known of the human body, and aſſigned the proper office to each of them:* and that he gives us *the firſt deſcription of the ſalivary glands, which is either omitted by Galen, or is loſt together with ſome other of Galen's works* (10). He allows alſo that *Aëtius was a practitioner in Surgery himſelf, and gives ſome little account of almoſt every operation: and particularly, that he is fuller in caſes of the eyes, than Celſus is* (11). And afterwards he tells us, that *whoever carefully looks into Ætius and Paulus, will be convinced, that a great many improvements have been made in Surgery, which are not recited in Galen, or any where elſe* (12). Thus if Oribaſius excelled in Anatomy, and Aëtius in Surgery, Mr. le Clerc might juſtly ſay that *theſe two authors* contain every thing that is valuable in thoſe two branches of Phyſic.

(6) Le Clerc, *Eſſai d'un Plan.* p. 767.

(7) That is, Oribaſius *and* Aëtius.

(8) Freind, *Hiſt. of Phyſick*, pag. 11, 12.

(9) Idem, ibid. p. 13.

(10) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(11) Ibid. p. 14.

(12) Ibid. pag. 301.

[A] *John had already been vanquiſhed and ſlain.*] The overthrow of this uſurper is related with different circumſtances by Socrates (1) and Philoſtorgius (2). According to the former it was not without a miracle that John was defeated. This Tyrant, as he is called, having invaded the Throne, ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor Theodoſius, being in hopes that he would admit him partner in the Empire. But Theodoſius having treated the Embaſſadors with contempt, ſent them into baniſhment, according to Philoſtorgius, or, according to Socrates, only impriſoned them; he ſent Ardaburius and Aſpar his ſon againſt the Tyrant. Ardaburius firſt went to Salona a city in Dalmatia, thence he went by ſea to Aquileia, where he met with a very unlucky accident, as he then thought, but which by the event proved very happy; for a great ſtorm ariſing Ardaburius fell into the hands of the Tyrant, who hereupon conceived great hopes, that Theodoſius would no longer refuſe to acknowledge him for a lawful Emperor, in order to releaſe his beloved General. And indeed Theodoſius hearing this misfortune was very ſollicitous, leſt Ardaburius ſhould be killed by the Uſurper. And Aſpar the General's ſon was alſo in a great perplexity, and did not know what reſolution he ſhould take; when an Angel of God in the habit of a ſhepherd appeared to him and to his army, and guided them thro' a marſh to Ravenna, where the Tyrant then was, and where he kept Ardaburius priſoner. No body had ever yet paſſed thro' that marſh, which was naturally impaſſable; but God made it for them as firm as the dry land. So that Aſpar and his army came to Ravenna, and finding the gates open, (the Tyrant not ſuſpecting they could come that way) they entered into the city and took John a priſoner. Thus Socrates relates this incident; aſcribing to a miracle the taking of Ravenna together with John the Uſurper. But Philoſtorgius tells us, that Ardaburius and Aſpar taking Placidia and Valentinian with them, went thro' Pannonia and Illyricum, and made themſelves maſters of Salona by force of arms. Then the father and ſon parted. Ardaburius going to attack the Tyrant by ſea, whilſt Aſpar was to attack him by land; this laſt made ſuch haſte with the Cavalry, that he ſurprized the city of Aquileia, and took it without any trouble; there he left Placidia and Valentinian, till he could know what turn the affairs of the Tyrant would take. But Ardaburius meeting with a violent ſtorm fell with two galleys into the hands of the Uſurper, who deſiring to enter into an alliance with

(1) Lib. 7. cap. 23. p. 371. edit. Reading 1720.

(2) Lib. 12. n. 15. p. 550.

But Aëtius to ingratiate himſelf into the Emperor's favour [*B*], diſperſed money among his barbarians, and thus prevailed over them to lay down their arms, and to return peaceably into their own country; for which ſervice the Emperor not only pardoned him for having ſided with the Uſurper, but alſo raiſed him to the dignity of a Count (*e*). Aëtius had ſoon an opportunity of ſhewing his loyalty and gratitude to the Emperor; for the Franks having again entered Gaul, and made themſelves maſters of part of the country, Aëtius fell upon them, ſlew a great number of them, and retook all that part of the country which lies near the Rhine, and in which the Franks intended to ſettle (*f*). For this ſervice he was the next year made General of the horſe, and created a Patrician (*g*). In the year 433 (*h*) he was Conſul with Flavius Valerius; and when the year of his Conſulſhip was expired he was deprived of his poſt of General of the horſe, and Bonifacius, who had revolted ſome years before from the Emperor and retired into Africa, was recalled by the Emperor and made General. Aëtius bearing this impatiently [*C*], engaged in a battle againſt Bonifacius, but had the misfortune to loſe the victory; however, Bonifacius died in little time of a wound he had received in the engagement (*i*). Aëtius then retired to his eſtate, where he lived a private life; but his enemies coming to aſſault him in his retirement he fled into Dalmatia, whence he went through Pannonia to the Huns, and by their friendſhip and ſupport he made his peace with the Emperor, and was reſtored to his poſt of General of the Horſe, and to all his former power and authority (*k*); this happened in the year 436 (*l*.) After that he gained ſeveral victories over the Burgundians, the Franks, and the Goths, and one particularly over the famous Attila, who called himſelf the *Scourge of God*. Aëtius made it appear on this occaſion that his prudence and wiſdom were not inferior to his bravery and courage. Attila fearing leſt the Romans ſhould join with the Viſigoths againſt him, wrote to Valentinian that he intended only to attack the Viſigoths, and to theſe he wrote that his army was deſigned only againſt the Romans; but this artifice did not impoſe upon Aëtius, who immediately after he was acquainted with Attila's march, wrote to Theodoric King of the Goths, deſiring him to join with the Romans againſt the Huns; he alſo entered into an alliance with the Franks, the Sarmatians, the Burgundians, the Saxons, and ſeveral other Celtic and German nations; and having formed a numerous army, he marched againſt Attila; they engaged in battle, which laſted from nine of the clock till night. Aëtius gained the day (*m*); it is ſaid that an hundred and eighty thouſand men were killed in this battle (*n*), which happened A. C. 453, in the plains of Champagne (*o*). But if we are to judge of the victory which Aëtius gained, by what Attila did afterwards, it will appear that this King of the Huns was very far from being entirely defeated; for the next year he entered Italy, and laid waſte, plundered, and burnt almoſt all the cities in that country (*p*): But this was owing to Aëtius's too great cautiouſneſs, or perhaps to his ambition. He was afraid leſt if Attila ſhould be entirely defeated, the Goths ſhould become too powerful for the Romans; his intention was to weaken both the Huns and the Goths, but not to deſtroy either nation. To compaſs his deſign and to diſſuade Thoriſmodus (whoſe father Theodoric King of the Goths had been killed in the aforementioned battle) from purſuing Attila, he repreſented to him, that whilſt he was abſent from his father's kingdom, it was to be feared that one of his brothers would uſurp the crown, that therefore he could not but adviſe him to return home with his army, and to take poſſeſſion of the crown, which by his father's death was devolved upon him (*q*). This incident is by another author

(*e*) Philoſtorgius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 12. num. 14. & Hermanni *Contracti Chron. ad ann.* 425. Ap. Piſtorium, T. 1. P. 1. pag. 157.

(*f*) Hermanni *Contr. Chron. ad an.* 428. and Mariani Scoti *Chron. ad an.* 429. *ap.* Piſtor. ibid. p 157 and 605.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) According to Marianus Scotus, or in 432. according to Petavius, *Rat. Temp.* P. 2. p. 114.

(*i*) Idatii *Chron. ap.* Du Cheſne, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 188. and Proſperi *aquit. Chron. ap. eund.* p. 199, and 205. Paulus Diacon. lib. 14. p. m. 360.

(*k*) Proſper. ibid.

(*l*) Sigebertus Gemblacenſis *Chronogr ap.* Piſtorium, T. 1. P. 1. pag. 710.

(*m*) Gotefridi Viterbienſis *Chron. Patre* 16. *ap.* Piſtor. T. 2. p. 279, 280. Paulus Diaconus, lib. 15.

(*n*) Paulus Diac. ibid. Sigebert. Gembl. *ap.* Piſtor. T. 1. P. 11. p. 716.

(*o*) Thus Papirius Maſſo explains the *Campi Catalaunici*; *Hiſt. Calamit. Galliæ. ap.* Du Cheſne, T. 1. p. 104.

(*p*) Sigebert. *ap.* Piſtor. T. 1. P. 2. p. 717. Proſper *in Chron. ap* du Cheſne, T. 1. p. 208. Paulus Diacon. lib. 15.

(*q*) Paulus Diaconus, ibid. Gotefridi Viterbienſis *Chron. ap.* Piſtor. T. 2. p. 280. where *Aëtius* is called *Eutius*.

with Theodoſius treated his priſoner very kindly; ſo that Ardaburius enjoying great liberty began to tamper with the Tyrant's chief Officers, who were already very much inclined to forſake him; in the mean time he wrote to his ſon ſpeedily to advance with the horſe, not doubting but he ſhould gain a compleat victory over the enemy; Aſpar obeyed, he engaged the Uſurper's army, who being betrayed by his Officers was ſoon taken priſoner and carried to Aquileia, where Placidia and Valentinian then reſided, as we have ſaid. We don't doubt but this account of Philoſtorgius will appear much more probable to all rational readers, than the miraculous narration of Socrates. Of all the authors (3) we could conſult he is the only one that mentions this pretended apparition of an Angel. Philoſtorgius adds, that John having firſt had his right hand cut off, was afterwards beheaded, having ſwayed the ſupreme power a year and a half.

(3) *Vide* Hermanni Contracti *Chron.* p. 157. Marian. Scot. *Chr. utrumque ap.* Piſtorium, T. 1. P. 1. Papir. Maſſo, *Hiſt. Calam. Gall.* pag. 98. Proſper. Aquit. p. 199, and 204. *utrumque ap.* Du Cheſne, *Hiſt. Franc. Scriptor. coætanei.* T. 1.

[*B*] *Aëtius to ingratiate himſelf into the Emperor's favour &c.*] Moreri and his Dutch tranſlators David van Hoogſtraaten, Matthew Brouërius van Nidec, and Luïcius are guilty of a groſs error when they tell us that upon the death of Honorius, Aëtius declared for Valentinian, and that for this reaſon the Emperor took him into his ſervice; whereas it is plain by the teſtimony of the authors we have quoted, that Aëtius at firſt ſupported the Uſurper, nay that he engaged againſt the Emperor's General: and Paulus Diaconus (the Deacon) ſays expreſly (4) that the Emperor "pardoned Aëtius, becauſe the Huns, "which he had conducted to John, were by his "care returned into their own country." *Data Ætio * venia, eo quod Hunni, quos per ipſum Joannes acceperat, ejus ſtudio remeaſſent ad propria.*

(4) Lib. 14.

* Thus Paulus writes Aëtius's name.

[*C*] *Aëtius bearing this* (*Bonifacius's promotion*) *impatiently.*] The envy and hatred between theſe two Generals was of a long ſtanding; and had already been very fatal to the Empire. For about two years after Honorius's death Bonifacius finding he was obliged to yield to Aëtius, took this affront ſo much to heart that he reſolved to be revenged at the expence of the Commonwealth. To compaſs his deſign he went into Spain, and excited the Vandals there to go over into Africa, and to make themſelves maſters of that country; which they did accordingly (5), with Bonifacius at their head; who for ſeveral years maintained himſelf againſt the Emperor Valentinian. But in the year 434 Bonifacius returned into Italy, and was made General of the horſe (6), as we have ſaid above. But the authors, from whom we have theſe particulars, don't tell us how Bonifacius made his peace with the Emperor Valentinian, nor for what reaſon he was recalled; it is probable the Emperor began then to ſuſpect Aëtius, and to be afraid of the great power and credit he enjoyed.

(5) Sigebertus Gemblocenſis *in Chronog. ap.* Piſtorium. T. 1. P. 2. p. 692 and 708.

(6) Paulus Diaconus, lib. 14. and Proſperi Aquitani *Chron. ap.* Du Cheſne, T. 1. p. 204, 205.

author related with ſome other circumſtances as we ſhall ſee in the Remark [D]. Aëtius after his great victories, and particularly that over Attila, returning to Rome, was received with great ſhoutings and acclamations of the people. This raiſed the jealouſy of the Emperor Valentinian, who was afraid leſt Aëtius, now at the height of glory, ſhould attempt to invade the crown. The Emperor and the General had ſworn to one another a perpetual friendſhip; they had agreed to marry one of the Emperor's daughters to a ſon of Aëtius; but one day, when Aëtius preſſed the concluſion of that match, the Emperor killed him with his own hand [E], prompted to it, as is thought, by one Honorius, an Eunuch, who had a great power over Valentinian's mind, and bore a ſecret hatred to Aëtius (r). This famous man was of a middling ſtature, but well made and of a manly countenance. He was a good horſeman, a dexterous archer, and indefatigable ſoldier; he was ſtill more conſpicuous and famous for the qualities of his mind than for thoſe of his body. He was perfectly ſkilled in the arts of peace and war; free from avarice and from the leaſt covetouſneſs; brave and generous; he bore injuries without reſentment; conſtant in his reſolutions, which he took after mature deliberation, he could not eaſily be diſſuaded from them; nor did he ever hearken to the malicious inſinuations of courtiers even againſt the worſt of his enemies (s). This is the character which Gregory of Tours gives this General; if we can blame any thing in him, it is his ambition which was the reaſon why he could not bear with Bonifacius his rival; and it was alſo probable that it was that ſame ambition which hindered him from purſuing Attila after the victory he had gained over him: he was perhaps afraid, that in caſe the war was ended, he would loſe all the power and authority he enjoyed. This is often the caſe of great Generals, who are ſeldom regarded in time of

(r) Proſper *in Chron.* Gregor. Turon. lib. 2. *ap.* Du Cheſne, T. 1. pag. 200. 208, and 277. Marianus Scotus, Sigebertus, Gemblac. German. Chron. *ap.* Piſtor. t. 1. p. 610. 718. and T. 2. p. 645.

(s) Gregor. Turon. *ap.* Du Cheſne, T. 1. p. 277.

[D] *This incident is by another author related with ſome other circumſtances.*] This author is Idacius, who tells us, that when Thoriſmodus Theodoric's ſon had found that his father had been killed in the battle, he reſolved to revenge his death, and with his Goths purſued the enemy, and fought them during three days; Aëtius, who did not like that the Huns ſhould be entirely defeated, went in the night time to Attila, and ſpoke to him after this manner: "I wiſh that by thy valour and conduct "this country could be freed from the perfidious "Goths; but this cannot be done at preſent; thou "haſt fought as yet only with the leaſt part of their "troops; Theodoric Theoriſmodus's brother advan-"ces with a vaſt multitude of the braveſt and ſtrong-"eſt Goths. Thou wilt never be able to withſtand "them; and would to God, that thou could'ſt eſ-"cape their fury." Aëtius alſo gave Attila ten thouſand crowns to oblige him to withdraw with his Huns into Pannonia. After this Aëtius went to Thoriſmodus, and told him the like ſtory, aſſuring him that Attila had received that ſame night a large ſupply of troops from Pannonia: He added that he had been inform'd Theodoric had uſurped the crown, or was at leaſt upon the point of aſcending the throne; that it was therefore proper, Thoriſmodus ſhould immediately return into his own country to ſecure the crown to himſelf: Thoriſmodus gave alſo ten thouſand crowns to Aëtius, that he might favour the retreat of the Goths (7). Papirius Maſſo very rightly obſerves upon this that it is not probable ſo great a General as Aëtius was, ſhould leave his army and truſt himſelf in the hands of his enemy. This far from being commendable, would be look'd upon as the higheſt imprudence, or rather the greateſt folly imaginable: tho' it is not impoſſible, but Aëtius might have ſent ſome body to Attila, in order to impoſe upon him. We muſt obſerve here, that Papirius Maſſo ſuppoſes in his remarks upon the paſſage he quotes from Idacius, that Aëtius gave ten thouſand crowns to Attila, to engage him to return into Pannonia; whereas in the very paſſage quoted by Maſſo, we find theſe words, *Attila dedit Aëtio decem millia ſolidorum, ut pro ſuo ingenio Pannoniam repedaret*; i. e. "Attila "gave Aëtius 10000 crowns, that he might in the beſt "manner he could return into Pannonia." But this makes an abſurd ſenſe; therefore I ſhould think that the words Attila and Aëtius are miſplaced: tho' there is ſome difficulty in ſuppoſing that Aëtius offered money to Attila at the ſame time that he pretended to give him a friendly advice; this offer could not but make Attila ſuſpect the cheat: how this difficulty can be removed I don't know, and this makes me think the whole ſtory is falſe. For the reſt Maſſo ſuppoſes the ten thouſand crowns are meant of gold crowns, otherwiſe, ſays he, the offer would have been too trifling to oblige Attila to retire into his own country.

(7) Idacius *citat. a* Pap Maſſ. *ap.* Du Cheſne, *ubi ſupra*, p. 105, 106.

[E] *The Emperor killed him with his own hand.*] The occaſion of it is related by Procopius (8) as follows: There was a Senator called Petronius Maximus (Grandſon to Maximus, who had been defeated by Theodoſius); he had a very beautiful but very virtuous wife. The Emperor fell in love with her; but finding that neither by his courtſhip and preſents, nor by his promiſes and threatnings he could prevail upon her to yield to his wiſhes, he reſolved to have her by force. To compaſs this baſe deſign, having played one day with Maximus, and won from him more money than he had by him, he took his ring for a pledge: he then ſent a meſſage to Maximus's ſpouſe, as tho' the Empreſs deſired immediately to ſpeak with her, and to give credit to this ſham ſtory the meſſenger ſhewed her Maximus's ring as a token that he came by his order. This Lady ſeeing her husband's ring did not ſcruple to go to the palace; and being arrived there they that favoured the Emperor's deſign conducted her into a ſecret apartment where the Emperor ſoon met her, and violently took from her what ſhe valued more than her life. The ring which had been ſent to her made her believe that her husband was privy to this treaſon, ſo that being returned home ſhe upbraided him with the infamy he had drawn both upon himſelf and upon her by promoting her diſhonour. Maximus ſurprized at this told her what artifice the Emperor had made uſe of to compaſs his baſe deſign; from that moment they both reſolved to be revenged; and Maximus intended to kill the Emperor and to invade the throne. But finding this was impracticable as long as Aëtius lived, he determined to deſtroy him alſo, and that by the very hands of the Emperor, that by this means the Emperor might make himſelf odious to all his ſoldiers, who greatly loved and eſteemed Aëtius. Maximus to perform his reſolution addreſſed Heraclius the Eunuch, firſt Lord of the Bedchamber to the Emperor, and told him, that he himſelf had heard Aëtius talk after ſuch a manner as ſhewed that he would ſoon uſurp the Crown, if he was not early prevented. Heraclius did not fail to acquaint the Emperor immediately with this; and as a baſe and wicked heart is always diſtruſtful, Valentinian gave credit to this calumny, and reſolved the death of Aëtius; and as he was reflecting upon this he asked one of his Courtiers, whether the death of Aëtius could be of any ſervice to the ſtate. The Courtier anſwered, "If your Majeſty was to kill him, you would cut "off your right arm with the left." But this wiſe anſwer could not deter Valentinian from his baſe reſolution; and one day as he was ſurrounded with his guards, he commanded them to kill Aëtius. Others ſay he killed him with his own hand (9).

(8) *De Bello Vandal.* lib. 1. p. 15. edit. Grotii Amſt. anno 1655.

(9) See the quotation [r].

of peace, when they are obliged to lead a private life. Aëtius had been three times Conſul, firſt A. D. 432 or 433, with Flavius Valerius; 2dly, in 437, with Sigiſwoltus; 3dly, in 446. with Q. Aurelius Symmachus (*t*).

(*t*) *See* Petav. *Rat. Temp.* tom. 2. p. 114, 115.

AFER (DOMITIUS) a famous Orator under Tiberius, and the three ſucceeding Emperors was born at Nîmes (*a*). A little after his Prætorſhip, not being yet raiſed according to his wiſhes, and having a ſtrong propenſion to riſe, let the methods be what they would, he turned informer againſt Claudia Pulchra, couſin of Agrippina (*b*). He gained this cauſe, and by that means was ranked among the principal Orators, and won the eſteem of Tiberius, who bore a mortal hatred to Agrippina [*A*]. The applauſes which this Emperor beſtowed on his eloquence, made Afer very fond of the profeſſion; ſo that he was very ſeldom without ſome accuſation or defence, whereby he became more eminent for his eloquence than for his probity; till at laſt his reputation for the former ſunk, by his continuing to plead, after age had weakened the faculties of his mind (*c*) [*B*]. Claudia Pulchra was impeached, an. 779 of Rome; and the year following, Quintilius Varus her ſon was impeached by the ſame Orator and by Publius Dolabella (*d*). No one was ſurprized that Afer, as he had been poor for many years, and had not well huſbanded the monies he gained by the former impeachment, ſhould return to his former practice; but it was a matter of univerſal ſurpriſe, to ſee a relation of Varus, of ſo illuſtrious a family as that of Publius Dolabella, aſſociated with this informer. Afer died under Nero, the year of Rome 812 (*e*); and it is ſaid that he died at table of exceſſive eating (*f*). Quintilian, who in his youth cultivated his friendſhip very aſſiduouſly [*C*], makes frequent mention of him (*g*). He tells

(*a*) Euſeb. *Chronic.* num. 2060.

(*b*) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 4. cap. 52.

(*c*) *Niſi quod ætas extrema multum etiam eloquentiæ detrahit, dum ſeſſa mente retinet ſilentii impatientiam.* That is, "But old age had "at length weakened the force "of hiseloquence, "tho' he ſtill "expreſſed great "impatience under his incapacity." id. ib. *Vide* in the remark [*C*] the paſſage of chap. 2. book 12 of Quintilian.

(*d*) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 4. cap. 66.

(*e*) Idem, lib. 14. chap. 19.

(*f*) Euſeb. *Chronic.* num. 2060.

(*g*) Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 7. and lib. 6. cap. 3. See alſo Plin. *Epiſt* 14. lib. 2. & *ibi* Catanæum, p. 121.

[*A*] *Tiberius, who bore a mortal hatred to Agrippina.*] This Princeſs was ſo far from ſuſpecting, that the Emperor had occaſioned the proſecution againſt her, that ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt reſentment againſt Domitius upon that account. The latter meeting her one day in the ſtreets, turned away: when ſhe, imagining that ſhame had made him do this, after having cauſed him to be called back, ſhe bid him not be afraid; ſaying that it was not he, but Agamemnon, had been the cauſe of all this. Θάρσει Δομίτιε· σὲ γὰρ σύ μοι τόταν αἴτιον εἶ, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων (1). This ſhews ſhe had read the *Iliad*.

(1) Dion. Caſſ. lib. 59. *ad an.* 792. p. 752.

[*B*] *By his continuing to plead, after age had weakened the faculties of his mind.*] This is but too common an infirmity; for very few have the art of withdrawing ſeaſonably from affairs, and can ſay with Horace,

Eſt mihi purgatam crebro qui perſonet aurem;
Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat (2).

(2) Hor. *Epiſt.* 1. lib. 1.

" There ſounds, methinks, ſtill thro' my well-
" purg'd ear
" A little voice, fond Horace have a care,
" And whilſt 'tis well releaſe thy aged horſe,
" Leſt, when he runs but with unequal force,
" And ſtretches hard to win, he breaks his wind,
" And laugh'd at, diſtanc'd, baſely lags behind.
Creech.

Poets and Orators ought particularly to be careful of withdrawing in time, becauſe they have more need of a ſtrong and a copious imagination, than other writers; notwithſtanding which, they are but too apt to amuſe themſelves in compoſing, till they are almoſt worn out with age. They ſeem to imagine, that the public is ſentenced to drink all their pretended nectar, to the very lees. But as Legiſlators anciently preſcribed certain limits to the age for marrying (for they prohibited wedlock to women of fifty, and men of ſixty (3); ſuppoſing, that after a certain age, ſuch perſons ſhould not think of procreating children, as their faculties muſt be either weakned or extinct) in like manner, authors ſhould ſet bounds to the compoſing of books; this being a kind of generation, that every ſeaſon of life is not fit for. Horace's compariſon put me in mind of a precept of Virgil, which veteran Poets ought to apply to themſelves.

(3) *Quid eſt quare apud poëtas ſalaciſſimus Jupiter deſierit Liberos tollere? Utrum ſexagenarius factus eſt, & illi lex Papia fibulam impoſuit?* Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 16. *Capiti Papiæ Poppeæ legis à Tiberio Cæſare, quaſi ſexagenarii generare non poſſent, addito abrogavit.* Sueton. *in Claud.* cap. 23. & *ibi Commentatores.* i. e. " For what " reaſon do the " Poets declare " that the luſtful " Jupiter gets " children no " longer? Is he " threeſcore, and " has the Pappi- " an law ſhut up " his generative " faculties? " Lactant. Book " 1. chap. 16. " He abrogated " the clauſe ad- " ded to the law " Papia Poppæa, " by Tiberius, " by which men " of threeſcore " were forbid to " get children. *See* Suetonius's *Life of Claudius.*

(4) Virgil. *Georg.* lib. 3. ver. 95.

Hanc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis, aut jam ſegnior annis
Deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignoſce ſenectæ.
Frigidus in Venerem ſenior, fruſtraque laborem
Ingratum trahit; &, ſi quando ad prælia ventum eſt,
Ut quondam in ſtipulis magnus ſine viribus ignis,
Incaſſum furit (4).

" But worn with years, when dire diſeaſes come,
" Then hide not his ignoble age at home.
" For when his blood to youthful ſpirits move,
" He languiſhes, and labours in his love,
" In vain he burns, like haſty ſtubble fires,
" And in himſelf his former ſelf requires.
Dryden.

Antiquated Poets, I ſay, ought to improve from this leſſon, and not attempt to climb Parnaſſus hill, when they reſemble that horſe whom Pliny mentions after Ariſtotle; *Generat mas ad annos triginti tres. Opunte & ad quadraginta duraſſe tradunt adjutum modo in attollenda priore parte corporis* (5). i. e. " The male " generates till he is thirty three years old. *At* " *Opus*, 'tis ſaid, that he generates till forty, only " having the fore-part of his body lifted up." For then they draw a ſhade over their former glory, like our Domitius Afer. See what we ſhall mention in the article JOHN DAURAT. Some employ their Muſe on divine ſubjects, when ſhe is upon the decline; but the productions on theſe occaſions are generally flat and inſipid (6). I ſay, generally; for we have excellent works on all kinds of ſubjects, written by perſons in advanced years.

(5) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 42.

(6) *See* Baillet, *Jugement ſur les Poëtes.* tom. 3. p. 246. See alſo what he ſays of ſuch pieces as are written by old people, tom. 1. of *Jug. des Savans*, p. 389.

[*C*] *Quintilian cultivated his friendſhip very aſſiduouſly.*] Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hofman, in their Dictionaries; Glandorp in page 306 of his *Onomaſticon*, and ſeveral other authors, obſerve that Quintilian informs us of this circumſtance in his fifth book, *Confitetur ſenem Domitium ſibi adoleſcentulo cultum:* but they all declare, that he takes notice of Domitius's authority being greatly leſſened, *ſed priore autoritate multum imminuta*; but I don't find theſe words in this part of Quintilian. *Sufficiebant*, ſays he (7), *alioqui libri duo à Domitio Afro in hanc rem compoſiti, quem adoleſcentulus ſenem colui, ut non lecta mihi tantum ea, ſed pleraque ex ipſo ſint cognita.* i. e. " Otherwiſe the two books of Domitius " Afer written upon this ſubject would ſuffice; for " I was a follower of that old man in my youth; " ſo that I not only read thoſe particulars, but learnt " the greateſt part of them from his own mouth." The xith chapt. of book xii of *Quintilian* ought to have been cited; for it is there we are informed of the fall of Domitius's authority; and we find the confirmation, as it were, of the precept which the author had before laid down, with regard to the withdrawing of Orators, when age incapacitates them from maintaining their former glory. *Non quia prodeſſe unquam ſatis ſit*, ſays he (8), *& illa mente, atque illa facultate prædito non conveniat operis pulcherrimi quàm longiſſimum tempus; ſed quia docet hoc quoque proſpicere, ne quid pejus quam fecerit, faciat. Neque enim ſcientia modo conſtat orator, quæ augetur annis, ſed voce, laterum firmitate: quibus fractis aut imminutis ætate, ſeu valetudine; cavendum eſt, ne quid in Oratore ſummo deſideretur, ne interſiſtat fatigatus, ne quæ dicat parùm audiri*

(7) Quint. lib. 5. cap. 7.

tells us, that his Pleadings abounded with agreeable ſtories, and that there were public collections of his witty ſayings and repartees, ſome of which he quotes. He alſo mentions the books of this Orator, on *Witneſſes*. It was, once upon a time, very happy for him, that he had as great a preſence of mind, as a genius turned for flattery, otherwiſe he had been inevitably ruined; and this was, when Caligula undertook to be his opponent (*b*), and pleaded in perſon againſt him (*i*). But Domitius, inſtead of making a defence, began to repeat, with the higheſt teſtimonies of admiration, the Emperor's plea [*D*]; after which he fell upon his knees, and begging pardon, declared that he dreaded the eloquence of Caligula, more than he did his Imperial Power. The Emperor, upon this, not only pardoned him, but diſpoſſeſſed the Conſuls of their office, in his favour. His crime was a very ſlight one, for it was only for declaring in the inſcription of a ſtatue he had erected in honour of Caligula, that this Monarch was a ſecond time Conſul at the age of twenty ſeven, by which he intended to make his court to the Emperor. But he was quite miſtaken in his aim, for Caligula proſecuted him, upon pretence that he did it merely to reproach his youth, and his having infringed the laws (*k*).

(*b*) Dion. Caſſ. lib. 59. *ad annum* 792.

(*i*) He read his plea.

(*k*) Dio. lib. 59.

Afer had ſome adopted children, as we find by Pliny the Younger, who alſo acquaints us with ſome curious particulars relating to them [*E*]. The Abbé Faydit

ſentiat, ne ſe queratur priorem. Vidi ego longè omnium, quos mihi cognoſcere contigit, ſummum Oratorem, Domitium Afrum valde ſenem, quotidie aliquid ex eâ, quam meruerat, autoritate perdentem, cùm agente illo, quem Principem fuiſſe quondam fori non erat dubium; alii (quod indignum videbatur) riderent, alii erubeſcerent, quæ occaſio illis fuit dicendi, malle eum deficere, quàm deſinere. Neque erant illa qualiacunque mala, ſed minora. Quare, ut nunquam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, & in portum integrâ nave perveniet. i. e "Not that it is "enough for a Perſon to have been once uſeful; or "that it is improper for a perſon who is endued with "theſe fine talents to cultivate them for a very long "time; but that it teaches him to take care not to "degenerate from his former glory. For knowledge, "which increaſes indeed with years, does not alone "form the Orator, but he muſt have lungs, and "ſtrong ſides; for if theſe are weakned or broke "by age or ſickneſs, care muſt be taken leſt the great "Orator is not found deficient in ſome things, that "he does not ſtop thro' wearineſs, that he is not "ſenſible he is not ſufficiently heard, and is not the "firſt to complain of himſelf. I my ſelf ſaw much "the greateſt Orator I ever knew, Domitius Afer "in his extreme old age, daily loſing part of the "authority he had formerly deſerved; for when he "was pleading (tho' he was well known to have "once been the greateſt man at the bar) ſome would "laugh, which however ſeem'd very indecent; "others would bluſh which gave them occaſion to "ſay, that he would rather fail through weakneſs "than deſiſt. Nor were theſe the leaſt evils. "The Orator therefore, to prevent his falling into "theſe ſnares of old age, ſhould ſound a retreat, and "bring his veſſel tight and ſound into the harbour." I don't take any notice of the great and capital omiſſions which Moreri has committed, for theſe will appear at firſt ſight, by the bare comparing his article with mine. All I ſhall obſerve, is, that he is very much miſtaken in his citations from Suetonius and Dion *in Caligula*; for not to mention, that it is not the cuſtom to quote Dion any otherwiſe than with reſpect to ſuch and ſuch a book; and that it is his epitomizer Xiphilinus only, who is cited with regard to ſuch and ſuch an Emperor; it is certain that Suetonius does not once ſpeak of Domitius Afer, either in the *Life of Caligula*, or in any part of his writings now extant. When Scaliger therefore declares in his *Remarks on Euſebius's Chronicle*, that St. Jerom had borrowed the particulars he gives us concerning this Orator, from Suetonius; he muſt neceſſarily mean this of ſome books, which have been loſt ſince the death of that father. Hofman gives us two Domitius Afers inſtead of one, and employs the improper citation we juſt now cenſur'd in Moreri.

[*D*] *The Emperor's Plea.*] Caligula was ſo charm'd with this piece, that when one of his freedmen, who had been very inſtrumental in calming his reſentments, was going to reproach him for having proſecuted Domitius, the Emperor anſwer'd: *I ought not to ſuppreſs ſo important a ſpeech.* Which is as tho' he had ſaid: *How! ſhould I have employed ſo much time in this plea, and all to no purpoſe? Should I have reſigned the applauſes which my Rhetoric deſerved, rather than expoſe the* Life of Domitius? There are but too many among the Great, who would look upon this as a mighty enormity; ſuch, I mean, as imagine that all things muſt be ſacrific'd to their paſſions. They who relate, that the Cardinal of Lorrain choſe to expoſe the Catholic Religion, to all the dangers of the conference at Poiſſi, rather than deprive himſelf of the glory of diſplaying his learning and erudition in it (9), were pretty well acquainted with his character.

(9) See the remark [*D*] of the article LORRAIN (Charles of)

[*E*] *Some curious particulars.*] Domitius Afer adopted two brothers, Domitius Tullus and Domitius Lucanus. He afterwards cauſed the poſſeſſions of their father to be confiſcated, and left them his own, but involuntarily, in ſome meaſure; for it is very probable, that had not death ſnatch'd him ſuddenly from the world, he would have revoked the will he had made in their favour. Domitius Lucanus, ſon-in-law to Curtius Mantia, made himſelf odious to his father-in-law. The former had a daughter, to whom Mantia would not bequeath any thing, but upon condition that Lucanus ſhould emancipate her; which was no ſooner done, but Domitius Tullus adopted her. This was a juggle between the two brothers; for they agreed to ſhare in each other's fortunes; by which means, as ſoon as this girl became ſubject to the paternal power, by virtue of the adoption; Domitius Lucanus ſhared in Mantia's inheritance, tho' the latter had done all that lay in his power to prevent it (10). Domitius Tullus inherited his brother's eſtate, in prejudice of the girl who was common to both. This man had fed a great number of people with the hopes of enjoying his eſtate, and by that means was careſſed, had rich preſents made him, and in ſhort, all the flattering arts were practiſed towards him, which thoſe employ who make their court to rich old men, in order to creep into their eſtates: but he deceived them all, for his adopted daughter was made his heir, and he gave ſeveral legacies to his relations only. He was particularly careful of his wife's intereſt, and left her a very large fortune. This Lady had diſhonour'd herſelf in marrying him, if we conſider the deplorable condition to which age and infirmity had reduced him. In this condition he might have loath'd her, had ſhe been his wife from the time he was flush'd with youth and vigour; but how much more diſagreeable muſt he prove, when ſhe married him at a time when he laboured under all theſe diſadvantages? However, ſhe ſubmitted with ſo much patience to all the diſtaſteful inconveniencies of his condition, and ſo tenderly ſupported his feeble, crazy life, that ſhe recovered her character with the public. This unhappy man had quite loſt the uſe of his limbs, ſo that his ſervants were forc'd to waſh and clean his teeth; whence aroſe his complaint, of being daily obliged to lick his ſlaves fingers; notwithſtanding which, he did not care to leave the world (11). Pliny, from whom we borrow

(10) *Fuit fratribus illis quaſi fato datum, ut divites fierent invitiſſimis à quibus facti eſſent*, That is, "It ſeemed to "to be the fate "of thoſe brothers, to be "made rich "even in ſpight "of thoſe by "whom they "were made ſo. Plin. *Epiſt.* 18. lib. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 493.

dit in his Notes upon Virgil, pag. 3, makes him of the Royal Family of the DOMITII.

borrow theſe particulars, gives us at the ſame time ſuch a variety of moral characters, that the reader cannot be diſpleaſed to read his own words. *Accepit uxor amœniſſimas villas, accepit magnam pecuniam uxor optima & patientiſſima: ac tanto melius de viro merita, quanto magis eſt reprehenſa, quòd nupſit. Nam mulier natalibus clara, moribus proba, ætate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim, parum decorè ſequuta matrimonium videbatur divitis ſenis ita perditi morbo, ut eſſe tædio poſſet uxori, quam juvenis, ſanuſque duxiſſet. Quippe omnibus membris extortus & fractus tantas opes ſolis oculis obibat; ac ne in lectulo quidem, niſi ab aliis movebatur. Quinetiam, fœdum miſerandumque dictu, dentes lavandos, fricandoſque præbebat. Auditum eſt frequenter ab ipſo, quum quereretur de contumeliis debilitatis ſuæ, ſe digitos ſervorum ſuorum, quotidie lingere. Vivebat tamen, & vivere volebat, ſuſtentante maximè uxore, quæ culpam inchoati matrimonii in gloriam perſeverantiâ verterat* (12). i. e. "She (his (12) Idem, ibid.
" wife) inherited the moſt beautiful country houſes,
" and a large eſtate; a wife, the moſt worthy, the
" moſt patient that ever lived, and who deſerved
" the more from her husband as ſhe had been cen-
" ſured for marrying him; for it was thought not
" very decent for a Lady of illuſtrious birth, of an
" unſullied reputation, advanced in years, who had
" been long a widow, and formerly a mother,
" ſhould marry a rich old man ſo worn out with
" diſeaſes, that he might have made a wife diſtaſte him,
" whom he had married in his youth and in his
" health. For he was ſo diſtorted and weakened in
" all his limbs, that he could enjoy his great wealth
" no otherwiſe than with his eyes, nor could he even
" move in his bed unleſs he were turn'd by others: and
" what is filthy and wretched to relate, he was forc'd
" to have his teeth waſh'd and cleaned for him.
" He was often heard to ſay, in complaining of
" his infirmities, that he lick'd his ſervants fingers
" every day. Yet he lived and was deſirous to live,
" ſupported chiefly by his wife, who turn'd the
" fault ſhe had committed in marrying him to her
" own honour, by her perſeverance." Her virtue would undoubtedly have ſhone forth with much greater luſtre, could ſhe have foretold how long her husband's infirmities would continue. However, all things conſider'd, ſhe deſerved applauſe; for, in caſe ſhe had married him in the view of making a large fortune, at the expence only of paſſing a few months in a very diſagreeable manner, but was deceived in her hopes: ſhe yet did not diſcover the leaſt uneaſineſs at her condition; but very gracefully acted the part of a good wife. With what beauty are a number of characters drawn in this letter! What a ſtrong image have we here, of the frailty of human nature, in the perſon of this unhappy wretch, who, tho' deprived of the uſe of his limbs, is yet afraid to die! but we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere (13) of this frailty, which, in thoſe times, was much more ſhameful than in this age; because it was look'd upon as bravery in a perſon, who was oppreſt with a tedious ſickneſs, to put a period to it, by laying violent hands upon himſelf. How ſcandalous is it, on the other ſide, to hear a man who has a daughter and grand-daughter of his own, publiſh to the world, that he ſought for heirs out of his own family; and that any one who would beſiege his eſtate with the uſual forms, might take it! How ſordid a traffic was this! And what odd ſtratagems were employed! It was ſuch people as theſe, who found their account in ſuch perſons as ſued artfully for inheritances. (13) In one of the remarks of the article MECÆNAS.

——— ——— *Dominus tamen & Domini Rex*
Si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
Luſerit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illo.
Jucundum & carum ſterilis facit uxor amicum (14). (14) Juven. *Sat.* 5. ver. 137, &c.

" Wou'dſt thou become his Patron and his Lord,
" Wou'dſt thou be in thy turn by him ador'd?
" No young Æneas in thy hall muſt play,
" No ſweeter daughter lead thy heart aſtray.
" Oh! how a barren wife does recommend!
" How dear, how pleaſant, is a childleſs friend.
Mr. Bowles.

But as this avarice was of the moſt groveling kind, that of the perſons it impoſed upon, was no leſs ſordid. Theſe would have been more excuſable, had they courted the favour of a man who had no children, and had not exclaimed againſt Domitius after his death. But the world laughed at their complaints, which only revealed their ſhame: the deceaſed was commended, and it was concluded that he acted very prudently and well, for ſo depraved an age. But let us again hear the agreeable Pliny: *Varii totâ civitate ſermones: alii fictum, ingratum, immemorem loquuntur, ſeque ipſos, dum inſectantur illum, turpiſſimis confeſſionibus produnt, qui de illo uti de patre, avo, proavo, quaſi orbi querantur: alii contrà hoc ipſum laudibus ferunt, quòd ſit fruſtratus improbas ſpes hominum, quos ſic decipere pro moribus temporum prudentia eſt* (15). i. e. " All the city were (15) Plin. *ubi ſupra.*
" divided in opinion. Some called him falſe, un-
" grateful and forgetful, and whilſt they accuſed
" him, they betrayed themſelves by the moſt ſhame-
" ful confeſſions, for they complained of him as
" tho' they had been diſinherited by a father, a
" grandfather or a great-grandfather. Others, on
" the other ſide, beſtow the greateſt encomiums
" upon him for diſappointing the hopes of wic-
" ked men, whom, conſidering the depravity of the
" times, it was prudent to deceive in the manner
" he did."

☞AFRANIA, the wife of Licinius Buccio, a Roman Senator, famous for her impudence, and pleading publickly her own cauſes in the Courts of Juſtice [*A*]. She was living till the ſecond Conſulſhip of Julius Cæſar [*B*]. Valerius Maximus has likewiſe

[*A*] *Pleading publickly her own cauſes in the Courts of Juſtice*] She was of a very contentious diſpoſition, and perpetually involving her ſelf in law-ſuits. She never would ſuffer any of the Advocates to plead her cauſe, but always appeared in perſon, and managed them herſelf. This confident behaviour of hers made her very remarkable; ſo that women of her clamorous temper were uſually ſtigmatized with her name. Valerius Maximus has expreſſed her character in very ſtrong terms, which our Ladies will excuſe me from tranſlating. *Afrania——— pro ſe ſemper apud Prætorem verba fecit; non quod Advocatis deficiebatur, ſed quod impudentiâ abundabat. Itaque in uſitatis foro latratibus aſſidue tribunalia exercendo, muliebris calumniæ notiſſimum evaſit exemplum; adeo ut pro crimine improbis fœminarum moribus Afraniæ nomen objiciatur* (1). (1) L. 8. c. 3. Exemp. 2.

[*B*] *Till the ſecond Conſulſhip of Julius Cæſar.*] Moreri ſays it was in the firſt Conſulſhip of Cæſar in the year of Rome 695, and before Chriſt 59. Valerius Maximus's words are theſe: *Prorogavit autem Spiritum ſuum ad C. Cæſarem iterum atque P. Servilium Coſſ.* i. e. " She was living till C. Cæſar
" was a SECOND time Conſul together with P. Servi-
" lius." Which ſhews Moreri to have been miſtaken. Valer. Maximus concludes his account of her with this peculiar reflection, that it *is much more proper to ſet down the time when ſuch a monſter died, than when ſhe was born. Tale enim monſtrum magis quo tempore extinctum, quam quo ſit ortum, memoriæ tradendum eſt.* But whatever prejudice the ancients might have againſt women's ſpeaking in public, there is a religious ſociety among us, who inſiſt upon their right of preaching equal with that of the men. Their greateſt writers, and Mr. Barclay in particular (2), will inform the reader of the arguments, with which they defend this point. (2) Apology, Theſ. 10.

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likewiſe given an account of two other Roman Ladies, who pleaded their own cauſes in public; but he ſpeaks of them in much gentler terms than of our Afrania.

AFRANIUS (QUINCTIANUS), a Roman Senator, who had loſt his reputation by his infamous debaucheries, engaged in the infamous conſpiracy againſt Nero, which coſt Seneca his life, the year of Rome 818. He had a perſonal reaſon to be offended at that Prince, for having written a bitter Satyr againſt him in verſe. He denied for a long time his having any hand in this conſpiracy, but confeſſed it at laſt in hopes of being pardoned, in which however he was deceived. He diſcovered more fortitude at his execution than could have been expected, conſidering the life he had led (*a*).

(*a*) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 15. cap. 49, 56, 70.

☞AGAG, King of the Amalekites. The inhabitants of that country having barbarouſly attacked the Iſraelites in the deſert, after they had left Egypt, when they were abſolutely wearied out with the fatigues of their journey, and having deſtroyed thoſe, who could not follow the reſt of the army, God not only gave Joſhua a victory over them in the deſert, but he ſwore that he would *put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven* [*A*], and purſue them with war *from generation to generation* (*a*) [*B*]. This happened according to Uſher in the year of the world 2513, before Chriſt 1487, and before the Vulgar Æra 1491. About four hundred years after this God remembered the cruelty, which Amalek had exerciſed againſt his people, and ordered Samuel to tell Saul, that he ſhould march with his army againſt them, and entirely deſtroy that nation, and every thing which belonged to them (*b*) [*C*]. Saul therefore gave orders for gathering the people together, who were two hundred thouſand footmen, beſides ten thouſand men of Judah; and with theſe he entered into the country of the Amalekites, and deſtroyed them from Havilah to Shur, which is over againſt Egypt. But he and the people ſpared Agag their King, and reſerved him with the beſt

(*a*) Exod. xvii. 14 and 16. and Deut. xxv. 17.

(*b*) 1 Sam. xv. 1, 2, &c.

[*A*] *That he would put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.*] This prediction was verified under Saul, who had a particular command to deſtroy this people entirely. And tho' he neglected to execute this order of God in a proper manner, yet the Amalekites were ſo weakened from that time, that they never could recover their former power and grandeur, or injure the Iſraelites; and we find no accounts of them in the latter times of the Jewiſh State. They were confounded with the Idumeans and Arabians. Philo Judæus tells us (1), that the King of the Amalekites being apprehenſive leſt the Iſraelites ſhould plunder his country, reſolved to prevent them, and marched with his army, in order to oppoſe their paſſage, with a deſign, if they ſhould reſiſt him, to attack them with all his forces. And we have a paſſage in the Vulgate Tranſlation of the book of Judith (2), which is wanting in the Greek, and in our Engliſh Verſion, wherein this army of the Amalekites is deſcribed as very formidable, conſiſting of a great number of horſe and chariots, and ſoldiers well armed, and extremely confident in their own power and bravery. *Memores eſtote Moyſi ſervi Domini, qui Amalec confidentem in virtute ſuâ, & in potentiâ ſuâ, & in exercitu ſuo, & in clypeis ſuis, non ferro pugnando, ſed precibus ſanctis orando dejecit.*

(1) L. 1. *De Vita Moſis apud* Calmet, *Comment. Litteral. ſur l'Exode* xvii. 14.

(2) Ch. iv. 13.

[*B*] *Purſue them with war from generation to generation.*] This is expreſſed in our Engliſh Tranſlation as follows; *Becauſe the Lord hath ſworn, that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation* (3). The Hebrew Original is very obſcure; it may be render'd, *Becauſe the hand upon the Throne of the Lord, the war of the Lord againſt Amalek*; as if it had been ſaid, Since the hand of the Amalekites has attacked the Throne of the Lord, he will make war againſt them till he has utterly deſtroyed them. It is probable, that he calls Iſrael the Throne of God, becauſe God choſe them to rule over the Amalekites. The Septuagint tranſlate this paſſage thus; *Becauſe the Lord fights with an hidden hand* (in an inviſible manner) *againſt Amalek throughout all generations:* Ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ πολεμεῖ Κύριος ἐπὶ Ἀμαλὴκ ἀπὸ γενεῶν εἰς γενεάς. It is evident, that they read the text differently from what we do now. They read it כסיה *ceſuiah*, i. e. "hidden," inſtead of כס יה *ces jah*, i. e. "the Throne of the "Lord." We may likewiſe underſtand theſe words, *The hand upon the Throne, and the war of the Lord ſhall be againſt Amalek*, as if it had been ſaid, that God raiſes his hand upon his Throne, to make a ſolemn oath, that he will deſtroy Amalek. The Chaldee Paraphraſt has explained it thus; Moſes ſays; *It has been reſolv'd or declared with an oath on the part of the terrible* [*God*] *whoſe Majeſty is ſeated upon the Throne of his glory, that war ſhall be made on the part of God againſt Amalek.* Mr. le Clerc reads in the text *nes*, i. e. "a ſtandard," inſtead of *ces*, i. e. "a throne." The difference of the Hebrew letters *nun* and *caph*, is very ſmall. According to this conjecture we may explain the paſſage thus: Since Amalek has lifted up its hand againſt the ſtandard of the Lord, the hand of the Lord ſhall be lifted up againſt Amalek for ever: *Quia manus contra vexillum Domini, bellum Domini in Amalec.* This ſenſe is very proper, and contains an alluſion between God's threatning, and the name of the altar, which Moſes erected after the victory, and called *Jehovah Niſſi*, i. e. "The Lord is my Banner or Standard." Caſtalio had made the ſame remark with regard to *ces*, which he ſubſtituted inſtead of *nes*; but he has given another ſenſe to this paſſage; *The Lord has taken the ſtandard in hand to deſtroy the Amalekites for ever*; as a General, who marches againſt the enemy, with the ſtandard in his hand (4).

(3) Exod. xvii. 16.

(4) *See* Calmet *in locum.*

[*C*] *Entirely deſtroy that nation, and every thing which belonged to them.*] The command is very ſevere; *Slay both man and woman, infant and ſuckling, ox and ſheep, camel and aſs* (5). Some interpreters obſerve upon this paſſage, that the Iſraelites were obliged in point of duty to execute God's command in the ſtricteſt manner, without examination, and without pity; and that God left them only the merit of obedience. He is the ſovereign Proprietor of mens lives and fortunes; and therefore ſuch a command had nothing in it, but what was perfectly juſt (6). Mr. le Clerc tells us, that ſuch a general ſlaughter and deſtruction is to be conſidered in the ſame light as a peſtilence, which carries off the innocent with the guilty; while death is a puniſhment to the latter, whereas God can make ſufficient recompence to the former for their ſufferings in ſome other way. An infant, for inſtance, however his death may be regretted by the parent, has the greateſt reaſon to thank God, becauſe he dies in his infancy, by which means he is removed from this preſent ſcene of trouble and diſtreſs to a ſtate of happineſs. *Internecio ejuſmodi quaſi peſtis quædam eſt habenda, quâ tolluntur innoxii cum noxiis; quia noxii plectuntur morte innoxiorum, quos Deus aliunde ſat magnis beneficiis cumulare poteſt. Certe nullus infans, licet parentibus multum defletus, non habebit Deo gratias, quia in infantia mortuus, hoc eſt, ereptus vitæ miſeriis fuerit, ut bearetur.* But we have conſidered the objection againſt the ſevere treatment of the Canaanites by the Jews in the article of ACHAN (7).

(5) 1 Sam. xv. 3.

(6) *See* Calmet *in locum.*

(7) Note [*B*].

beſt of the cattle and the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil [*D*]. Upon this occaſion God declared to Samuel his indignation againſt Saul, becauſe he had neglected to obey his orders, and aſſured him that he repented of having made Saul King [*E*]. Samuel was extremely ſorry at this affair, *and cried to the Lord all night.* The next day he went to Saul, who was returned with his army to Gilgal, where he offered to God burnt-offerings of the ſpoils which he had taken from the Amalekites. As ſoon as Saul ſaw Samuel he addreſſed himſelf to him with a voice of exultation, and told him, that he had *performed the commandment of the Lord* [*F*]. But Samuel aſked him what meant that bleating of the ſheep, and lowing of the oxen in his ears? Saul replied, that the people had reſerved the beſt of the ſheep and oxen for a ſacrifice, and had deſtroyed the reſt. Upon this the Prophet declared to him God's reſolution to reject him, and to give his kingdom to another, on account of his diſobedience [*G*]. He

[*D*] *But he and the people ſpared Agag their King, and reſerved him with the beſt of the cattle, and the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil.*] Whoever propoſed this, they all agreed, not to kill Agag; and it is moſt likely Saul was the chief author of this counſel. Joſephus tells us (8), that Saul ſpared him on account of his noble and beautiful perſon, not following the command of God, but his own private fancy and affection, and giving way to an unſeaſonable compaſſion, which was dangerous to him in thoſe circumſtances. Nay it was unreaſonable, continues he, to ſpare a man, who had been the author of all the calamities, which the Jews had ſuffer'd: Σάυλος ὁ αὐτῶν τ βασιλέα, καὶ τ ἡγεμόνα τῶς εἰς Ἑβραίυς κακῶν ἔσωσε. And as the people reſerved the beſt of the ſpoils, ſo they *deſtroyed every thing that was vile and refuſe.*. This covetouſneſs of the Jews was plainly contrary to the divine command, which obliged them to deſtroy utterly whatever was devoted by God, that it might appear, that theſe things were devoted not out of avarice, but in obedience to his orders. Otherwiſe the Jews would have been ſuppoſed to puniſh the Canaanites, not by any command from God, but merely to ſeize their poſſeſſions, when they had deſtroyed them. *Alioquin Hebræi viſi fuiſſent non tam nomine Dei de Chananæis pœnas exegiſſe, quam divitias ſibi ex eorum internecione quæſiviſſe* (9).

(8) *Antiq. Jud.* l. 6. c. 7.

(9) Le Clerc *in locum.*

[*E*] *That he repented of having made Saul King.*] God can neither act that which is wrong, nor take ſuch bad reſolutions, that he may afterwards repent of. He can neither change his ſentiments, nor alter his conduct from what is amiſs to that which is juſt; his knowledge is invariably the ſame, without any addition or diminution. So that *to repent* can never belong to God. But it often happens, that God abandons thoſe, whom he had before favoured in a particular manner, and promiſed the greateſt things to, becauſe they have rendred themſelves unworthy his regard. The change of their conduct produces a change in God's external treatment of them; and this is generally expreſſed in Scripture by the word *to repent* (10). Mr. le Clerc obſerves, that as men, when they repent, act the contrary of what they did before; ſo the Deity, when he begins to act differently from what he had done before, is ſaid by men *to repent. Quia homines pœnitentiâ ducti contraria agunt iis, quæ antea egerant, ideo cum Deus aliter ſe gerere incipit, quam antea, eum pœnitere homines dicunt* (11). Biſhop Patrick upon this paſſage remarks, that "repentance in God "imports only the will of a change, and not of "every change; but of the divine ſentence pro- "nounced, which the Scripture calls *Repentance.* "So Procopius Gazæus, *Pœnitentia Dei eſt diſpenſa- "tionis ipſius mutatio.* i. e. "God's repentance is "the change of his own diſpenſation."

(10) *See* Juſtin. Martyr. *ad Græcos. p.* 22, 23. *apud* Calmet.

(11) Le Clerc *in locum*; likewiſe his *Commentary upon Geneſis* vi. 6.

[*F*] *That he had performed the commandment of the Lord.*] Mr. le Clerc obſerves, that he ſaid this, becauſe he had deſtroyed all the Amalekites, who had fallen into his hands, except Agag; tho' he had ſpared him, either becauſe he did not ſufficiently underſtand the command of God, or had taken too great a liberty in interpreting it; *Sive non ſatis intellexiſſet mandata Dei ſive audaciùs ea interpretaſſet.* But if Saul had erred by not fully underſtanding God's command, his ignorance would certainly have extenuated his crime, and he would not have deſerved ſuch a ſevere puniſhment, as was denounced againſt him by Samuel. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that his diſobedience was attended with ſome circumſtances of real guilt, and not to have been the reſult of mere miſtake and ignorance. Biſhop Patrick ſuppoſes him to have been *ſo inſenſible of any fault he had committed, that he boaſted of his performance.*

[*G*] *On account of his diſobedience*] Samuel's expoſtulation with Saul contains a very noble and excellent ſentiment. *Hath the Lord*, ſays he, *as great delight in burnt-offerings and ſacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than ſacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams* (12). This admonition is inculcated in very ſtrong terms, by David (13), Solomon (14), and the Prophets (15). Joſephus explains this paſſage in the following manner: "The Prophet told him, that God is not pleaſ- "ed with ſacrifices, but with thoſe men, who are "good and juſt. And theſe are ſuch, as obey his "will and commands, and think nothing is well "done by them, but what they do in conformity "to God's commands; for God is not then deſpiſed, "when no ſacrifice is offered to him, but when a "man proves diſobedient to him. As for thoſe "perſons, who diſobey him, and neglect to pay "true reverence to God, and ſuch worſhip as is "alone acceptable to him, tho' they offer many coſtly ſacrifices, and bring him the moſt exquiſite "gifts of gold and ſilver, all their preſents are re- "jected by him, and he conſiders them as inſtances "of their guilt, and not of their piety. But thoſe "who obſerve and retain in mind what he declares "and commands, and chooſe death rather than vio- "late his precepts; thoſe he is pleaſed with, and "does not even require ſacrifice of them. And when- "ever they do ſacrifice, he prefers their meaneſt "offerings to thoſe of the moſt opulent of mankind "(16)." This paſſage deſerves ſome conſideration among thoſe, who are now fond of raiſing poſitive duties to an equality with, and even a ſuperiority over moral. This is an egregious inverſion of the order of nature, and a prodigious inconſiſtency with the plain deſign of Chriſtianity. Sacrifices, ſays Mr. le Clerc upon the paſſage of Scripture abovementioned, were appointed by God, but yet they were only an external rite, by which men declared that they had ſinned, and deſired pardon of their ſins, and by which they paid their vows, or returned thanks to God. Now ſuch a Rite could not be acceptable to God, unleſs it was attended with a reſolution of obeying him in all reſpects, and with a grateful mind towards him. For a man of true religion can never chooſe what parts of religion he pleaſes to obſerve, and neglect the reſt. And therefore Samuel here oppoſes obedience to ſacrifice, becauſe the people had fixed upon one part of the divine commands for their obſervance, while they omitted the precept concerning the utter ſubverſion of the Amalekites, or the devoting them to deſtruction in the manner, which God had appointed. Samuel proceeds to expoſe Saul's crime in a very ſtrong light, by aſſuring him, that *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ſtubborneſs is as iniquity and idolatry* (17). The literal tranſlation of the Hebrew is as follows; *Rebellion is the ſin of Divination, and ſtubbornneſs is the Vanity and the Teraphim.* Magic, idolatry, and the impious and ſuperſtitious worſhip of Teraphim were extremely hateful to the Deity. The Hebrew word *Keſem* is taken in general for all kinds of magic, divination, or witchcraft. *The vanity* means idolatry, and the vain and deluſive worſhip of the creature. The *Teraphim* are idols, or magical and ſuperſtitious figures. Theſe *Teraphim* were very probably a kind of idol, which originally belonged to the Chaldeans. The *Teraphim* of Laban (18), and thoſe of the King of Babylon (19), the

(12) 1 Sam. xv. 22.
(13) Pſalm l. 13, 14. li. 16, 17.
(14) Eccleſ. v. 1.
(15) Iſaiah i. 11, 12. and lxvi. 3. Jer. vii. 21, 22, &c. Hoſea vi. 6. Micah vi. 6, 7, 8. Zach. viii. 16.

(16) *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 6. c. 7. pag. 330. edit. Havercamp. 1726.

(17) 1 Sam. xv. 23.

(18) Gen. xxxi. 30.
(19) Ezech. xxi. 21.

He ordered Agag to be brought to him, who, when he came before Samuel, ſaid, *Surely the bitterneſs of death is paſt* [*H*]. But the latter reproached him for his former cruelty, and *hewed him in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal* [*I*]. Thus died Agag about the year of the world 2930, before Chriſt 1070, and before the Vulgar Æra 1074.

name *Teraphim*, which may be derived from the ſame root with *Seraphim* in the Hebrew, and which ſignifies *Burning*, *Fire*, and the *Sun*, worſhipped by the Perſians; all theſe circumſtances may confirm this conjecture: Oracles are aſcribed to *Teraphim* (20), but what the form of them was is unknown. Maimonides ſays (21), that the Zabians had figures of gold, which repreſented the Sun, and figures of ſilver, which repreſented the Moon; they placed them in niches, and aſcribed to them a virtue of diſcovering things future by a ſecret influence of the Stars. The greateſt part of the Rabbins confound the *Teraphim* with the *Taliſmans* and conſtellated figures. The Perſian interpreter has tranſlated *Teraphim* by the word *Aſtrolabe*, and Rabbi Moſes Nachman is of opinion, that they were a kind of clocks, which ſhewed the hours, and diſcovered what was to come to paſs. Ludovicus de Dieu thinks that they were the *Dii Penates*, or Houſhold Gods, who were worſhipped, in order to obtain of them the encreaſe and protection of the ſubſtance of their family. He derives *Teraphim* from *Teraph*, which in the Arabic and Ethiopian ſignifies *to cauſe any thing to abound*. Rachel ſtole her father Laban's *Teraphim* only in hopes of taking away the proſperity of the family with them; which perhaps was the reaſon of Laban's impatience to bring them back again. Pererius (22), Bonfrerius Rivet (23), and a great many other writers are of opinion the name *Teraphim* is frequently given to idols or figures in general, which is likewiſe very probable (24).

(20) Judges xvii. 5. and xviii. 5. and Zach. x. 2.
(21) More Nevoch. Part 3. c. 29.
(22) In Geneſ. xxxi. 19.
(23) Upon Hoſea iii. 3.
(24) Calmet *in locum*.

[*H*] *Who, when he came before Samuel, ſaid, Surely the bitterneſs of death is paſt.*] We are told in our Engliſh Tranſlation, that *Agag came unto him delicately* (25), which is agreeable to the Hebrew. The Septuagint have rendred it, *Agag trembling*, Ἀγὰγ τρέμων; the Vulgate, *pinguiſſimus & tremens*, i. e. "he was very fat and came trembling." But theſe later interpreters have tranſlated merely from conjecture; for there is nothing like this in the Hebrew, and we find by what follows, that Agag was in great hopes, that he ſhould eſcape with impunity; *Surely the bitterneſs of death is paſt*. But the Vulgate has rendred this in a different manner, *Muſt bitter death ſeparate me from every thing? Sic̈ine ſeparat amara mors?* And the Septuagint, *Is it ſo, O bitter death?* Εἰ οὕτω, πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος; and the Chaldee thus, *What is the bitterneſs of death, my Lord?*

(25) 1 Sam. xv. 32.

[*I*] *Reproach'd him for his former cruelty, and hewed him in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.*] *And Samuel ſaid, as thy ſword hath made women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among women* (26). This ſhews that he had been a bloody tyrant; and was now cut off, not merely for the ſins of his anceſtors four hundred years before; but for his own mercileſs cruelty (27). Samuel's zeal was ſo inflamed at the ſight of Agag, that he commanded him to be put to death by the public Executioner of juſtice, or perhaps he killed him with his own hand, as we find Gideon did to Zeba and Zalmunna (28). This does not prove that Samuel continued a Judge after Saul was anointed, but he was authoriſed perhaps to do ſo by a ſpecial commiſſion from God, or he did it in imitation of the zeal of the Levites, who deſtroyed thoſe who had worſhiped the Golden Calf (29), and of Phineas who killed Zimri and Cosbi (30). The death of Agag had been formally predicted above four hundred years before by the Prophet Balaam; according to the vulgate tranſlation of the book of *Numbers* (31). *Tolletur propter Agag Rex ejus, & auferetur regnum illius.* i. e. "His King ſhall be "taken away becauſe of Agag, and the kingdom "ſhall be removed." But the Samaritan and the Septuagint read it: *His kingdom ſhall be raiſed above Gog, and his kingdom ſhall be enlarged.* Some copies of the Septuagint read *Og* inſtead of *Gog*. We know the King of Baſhan's name was *Og*, but he was defeated and kill'd before this, and all his people ſubdued by the Jews. So that Balaam could not poſſibly mean him. The ancient Greek interpreters read, as well as the Septuagint *Gog* or *Og*. And ſome of the fathers (32) have explained this paſſage of the victory which the Son of God is to obtain over *Gog* and *Magog*, which is often underſtood of Antichriſt. St. Ambroſe (33) reads it: *Attolletur regnum ejus in altum*, i. e. "His kingdom ſhall be "exalted." Philo Judæus ſays to the ſame purpoſe (34); *And his kingdom ſhall perpetually encreaſe, and be raiſed every day to a higher degree of glory.* Καὶ ἐπιδιαμενοῦσα ἡ τοῦδε βασιλεία, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ὕψος ἀρθήσεται. But, as Father Calmet obſerves, we muſt read in the Hebrew Gag, *a Top*, inſtead of *Gog*, in order to juſtify ſuch a tranſlation of that paſſage. In ſhort, Grotius is of opinion, that theſe verſions are erroneous, and that the Hebrew original is much the trueſt in this point. *Sed verius quod in Hebræo legitur.* T.

(26) Ibid. 33.
(27) Biſhop Patrick *in locum*.
(28) Judges viii. 20, 21.
(29) Exod xxxii. 27.
(30) Num. xxv. 8.
(31) C. xxiv. 7.
(32) Origen. *Homil.* 17. *in Num. Euſeb.* l. 9. *Præpar.* c. 3. Cyprian. l. 1. *ad Quirin. Teſtim.* 10.
(33) Ep. 50.
(34) L. 1. *de Vita Moſis.*

☞AGAPIUS, an obſcure writer, who is mentioned by none of the ancients, except Photius (*a*). He was a very conſiderable perſon among the Manichees. Dr. Cave is of opinion (*b*), that he was the ſame with that Agapius, who was a ſcholar of Manes, and wrote a book intitled *Heptalogus*, mentioned by Petrus Siculus (*c*). It may be objected to this, that Photius repreſents him as contemporary with Eunomius the Hereſiarch, and tells us that he wrote againſt him. But it is to be obſerved that Photius does not expreſly affirm this, but that it only ſeems to him, that Agapius oppoſed Eunomius's errors. But ſuppoſing Agapius did actually write againſt him, this might eaſily be done, if we allow that he was old at that time. Manes did not publiſh his notions before the year 277, and he lived long after this, and therefore about the end of that Century he might have Agapius for his ſcholar. Eunomius ſpread his hereſies under the Emperor Conſtantius: now there is no difficulty in ſuppoſing, that Agapius might be living then, nay even to the death of Conſtantius, ſince Cyril Biſhop of Jeruſalem, who lived in that Emperor's reign, affirms expreſly (*d*), that there was a man then living, who had ſeen Manes in perſon. Epiphanius (*e*) likewiſe who wrote in the year 374, aſſures us, that there were ſome perſons in his time, who had talked with Hermas the ſcholar of Manes, and told him divers particulars relating to him. This Agapius wrote a work divided in twenty three Books, beſides an hundred and two diſtinct chapters, which he dedicated to Urania, a woman of his ſect, and companion of his ſtudies (*f*). We ſhall give ſome account of his notions in the Note hereunder [*A*]. Dr. Cave (*g*) obſerves, that if we compare Photius's repreſentation

(*a*) Cod. 179. p. 402, &c. edit. Rhotomagi 1653.
(*b*) *Hiſt. Litter. Diſſert.* p. 167. edit. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.
(*c*) *Hiſt. Manichæ.* p. 30.
(*d*) *Catech.* VI. p. 141.
(*e*) *Hæreſ.* lxvi. num. 12.
(*f*) Συμφιλόσοφον.
(*g*) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Some account of his notions in the Note hereunder.*] We find in the Abſtract, which Photius has given us of him (1), that he aſſerted, that there was an evil principle which ſubſiſted of itſelf, and was oppoſite

(1) Cod. 179.

tation of his doctrines with *the form of the reception of the Manichees*, which was firſt publiſhed by Cotelerius, and afterwards by Tollius, it will give a great deal of light into his ſcheme. Photius calls him *a deteſtable and impious man (b)*.

(b) Τῷ μιαρῷ καὶ δυσσεβεῖ.

oppoſite to God from eternity. This principle he called ſometimes *Nature*, ſometimes *Matter*, *Satan*, *the Devil*, *the Prince of the world*, *the God of this world*, and by many other names. That men ſin neceſſarily and unwillingly; that the body is the worſt part; but that the ſoul is a particle of the Divine Eſſence, and of the ſame nature with God. That Chriſt was the Tree of Paradiſe; he confeſſed the Conſubſtantiality of the Trinity, and even affirmed that he revered the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and Chriſt himſelf crucified, nay even his Croſs, his Baptiſm, Burial and Reſurrection, and believed the Reſurrection of all the Dead, and a future Judgment. But theſe points he expreſſed in very artful and equivocal terms, and ſuch as he could wreſt to a ſhocking and abſurd ſenſe. He repreſented the Sun and Moon as Gods, and ſaid they were of the ſame nature with God; ſung hymns to them, and gave them all manner of worſhip and reverence. He ſaid, that the light of thoſe luminaries was not perceptible by the ſenſes, but only by the mind. He conſidered the Air likewiſe as a Deity, and ſung hymns to its honour; but the Fire and Earth he treated with contempt as baſe and inferior elements. He pretended to abſtain from eating fleſh and from marriage, on pretence that it was abominable to gratify our ſelves with them; and he refrained from wine, as he ſaid, to avoid drunkenneſs. He ſhewed the utmoſt contempt for the Old Teſtament, and for Moſes and the Prophets, and even St. John the Baptiſt, the forerunner of our Saviour. Nay he attributed all their words and actions to the evil principle which is perpetually oppoſite to God. He wreſted ſeveral paſſages in the Goſpels and St. Paul's Epiſtles in ſuch a manner, as might ſeem to ſupport his own ſcheme. He made uſe of the Acts of the Twelve Apoſtles, as they are called, and eſpecially thoſe of St. Andrew, which books were thought by the antients to have been forged by the Manichees. He favoured the opinion of the Tranſmigration of Souls; and maintained that ſome perſons, who gained the higheſt pitch of virtue, were reſolved into the Deity; others, who were ſunk the loweſt in wickedneſs, were conſigned over to darkneſs and fire; but the reſt, who had ſteered a middle courſe between virtue and vice, he aſſerted were recalled into their bodies. He cited Plato and other heathen writers, to whom he gave the ſame titles as to our Saviour, and called them *Divine* and *Sacred*. His ſtyle and manner of writing in ſome places were by no means contemptible, though in others very low and mean. He touched likewiſe upon ſeveral philoſophical principles, but then he ſhewed the utmoſt confuſion and ignorance. In ſhort, ſays Photius, he had a lively talent in depraving the truth, aud a ready expreſſion in repreſenting his objections, but he was extremely weak and ſtupid in inventing and raiſing his own ſchemes. And his work, adds the ſame author, was ſo abſurd and impious, that it could only ſhame and confound thoſe who followed him, and the Manichean doctrines.

T.

☞AGATHIAS, or as he calls himſelf in his Epigrams AGATHIUS, diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Scholaſticus*, was a Greek Hiſtorian, who lived in the ſixth Century under the Emperor Juſtinian. He tells us in the Preface to his Hiſtory, that he was born at Myrina, which was a Colony of the ancient Æolians in Leſſer Aſia, ſituated at the mouth of the river Pythicus. He diſtinguiſhes this city from another of the ſame name in Thrace. His father's name was Memnonius, and he himſelf was an advocate at Smyrna (*a*), as Suidas aſſures us; which gave occaſion to Chriſtopher Perſona to imagine that he was born at Smyrna, whereas he informs us himſelf that he was born at Myrina (*b*). He ſtudied the law in the ſchools appointed for that purpoſe, whence he received the name of *Scholaſticus* or the *Advocate*. He acknowledges, that in his youth he had a ſtrong inclination to Poetry, which induced him to write ſeveral ſmall Poems in Hexameter verſe, in a gay and amorous ſtyle, which he publiſhed under the title of *Daphniaca*. He tells us likewiſe, that he was the author of a collection of Epigrams, written by divers hands, a great part of which it is preſumed we have ſtill extant in the Greek *Anthologia* under his name. It is very doubtful of what religion he was [*A*]. He wrote an Hiſtory in five books of the reign of the Emperor Juſtinian, at the deſire of Eutychianus, Secretary of State, who was his intimate friend, and who very probably ſupplied him with a great many rare and important memoirs, for the perfecting that work. He did not begin this Hiſtory till after the death of Juſtinian, under the reign of Juſtin II. as he declares himſelf in his Preface. It begins with the twenty ſixth year of Juſtinian's reign, where Procopius ends. He commends this latter Hiſtorian extremely, though he ſometimes differs from him [*B*]. We

(a) Σχολαστικὸς Σμυρναῖος.

(b) *See* Voſſ. *de Hiſt. Græc.* l. 2. c. 22.

[*A*] *It is very doubtful of what religion he was.*] When he gives an account in the beginning of his Hiſtory of the French in his time, he commends them among other things for being all of them Chriſtians, and becauſe they had very juſt notions of God. But when he is giving a reaſon in his third book, why the fortreſs of Onogoris ſituated in Colchis, was called in his time *St. Stephen's Fort*, he tells us how this firſt Martyr of the Chriſtians was ſtoned in that place, making uſe of the word φασὶν, i. e. "as it is ſaid;" which is a ſtrong argument of his being a Pagan. It is the common opinion, and particularly that of Voſſius (1), from this paſſage and ſeveral others, that he was ſo; tho' neither he nor Procopius ever uſe any invectives againſt Chriſtianity, as moſt of the Heathen writers did in imitation of Zoſimus. This perhaps was owing to the times in which thoſe two Hiſtorians lived, which were not very favourable to the Pagan Religion, and conſequently the fear of danger might reſtrain them (2).

(1) *Ubi ſupra.*

(2) *La Motbe le Vayer*, tom. 3. p. 148. edit. Paris 1684.

[*B*] *Tho' he ſometimes differs from him.*] Many inſtances might be given of this, but we ſhall mention a very remarkable one, which regards the character of the French Nation at that time. Procopius had repreſented them as the moſt treacherous and faithleſs people in the world. But Agathias on the contrary having ſhewn, that the French were extremely polite and civil, and had made uſe of the Roman Laws in almoſt all caſes, adds, that they ought to be valued for nothing more, than for the exact juſtice, which they obſerved without exception, ſince their Kings themſelves were not exempted from the obligations of it, which was the cauſe, that this Nation lived in the utmoſt concord and harmony imaginable. Beſides juſtice is a virtue of univerſal extent, and as it contains all the other virtues in it, cannot ſubſiſt without fidelity; and therefore we may obſerve, that nothing is more oppoſite to it than failures in point of word and honour: For which reaſon Agathias could not have taken a better method to confute Procopius's imputation,

We ſhall mention ſome other circumſtances relating to his Hiſtory in the Note hereunder [C]. It was printed in Greek and Latin with Bonaventure Vulcanius's at Leyden in 1594 in 4°, and at Paris in the King's Printing-Houſe in 1660 in fol. This Hiſtorian is mentioned by Evagrius (c), who tells us, that he wrote an Hiſtory which began where Procopius ended, and was carried down to the flight of Choſroes the Younger to the Romans, and his reſtoration by Mauricius; but that this work was not then publiſhed.

(c) L. 6. c. 24.

putation, and vindicate the character of that Nation (3). However, tho' theſe two authors differ in this point, they agree in aſſerting the grandeur and independence of the Kings of France. Procopius acknowledges in the *third book of the Gothic War*, that of all the Kings in the world only they and the Roman Emperors had a right to have their images engraven upon their gold coin. So that even the King of Perſia, who claimed to himſelf ſuch a variety of pompous titles, durſt not attempt that privilege. Agathias likewiſe ſpeaking of King Theodebert, ſays, that he was ſo enraged to ſee the Emperor Juſtinian aſſume among other titles that of *Francicus*, as if he had conquered the French, and gained the right of ſuperiority over them; that upon this conſideration only he reſolved to go and ſubdue Thrace, lay ſiege to Conſtantinople, and overthrow the Roman Empire, of which that city was then the Capital. Agathias indeed calls this *a raſh deſign*, imagining that Theodebert would have periſhed in the expedition; but he owns, that this King had carried it to ſuch a length, that if he had not been prevented by death in hunting a wild bull, nothing could have retarded him; and it is impoſſible to ſay what might have been the event. La Mothe le Vayer adds the following reflection, when he mentions this fact; *So many*, ſays he, *and ſo indiſputable are the proofs of the abſolute power of the French Monarchy, which never acknowledged any Superior but God; and as the honeſt old Gaul ſaid to Alexander the Great, that there is nothing but heaven above them* (4). But to return to the different judgments, which Agathias has paſs'd from thoſe of Procopius, and wherein the former ſeems to have truth on his ſide, we ſhall give one inſtance from his fourth Book. He is highly diſſatisfied with Procopius not only for affirming, that Arcadius had entruſted the care and protection of his ſon Theodoſius and the Empire to Iſdigerdes King of Perſia, (which no author of credit had ever aſſerted before), but even for commending that action as very prudent, and adding, that tho' Arcadius was in other points a weak Prince, yet in this he behaved like a man of wiſdom and penetration. This, ſays Agathias, is judging of things by the event; as the vulgar generally do; but if we examine this action by ſtrict reaſon, we ſhall find that no Prince was ever guilty of a more exceptionable action than that of Arcadius. Was not this committing a lamb to the care of a wolf, to entruſt a ſon and the Empire in the hands of his greateſt enemy, out of a confidence, which tho' ſometimes excuſable among private men, can never be vindicated, when the queſtion is concerning the ſafety of a young Monarch, and the ſecurity of a crown, which was ſo much the more envied, as it wanted to be ſuperior to all others? In ſhort every thinking perſon will agree to Agathias's opinion, and conclude very juſtly with him, that tho' the event was very fortunate, yet there is more reaſon to admire the integrity of the King of Perſia, than the prudence of the Emperor (5).

(3) Id. ibid. p. 150, 151.

(4) Id. ibid. p. 152.

(5) Ibid. p. 153.

[C] *Some other circumſtances relating to his Hiſtory in the note hereunder.*] We have ſeveral letters and direct ſpeeches in it, as that of Narſes in the two firſt books, that of Aetes in the third, that of the Deputies of Colchos in the fourth, and that of Beliſarius in the fifth. He is not content to penetrate into the moſt ſecret tranſactions, in order to diſcover the principal cauſes of events, but he likewiſe paſſes his judgment very often; which is contrary to the manner of Xenophon and Cæſar, tho' agreeable to that of other eminent writers. His ſtyle is florid and eaſy; tho' Sigonius and Verderius are of a contrary opinion, and repreſent him as an exceeding low and unpoliſhed writer. But their judgment upon him is little regarded by the beſt Critics.

T.

AGATHO, a tragic and comic Poet [A], diſciple to Prodicus (a), and to Socrates (b). His beauty is greatly applauded in Plato's Dialogues (c), where it is alſo ſaid, that his inclinations were virtuous (d). According to ſome authors, he was a very worthy man, and kept a magnificent table (e); What might give occaſion to this laſt character was, very probably, the ſplendid entertainments he made after his firſt Tragedy had obtained the prize (f), and he had been crowned in preſence of upwards of thirty thouſand men (g), the fourth year of the ninetieth Olympiad (b). Plato ſuppoſes, that the *Diſcourſes* he relates on the nature of Love, in one of his books (i), were ſpoke the day after his coronation, at the ſecond feaſt Agatho gave. The compoſitions of this Poet abounded ſo much with antitheſes, that he ſaid one day to a man, who was for expunging them, *You don't conſider that you tear Agatho from himſelf* (k). He was the darling of Pauſanias the Ceramian, and followed him to the court of Archelaüs King of Macedon (l). He would often quarrel with him, but this was done merely, that he might taſte the exquiſite pleaſure which reconciliation gives; for ſo he declared to this Monarch, when he aſked the cauſe of their frequent jars, as Ælian informs us, chap. 21ſt, book 2d of his *Varia Hiſtoria*, or *Various Hiſtory*. I have elſewhere (m) related, what is written of the paſſion which Euripides had for Agatho.

(a) *Vide inter* Platonis Opera *ejus Dialogum, cui titulus Protagoras*, p. 220.

(b) *Scholiaſtes Ariſtophanis in Ranas*, Act. I. Scen. 2.

(c) Plato *in Protagora*, pag. 220, & *in Convivio*, p. 1175.

(d) Plato *in Protagora*, pag. 220.

(e) Ἀγαθὸς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τραπεζαν λαμπρὸς. *Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. in Ranas*, Act. I. Sc. 2. *See alſo* Suidas in Ἀγάθων.

(f) Plato *in Convivio, init.* pag. 1174.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 1176.

(b) *See* Athenæus lib. 5. p. 217. and Caſaubon on Athen. p. 379.

(i) In his *Convivium.*

(k) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 14. cap. 13. *See alſo* Athen. book 5. p. 187.

(l) Plato *in Protagora*, p. 220. Athen. lib. 5. p. 216. Maximus Tyrius, Sermon. x. p. 106. Ælian *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 21.

(m) In the remark [O] of the article EURIPIDES. See alſo the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes's Frogs*, Act. I. Scen. 2.

[A] *A tragic and comic Poet.*] No one doubts his having writ Tragedies; it will be ſufficient therefore to prove that he wrote Comedies. The Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes*, on Scene 2d, Act 1ſt of the Frogs, has theſe words: Οὗτος ὁ Ἀγάθων κωμῳδοποιὸς πῶ Σωκράτης διδασκάλω. i. e. "This Agatho the "comic writer, when Socrates taught." It is to be obſerv'd, that he hints at the ſame Poet, who is one of Plato's interlocutors at the feaſt; and who certainly wrote Tragedies. I ſhall alſo cite the following words of Philoſtratus; Καὶ Ἀγάθων ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς, ὃν ἡ κωμῳδία σοφὸν καὶ καλλικῆ οἶδε, πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἰαμβείων γοργιάζει (1). i. e. "Agatho "the tragic Writer, whom the comic Muſe knew to "be very wiſe and elegant, often imitates the ſtyle "of Gorgias in his Iambics." I am ſenſible that theſe words may ſignify, that he was applauded in Comedies; but they may alſo be underſtood in the following ſenſe, viz. that he ſhewed his skill and elegance in the Comedies he wrote. A learned critic conjectures, Socrates hinted at our Agatho, when he declares, that it is the buſineſs of one and the ſame perſon to write Tragedy and Comedy; and that whoever poſſeſſes the art of Tragedy, is a comic Poet alſo (2). Τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι κωμῳδίαν καὶ τραγῳδίαν ἐπίστασθαι ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸν τέχνῃ τραγῳδοποιὸν ἅμα καὶ κωμῳδοποιὸν εἶναι (3). I belive Voſſius (4), Moreri, Hofman &c. are miſtaken; when they tell us of one Agatho a comic Poet, different from the Agatho in queſtion.

(1) Philoſt. *de Vitis Sophiſt.* l. 1.

(2) Khunius *in Ælian. Var.* lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 104.

(3) Plato *in Conviv. in fine*, p. 1207.

(4) Voſſius *de Poët. Græcis*, p. 39, 50.

Agatho. The anſwer which the former made, is falſely related in the Hiſtorical Dictionaries [*B*]. The Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes ſeems to ſay, that Agatho died in the court of King Archelaus [*C*]; and one might ſuppoſe from the words of Ariſtophanes, that he was dead at the time when the Comedy of the Frogs was repreſented [*D*]; that is, the third year of the ninety third Olympiad (*n*). There is nothing now extant of Agatho, except a few quotations which we find in Ariſtotle, in Athenæus, &c. Theſe are beautiful ſentences enough, and confirm what has been related, concerning his great fondneſs for antitheſes [*E*]. I ſhall give one inſtance of this, which forms a very judicious maxim with reſpect to the deceitfulneſs of appearances [*F*]. Ariſtophanes

(n) *See* Samuel. Petiti, *Miſcellan* l. 1. c. 14. p. 50.

[*B*] *The anſwer which the former* (Euripides) *made, is falſely related in the Hiſtorical Dictionaries.*] I have given it elſewhere (5) as it ought to be: and ſhall here preſent the reader with the erroneous account we have of it. *Agatho Philoſophus Pythagoricus, frequens Antithetis, adhibitus quondam convivio ab Archelao Rege, cujus erat familiariſſimus, interrogatuſque ab eo, cum jam eſſet annorum* 80, *ſi robur adhuc ullum ſervaret?* "*Sane, inquit, non ſolùm Ver, ſed* "*Autumnus ſolet bona & proſperitatem adferre* (6)." i. e. "Agatho the Pythagorean, who was fond of "antitheſes, being at an entertainment with King "Archelaus, who treated him with the utmoſt fa-"miliarity, and being ask'd by that Monarch, whe-"ther he had any vigour remaining now he was "fourſcore years old; he replied; "Surely Autumn "has its proſperity and its bleſſings as well as the "Spring." Let us enumerate the errors in this account. I. The Agatho who loved antitheſes, and was at King Archelaus's Court, was not a Pythagorean. II. He was about forty years of age, when Archelaus gave occaſion to the anſwer abovementioned (7). III. Euripides, and not Agatho made this anſwer. IV. The queſtion was about beauty, not ſtrength; and the anſwer did not any ways relate to the goods of fortune. V. It would be ridiculous to call the age of fourſcore, the Autumn of life. VI. I believe there is not any Pythagorean Philoſopher, whoſe name is Agatho. Theſe ſeveral errors of Charles Stephens, are found in the ſecond edition of Lloyd; and the pretended teſtimony of Ælian (8), is ſtill more minutely expreſſed there. This minuteneſs is prejudicial to the author; for, ſince he knew the chapter where this incident was to be found, he is more inexcuſable for having copied the ſeveral falſhoods of the Dictionary he was correcting. Hofman has copied him to a tittle; and has made this Agatho, and he who went to King Archelaus's court, different perſons. Moreri mentions likewiſe one Agatho a Pythagorean Philoſopher, who, being eighty years old, made the following anſwer to this Monarch; *Autumn gives fruits and flowers as well as Spring*; and afterwards ſpeaks of Agatho the tragic Poet, and Agatho the comic Writer.

(5) In the remark [*O*] of the article EURIPIDES.

(6) Charles Stephens under the the word AGATHO, p. 117.

(7) See the Rem. [*O*] in the article EURIPIDES.

(8) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 13. cap. 4. Lloyd under the word AGATHO.

[*C*] *That Agatho died in the court of King Archelaus.*] Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Βασιλεῖ μέχρι τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (9). That is, "He conti-"nued, with ſeveral others, in Macedonia, at the "court of King Archelaus, till his death." As this may ſignify; either, till the death of Archelaus, or, till the death of Agatho, I therefore don't give theſe words as a certain proof.

(9) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. *in Ranas.* Act. I. Scen. 2.

[*D*] *That he was dead, at the time when the Comedy of the Frogs was repreſented.*] We have theſe three verſes in it.

ΗΡ. Ἀγάθων ὃ πᾶ' ϛιν; ΔΙ. ἀπολιπὼν μ' ἀποίχεται,
Ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς, ϕ πεθεινὸς τοῖς ϕίλοις.
ΗΡ. Ποῖ γῆς ὁ τλήμων; ΔΙ. ἐς μακάρων ἑυνὰς (10).

Engliſh'd,

"Where's Agatho? He's left me, and is gone,
"(Ingenious Bard, the darling of his friends)
"Whither is the unhappy creature fled?
"To the immortal banquets.

(10) Ariſtoph. *in Ranas*, Act. I. Scen. 2. verſ. 83.

[*E*] *And confirm what has been related, concerning his great fondneſs for antitheſes.*] Khunius has given us three ſentences or ſayings of Agatho, by way of ſpecimen of this way of writing (11). The two firſt are cited by Ariſtotle, the laſt by Athenæus; and the ſenſe of the latter is as follows: *In caſe I tell you the truth, I ſhan't pleaſe you; and if I pleaſe you, I ſhan't tell you the truth* (12). Thoſe cited by Ariſtotle, ſignify the one; *that the only thing impoſſible to God, is, to cauſe that not to be made, that has been made* (13); and the other, *that fortune loves art, and art loves fortune* (14). Voſſius imagines that we owe this ſaying to Agatho the comic Writer (15), but he ſhould rather have aſcribed it to the tragic Poet, becauſe of the antitheſis that is remarkable in it: however, when I obſerve this, I don't pretend to ſay that Agatho the comic, and Agatho the tragic Poet were two different perſons. Moreri, as is uſual with him, has copied Voſſius. I am ſurprized that Khunius did not quote the following paſſage:

(11) *Guſtum antithetorum Agathonis dare poſſumus.* Khunius *in Ælian.* lib 14. cap. 13. p. 735.

(12) Athen. lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 211.

(13) Ariſtot. *Eth. Eudemior.* lib. 5. cap 2. p. 182.

(14) Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 183.

(15) Voſſius *de Poëtis Græcis.* p. 59.

Τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ποιούμεθα,
Τὸ δ' ἔργον ὢν πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα (16).

Engliſh'd,

"We labour at an acceſſory as though it were a "principal, and we conſider a principal as though it "were but the accident."

(16) Agath. *apud* Athen. lib. 5. *init.*

[*F*] *Which forms a very judicious maxim, with regard to the deceitfulneſs of appearances.*] Agatho obſerves, that *it is probable a great many improbable things will come to paſs.* Εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι πολλὰ ϕ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. Thus Voſſius quotes this ſentence, and obſerves that Ariſtotle has cited it in more places than one (17). This celebrated Philoſopher cites it as follows, in chap. 24. Book 2d of his *Rhetoric.*

(17) Voſſius, *Inſtit. Poëtic.* lib. 1. p. 16.

Τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγοι,
Βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν ἐκ εἰκότα (18).

Engliſh'd,

"Perhaps ſome one may ſay, 'tis probable, various "unlikely things may happen to mortals.

(18) Agath. *ap.* Ariſt. *Rhetoric.* lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 448.

To this maxim we may compare that of St. Bernard, *Ordinatiſſimum eſt, minus interdum ordinatè fieri* (19). That is, "It is agreeable to order, that ſometimes "things ſhould be done without order." Balzac has ſo diſguiſed this thought of Agatho, that he makes that an abominable falſhood, which was a beautiful maxim in the laſt mentioned author. *Altho' human affairs*, ſays he (20), *ſometimes change their courſe, and go into a channel different from what they were wont to do; and that this only is probable, as Agatho uſed to ſay, viz. that many things happen contrary to probability; nevertheleſs, generally ſpeaking, like undertakings produce like events.* The adverb *only* makes a moſt hideous ſenſe in that place; and if this were a typographical error (21), I ſhould wonder, that a corrector of the preſs was not ſtartled at it. For what can be more unaccountable, than to aſſert that it is never probable, a thing ſhould happen agreeable to probability? Such is the maxim in Balzac's *Prince*, which our Agatho is falſely ſaid to have laid down; however, the ſequel of the diſcourſe ſhews, that altho' the Poet's thought was vitiated in the printed copy, the author however had a true idea of it: and it is certain, that Balzac underſtood, as Agatho did, *That it is* EVEN *probable, that many things improbable may come to paſs.* This aphoriſm appeared ſo beautiful to Euripides, that he has repeated it five times; for, ſays Coſtar (22), he has concluded his *Medea*, his *Alceſte*, his *Andromache*, his *Bacchanals*, and his *Helen* with it. * "The Gods ſport with human "foreſight, and deceive equally our hopes and our "fears. They ſometimes divert events, which all men "expected would come to paſs; and by opening "paths which till then were unknown, give ſucceſs "to deſigns which in outward appearance were im-"poſſible." Seneca had made a very good uſe of this thought, to encourage thoſe who are terrified at the apparent, and very probable approaches of ill

(19) Bernardi *Epiſt.* 276. *ad Engen.* 3.

(20) Balzac in his *Prince.* n. 142. p. 100. edition *de Rouen* in 1632, 4°.

(21) *Seulement* inſtead of *Surement.* Note, that there are ſome Gaſconiſms in which *Seulement* (only) ſignifies *meme* (even). See *Remarques de Vaugelus*, tom. 2. p. 180.

(22) Coſtar, *Suite de defence de Voiture*, pag. 406.

* Πολλὰ δ' ἐλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί· καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντ' οὐκ ἐντελῆ θῆ τῶν δ' ἀδοκήτων πόρον εὗρεν θεός.

phanes cenſures him very ſeverely for his morals, in one of his Comedies (o). I believe he is not the Agatho, whom Plato the Philoſopher loved ſo tenderly [G]. It was undoubtedly a voluntary error in Budæus, when he tells us, chap. 25 of the *Education of*

(o) *In Theſmophoriazuſis.*

fortune. *How many things*, ſays he, *have happened, which no one expected; how many others have never come to paſs, tho' expected univerſally? Nothing is ſo ſure and certain among the ſeveral things we fear, but it is yet more certain, that our hopes and fears are ſometimes diſappointed.* But Seneca's words are ſtronger, and therefore I ſhall quote them. *Veriſimile eſt aliquid futurum mali? Non ſtatim verum eſt. Quàm multa non expectata venerunt, quàm multa expectata nunquam comparuerunt? Multa interveniunt quibus vicinum periculum vel prope admotum, aut ſubſiſtat; aut deſinat, aut in alienum caput tranſeat, habet etiam mala fortuna levitatem: fortaſſe erit, fortaſſe non erit. Interim dum non eſt meliora propone, nihil tam certum eſt ex his quæ timentur, ut non certius ſit & formidata ſubſidere, & ſperata decipere* (23). "Is there a probability of ſome evil "befalling you? It is not therefore immediately cer- "tain. How many unexpected things have happen- "ed? How many things that were expected have "never come to paſs? Many things intervene, by "which an approaching danger either ſtops ſhort, "or ends, or falls upon another perſon's head. "Even ill fortune has its fickleneſs: perhaps it may "come to paſs, perhaps not. In the mean time "whilſt it does not exiſt, hope that better things "will happen. Nothing is ſo certain of thoſe things "we fear, but it is more certain that thoſe things "we fear ſometimes vaniſh, and that we are de- "ceived in what we hope for." Cardinal Pallavicini has written with great rancour againſt Father Paul, for conſidering the reception of Zuinglius's doctrine by the Evangelical Cantons, as a proof, that a cauſe ſuperior to Zuinglius, had influenced on that occaſion. I ſhall wave Pallavicini's reflections, but tranſcribe what he borrows from Ariſtotle, viz. that it ſometimes happens that the moſt probable things are falſe; for if they were always ſeparated from falſhood, they conſequently would be certain, and not probable. The reader will find this maxim employed, to accuſe thoſe of raſhneſs and preſumption, who pretend to form a judgment of God's providence. Such an one is a Chriſtian and devout, he therefore is predeſtinated to ſalvation; ſuch an one is a Mahometan and a wicked wretch, he therefore is predeſtinated to damnation: both which are raſh conſequences, ſince they ſometimes deceive. This is Cardinal Pallavicini's remark, which at length is as follows: *Por tanto chi aſcrire le proſperità della meglior cauſa ad una voluntà che Dio habbia di farla ſtabilmente prevalere alla rea; diſcorre con pietà probabile & ſaggia: quantunque talora s'inganni, ſecondo l'inſegnamento del Filoſofo: Che talvolta il più probabile è falſo; precioche ſe da falſità foſſe eſſente, non ſuria probabil, mà certo. E ſe baſta il poterſi ingannare accioche ogni giudicio, quantumque dubitativo della Providentia divina chiamiſi preſontuoſo; chiameraſſi preſontuoſo chiunque dall' haverlo Dio fatto naſcere frà Chriſtiani e viver divota mente, prende conghiettura che l'habbia deſtinato alla vita eterna; e'l contrario s'auviſa di chi nacque Saraceno e vive ſcelerato; eſſendo manifeſto poter ſuccedere che il primo ſi danni, e'l ſecondo ſi ſalvi* (24). That is, "Neverthelefs "the perſon who aſcribes the prevalency of a better "cauſe to the will of God who makes it ſolidly "prevail over the bad one, argues with a piety "that is probable and wiſe; nevertheleſs he may "ſometimes be deceived, according to the doctrine "of the Philoſopher, viz. that ſometimes the moſt "probable is falſe, becauſe that were it exempt from "falſhood, it would not then be probable but cer- "tain. Now if the bare poſſibility of being miſ- "taken renders all judgment (however doubtful) con- "cerning Divine Providence, preſumptuous; we "muſt call it a preſumption in any one, who, be- "cauſe God cauſed a perſon to be brought forth a- "mong the Chriſtians, and he lives devoutly, con- "jectures from thence that the Almighty has predeſ- "tinated him to eternal life; and judges the con- "trary of one who is born a Mahometan and lives "wickedly, it being manifeſtly poſſible, that the "former may be damned, and the latter ſaved." Not only Phyſicians but News-mongers ought to make advantage of Agatho's maxim. A Profeſſor at Leipſic exhorts Phyſicians, *in caſe they would do honour to their profeſſion, to be very cautious of their words. He adviſes them not to promiſe too much, nor frighten their patients too much, but to ſpeak always conditionally, and with a* perhaps (25). All which is grounded on the abovecited maxim of Seneca. The ſame advice may be given to our Coffee-Houſe Politicians; ſuch arguers I mean, as are informed with a very ſagacious and very judicious turn of mind. Theſe ſhall happen to gueſs right on a thouſand occaſions, and ſhall, on a hundred occaſions, have no room to be ſorry for the deciſive tone of voice with which they ridiculed the hopes or threats of the Gazeteers. This emboldens them to reject, with a magiſterial air, all ſuch articles of news as are improbable, but they ſometimes are ſtruck with confuſion; for, on ſome occaſions, the event confirms the moſt impertinent and moſt extravagant pieces of news that could be publiſhed; and which they had laughed at as ſo many chimeras, or as ſo many ſteps, inconſiſtent with the wiſdom which till then was ſo conſpicuous in the counſels of a Government. This maxim contradicts itſelf, and catches ſuch Politicians as lay too great a ſtreſs upon it. It is therefore a mark of prudence in a perſon to go gently to work, and not to pronounce deciſively, upon pretence that the moſt plauſible appearances are in his favour. But then if it is not proper, even in this caſe, to act the part of a Dictator, how ſeverely do thoſe deſerve to be cenſured, who, when all the appearances are againſt them, do yet preſume to promiſe the greateſt ſucceſs, and publiſh thoſe promiſes, as though they were grounded on the Revelations?

(23) Senec. *Epiſt.* 24. p. 187.

(24) Pallavicini *Iſtor. del Concilio.* lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 303.

(25) *Biblioth. Univerſelle*, tom. 14. p. 80, 81. In the Extract of *Miſcellanea Curioſa Medica* of Chriſtianus Langius.

[G] *The Agatho whom Plato the Philoſopher loved ſo tenderly.*] This Philoſopher compoſed a diſtich, which was ſo paſſionate and tender, that a Roman Poet found matter enough in it, to ſpin it out to ſeventeen verſes. The reader will give me leave to tranſcribe a whole chapter from Aulus Gellius (26). *Celebrantur duo iſti Græci verſiculi, multorumque doctorum hominum memoriâ dignantur, quod ſint lepidiſſimæ & venuſtiſſimæ brevitatis. Neque adeo pauci ſunt veteres ſcriptores, qui eos Platonis eſſe Philoſophi affirmant, quibus ille adoleſcens luſerit, quum tragœdiis quoque eodem tempore faciendis præluderet.*

(26) Lib. 19. cap. 11.

Τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἀγαθώνα φιλῶν, ἐπὶ χείλεσιν ἔσχον,
Ἧλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη (27).

(27) Note that Diogenes Laertius *lib.* 3. *num.* 32, quoting theſe two Greek verſes, ſaid that Plato wrote them on Agatho. They are mentioned as follows in the Greek and Latin edition of Diogenes Laertius: *Suavia dans Agathoni, animam ipſe in labra tenebam: Ægra etenim properans tanquam abitura fuit.*

Hoc diſtichon amicus meus οὐκ ἄμουσος adoleſcens in pluris verſiculos licentiùs liberiùſque vertit: qui quoniam mihi quidem viſi ſunt non eſſe memoratu indigni, ſubdidi,

Dum ſemihulco ſavio
Meum puellum ſavior;
Dulcemque florem ſpiritus
Duco ex aperto tramite:
Animula ægra & ſaucia
Cucurrit ad labias mihi,
Rictumque in oris pervium
Et labra pueri mollia,
Rimata itineri tranſitus,
Ut tranſiliret nititur.
Tum ſi moræ quid pluſculæ
Fuiſſet in cœtu oſculi:
Amoris igni percita
Tranſiſſet, & me linqueret:
Et mira prorſum res foret,
Ut ad me fierem mortuus,
Ad puerum at intus viverem.

That is,

"That Greek diſtich is very much celebrated, and "many learned men honour it ſo far as to get it by "heart, as being vaſtly graceful, and beautifully con- "ciſe. Nor are there a few writers who affirm it to "be writ by Plato the Philoſopher, made by him by "way

of a Prince, that Euripides, being at Archelaus's table, kiſſed a Lady who was called the Fair Agatha.

" way of amuſement in his youth, at a time when he " was preparing to write a Tragedy.

" My ſoul in kiſſing Agatho,
" Flew to my lips, its ruby neſt,
" Where the ſoft flutterer, full of woe,
" Seem'd reſolute to leave my breaſt.

" This diſtich a young friend of mine, no enemy to " the Muſes, has tranſlated with latitude; and thinking " them not unworthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity, " I ſhall therefore preſent them to the reader.

Imitated,

" Whilſt I, with lips half open kiſs
" The lovely youth, my all of bliſs,
" And draw his breath, like violets ſweet,
" Which, in high rapture, mine does meet,
" My ſick'ning ſoul would thro' my lips,
" Fain wing its way; ah now it skips!
" With tranſport fain would fly from me
" Sweetly to lodge with charming thee.
" Then, if whilſt kiſs is mix'd with kiſs,
" We ſhou'd prolong the mutual bliſs
" Struck with the thrilling dart of love,
" My ſoul wou'd haſte to thee, my dove
" Ah then! how wond'rous 'twould be found
" (The like not ſeen in earth's wide round)
" That I ſhou'd my own ſelf deſtroy,
" And animate my darling boy!

It is to be obſerved that Plato was but fourteen, when our Agatho the Poet won the prize for Tragedy (28); it is therefore not probable that he had a paſſion for this Agatho, but for one much younger.

(28) Athen. lib. 5. cap. 18. p. 217.

AGESILAUS I. King of Sparta, ſucceeded his father Doryſſus, who was the fifth King after Euriſthenes. The reign of this Ageſilaus was very long [*A*], and yet it hardly furniſhes an author with any thing. The Hiſtories of theſe times that are ſo remote (*a*) have not been preſerved. Pauſanias ſhould not have ſaid that Lycurgus gave laws to Lacedæmon [*B*] under this reign (*b*). Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hofman, confound this Ageſilaüs with Ageſilaüs II; for they ſay of this laſt, that he was the ſixth King of Lacedæmon.

(*a*) The reign of Ageſilaus begins in the year of the world 2992, according to Helvicus, 24 years after the death of Solomon.

(*b*) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 82.

[*A*] *His reign was very long.*] In ſaying this, I pay more deference to Euſebius's authority than to that of Pauſanias. This laſt affirms that Doryſſus, and his ſon Ageſilaus, did but juſt appear upon the throne: Δι' ὀλίγου σφῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους (1). That is, "They both died in a very little time;" but Euſebius makes them reign 73 years: he makes the father reign 29 years, and the ſon 44. Calviſius quotes Pauſanias for this duration: truly he makes a good choice of his vouchers.

(1) Pauſan lib. 3. p. 82.

[*B*] *Lycurgus gave laws to Lacedæmon.*] Meurſius proves in his *Antiquities of Lacedæmon*, that Lycurgus publiſh'd his laws in the thirtieth year of Archelaüs, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Ageſilaüs.

AGESILAUS II. King of the Lacedæmonians, was the ſon of Archidamus. He ſeems to have been ſo ambitious as to deſire to reign by the excluſion of Agis his elder brother, but however it was not perceived till after the death of Agis, that he had a mind to have the order of ſucceſſion altered for his ſake. This deſire had all the ſucceſs he could expect; for they were ſo unjuſt to Leotychides [*A*], the ſon of Agis, as to exclude him from the throne in favour of Ageſilaüs (*a*). He made amends for the irregularity of this firſt ſtep, by a great number of noble actions; and though he was little, ill-favoured and lame [*B*], he juſtly acquired the character of a great Warrior. He was brave,

(*a*) This happened, according to Calviſius, in the 3d year of the 95th Olympiad.

[*A*] *They were ſo unjuſt to Leotychides &c.*] The manner in which he was treated cannot be called any better, if we examine the reaſons throughly. Ageſilaüs did not deny, that the crown belonged to his brother's ſon according to the laws of the country; but he maintained that Leotychides was not the ſon of Agis: to prove which he made uſe of theſe two methods. He ſaid in the firſt place, that Timea, the mother of Leotychides, was ſo fond of Alcibiades, who had fled to Lacedæmon, that her husband ſuſpected the child, which ſhe had ſome time afterwards, had no other father than this Gallant. This affected Leotychides. It was he, that Timea brought into the world about that time; and it was he, that Agis never acknowledged for his ſon till he lay on his death-bed. Ageſilaüs alledged, in the ſecond place, the teſtimony of Neptune. He ſaid that Agis had been driven from his wife's bed by an earthquake, and that Timea was brought to bed of Leotychides above ten months afterwards (1). Theſe two reaſons were of no force: the maxim, *Pater eſt quem nuptiæ demonſtrant*, deſtroys them entirely. If every time a husband takes offence at ſeeing his wife pleaſed with the viſits and converſation of a ſtranger, the children that were born about that time were to be deprived of his ſucceſſion, what ſhould we do? Therefore, tho' what a Hiſtorian has ſaid be true, that Timea made no ſcruple of whiſpering amongſt her women that the Child's name ſhould be Alcibiades rather than Leotychides (2), it will procure no determination in law in favour of Ageſilaüs. Timea herſelf ſhould have been asked what ſhe meant by this language (3); whether ſhe ſpoke in earneſt, or in a bravado, or by way of jeſt. Much leſs could the indiſcretion of Alcibiades be alledged, if it had been true that he boaſted of having lain with Timea, not out of gallantry, but out of ambition to give Kings to Lacedæmon (4). A hundred ſuch reaſons as theſe are not ſufficient to balance that one action of Agis, who on his death bed, in the preſence of good witneſſes, acknowledged Leotychides for his ſon. Ageſilaüs's ſecond reaſon was a fooliſh one, for let Neptune be ever ſo much fancied to be the cauſe of earthquakes, how could it be proved that Agis was afraid to lie with Timea after the earthquake in queſtion? A lying in above ten months (5) after the laſt embraces of a husband, is no proof in law; the maxim *Pater eſt quem nuptiæ demonſtrant*, and even the determinations of the Phyſicians, diſſipate all theſe umbrages. Thus we may ſay the Lacedæmonians, a people that valued themſelves on a very ſevere morality, took away a crown, for reaſons that would be inſufficient in a well regulated Court of Juſtice, to exclude one from the ſucceſſion to an acre of land. But the misfortune of Leotychides was that Lyſander, the moſt intriguing, the moſt tricking, and the moſt factious of all men, having a credit in the city in proportion to his ability, and the victories that he had gained over his enemies, was determined to crown Ageſilaus (6). There is no fundamental law, that can hold againſt ſuch people: if you alledge the divine law, they explain it after their own manner. This is what Lyſander did, when he underſtood that a Prophet of Lacedæmon had a deſign to inforce an Oracle in favour of Leotychides, which forbid the Lacedæmonians to ſuffer a lame perſon to reign. *That*, ſays Lyſander, *does not regard the defects of the foot; but thoſe of the blood; and this would be the caſe of Leotychides, who would make your kingdom halt; not being of the race of your Kings.*

(1) *Ex* Plut. *in* Ageſilao, pag. 597. and Xenoph. *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 3. p. 214.

(2) Duris, *apud* Plutarch. *in Ageſilao*, p. 597.

(3) According to the maxims of law, the teſtimony of a perſon againſt her ſelf is not received.

(4) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 214.

(5) Note, that the Antients reckoned 10 months for a woman's time, *Matri longa decem tulerunt faſtidia menſes.* That is,
" Thy mother
" well deſerves
" that ſhort de-
" light,
" The nauſeous
" qualms of ten
" long months
" and travel to
" requite.
Dryden.
See Virgil. Ecl. 4, and 61. and La Cerda upon this place.

(6) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 597. and Xenophon *de Rebus Græcis*, lib. 3. pag. 214.

[*B*] *He was little, ill-favoured and lame.*] He was always the firſt to jeſt upon his own lame leg (7); which

(7) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 596. E.

brave, vigilant and active. He never let ſlip any advantage, but improved every opportunity; he underſtood all the ſtratagems of war, and uſed to act in ſuch a manner, that he deceived his enemies, even when he told them his real intentions [C]. He did not deſire they ſhould be ignorant of the profeſſion of arms, for then he would not know ſo well how to draw them into the ſnare (b). He knew alſo how to deceive his own ſoldiers, by impoſing on them a pretended account of a triumph, when he had received ill news (c). This deſerves to be obſerved, in order to convince thoſe who think it is ſince the invention of News-papers that the public began to be impoſed upon. As ſoon as Ageſilaüs was on the throne, he adviſed the Lacedæmonians to prevent the King of Perſia, who was making great preparations for war, and to go and attack him in his own dominions (d). He was choſen for this expedition, and gained ſo many advantages over the enemy, that if the league which the Athenians and the Thebans had formed againſt Lacedæmon, had not traverſed his enterpriſes, he would have carried his victorious arms to the very heart of the Perſian Monarchy. He gave up all theſe triumphs readily, to come to the ſuccour of his country, which he happily relieved by the battle he gained over the Allies in Bœotia [D]. He won another near Corinth (e); but afterwards he had the mortification to ſee the Thebans obtain ſignal victories over the Lacedæmonians. Theſe misfortunes expoſed him to the murmurs of a great many people; but after all they did not tarniſh his glory. He had been ſick during the firſt advantages that the enemy obtained (f); and as ſoon as he was capable of acting, he put a ſtop to the victories of the Thebans, by his valour and prudence; inſomuch that it was believed, that if he had been in health at the beginning, the Lacedæmonians had met with no loſſes, and that without him all would have been loſt in the concluſion (g). It cannot be denied but that he loved war more than the intereſt of his country required (h), for if he could have lived in peace he had ſaved his country a great many loſſes, and had not engaged it in enterpriſes

(b) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, pag. 617. E.

(c) Id. p. 605. Xenophon *de Rebus Græc.* lib. 4. pag. 224.

(d) Cornel. Nepos, *in Ageſil. Vita*, cap. 2.

(g) *Talem ſe imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, niſi ille fuiſſet, Spartam futuram non fuiſſe.* Corn. Nep. in Ageſil. Vita. cap. 6. That is, "He ſhewed "himſelf ſuch a "General, that "it then appeared to all, "that if it had "not been for "him Sparta "would have "been no more.

(e) *Ex Cornelio Nepote*, ibid.

(f) Plutarch *in Ageſilao*, pag. 611, B.

(h) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 616. B.

which is the uſual way of other men of wit in like circumſtances. By that means, the ridicule they eſcape. *Materia petulantibus, & per contumeliam urbanis detrahitur, ſi ultro illam & prior occupes. Nemo aliis riſum præbuit, qui ex ſe cepit. Vatinium hominem natum & ad riſum, & ad odium, ſcurram fuiſſe venuſtam ac dicacem, memoriæ proditum eſt. In pedes ſuos ipſe plurima dicebat, & in fauces conciſas: ſic inimicorum, quos plus habebat quam morbos, & in primis Ciceronis urbanitatem effugit* (8). That is, "You deprive both the ill natured and the facetious of their jeſt, if you begin firſt your ſelf. "Nobody ever gave room to another to laugh at "him, who began of his own accord. Vatinius is "ſaid to have been a man born both for laughter "and hatred, but at the ſame time he was a pleaſant fellow and ready at a joke. He had always a "great deal to ſay upon his own feet and ugly face: "by which means he avoided the banter of his "enemies, who were more numerous than his diſeaſes, and Cicero in particular." The gaiety of Ageſilaüs, and the ſtrength with which he bore the roughneſt exerciſes, made amends for all his corporal defects (9); for otherwiſe his contemptible outſide would have been a great injury to him. Λέγεται δὲ μικρός τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνεπαφρόδιτος. That is, "He is ſaid to have been little, and of a very deſpicable aſpect." The *Ephori* had laid a fine upon King Archidamus his father, becauſe he had married a little woman (11); whence they concluded he would give them a diminutive race of Kings. Cornelius Nepos ſpeaks more expreſly of the deformity of Ageſilaüs, than Plutarch. *Atque hic tantus vir*, ſays he (12), *ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, ſic maleficam nactus eſt in corpore, exiguus & claudus altero pede, quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant.* "And as nature "was favourable to this great man, in giving "him the virtues of the mind, ſo was ſhe unkind in "forming his body. For he was little, and lame in "one of his feet; which added to his deformity. "And ſtrangers uſed to deſpiſe him at firſt ſight." Never was the *minuit præſentia famam*, i. e. "preſence diminiſhes fame," more true than with regard to him. His fame went before him into Egypt, and repreſented him there in the greateſt pomp imaginable. As ſoon as it was known that he was landed, they ran in crowds to ſee him: it is eaſy to imagine the ſurprize they were in, when they ſaw an ill-dreſſed, ſlovenly little bit of a man lying upon the graſs. They could not forbear laughing, and applying to him the fable of the mountain that brought forth a mouſe (13). Their contempt of him did not decreaſe, when they ſaw what he choſe out of the refreſhments the King ſent him (14). See below the note [G].

(8) Seneca *de Conſtantia ſapientis*, cap. 17, p. 892.

(9) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 596.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Corn. Nep. *in Ageſil. Vita*, cap. 8.

(13) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 616. See the article of TACHUS.

(14) Cornel. Nepos *in Vitâ Ageſilai*, cap. 8.

[C] *He deceived his enemies, even when he told them his real intentions.*] Becauſe they did not believe that ſo artful a General would let his deſign be known. *Vidit ſi quo eſſet iter facturus palam pronunciaſſet, hoſtes non credituros aliaſque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitaturos aliud eſſe facturum ac pronunciaſſet. Itaque cum ille Sardis ſe iturum dixiſſet, Tiſſaphernes eamdem Cariam defendendam putavit* (15). That is, "He ſaw if he told openly which way he "was going to march, the enemies would not "believe it, and would defend other countries "with guards, not doubting but that he would do o"therwiſe than he declared. And ſo when he had "ſaid that he would march to Sardes, Tiſſaphernes "thought at the ſame time that Caria was to be de"fended." One cannot make a juſt application here of this thought of Mr. de Wicquefort. *George Downing the Engliſh Ambaſſador, had neither probity nor prudence enough, to be perſuaded that no Miniſter deceives more ſurely nor more agreeably, than he who never deceives at all; becauſe in beating the common road, thoſe who ſeek for turnings and mazes, never meet with him in their way* (16). The compariſon between ſuch a Miniſter and our Ageſilaüs would be very lame; for this Lacedæmonian King, by publiſhing what he intended to do, deceived his enemies, only becauſe on other occaſions he had concealed his deſigns. A General, who has eſtabliſhed himſelf on that foot, cannot make uſe of a ſurer ſtratagem, than to ſpread a true report of his marches. That artifice is very good, becauſe it is a new turn, which the enemies are not yet aware of. See this paſſage in *Xenophon:* it is Cambyſes, that ſpeaks to his ſon Cyrus and compares the new ſtratagems of war with the new airs of Muſic. Καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ ἐνδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα ἐνδοκιμεῖ. ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾷν δύναιτ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους (17). i. e. "As in Muſic, what is new and florid is "moſt eſteemed, ſo in war alſo are new inventions. "For theſe are moſt capable of deceiving the ene"my." We ſhall ſay in another place (18), that there are ſome people, who by mere dint of ſimplicity eſcape being deceived.

(15) Id. ibid. cap. 3. *Vide etiam Plut. in Ageſ.* p. 600. F.

(16) Wicquef. *Memoires des Ambaſſad.* pag. 170.

(17) Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* lib. 1. *circa fin.* p. 21.

(18) In the Note [L] of the article SIMONIDES.

[D] *The battle he gained over the Allies in Bœotia.*] It was fought at Coronea. Xenophon, who ſerved there under King Ageſilaüs teſtifies it (19), and Plutarch alſo (20). Lambinus, in his Commentary on theſe words of Cornelius Nepos, *apud Coroneam, quos omnes gravi prælio vicit*, had a mind without neceſſity to correct the word Χαιρωνείαν in

(19) Xenophon, *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 4. p. 225.

(20) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 605.

priſes that did not end till the power of the Lacedæmonians was extremely diminiſhed. This inſatiable thirſt after wars and battles drove him in his old age to a ſtep that was generally diſapproved (*i*). He was above fourſcore years old, when he undertook to lead ſome troops into Egypt, to ſupport Tachus, who had riſen againſt the Perſians. Not being quite pleaſed with this Tachus, he abandoned him, to join with the party of Nectanabus, a relation of Tachus. He performed great ſervices for this Nectanabus, after which he had a mind to return to Sparta, but he died of ſickneſs on the road, in the third year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad [*E*]. He was eighty four years of age, whereof he had reigned forty one (*k*). Moreri has committed ſome miſtakes in this place [*F*]. We ſhall ſee in the article of CONON, whether Cornelius Nepos and Juſtin have been faithful in the Hiſtory of Ageſilaüs. This Prince would never ſuffer any picture or ſculpture to be made for him (*l*), and prohibited it alſo by his will. Some have thought that he did it becauſe he was no ſtranger to his own deformity, *diffidens formæ ſuæ* (*m*). Never did any one live in a greater ſimplicity than he [*G*]. But he knew very well how to lodge the ſpirit, the heart and the religion of a Prince [*H*], under this outward ſtrictneſs, and under this philoſophical frugality. He had

(*i*) Id. ibid. C.

(*k*) Plut. *in Ageſil.* p. 617, 618. Cornel. Nepos *in Ageſil.*

(*l*) Plut. *in Ageſ. circa init.* See alſo *Ciceron. Epiſtol. ad Famil.* 12. lib. 5.

(*m*) Apuleius, *in Apologia*, p. 282.

Pluturch, and make it Κορωνίαν. Plutarch has mentioned both theſe places, without ſaying the battle was fought at the firſt. *But*, ſays Lambinus, *could Ageſilaüs, in coming out of Phocis, advance into Bœotia as far as Chæronea, if Chæronea is in Phocis?* No, without doubt; but this *if* is falſe, and Lambinus ſhews thereby his ignorance in Geography. See *Kirkmaier's Commentary on Cornelius Nepos*, pag. 722. Charles Stephens made a more groſs miſtake, when he placed Coronea in Peloponneſus. Lloyd and Hofman have followed him in this miſtake.

[*E*] *He died on the road, in the third year of the* 104*th Olympiad.*] A tempeſt having obliged him to put into harbour, he was carried into a deſart place, called the Port of Menelaus, and there he died (21). *Hic cum ex Ægypto reverteretur ... veniſſetque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum, in morbum implicitus deceſſit* (22). It was in the third year of the 104th Olympiad, according to Calviſius, but by this we may ſee that his Calculation is faulty; for from the third year of the 95th Olympiad, being according to him the beginning of the reign of Ageſilaüs to the third year of the 104th Olympiad, there are but 36 years: and yet he makes this reign to continue 41. Let us place the beginning then with Helvicus, in the ſecond year of the 93d Olympiad, and the end in the third year of the 104th.

(21) Plut. pag. 618.

(22) Corn. Nepos *in Vitâ Ageſilai, ſub fin.*

[*F*] *Moreri has committed ſome miſtakes in this place.*] It is falſe, I, that Leotychides was the natural ſon of King Agis: II, That Lyſander warmly ſupported the pretenſions of Leotychides (23): III, That Ageſilaüs ever encamped before the city of Heronce, in Bœotia (24): IV, That he had a noble air, and full of majeſty (25): V, That he ſaid, that the Oracle which excluded lame perſons from the crown, ought to be underſtood of the defects of the ſoul, or elſe of birth. Theſe two laſt faults belong to the Supplement of Moreri. I ſhall not take notice of the wrong name given to the Ægyptian for whom Ageſilaüs did many ſervices: his name was not *Nacte-nebon*.

(23) For theſe two firſt miſtakes ſee the Note [*A*].

(24) I believe there never was either in Bœotia, or any where elſe, a city named *Heronce*.

(25) See the Note [*B*].

[*G*] *Never did any one live in a greater ſimplicity than he.*] There was hardly any one in his army worſe cloathed (26). After his expedition into Aſia, where he had acquired ſo high a reputation, and had gained new glory at the battle of Coronea, he lived in Sparta, juſt as a good old Lacedæmonian would have done in ancient times. He made no change, either in his cloaths, his baths, or his meals, and what perhaps was more difficult, he did not ſuffer his wife to go better cloathed than before, nor to diſtinguiſh his daughter in the proceſſions by any ornaments that ſurpaſſed thoſe of other young women. He did not repair the doors of his houſe, tho' they were ſo old and ruinous, that they ſeemed to be the ſame that Ariſtodemus had put up (27). Note that Ariſtodemus was the perſon among the Heraclides, who had the city of Sparta for his ſhare, and from whom deſcended the Kings of Lacedæmon, divided into two families, from the two ſons he left behind him. *In hoc* (Ageſilao) *illud in primis fuit admirabile, cum maxima munera ei ab regibus & dynaſtis civitatibuſque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum ſuam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de veſtitu Laconum mutavit. Domo eadem fuit contentus qua Euryſthenes* (28) *progenitor majorum ſuorum fuerat uſus, quam qui intrarat nullum ſignum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra plurima patientiæ atque abſtinentiæ. Sic enim erat inſtructa, ut nulla in re differret à cujuſvis inopis atque privati.* That is, "This is chiefly to be admired in Ageſilaüs, when very great "preſents were beſtowed on him by Kings, Governors, and Cities, he never brought any "thing into his own houſe, he changed nothing "of the diet, nothing of the apparel of the Lace-"dæmonians. He was contented with the ſame "houſe which Euryſthenes the firſt founder of his "family uſed: which whoſoever entred, he could ſee "no ſign of debauchery, none of luxury: But on the "contrary, very many of patience and abſtinence. "For it was furniſhed in ſuch a manner, that it diff-"fered in nothing from that of any poor or private "perſon." When it was known that Ageſilaüs was arrived in Ægypt, they ſent him all ſorts of proviſions: but he choſe only the moſt common, and left the perfumes, the confections, and all that was eſteemed moſt delicious to his ſervants (30). The Ægyptians, inſtead of admiring this, made a jeſt of him, and took him for a ſimpleton, that did not know what were the good things of the world. *Ille præter vitulina & hujuſmodi genera obſonii, quæ præſens tempus deſiderabat, nihil accepit, unguenta, coronas, ſecundamque menſam ſervis diſtertiit, cætera referri juſſit. Quo facto eum Barbari magis etiam contempſerunt, quod eum ignorantiâ bonarum rerum illa potiſſimum ſumpſiſſe arbitrabantur* (31). You will find in *Plutarch*, 1. That this Prince behaved in the ſame manner, when the Thracians ſent him preſents: 2. That he laughed at them when they offered him divine honours (32).

(26) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 603. C.

(27) Id. ibid. p. 606.

(28) He had better have ſaid with Plutarch, *Ariſtodemus*; for Ageſilaus did not deſcend from Euryſthenes, but from Procles the ſecond ſon of Ariſtodemus.

(29) Corn. Nep. *in Ageſilao*, pag. 616.

(30) Plut. *in Ageſ.* p. 616.

(31) Cornel. Nepos *in Ageſ.* cap. 8.

(32) Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 210. *See alſo* Athenæus, Book 14. p. 657.

[*H*] *The heart, the ſpirit, and the religion of a Prince.*] Plutarch tells us, that thoſe who governed in Lacedæmon, had no other notion of juſtice, than the benefiting and aggrandiſing the State (33). With them it was the rule and meaſure of juſtice and honour: if a thing was but uſeful to the public, it paſſed for lawful. I believe Plutarch ſpeaks the truth; but he ſhould not have confined it only to the city of Sparta. Neither Athens (34), nor Thebes had any better principles; and indeed theſe are generally the maxims of all Governments: the difference between them is only as to more or leſs; but ſome hide thoſe principles better than others. Ageſilaüs was full of this wicked maxim. Finding himſelf ſuſpected of having induced Phebidas to ſurprize the citadel of Thebes in time of peace, and by a fraud that made all Greece cry out, he repreſented to them that they ought before all things to examine whether this action was for the good of his country, and that every one ought to do of his own accord what tended to the advantage of the State (35). He obtained that Thebidas ſhould be cleared, and a garriſon ſhould be ſent into the citadel. In his Ægyptian expedition, did he not abandon Tachus, into whoſe pay he was entred, and did he not embrace the intereſt of Nectanabus, for no other reaſon, but becauſe it was of greater importance to the Lacedæmonians to ſupport the latter than the former? An action,

(33) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 617. Idem *in Alcibiade.*

(34) See the Note [C] of the article ARISTIDES.

(35) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 603.

had ſo great a tenderneſs for his children, that he amuſed himſelf with them at the moſt puerile diverſions [*I*], as riding upon a ſtick.

It will not be amiſs to remark the little regard he ſhewed for thoſe who made their glory conſiſt in breeding and managing horſes, for diſputing the prize at the Olympic Games. He had a mind to let them ſee that there was no great matter in it, and that it was an expence, and no proof of merit and virtue; and to this end he perſuaded

action, which under the mask of the public good, was downright treachery, as Plutarch has obſerved. Ἀτόπου καὶ ἀλλοκότου πράγματος παρακαλύμματι τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος χρησάμενος. Ἐπὶ ταύτης γε τῆς προφάσεως, ἀφαιρεθείσης τὸ δικαιότατον ὄνομα τῆς πράξεως ἦν προδοσία (36). That is, "Veiling an ab- "ſurd and unworthy deed under the pretence of the "good of his country: when if the veil was taken "off the trueſt name of that action was treachery." In converſation, Ageſilaüs ſpoke of nothing but juſtice: no diſcourſes in the world were finer than his (37). Hearing ſome body ſay that a certain thing was agreeable to the great King (38), *What makes him a greater King*, (ſays he) *than me, if he is not more juſt?* This is a fine theory; but his practice did not agree with it, when the kingdom was in queſtion. I am willing to believe, that for private intereſts, he would not eaſily have run counter to his knowledge; and thence I conclude he had the ſpirit and the religion of a Prince. How many Kings and Princes are there, who are zealous for their religion, juſt and honourable in their private capacity? But when they oppoſe their enemies, all or moſt of them follow the maxims of Lacedæmon. I believe a book upon *the Religion of a Prince* would ſell well; and make that upon *the Religion of a Phyſician* be forgotten.

(36) Id. ibid. p. 617.

(37) Id. ibid. p. 608.

(38) The Greeks ſpoke thus of the King of Perſia. See the Note [*A*] of the article ARTABAN IV.

Two days ago a man of merit told me, that on a certain Italian Prince's asking too advantageous conditions, in a treaty of peace with a powerful Monarch, who had taken away from him the greateſt part of his dominions, this Monarch's envoy anſwered him; *But what ſecurity would you have the King my Maſter take, if he gives you all that you ask? Aſſure him*, replied the Prince, *that I engage my word, not in quality of Prince; for then I muſt ſacrifice every thing to my own grandeur, and the glory and advantage of my dominions, according as conjunctures happen: tell him then that I engage my word, not under that quality, for that would be promiſing nothing: but as a Gentleman and a man of honour.* Tho' this language does not anſwer the ideas of thoſe who have introduced into the ſtyle of the Chancery this form, *we promiſe on the faith and word of a King*, it is however very ſincere and very reaſonable.

Let us make two remarks more. Firſt, I diſtinguiſh between what Urban VIII believed, and what Maphæus Barberinus believed. The Religion of the Prince, as ſuch, and perſonal Religion are two different things.

2. Ageſilaüs had an extreme reſpect for his Gods: he would not ſuffer any one to rob them or profane their temples, either in Greece or amongſt the Barbarians; and he reckoned thoſe amongſt the ſacrilegious, who uſed an enemy ill that had taken refuge in a temple (39). During the march of his troops, he always went to lodge in the moſt ſacred temples; that he might have the Gods for witneſſes of the moſt ſecret of his private actions. Ἐσκήνου μὲν γὰρ ἀποδημῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις ἱεροῖς. ἂν μὴ πολλοὶ καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πράττοντας ἡμᾶς, τούτων θεὸς ποιούμενος ἐποπτείας καὶ μάρτυρας (40). This was his perſonal Religion, but when he conſidered himſelf as King, the good and advantage of his kingdom was his principal Divinity, to which he ſacrificed both virtue and juſtice, and all laws both divine and human. I do not know whether thoſe who quote this ſentence of Euripides,

(39) Corn. Nep. *in Vita Ageſil.* cap. 4.

(40) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 603.

Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas (41);

(41) Cicer. *Officior.* lib. 3. cap. 21.

"Strict juſtice may be left for regal ſway;
"In other things Religion's rules obey,

underſtand the whole energy of it: we there ſee the ſpirit both of thoſe who acquire kingdoms, and of thoſe who govern States; they proceed ſometimes even to ſuperſtition. Obſerve the private conduct of Ageſilaüs: every thing is as it ſhould be, *aliis rebus pietatem colas:* he departs from equity, only ſo far as he is a ruler, *regnandi gratiâ violandum eſt.* As a man, he will tell you ſincerely, like another, *amicus uſque ad aras:* but, as a Prince, if he ſpeaks from his heart, he will tell you, *I will obſerve the treaty of peace, ſo long as the good of my kingdom ſhall require it; and I ſhall laugh at my oath, when a maxim of State ſhall make it neceſſary to be broken.* If he choſe to have the Perſians violate the truce, rather than begin to violate it himſelf, it was becauſe he hoped for ſome great advantage from this conduct of the Perſians. *Multum in eo conſequi ſe dicebat, quod Tiſſaphernes perjurio ſuo & homines ſuis rebus abalienaret, & Deos ſibi iratos redderet* (42). That is, "He ſaid he had gained ſome great point, by making "Tiſſaphernes alienate men from his intereſts by his "perjury, and alſo cauſe the Gods to be angry with "them."

(42) Corn. Nepos *in Ageſil.* cap. 2.

Our good Ageſilaüs, who thought himſelf guilty of an immorality, if he had put on a good ſuit of cloaths, or given any indulgence to his appetite, made no ſcruple to be the uſurper of a kingdom. Thus ſome Caſuiſts pronounce damnation without remiſſion to women that are a little too nice in their dreſs: they cannot bear either their ribbands or their jewels; but they not only ſuffer men to riſe and engage themſelves in a civil war; but even exhort them to it.

[*I*] *At the moſt puerile diverſions.*] One day, when he was ſurprized riding upon a ſtick, with his children, he contented himſelf with ſaying to him that had ſeen him in this poſture, *Forbear talking of it till you are a father* (43). One could not quote on this occaſion the following verſes of Horace,

(43) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 610. Ælianus *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 15.

Ædificare caſas, ploſtello adjungere mures,
Ludere par impar, EQUITARE IN ARUNDINE LONGA,
Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verſet (44).

(44) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. v. 247.

That is,

"If any grown a man delights to raiſe
"Dirt pyes, and like a child, at puſh-pin plays;
"Yokes rats and mice unto a little plough,
"And RIDES UPON AN HOBBY-HORSE, or ſo,
"Sure he is mad." Creech.

for the Poet does not intend to ſpeak of thoſe, who out of complaiſance to their own children, may amuſe themſelves after that manner in their own houſes. La Mothe le Vayer is not exact, when he ſays *King Ageſilaüs, as well as Alcibiades were caught playing amongſt little boys, and that Socrates the Philoſopher boaſted of it* (45). Seneca is quoted, in the laſt chapter of the firſt Book *De Tranquillitate.* There are ſeveral things that fall ſhort of exactneſs. I. He ſhould have ſpecified that Ageſilaüs was playing only with his own children. II. The Treatiſe *De Tranquillitate* contains only one Book. III. There is nothing ſaid either of Alcibiades, or of Ageſilaüs in the chapter quoted. IV. It is not ſaid there that Socrates gloried in playing with children: it is only ſaid that he was not aſhamed of it. *Cum pueris Socrates ludere non erubeſcebat.* V. Valerius Maximus, and Ælian, who relate this playing of Socrates, ſay that Alcibiades ſurprized him at it. *Non erubuit tunc cum interpoſita arundine cruribus ſuis cum parvulis filiolis ludens ab Alcibiade riſus eſt* (46). That is, "He was not aſhamed when he was laughed at "by Alcibiades, for playing with his little children, "and riding on an hobby-horſe." Σωκράτης δὲ κατελήφθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου παίζων μετὰ Λαμπροκλέους ἔτι νηπίου (47). That is, "Socrates was ſurprized by "Alcibiades, playing with Lamprocles, whilſt he "was yet a child." But I do not remember to have read that any others ſurprized Alcibiades at ſuch an amuſement. VI. Theſe two authors obſerve that it was with his own children that Socrates play'd.

(45) La Mothe le Vayer, tom. 1. pag. 217. edit. in 12°.

(46) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 8. *ſub fin.*

(47) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 15.

perſuaded his ſiſter to contend for the victory in thoſe games (*n*). This Lady having managed horſes for this exerciſe, entred the liſts, and gained the prize. She was the firſt woman who obtained that glory (*o*). Her name was Cyniſca. I do not believe that Dicæarchus was ignorant of this, he, who complained that he could not find what was Ageſilaüs's daughter's name [*K*]. He might have known it if he had done as Plutarch did [*L*].

(*n*) Plutarch *in Ageſilao*, pag. 606. D.

(*o*) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 88 and 96.

[*K*] *I do not believe that Dicæarchus was ignorant of Ageſilaüs's daughter's name.*] Cyniſca was not only the firſt woman that gained the prize at the Olympic horſe-races; but alſo the moſt illuſtrious of all thoſe who afterwards obtained the like victory (48). Simonides the Poet honoured her with an Epigram (49). She dedicated as a monument of her victory, ſome horſes of braſs, which were placed at the entrance of the temple of Jupiter Olympicus (50). Her picture, by Apelles, and adorned with ſeveral inſcriptions, was in the temple of Juno at Elis (51). The Lacedæmonians erected a heroic monument to her, Ἡρῷον (52). It is not probable therefore that the name of Ageſilaus's ſiſter was unknown to any Greek Hiſtorian.

(48) Pauſ. lib. 3. pag. 88.
(49) Id. ibid.
(50) Idem, lib. 5. pag. 159.
(51) Idem, lib. 6. pag. 178.
(52) Idem, lib. 3. pag. 96.

[*L*] *He might have known the name of Ageſilaüs's daughter, if he had done as Plutarch did.*] This laſt Hiſtorian informs us, that Dicæarchus was in great paſſion, becauſe neither the name of Ageſilaüs's daughter, nor of Epaminondas's mother was known. Ὁ Δικαίαρχος ἐπηγανάκλησεν (53). *For my part*, continues he, *I have found in the Regiſters of the Lacedæmonians, that Ageſilaüs's wife's name was Cleora, and that the name of one of his daughters was Apolia, and of the other Prolyta.* We have no reaſon to be offended with Dicæarchus for being angry at the negligence of the Hiſtorians: for we naturally love to know the families of great men. It is a little ſtrange, that the name of the daughters and wife of Ageſilaüs ſhould be found only in the Archives of Lacedæmon.

(53) Plutarc. *in Ageſilao*, p. 606.

AGESIPOLIS firſt of that name King of Lacedæmon, ſucceeded his father Pauſanias, who had taken refuge in a temple (*a*), as ſoon as he knew his conduct was diſapproved, in concluding a peace with the Thebans. He was left in this aſylum, and Ageſipolis was ſet on the throne, under the Guardianſhip of Ariſtodemus (*b*). This was in the third year of the ninety ſixth Olympiad (*c*). He was of age, when the Lacedæmonians took a reſolution to attack the Athenians and the Thebans both at once; but, as they judged that it would be imprudent, not to make ſure of the Argives, during that war, they began with them (*d*). Ageſipolis was ordered to attack them, but he was ſcrupulous of undertaking that charge, on account of their having aſked a truce of him. He was deſirous of having a caſe of conſcience of that kind cleared up by Jupiter, and ſo conſulted him in perſon, in the famous temple of Olympus. He aſked him whether the Argives offers of a truce could be rejected; and whether it might not be alledged that they were very unſeaſonable in their demand, ſince they ſuſpended ſpeaking of peace, till the troops of the Lacedæmonians were juſt upon the point of attacking them. The Oracle anſwered, that the demands of the Argives were unjuſt, and that they might religiouſly be refuſed (*e*). Ageſipolis, to be ſtill upon the ſurer grounds, ran immediately to Delphi, that he might know whether the ſon (*f*) was of the ſame opinion with the father (*g*) [*A*]? Apollo's anſwer was entirely like Jupiter's; and ſo Ageſipolis heſitated no

(*a*) In that of Minerva, t Tegea. Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 86.
(*b*) Idem, ibid.
(*c*) Diod. Siculus lib. 14. cap. 90.
(*d*) Xenoph. *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 4. p. 312.
(*e*) Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἐπεστήμαινεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δικαίως ὑπεσχημένας ἀδίκως ὑπεσχημένας, Xenoph. *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 4. p. 312. i. e. "The God "anſwered him, "that it was "lawful for him "to reject conditions that were "unjuſtly offered.
(*f*) That is, Apollo.
(*g*) That is, Jupiter.

[*A*] *Whether Apollo was of the ſame opinion with Jupiter.*] Let us gather a truth from hence, which however is plain enough otherwiſe: that the Pagan Religion was founded upon ideas of God as falſe as Atheiſm. I do not ſpeak of the ſentiments of the common people, nor of the errors of private perſons; but of the public worſhip, performed by the moſt eminent perſons, and ſupported by the majeſty of the State. Here is a King of Lacedæmon, who after offering ſolemn ſacrifices as preliminary to an expedition (1), and even after the favourable anſwer of the greateſt of the Gods, goes to conſult another Deity, doubting whether this anſwer would be rejected or confirmed. He muſt therefore have believed that Jupiter's deciſions were not ſuch as could always be followed with a ſafe conſcience; and he ſuppoſed, that Apollo's informations were not always conformable to thoſe of Jupiter. Was not this thinking that all the Gods, not excepting the greateſt, were limited in their knowledge, and that there was no difference between them and men, only as to more and leſs? The *tot capita tot ſenſus*, i. e. "ſo many men ſo "many opinions," according to this doctrine took place in heaven almoſt in the ſame proportion as on earth. They went to Jupiter juſt as one goes to a Counſel of the firſt rank, when he is going to begin a law-ſuit. The opinion of this Counſel is not a ſufficient ſecurity to prudent clients: they are glad to have the advice of ſome other Lawyers; and there are ſome who conſult the ableſt Doctors in all the Courts of the Kingdom. The Pagans did juſt the ſame thing with regard to their Oracles: they conſulted ſeveral of them upon the ſame occaſion; to ſee whether the Gods contradicted one another, and to be enabled to take their meaſures the better by comparing their anſwers. Thus their Gods were as chimerical as Spinoza's Divinity; for it is as impoſſible, that a limited nature ſhould be God, as that the world ſhould be the ſupreme Being, that governs all things by a wiſe providence. To confirm what I advance of the falſe idea that the Pagans formed of God, we may obſerve that they were not offended at the different ſucceſs of the victims. Thoſe which they offered to one Deity gave them hopes, whilſt thoſe which they offered to another gave them fears. Apollo and Diana, who were the twin children of Jupiter, ſometimes contradicted one another: the brother would reject a victim, and the ſiſter receive it. Paganiſm found nothing to ſtumble at in this: it would have been glad of more agreement in the promiſes of good; but it did not believe the Divine Nature was exempt from ignorance, caprice, or repugnancy: it acquieſced therefore in that, as in inevitable effects of the nature of things. Do not you think Cicero's objections may have opened the eyes of abundance of people. *Quid quum pluribus Diis immolatur, qui tandem evenit ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur? Quæ autem inconſtantia Deorum eſt, ut primis minentur extis, benè promittant ſecundis? Aut tanta inter eos diſſenſio, ſæpe etiam inter proximos, ut Apollinis exta bona ſint, Dianæ non bona* (2). That is, "When we ſacrifice to ſeveral Gods, "how does it happen that we offer to ſome and "not to others? And what inconſtancy is it in "the Gods to threaten at the firſt and to give hopes "at the ſecond ſacrifice? Or is the diſſenſion ſo "great among them even among thoſe that are "nearly related, that Apollo ſhould promiſe good "ſucceſs and Diana the contrary?"

A modern author has made uſe of this conduct of our Ageſipolis, to ſhew, that with regard to the Oracles, the greateſt of the Heathen Gods did not preſerve or maintain his ſuperiority. *The Oracles of Jupiter*, ſays he (3), *ſuch as thoſe of Trophonius, Dodona, and Hammon had not ſo much credit, as that of Delphi. For they never equalled it either in duration or eſteem.*

(1) Ἐπεὶ ... τὰ διαβατήρια θυόμενος ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίας χρησόμενος. Xenoph. *de Geſtis Græc.* lib. 4. p. 312. That is, "When he had "offered ſacrifices for the ſucceſs of his expedition, he "went to Olympia, to conſult the Oracle.

(2) Cicero *de Divinat.* lib. 2.

(3) La Mothe le Vayer, *Lettre* cvi. tom. 11. p. 449.

no longer, and made his army march towards Argos. The Argives ſent him two Heralds to deſire peace; he anſwered them, that the Gods had not thought fit he ſhould accept of theſe offers, and ſo continued his march. There was an earthquake the firſt day he encamped in their territories; and when part of his troops took it for a ſign that they ſhould return, he removed their ſuperſtition, by obſerving that this prodigy happened after their entrance into the enemy's country; ſo he marched on, and approached the city of Argos, and beſieged it cloſely. He might have ſubdued it, if the thunder, which killed ſome of his ſoldiers, and ſome other bad preſage had not obliged him to retire (*b*). Let us not omit his emulation; as ſoon as he was entred into the country of the Argives, he got information how far Ageſilaus had ravaged it ſome time before; and this curioſity of his was only that he might improve upon the exploits of that Prince, whom he endeavoured to ſurpaſs, juſt as if he had been engaged with him in a match at wreſtling (*i*). The general peace which the Lacedæmonians procured for Greece (*k*), by the negotiations of Antalcidas their Ambaſſador at the court of Perſia, in the ſecond year of the ninety eighth Olympiad, was ſoon followed by the ſeparate war they declared againſt the inhabitants of Mantinea. Ageſilaus, having deſired to be excuſed from commanding the troops, Ageſipolis marched againſt the enemy. He ravaged the country of Mantinea, and in the end ſubdued the city. The expedient he made uſe of is too curious not to be related [*B*]. There is ſome probability, that it was in this war that Pelopidas and Epaminondas were delivered from the danger [*C*] to which their courage and their friendſhip expoſed them. He was ſent ſome years afterwards [*D*], with a good army againſt the Olynthians (*l*).

(*b*) Xenophon, *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 4. p. 312.

(*i*) Ὥσπερ πύκταθλος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπεμέλετο. Xenophon. ibid.

(*k*) Diod. Sic. lib. 14. cap. 111. pag. 650.

eſteem. And this is proved, beſides the agreement of moſt of the authors who have ſpoken of them, by what Xenophon relates of Ageſipolis *, *who after having conſulted Jupiter Olympius, and received his anſwer, went to Apollo at Delphi, and asked of him as of a Judge that was to give a final determination, whether he was of the ſame opinion with his father? Ariſtotle aſcribes this ſort of devout raillery to one Hegeſippus, in the ſecond Book of his Rhetoric.* This paſſage furniſhes me with two obſervations; 1. That the ideas of the Gallican Church, concerning Councils and Popes, ſpeaking even *ex cathedrâ*, may be compared to theſe of Paganiſm, concerning the Oracles of Jupiter, and that of Delphi. The Olympian Jupiter, when he anſwered a queſtion, found a great deal of reſpect in the minds of the people, great homage was paid to his authority; but in the end, his judgment, tho' it was delivered *ex cathedrâ*, or rather *ex tripode*, was not look'd upon as *above correction*. This is the Pope of the Gallican Church. The Apollo of Delphi was *the Judge that was to give the final determination*: this is the Council. My 2d obſervation is that Ageſipolis proceeded here in good earneſt: there was no *devout raillery in this action of his*. As for Hegeſippus, I do not anſwer for him. He was perhaps malicious enough, to have a mind to draw the Oracles into a ſnare; in order to inſult them if they did not agree. He might have ſaid, *It is a ſhame you ſhould anſwer both yes and no.* Ἡγήσιππος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηρώτα τὸν Θεὸν, κεχρημένος πρότερον Ὀλυμπιάσιν, εἰ αὐτῷ ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἄριστα τῷ πατρὶ, ὡς αἰσχρὸν ὂν πανταχοῦ εἰπεῖν (4). That is, "Hegeſippus "being at Delphi asked the God, after he had firſt "conſulted the Olympian Oracle, whether he was of "the ſame opinion with his father, thinking it a ſhame "for them to contradict one another." If our Ageſipolis had had an ill deſign againſt Apollo, like that wicked perſon, of whom Æſop tells the ſtory (5), he would have been caught; for the anſwer at Delphi was like that of Olympus.

* Lib. 4. Hiſtoriar.

(4) Ariſtotel. *Rhetor.* lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 445. B.

(5) Æſopus, *Fabula* 16. *cujus Titulus* κακοπράγμων, Malignus. It was a man that had a ſparrow in his hand, and asked the Oracle, *Is what I have in my hand dead or alive?* His deſign was to ſqueeze the ſparrow to death, if the Oracle anſwered, *Alive*, &c.

(6) Xenophon, lib. 5. p. 323.

[*B*] *The expedient he made uſe of is too curious not to be related.*] He ſtopped the courſe of the river, which paſſed thro' the midſt of the city: this cauſed an inundation, which ſo weakened the foundations of the houſes and walls, that the inhabitants were afraid of their falling; and, as they ſaw, that if any part of the wall ſhould be thrown down, their city would be carried by ſtorm, they capitulated. They obtained but very hard conditions; for they were obliged to live in the fields, being divided into four cantons, and the city was diſmantled; their Magiſtrates would have been put to death, if Ageſipolis's father had not interceded for them (6). Xenophon who relates all theſe particulars, omits one circumſtance, which Pauſanias relates. Ageſipolis turned the courſe of the river towards the walls of the city. Now the bricks of which theſe walls were built not being burnt, melted in the water, like wax in the ſun. The reaſon why the Mantineans preferred ſunburnt bricks, was that they did not break, nor ſlip out of their places, when a wall was battered. Ageſipolis was not the inventor of this ſtratagem; he only followed Cimon who had uſed it to make himſelf Maſter of the city of Eione upon the river Strymon (7).

(7) Pauſanias, lib. 8. pag. 242, 243.

[*C*] *That Pelopidas and Epaminondas were delivered from the danger.*] Plutarch relates that the Thebans ſent ſuccours to the Lacedæmonians in the expedition of Mantinea; and that when the wing wherein theſe two brave men charged gave way, they would not retreat. Pelopidas having received ſeven wounds, fell upon a heap of dead bodies. Epaminondas ran to him, and oppoſed his ſingle perſon to many, being determined to die rather than abandon his friend. And tho' he was wounded in two places, yet he defended himſelf vigorouſly, till Ageſipolis at the head of the other wing diſengaged them both (8). You will ſay, that Xenophon does not ſpeak of any battle when he relates what happened in this Mantinean war; but I ſhall anſwer, that Pauſanias obſerves, that Ageſipolis had won a battle, before he laid ſiege to the city. Ὡς ὑ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατέκλεισε τοὺς Μαντινέας (9). That is, "When Ageſipolis had overcome the Man-"tineans in battle, and had driven them within their "walls;" and I ſhall add that Xenophon himſelf obſerves that there were auxiliary troops in the Lacedæmonian army (10). Note that the incident mentioned by Plutarch was before the trick, whereby Phebidas made himſelf Maſter of the fortreſs of the Thebans (11). This Chronological Character ſuits with the expedition of Ageſipolis againſt Mantinea.

(8) Plutarchus, *in Vita Pelopidæ*, p. 280.

(9) Pauſan. lib. 8. p. 242.

(10) Xenophon, lib. 5. p. 323.

(11) Plut. *in Pelopid.* p. 280.

[*D*] *He was ſent ſome years afterwards, &c.*] I make this remark, only to cenſure Pauſanias, who relates that Ageſipolis abandoning the war of Argos with regret turned all his wrath againſt the Olynthians. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέζευξεν ἄκων ἐπὶ ὃ Ὀλυνθίους ἐποιεῖτο ἄνωθεν σφαίας (12). i. e. "He moved "his camp unwillingly out of the territories of Argos, "and made war directly upon the Olynthians." Who would not believe, when he reads this, that the Olynthian expedition immediately followed that of Argos? Who would not imagine that Ageſipolis, when he went out of the country of Argos, turned to Macedon? but yet this is falſe. There were two years between theſe two expeditions. The Mantinean war, of which Pauſanias has ſaid ſomething, followed that of Argos, and was ſix years before that of Olynthus. Let us obſerve here a miſtake of Calviſius. He places the war of Argos under the 4th year of the 76th Olympiad, a little after the death of Pauſanias, King of Macedon (13). Now Ageſipolis aſcended the throne the ſame year that Pauſanias died (14); and becauſe he was a minor, he was put under the Guardianſhip of Ariſtodemus (15). Therefore, if Calviſius was exact, the war of Argos muſt fall in with the firſt year of the reign of Ageſipolis, and this war muſt have been conducted by Ariſtodemus; for it is certain, that under the minority of Ageſipolis, his Guardian was

(12) Pauſanias, lib. 2. p. 86.

(13) Sethi Calviſii, *Chronol. ad ann. Mun.* 3557. p. 162.

(14) Diod. Sic. lib. 14. cap. 90. pag. 637.

(15) Xenophon, *de Reb. geſtis Græcor.* lib 4. p. 301. Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 86.

(l) Xenoph. *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 5. p. 329.

ans (*l*). Amyntas King of Macedon, and Derdas Prince of Elimia (*m*), ſeconded him vigorouſly. He approached Olynthus; and not ſeeing the enemies army, with whom he was deſirous to engage, appear, he ravaged the country and made himſelf maſter of the city of Torone. But the great heats of the ſummer fatiguing him extremely, he was ſeized with a continued fever, which carried him off in ſeven days (*n*), in the four-

(p) See the Note [F].

teenth year of his reign (*o*). See my Criticiſm on Moreri [*E*]. Ageſilaüs was ſo far from rejoicing at this loſs, as one might have believed [*F*], that he wept at it, and was a long time afflicted on that account, according to Xenophon (*p*). Note that Ageſipolis left no poſterity (*q*), and that Cleombrotus, his brother and ſucceſſor, was the father of Ageſipolis II. (*r*), who reigned but one year (*s*), and whoſe apothegms were more memorable than his actions. No body ſpeaks of the latter, and we find a little collection of the former in Plutarch (*t*).

(q) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 86.
(r) Idem, lib. 2. p. 86.
(s) Diod. lib. 65. cap. 60.
(t) Plut. *in Apoptb.* p. 215.

(m) Xeneph. *de Reb. Græc.* lib. 5. pag. 327. ſays, Ἐλαμίας ἀρχοντα· but it is probably a fault of the Copyiſt, for Ἐλαμισίας.
(n) Id. ibid. p. 329.
(o) Diod. Sic. lib. 14. cap. 111. p. 650. and lib. 15. cap. 23. p. 674. *ad ann. 1 Olymp.* 100.

was put at the head of the armies, when this King happened to take the field (16). Calviſius does not fail to obſerve that Ariſtodemus went thither in the 3d year of the 96th Olympiad, becauſe of the minority of Ageſipolis (17). But here is his miſtake: he places the firſt year of his reign in the 2d year of the 96th Olympiad, and the war of Argos too ſoon after the death of Pauſanias, King of Macedon.

(16) Xenoph. *de Reb. Geſtis Græcor.* lib. 4. pag. 301.
(17) Calviſius, *Chronol.* p. 160.

[*E*] *See my Criticiſm on Moreri.*] "Ageſipolis "was taken with a burning fever, and raving con- "tinually the coolneſs of the waters of a cer- "tain temple of Bacchus, which was at Aphyte, "he got himſelf carried thither, and died on the ſe- "venth day of his fever, after having gone out of "this temple, that he might not defile it by his "death." Theſe are Moreri's words. It would be a piece of injuſtice to criticiſe the expreſſion *revint toujours à la fraicheur*; for it is eaſy to ſee that the Printers have put *revint* inſtead of *rêvant* (18). But we may ſay that he ought to have expreſſed himſelf thus: *Recollecting the temple of Bacchus, which he had ſeen at Aphyte, he was deſirous of enjoying the ſhade and coolneſs of the clear waters of that place. He was carried thither alive, but he died without the temple, on the ſeventh day of his fever* (19). In the ſecond place it is a chimerical gloſs to tell us a ſtory of his unwillingneſs to die in the temple, out of a religious reſpect for the ſanctity of the place. Has Xenophon or any other Author of good credit ſaid thus? That we may not do it at once, let us remark in this place Moreri's miſtake in the article of AGESIPOLIS II. He affirms, that this Prince, *having been a hoſtage in his youth*, anſwered thoſe who reproached him with it, *it is becauſe Kings bear the faults of their Empire.* This anſwer is as falſe, as contrary to this proverb,

(18) It is *rêvant* in the Holland editions.

(19) *See* Xenoph. book 4. p. 329, 330.

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi (20).

(20) Horat. *Ep.* 2. lib. 1. v. 14.

That is,

"The people ſuffer when the Prince offends."

Creech.

This is the truth of the ſtory. It was ſaid to him one day, *Though you are a King, you have been in hoſtage with the chief of the youth of Lacedæmon: your wives and children have not. It is becauſe it was juſt*, anſwered he, *thus we our ſelves ſhould bear the puniſhment of our own faults* (21).

(21) Plutarch. *in Apoptb. Laconic.* p. 215.

[*F*] *Ageſilaüs was ſo far from rejoicing at this loſs, as one might have believed.*] Xenophon makes us believe, that there was an emulation between theſe two Princes ſufficient to produce hatred. But Plutarch repreſents them to us as very much united. He obſerves, that Ageſipolis being of a mild and modeſt temper, and meddling very little with publick affairs, ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by his collegue Ageſilaus (22), who knowing him to be of an amorous conſtitution, was always ſpeaking to him of beautiful boys, and encouraged him that way, and even ſerved him in it. Εἰδὼς ἔνεχον ὄντα τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς τὸν Ἀγησίπολιν, ὥσπερ ἦν αὐτὸς, ἀεί τινος ὑπῆρχε λόγου περὶ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ· καὶ προῆγε τὸν νεανίσκον εἰς τοῦτο, καὶ συνήρα καὶ συνέπραττε (23). He adds, that this ſort of love was not accounted criminal at Lacedæmon. The following Greek paſſage informs us that Ageſilaüs regretted the loſs of his collegue. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, οὐχ' ἥ τι ἂν ᾤετο, ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντικάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν (24). That is, "When Ageſilaüs heard this he did "not rejoice over his adverſary, as ſome imagined, "but wept and lamented the loſs of his friendſhip.

(22) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, pag. 607. A.

(23) Plut. *in Ageſilao*, p. 607. A.

(24) Xenoph. *de Geſt. Græc.* lib. 5. p. 330.

☞AGILNOTH [*A*] an Engliſhman and Archbiſhop of Canterbury lived in the eleventh Century, and was very much in favour with Canute I. He was the ſon of a Nobleman called Agelmar (*a*). From a Dean of Canterbury he was raiſed to the Archiepiſcopal See of that City A. D. 1020 (*b*). Two years after he went to Rome to receive the Pallium from the Pope's hands, who entertained him very kindly, and ſhewed a great value for him (*c*); on his return he paſſed through Pavia, where he bought an arm of St. Auguſtin for an hundred talents of ſilver and one talent of gold; he made a preſent of this curious and valuable relick to Leofrick Earl of Coventry (*d*), in order to foment and encreaſe idolatry, as Bale ſays (*e*). Agilnoth alſo prevailed with King Canute to give him leave to have the body of St. Elphegus the Martyr (*f*) tranſported from London to Canterbury; on which occaſion the author, who relates this (*g*), makes an obſervation, in which he betrays his own weakneſs, as much as he ſhews the King's good ſenſe [*B*]. William of Malmſbury tells us, that though Elphegus had been dead

(a) *Nobilis viri Agelmari filius*, Simeon *Monach. Dunelmenſ. de Geſtis Reg. Angl. In Hiſt. Anglic. Script.* x. *Ed. a Rog. Twyſden*, tom. 1. Col. 177.
(f) Archbiſhop of Canterbury under King Ethelred. Will. Malmesb. lib. 2. c. 10. *In Rer. Ang. Script. poſt Bedam*, p. 62.
(g) *Chron.* Joan. Brompton, *ap.* H. A. *Scrip.* x. tom. 1. Col. 909.

(b) Id. ibid.
(c) Id. ibid. & *in Chron. de Mailros, ap. Rer. Ang. Scriptores Veteres*, tom. 1. p. 155.
(d) Henr. de Knyghton, *De Event. Angl.* lib. 1. cap. 3. *In Hiſt. Angl. Script.* x. Col. 2318.
(e) Balæus, *Illuſtr. Major. Britan. Script. Summarium*, fol. 71.

[*A*] *AGILNOTH.*] There are ſcarce two authors that write his name in the ſame manner. Pitſeus and Bale call him *Achelnot* (1). Others call him *Agelnoth*, *Egelnoth*, or *Ethelnot*; as may be ſeen in the authors quoted in the text of this article; but none of them call him *Achelnot*. There was another Agilnoth, or Agelnoth, or Ailnoth, who was Abbot of Glaſton in William the Conqueror's reign (2), and was depoſed in a Synod held at London by Lanfrank, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (3), but for what reaſon we are not informed.

(1) Pitſeus, *Relat. Hiſtor. de Reb. Angl.* pag. 183. Balæus, *Illuſtr. M. Brit. Script. Summ.* fol. 71.
(2) Anno 1067. Simeon Dunelmenſis. *In Geſtis Reg. Angl.* and Radulphus de Diceto, *in Abbreviat. Chronic. ap. Hiſt. Angl. Script.* x. tom 1. p. 197, and 482.
(3) *Acta Pontif. Cantuar. Auctore Gervaſ.* ibid. tom. 2. 1654.

[*B*] *An obſervation, in which he betrays his own weakneſs, as much as he ſhews the King's good ſenſe.*] The King, ſays he, always ſhewed very little regard for the Engliſh Saints, (and I ſuppoſe, for all Saints in general, meaning by Saints only their dead carcaſſes, or perhaps ſuch Saints whoſe holineſs was very dubious). He adds, It is reported that the King dining in Whitſuntide at Wilton in Wiltſhire, he happen'd to ridicule St. Editha King Edgar's daughter, ſaying that he could not believe the daughter of ſo laſcivious a tyrant ſhould be holy. Agilnoth contradicted the King, and having immediately ordered the tomb of the Saint to be opened, ſhe roſe up and looked the King in the face with a very fierce countenance; the King aſtoniſhed at this ſurprizing event fainted away, and coming again to himſelf, he was aſhamed of his raſhneſs, and rejoiced that time was granted him for repentance (4). This is what my author relates, who does not in the leaſt doubt of the truth of the ſtory. If the fact be true, it may have been ſome trick of the Monks; and the King, as he had good ſenſe enough to laugh at the mock Saints, was alſo prudent enough not to provoke the Clergy's anger, or if he had provoked it, to ſoften it again by a pretended repentance, as on this occaſion.

(4) Joan. Brompton *Chronicon.* ibid. tom. 1. p. 909.

dead ten years, yet his body was as uncorrupted and as freſh, as if the blood had been ſtill circulating in it, which he looks upon as a great miracle (*b*). Agilnoth had ſo much power over the King, that he engaged him to go to Rome, in order to obtain from the Pope the abſolution of his ſins; however, this journey of the King proved very beneficial to the nation [*C*]. Bale, who ſeems to be much out of humour with our Archbiſhop, charges him with having made the King acknowledge other people's children for his own, and with having obliged him to reſign his crown to a crucifix at Wincheſter, which had condemned the marriage of the Clergy, a Monk ſpeaking through it by the means of a pipe, and ſo making the King and other people believe it was the Crucifix that ſpoke (*i*). How much Bale, who only cites Polydore Virgil, is to be credited in this, we cannot determine; but by what we are going to relate it will appear, that Agilnoth was a very good Clergyman, and that he knew how to make uſe of the King's favour for the good of the Church (that is, of the Clergy). He prevailed with Canute to reſtore to the church of St. Mary at Glaſton all the privileges, it had formerly enjoyed. Whether the charters of theſe privileges were forged or genuine we cannot determine; but it is well known that the Monks have long ago been accuſed of forging royal charters. However that be, the King at the requeſt of Agilnoth granted to the abovementioned church that the lands belonging to it ſhould be free from all burthens and vexations, as much as thoſe of the crown, and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, all Judges and other publick officers to exerciſe any authority in the territories belonging to the Church or to the Monaſtery of Glaſton, referring all cauſes, Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical, to the Abbot only (*k*). If my memory does not fail me, I have read ſomewhere, that Agilnoth had been educated in the Monaſtery of Glaſton, which may be the reaſon why he was deſirous of having the privileges of that Church and Monaſtery enlarged, or at leaſt confirmed. He alſo obliged the King to ſend money to ſeveral Churches in foreign parts (*l*). Whilſt he was thus promoting the intereſt of other Churches, he was not neglectful of his own; for in the year 1037 he bought for the uſe of his Monks a piece of ground called *Godmoreſham*, which coſt him ſeventy two marks of pure ſilver (*m*). He alſo ſettled Monks in the Convent of St. Edmund (*n*). And when he procured the miraculous body of St. Elphegus to be carried to Canterbury, we may be ſure it was with a view to enrich the Clergy and Monks of that city. It was no doubt his zeal for the Church, and the care he took to encreaſe the riches of the Clergy and Friars that gained him the ſurname of Good, which the antient authors we have quoted generally give him. He died the 30th of October in the year 1038 (*o*), having enjoyed the Archiepiſcopal Dignity eighteen years (*p*). Pitſeus, a Roman Catholic writer, beſtows a very great encomium upon him. "He was a man, ſays he, in which piety ſtrove with learning, and mild-"neſs with humility." He adds, that Agilnoth, by his precepts and good counſels, ſoftened the King's fierce and ſavage temper, and taught him to be mild and compaſſionate. The ſame author tells us, that this Prelate applied himſelf to ſacred and profane learning, and made a conſiderable progreſs in both. He wrote ſeveral books [*D*]. Beſides thoſe mentioned in the remark *D*, Bale ſays, ſome other are extant, of which the titles are unknown. *Feruntur & alia, quorum tituli non manifeſtantur (q).*

(*b*) Will. Malmſ. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Balæus, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Will. Mal. *ubi ſupra*, p. 75.

(*l*) Id. ibid. pag. 76.

(*m*) *Evidentia Eccleſ. Cantuar. Ap. Hiſt. Angl. Script.* x. tom. 2. Col. 2225.

(*n*) *Actus Pontif. Cantuar.* ib. Col. 1651.

(*o*) Pitſeus, *Relat. Hiſtor. de Reb. Angl. ad ann.* 1038. p. m. 183.

(*p*) Pitſeus, ibid. Will. Malmesb. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 204. *Chron. de Mailros, ubi ſupra*, p 155, 156. *ad ann.* 1020, 1038.

(*q*) Balæus, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *This journey of the King proved very beneficial to the Nation.*] He obtained from the Emperor and the Pope, that Engliſh and Danes, travelling thro' their dominions to Rome either for trade or out of devotion, ſhould be free from all taxes and vexations in their journey. He alſo repreſented that his Archbiſhops could not bear the vaſt expence they were at for receiving the Pallium, which they were obliged to bring from Rome in perſon. In this alſo the Pope complied with the King's wiſhes, and ordered that for the future the Archbiſhop's expences ſhould be leſs. This Canute himſelf tells us in a Charter directed to Agilnoth (5) Archbiſhop of Canterbury and to Alfric of York (6). He alſo ſays in that Charter that he was very well pleaſed with his journey to Rome, having ſucceeded in it according to his wiſhes.

(5) Here called Ailnoth.
(6) *Ap.* Will. Malmſ. lib. 2. p. 74. *In Rer. Angl. Script. poſt Bedam.* Pitſeus, *ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral Books.*] viz. A Letter to the Earl of Coventry when he ſent him St. Auſtin's arm. A volume of Letters to ſeveral perſons. A Book in praiſe of the Virgin Mary, addreſſed to Fulbert Biſhop of Chartres. In this Letter he ſays, according to Bale, that the Virgin viſited Biſhop Fulbert, and refreſhed him with her milk when he was ſick. But let us quote Bale's words, to give the reader a notion of his manner of writing. *In Libro ſuo de Mariæ Laudibus, ſomniat hic prodigiorum Patronus hanc Virginem Fulbertum Carnotenſem Epiſcopum viſitâſſe, lacteque ſuo refoviſſe ægrotum* (7).

(7) Baſlæus, *ubi ſupra.*

AGIS, King of Lacedæmon, deſcended from Ageſilaüs II. in a right line (*a*), had a very unhappy end. He took it in his head to reform his kingdom, by the reſtoring of the laws of Lycurgus; but he fell under the weight of an enterpriſe, that could not but be diſagreeable to all thoſe who had great poſſeſſions, and had been ſo accuſtomed to the ſweets of a voluptuous life, that they were not able to comply with the antient diſcipline of Lacedæmon. Agis being in the flower of his age, and having a very refined deſire of glory [*A*], formed the deſign of this reformation, and practiſed it firſt in

(*a*) He was five degrees removed from him. *Plut. in Agide*, p. 796.

[*A*] *Having a very refined deſire of glory.*] Plutarch's relation (1) tells us plainly, that Ageſiſtrata repreſented to her ſon how prejudicial his plan of reformation would be to himſelf, conſidering the great wealth ſhe poſſeſſed; but he deſired her to acquieſce in ſacrificing her riches to the glory of her ſon. *For*, ſays he, *I ſhall never be equal with other Monarchs in riches: the Servants of the Nobles and Officers of Seleucus and Ptolemy are richer than all the Kings of Lacedæmon: but if by my temperance, and greatneſs of my ſoul, I raiſe my ſelf above the luxury of theſe Princes, and if I can introduce an equality*

(1) Plutarch. *in Agide*, p. 798.

in his own perſon: his cloaths and his table were according to the manners of former times; which is ſo much the more to be admired, becauſe Ageſiſtrata his mother, and Archidamia his grandmother had brought him up voluptuouſly (*b*). When he ſounded his people's minds, he found the younger ſort oppoſed his project, leſs than thoſe who had enjoyed a relaxation of diſcipline ſeveral years. The greateſt difficulty was expected to ariſe from the women [*B*]. They had at that time more credit than ever, for their power is never greater than when luxury is in faſhion. Ageſilaüs's mother did not at all find her account in this reformation. She muſt have loſt her riches, which gave her a ſhare in a thouſand ſorts of intrigues; ſo ſhe oppoſed the deſign at once, and treated it as a chimera. But her brother Ageſilaüs, whom Agis had engaged in his intereſts, knew how to manage her in ſuch a manner, that ſhe promiſed to ſecond the enterpriſe. She endeavoured to gain the women; but inſtead of ſuffering themſelves to be perſuaded, they applied to Leonidas the other King of Lacedæmon, and humbly beſought him to fruſtrate the deſigns of his Collegue. Leonidas durſt not oppoſe it openly, for fear of irritating the people, to whom the reformation was agreeable, becauſe they found their account in it. He contented himſelf with countermining it by intrigues, and ſowing ſuſpicions, as if Agis had aſpired to tyranny, by pulling down the rich, and raiſing the poor. Agis did not fail to propoſe his new laws to the Senate, relating to the diſcharge of debts, and a new diviſion of the lands. Leonidas, being ſupported by the rich, oppoſed this project ſo ſtrongly, that there was one voice more againſt it than for it. He paid dear for the ſucceſs in this affair. Lyſander, one of the Ephori, who had been the grand promoter of the reformation, called him to account, alledged the celeſtial ſigns [*C*], and put Cleombrotus a Prince of the Royal Blood, and ſon-in-law to Leonidas, to make ſure of the Kingdom. Leonidas being frighted at this, took refuge in a temple, whither his daughter, the wife of Cleombrotus followed him. He was ſummoned; and becauſe he did not appear, he was degraded of his dignity, which was conferred on Cleombrotus. He obtained leave to retire to Tegæa. The new Ephori had Lyſander and Mandroclidas tried for innovation: theſe perſuaded the two Kings to unite and turn out theſe Ephori. The thing was brought about; but not without a great uproar in the City. Ageſilaüs, one of the Ephori, that ſucceeded thoſe who were juſt turned out, would have cauſed Leonidas to be killed on the way to Tegæa, if Agis had not ſent him a ſtrong guard. The reformation might then have been eſtabliſhed, if Ageſilaüs had not found means to elude the good intentions of the two Kings. Whilſt this was tranſacting, the Achaians asked aſſiſtance, which was given them, and Agis had the command of the troops. He acquired a good deal of reputation in this Campaign [*D*]. At his return, he found his affairs ſo embroiled by the ill conduct of Ageſilaüs, that it was impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf. Leonidas was recalled to Lacedæmon: Agis retired into one temple, and Cleomenes into another. The wife of the latter behaved herſelf in ſuch a manner that ſhe became the admiration of every body (*c*). Leonidas was contented with baniſhing his ſon-in-law; after which he applied himſelf entirely to the ruin of Agis. One of the Ephori, who had no mind to return what Agæſiſtrata had lent him, was the principal inſtrument of the misfortune of this family. Agis never went out of his ſanctuary, but to bathe. One day, as he was returning from

(*b*) Ευτυθραπτόμενος πλούτοις καὶ τρυφαῖς γυναικῶν τῆς τε μητρὸς Ἀγησιστράτας καὶ τῆς μάμμης Ἀρχιδαμίας, αἱ πλεῖστα χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκέκτηντο. i. e. "Brought up amidſt the "wealth and delicacies of women, by his mother Ageſiſtrata, and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richeſt among the Lacedæmonians. Plutarch. *In Agide*, P. 797.

(*c*) Her name was CHELONIS. See her article,

equality of poſſeſſions into my kingdom, I ſhall arrive at true grandeur, and paſs for a great Prince. This is a refinement upon ſelf love. You may be ſurpaſſed in one way, do what you can, but take the quite contrary and you will have no rivals: thoſe who would eſteem you equal with others, may affirm that your merit in its kind does not give place to another's. But ſhould one dare to ſay it, if the diſpute ran upon the ſame ſort of qualities, ſome viſibly inferior, and others viſibly ſuperior, as the opulence of Agis, and that of the Kings of Syria?

[*B*] *To ariſe from the women.*] The Lacedæmonians were the beſt husbands in the world: they communicated a great deal more of the affairs of the Republic to their wives, than they communicated of the affairs of the family to their husbands (2). At the time of which we are ſpeaking, almoſt all the riches of Lacedæmon were under the petticoat; they were at the diſpoſition of the ſex, and this made the Prince's deſign prove abortive. The Ladies were afraid of loſing all at once, their riches, their pleaſures and their authority; and perhaps they were not miſtaken. But let us hear Plutarch: *It was,* ſays he (3), *one of the greateſt obſtacles to this deſign, for the greateſt part of the money of Sparta being in the women's hands, it was their intereſt to oppoſe it, not only as depriving them of thoſe ſuperfluous trifles, in which through want of virtue they placed their chief felicity, but alſo becauſe they knew their wealth was the main ſupport of their power and credit.*

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Plut. ibid.

[*C*] *The celeſtial ſigns.* Every nine years the Ephori contemplated the heavens, in a night that was ſerene and without moon-light; and, if they ſaw a ſtar fall, they judged that the Kings had ſinned againſt God, and they ſuſpended them from their dignity, till ſuch time as there came an Oracle, either from Delphi or Olympus, to reinſtate them (4). Lyſander pretending to have ſeen this phænomenon, brought the King to trial, and produced witneſſes, who depoſed that Leonidas had two children by an Aſiatic woman. Now there was an ancient law, which prohibited the Heraclides (5) to have children by a foreign woman. Strange that ſuch a Government ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long, where the fortune of the Kings depended on the will of one of the Ephori, who might ſee a ſtar fall.

(4) Plutarch. *in Agide*, p. 800.

(5) That is, the deſcendants of Hercules, in the number of whom the Kings of Lacedæmon were.

[*D*] *He acquired a good deal of reputation in this campaign.*] Having joined Aratus General of the Achæans, near Corinth, his opinion was to give the enemy battle beyond the Iſthmus; but he ſubmitted to that of this General who thought it better not to give battle. Aratus acknowledges this himſelf in his book. One Baton of Sinope however reported, that Agis diſſuaded from giving battle, and that Aratus was determined upon it (6). Is it not very ſtrange, that an Hiſtorian ſhould relate concerning a General, what is contradicted by that ſame General's own account? Is it probable that he would relate falſhoods to his own prejudice? This boldneſs may be endured ſome months, and not without reaſon; but when that time is paſſed, we muſt not contradict the chief Actors.

(6) Plut. *in Agide*, p. 801.

from thence to the temple, he was ſeized by that Ephorus and carried to priſon. Then he was brought to his trial and condemned to death, and delivered to the executioner. His mother and grandmother uſed all the entreaty and importunity imaginable, that, as he was King of Lacedæmon, he might at leaſt be permitted to plead his cauſe before the people. But they were apprehenſive leſt his words would make too great an impreſſion, and therefore they ordered him to be ſtrangled that very hour. The Ephorus, who was in debt to Ageſiſtrata, permitted that Princeſs to go into the priſon; which he granted likewiſe to Agis's grandmother; but he gave orders to ſtrangle them one after another. Ageſiſtrata died in a manner that was extremely to her honour (*d*). The wife of Agis (*e*), who was a Princeſs of great fortune and prudence, and one of the fineſt Ladies in Greece, was forced away from her apartment by King Leonidas, and obliged to marry his ſon, who was then very young, and hardly fit for marriage. He reigned after his father's death, and his end was as tragical as that of Agis, whoſe deſigns he had attempted to execute. His name was Cleomenes (*f*). Moreri has not given a juſt account of what Agis [*E*] ſaid to thoſe, who were lamenting his unhappy fate. The other Dictionaries are very erroneous upon that article [*F*]. Meurſius was miſtaken in ſaying, that Agis reigned nine years (*g*); for the paſſage of Diodorus Siculus, which he quotes, relates to another Agis. He, whom we are now ſpeaking of, was executed in the 135th Olympiad. The reflections of Plutarch upon the puniſhment of this King, may be ſeen in the article AMPHARES.

(*d*) See the article AMPHARES.

(*e*) Her name was *Agiatis*.

(*f*) *See* Plutarch in the *Life of Agis and Cleomenes*.

(*g*) Meurſius *de Regno Lacedæm.* p. 87.

[*E*] *Moreri has not given a juſt account of what Agis ſaid.*] What he ſaid, when he ſaw one of the Serjeants, that attended him, weeping, was this: *Do not weep for me; for ſince my perſecutors have condemned me to death in ſo flagrant and unjuſt a manner, I have greatly the advantage of them in point of merit and honeſty.* But inſtead of this Moreri repreſents him as ſaying, *Do not weep; for thoſe who lament for me, are much more to be pitied than I am.* This is not the only error in that article. Moreri tells us very falſly, 1. *That in the beginning of the reign of Agis, an Ephorus, nam'd Epitadeus, made an order that fathers might diſinherit their children:* 2. *That Agis rectified the terms of that decree, which in a little time filled the city with inhabitants again:* 3. *That the moſt conſiderable men of the city came readily into the deſign of Agis.* But if we read *Plutarch*, we ſhall find, 1. That Epitadeus had made his decree a long time before Agis: 2. That Agis had not the good fortune to change the leaſt article of it: 3. That they were the men of wealth and ſubſtance, who oppoſed his deſign. Is this conſulting of the originals themſelves, and giving the true ſenſe of them?

(7) Plut. *in Agide*, p. 808.

[*F*] *The other Dictionaries are very erroneous upon that article.*] Charles Stephens confounds this Agis with another, who is more ancient; and diſtinguiſhes him from that Agis, whom the Lacedæmonians ſtrangled. Mr. Hofman has only fallen into the former of theſe two miſtakes. Mr. Lloyd corrects neither of them.

☞AGLIONBY (JOHN) an Engliſh Divine, was born of a gentile family in Cumberland. He became a ſtudent in Queen's College in Oxford in 1583, and was at laſt choſen Fellow of it; upon this he entered into holy orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his polite and learned ſermons. He afterwards travelled into foreign countries, and was introduced into the acquaintance of Cardinal Bellarmine, who ſhewing him the picture of Dr. William Whitaker of Cambridge, an eminent writer in the Controverſies againſt the Papiſts, which hung up in his Library, told him, that *he was the moſt learned Heretic whom he ever read.* After his return he was made Chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1600, and was made Principal of St. Edmund's Hall the year following. He was about that time preſented to the Rectory of Iſlip near Oxford, and ſoon after appointed Chaplain in ordinary to King James I. He was a Maſter of all the ſeveral kinds of Literature, profoundly ſkilled in the Fathers, and School-Divinity (*a*). We have an excellent character of him in the *Rex Platonicus ſive Muſæ Regnantes* of Sir Iſaac Wake. He died at Iſlip on the ſixth of February 1609, aged forty three, and was buried in the Chancel of the Church there, with an inſcription to his memory. Mr. Wood aſſures us, that he had a very conſiderable hand in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, appointed by King James I. in 1604 [*A*].

(*a*) Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. 1. Col. 354, 355. edit. 2. 1721.

[*A*] *Had a conſiderable hand in the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, appointed by King James I. in* 1604.] The Tranſlation of the Bible was reſolved upon at the conference held at Hampton-court between the Commiſſioners for the Church and the Puritans in January 1603-4. This was undertaken in 1606. Fuller has given us (1) a liſt of the Tranſlators, which amounts to forty ſeven; but we do not find Dr. Aglionby's name among the reſt; tho' Mr. Wood tells us he had a conſiderable ſhare in the Verſion of the New Teſtament. But he mentions no authority for it. The Tranſlators of the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Apocalypſe were, Dr. Ravis Dean of Chriſt-Church, afterwards Biſhop of London, Dr. Abbot Maſter of Univerſity-College, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Eedas, Mr. Thompſon, Mr. Savill, Mr. Perryn, Dr. Ravens, Mr. Harmar. Theſe met at Oxford. The Tranſlators of the Epiſtles of St. Paul and the Canonical Epiſtles met at Weſtminſter, and were Dr. Barlowe of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, Dean of Cheſter, afterwards Biſhop of London, Dr. Hutchenſon, Dr. Spencer, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Rabbet, Mr. Sanderſon, Mr. Dakins. It is not improbable, that Dr. Aglionby might be one of thoſe eminent Divines in each of the Univerſities, who tho' not of the number of the Tranſlators, were aſſigned by the Vice-Chancellor, to conſult with other Heads of houſes for reviewing the whole Tranſlation. In any other view it ſeems impoſſible to account for Mr. Wood's aſſertion.

T.

(1) *Church Hiſtory*, book 10. *See* Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Vol. 2. book 8. p. 693.

☞AGNES SOREAU or SOREL, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Beautiful Agnes*, was born at Fromenteau a Village of Touraine in the Dioceſe of Bourges, and

was Lady of that place. King Charles VII. of France who knew her, when ſhe was in the Queen's ſervice, was extremely fond of her, and gave her the Caſtle of Beauté upon the Maine. Agnes very often reproached the King with his indolence; and in order to animate him to exert himſelf againſt the Engliſh, ſhe aſſured him, that an Aſtrologer had foretold her, that the greateſt King of the world ſhould honour her with his friendſhip; but ſhe found that this prediction had no relation to him, ſince he neglected to recover the dominions, which his enemies had uſurped. She told him therefore that in order to accompliſh this prophecy, ſhe muſt be obliged to go over to the King of England's court. The ſeverity of this remonſtrance touched Charles VII, in the moſt ſenſible manner; ſo that he took arms, and put himſelf in a condition of expelling the Engliſh out of his Kingdom (*a*). John Chartier (*b*) tells us, that this King's affection for Agnes was reſtrained within the bounds of modeſty and honour; but other authors inform us, that he had two daughters by her, Charlotte, who was afterwards married to Jacques de Breve, Count de Maulevrier, and Margaret, married to Oliver de Coetive, Lord of Taillebourg. She died the ninth of February 1450, at the caſtle of Menil, about a quarter of a league from Jumieges, and not at Jumieges, as ſeveral writers affirm; ſhe was then but forty years old. Her heart and bowels were buried at Jumieges, and her body was carried to the caſtle of Loches, where it was interred in the middle of the Choir of the Collegiate Church of Nôtre-Dame, under a tomb of black marble [*A*]. There was a report ſpread after her death that ſhe had been poiſoned [*B*]. King Francis I wrote an Epigram of four verſes under this Lady's picture [*C*].

(a) *See* Monſtrelet, *Du Haillan, La Chronique de S. Denys ſur Charles VII.* and Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 110. tom. 22. p. 532, 533. edit. *de Bruxelles* 1726.

(b) *Hiſt. de Charles VII.*

[*A*] *In the middle of the choir . . . under a tomb of black marble.*] Her Statue is there of white marble, with two Angels holding a cuſhion upon which ſhe repoſes her head, and two lambs at her feet. She had been very liberal to this church; but after her death the Canons deſired Lewis XI. to give them leave to remove her monument from the middle of the choir to ſome other place, becauſe, as they alledged, it was very incommodious for them in performing the ceremonies of the church. They imagined that his averſion for her would continue even towards her aſhes. But he, inſtead of granting their requeſt, blamed them for it, and reproached them with ingratitude to ſo generous a Benefactreſs.

[*B*] *That ſhe had been poiſoned.*] James Cœur, who was attach'd to the intereſts of the Dauphin, who had a very great reſentment againſt this Lady, was ſuſpected of being bribed by that Prince for this purpoſe. He had been raiſed to a great degree of power and wealth from a very low condition, being the ſon of a private man at Bourges. He had applied himſelf at firſt to trade, in which he raiſed a conſiderable fortune by the extent of his genius, and his skill and addreſs in the management of affairs; ſo that he made himſelf known to the Court, which was very often at Bourges. The King ſoon diſcovered his abilities and prudence, and entruſted him with the care of his Finances; and afterwards gave him a place in his Council, and employed him in the moſt important of his affairs (1). Theſe extraordinary favours drew upon him the envy of many perſons: he was accuſed of having committed a great many frauds in the adminiſtration of the Finances; of having delivered up a Chriſtian to the Sultan of Ægypt, in order to avoid the loſs of his own merchandize; that of having poiſoned Agnes; and ſent a compleat harneſs to the Sultan of Babylon, that he might have others made from that pattern in order to equip his horſemen after the French manner. James Cœur was ſeized upon theſe accuſations, and committed to the caſtle of Luſignan in Poitou; and he was brought to trial at the ſuit of John Dauvet Attorney General of the Parliament at Paris. And tho' he cleared himſelf from every one of theſe charges, yet all his eſtate was confiſcated, he was condemned to pay 400,000 crowns to the King, and to be baniſhed to the iſle of Cyprus; where by his great capacity he found means to raiſe a very conſiderable fortune. He died there, as it is related, in a battle againſt the Infidels. A young woman, who had accuſed him of poiſoning Agnes, was afterwards found guilty of calumny, expell'd the Court and baniſhed. But he had juſtice done him after his death, and the Dauphin, when he came to the Crown under the name of Lewis XI, reſtored his ſon Geoffry Cœur to part of his father's eſtate (2).

(1) See *Hiſt. de Charles VII. par Matthieu Coucy*, and Fleury *ubi ſupra.*

(2) Fleury, *ubi ſupra*, p. 534.

[*C*] *An Epigram of four verſes under this Lady's picture.*] He was one day at the houſe of Artus Gouffier de Boiſſi, Count d'Eſtampes, who had been his Governor formerly, but was then Grand-Maſter of France; where he amuſed himſelf in turning over a Port-Folio, which was in Madam de Boiſſi's chamber. This Lady, who was of the family of Hangeſt, was extremely fond of painting, and had drawn in that Book the pictures of divers illuſtrious perſons, and among the reſt of Agnes Soreau. The King upon viewing theſe pictures made devices and verſes upon each of them, and wrote the following Epigram with his own hand under that of the beautiful Agnes:

Plus de louange & d'honneur tu merite
La cauſe étant de Franœ recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrer,
Cloſe Nonnain, ou bien devote Hermite.

"Since your deſign, fair Agnes, was to gain
"Your country's loſt dominions, you deſerve
"More commendation than the rigid Hermit,
"Or pious Nun, who ſhrowds her blooming charms
"Within the limits of a gloomy Convent."

We have theſe Verſes printed among the Poems of *Melin de S. Gelais.* T.

☞AGOBARD (*a*) Archbiſhop of Lyons, was one of the moſt celebrated and learned Prelates of the ninth Century. Dr. Cave (*b*) and Olearius (*c*) tells us he was a Frenchman; but Du Pin ſays (*d*), that there is no abſolute proof of this. He was born in the year 779, as Father Mabillon (*e*) obſerves from a ſhort martyrology, upon which Agobard ſeems to have written ſome Notes with his own hand. In the year 782 he came from Spain to France. Leidrade, Archbiſhop of Lyons, ordained him Prieſt in 804; and nine years after was appointed Coadjutor or *Corepiſcopus* to that Prelate (*f*). And the latter reſolving in 816 to retire to a monaſtery at Soiſſons in the beginning of the reign of Lewis the Debonnaire, Agobard was ſubſtituted in his room with the conſent of the Emperor, and the whole Synod of the French Biſhops (*g*), who approved of the choice which Leidrade had made of him for his ſucceſſor. However this ordination was objected againſt, becauſe it is contrary to the Canons, that a Biſhop ſhould

(a) He is ſometimes called *Agobert, Agobald*, or *Agoband.*
(b) *Hiſtor. Liter.* pag. 438. edit. *Coloniæ Allobrog.* 1720.
(c) *Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* Vol. 1. p. 19. edit. *Jenæ* 1711.
(d) *Nouvelle Bib. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 7. p. 140. edit. *de Paris* 1696.
(e) *Itin. Ital.* § 14. p. 68.

(f) *See* Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, and in the Note (*a*).
(g) It is uncertain what Synod this was. Mr. Baluze ſuppoſes it to be that of Mentz in 813. But that Synod was held in the time of Charlemagne; whereas Leidrade did not retire and ordain Agobard till the reign of Lewis the Debonnaire. *See* Du Pin.

ſhould chooſe his ſucceſſor himſelf (*b*). However Agobard enjoyed this See quietly, till he was expelled from it by Lewis the Debonnaire, becauſe he had eſpouſed the party of his ſon Lotharius, and been one of the chief authors of depoſing him in the aſſembly of Biſhops at Compiegne in the year 833. For Lewis having ſecured himſelf againſt the injuſtice and violence which had been offered by Lotharius and the Biſhops of his party, proſecuted the latter in the council of Thionville in the year 835. Ebbo Archbiſhop of Rheims was obliged to acknowledge his fault, and to ſubmit to the ſentence of Depoſition. Agobard who had retired to Italy with the other Biſhops of his party, was ſummoned three times before the Council, and refuſing to appear, was depoſed; however no perſon was ſubſtituted in his room. His cauſe was again examined in the year 836, at an Aſſembly held at Stramiac near Lyons; but it continued ſtill undetermined, on account of the abſence of the Biſhops, whoſe ſole right it was to depoſe their brother. At laſt the ſons of Lewis the Debonnaire having made their peace with him, they found means to reſtore Agobard, who was preſent in the year 838 at an Aſſembly held at Paris by that Emperor's order; nay he even recovered the Emperor's favour, in whoſe attendance he died in Xaintonge the fifth of June 840 (*i*). His church honoured him with the title of Saint. He had no leſs ſhare in the affairs of the Church, than thoſe of the Empire; and he ſhewed by his writings that he was a much abler Divine than a Politician. He was a ſtrenuous defender of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and the Canons of the Church. He was extremely tenacious of the opinions which he had once eſpouſed, and very vigorous in aſſerting and defending them (*k*). He was very little favourable to the worſhip of images [*A*]. He wrote a Treatiſe intitled, *Adverſus Dogma Fælicis ad Ludovicum Imp.* againſt Felix Orgelitanus, to ſhew, that Chriſt is the true and natural ſon of God, and not merely by Adoption and Grace. He wrote likewiſe ſeveral Tracts againſt the Jews [*B*], and other

(*b*) Du Pin, *ſupra.*

(*i*) Cave and Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Cave, pag. 439.

[*A*] *He was very little favourable to the worſhip of Images.*] This is acknowledged by Mr. Dupin (1); who tells us, that tho' he ſeems at firſt to object only to the adoration of them, againſt which he alledges ſeveral paſſages of the Fathers; yet he afterwards maintains, that we ought not to make uſe of any viſible and external ſigns to repreſent ſpiritual objects, nor to pay them any kind of worſhip, not even that, which belongs to the Saints, whom they repreſent. He ſays that in the primitive Church the images of Chriſt and the Apoſtles were kept rather out of regard and affection to them, and to preſerve their memory, than from a principle of religion, or with a deſign to honour them. Nay he declares, that it would be very juſt and reaſonable, becauſe of the ſuperſtitions, which are occaſioned by them, to ſuppreſs them entirely, and to ſuffer none to be made uſe of. We find theſe aſſertions in his book, *De Picturis & Imaginibus*; which have thrown the Roman Catholic Writers into the greateſt perplexity imaginable. Papyrius Maſſo indeed owns ingeniouſly in his Preface to Agobard's Works, that *in detecting the errors of the Greeks with regard to images and pictures, he has abſolutely denied, that they ought to be worſhip'd; which opinion*, ſays that learned Writer, *we Catholics all approve of, and follow the judgment of Gregory the Great in that point. Græcorum errores de imaginibus & picturis manifeſtè detegens, negat eos adorari debere; quam ſententiam omnes Catholici probamus, Gregoriique Magni teſtimonium de illis ſequimur.* Mr. Baluze has written with greater caution in his notes upon *Agobard*; but he has not ventured to contradict ſo obvious a declaration againſt image-worſhip as that of Agobard; and he owns, that he wrote nothing upon that head, but what was agreeable to the general opinion of the Gallican Church at that time. However a late author of the Romiſh Church (2) has expreſly aſſerted, that Agobard allowed that a proper and religious worſhip was to be paid to images of Saints; *Sanctorum imaginibus cultum aliquem & religioſum eſſe exhibendum*; and this he tells us has been plainly demonſtrated againſt Mr. Daillé and other modern oppoſers of Saint-worſhip by Natalis Alexander (3). But how it is poſſible to overthrow ſuch expreſs aſſertions of Agobard to the contrary, let the impartial reader judge; ſince even the moſt learned of the Roman Catholic Writers have acknowledg'd this point to be inconteſtable.

(1) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 4.

(2) Fr. Ignat. Hyacinth. *Ord. Fratr. præd. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 3. p. 118. edit. *Auguſtæ Vindelic.* 1727.

(3) *Diſſertat.* VI. *in Hiſtor. Sæcul.* 9. p. 13.

[*B*] *Several Tracts againſt the Jews.*] *De Inſolentiâ Judæorum ad Ludovic. Imper.* i. e. "Of the Inſolence of the Jews, addreſſed to Lewis the Emperor." He complains here that the Commiſſioners, who had been ſent by him to Lyons, had taken part with the Jews againſt the Church, and made ſeveral decrees in their favour; nay had carried the matter ſo far, that they had advocated the cauſe of the Jews, and threatned ſome of the Biſhops. Agobard, who was abſent when this happened, wrote to the Commiſſioners; who paid no manner of regard to his letters. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to the Emperor, and informed him, that the Jews perſecuted him and his brethren only becauſe he had preached to the Chriſtians, that they ſhould not ſell their ſlaves to the Jews, nor ſuffer the Jews to ſell Chriſtians in Spain, nor to have Chriſtian ſervants; that they ſhould not let the Chriſtian women obſerve the Sabbath with them, nor permit them to travel on the Lord's Day; that they ſhould not eat with them in Lent, or of any thing, which they had killed, nor drink the wine, which they ſold; in ſhort that they ſhould have no familiarity or commerce with them, becauſe they blaſphemed Chriſt every day. He then deſcribes the inſolence of the Jews, when they found themſelves ſupported by the authority of the Commiſſioners. He concludes with deſiring the Emperor to regulate theſe diſorders. He join'd to this petition a letter written in his own name, and in that of Bernard, Archbiſhop of Vienne, and of another Biſhop, whoſe name was *Eaef*, or *Taof*, in which they alledge authorities from the Fathers and the Scripture, to juſtify the ſeverity, which they uſed againſt the Jews. They mention the example of St. Hilary, who would not ſalute them; and that of St. Ambroſe, who wrote, that he would ſuffer death rather than cauſe a Synagogue of the Jews, which had been burnt down by the Chriſtians to be rebuilt. To theſe Fathers they add St. Cyprian and St. Athanaſius, who were againſt the Jews. They urge next the Canons of the Councils of Spain and of Agatha, which forbid Chriſtians from eating with the Jews, and the decree of the firſt Council of Maſcon, which declares, that according to the edict of Childebert, it was not lawful for the Jews to be Judges, or Receivers of the public Monies, nor to appear in public in the holy week; and renews the prohibition againſt Chriſtians eating with them. This is confirmed by the Canons of the firſt and third Council of Orleans, and that of Laodicea, which reſtrains Chriſtians from having any correſpondence with them. They do not forget to mention the example of St. John, who went away from the bath, when he ſaw Cerinthus, who was an heretic of the Jewiſh Sect, enter it. They accuſe the Jews of thoſe times of being even more criminal than Cerinthus, of believing a corporeal God, of maintaining low and groſs conceptions of the Deity, and aſſerting that the letters of their Alphabet are eter-

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other works, of which we ſhall give ſome abſtracts in a Note [C]. His manner of writing is ſimple, intelligible, and natural, but without any elevation or ornament. His books are interſperſed with a great number of quotations, and long paſſages from Scripture and the Fathers, according to the cuſtom of that time. He reaſons generally very juſtly upon the ſubjects which he treats of, and writes like a man well verſed in the Doctrines of the Fathers and the Diſcipline of the Church (*l*). His works were buried in

(*l*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

nal, that the law was written many years before the creation of the world, and that there are a great many worlds and earths beſides this. They charged them likewiſe with introducing a great many Fables concerning the Old Teſtament, blaſpheming Jeſus Chriſt, publiſhing falſe and ſpurious acts of Pilate, treating the Chriſtians as idolaters, becauſe they honoured the Saints; and committing infamous actions in their Synagogue. From whence they conclude that if there is an obligation to ſeparate from Heretics, there is much greater reaſon to refrain from all converſation with the Jews; and they attempt to juſtify this by ſeveral paſſages of Scripture (4). He wrote likewiſe ſeveral other pieces relating to the Jews, as particularly, *De Judaicis Superſtitionibus*, i. e. "Of the Superſtitions of the Jews." *Liber de Baptiſmo Judaicorum Mancipiorum*, i. e. "Of the "Baptiſm of Jewiſh Slaves. *Epiſtola exhortatoria ad Nibridium Epiſcopum Narbonenſem de cavendo convictu & ſocietate Judaicâ.* i. e. "An exhortatory "Epiſtle to Nibridius Archbiſhop of Narbonne a- "gainſt maintaining any commerce or familiarity "with the Jews." *Epiſtola ad Proceres Palatii contra præceptum impium de Baptiſmo Judaicorum Mancipiorum*, i. e. "An Epiſtle to the Noblemen (5) of "the Imperial Palace againſt the impious edict con- "cerning the Baptiſm of Jewiſh ſlaves." *Epiſtola ad Matfredum Procerem Palatii*, i. e. "An Epiſtle to "Matfrede a Nobleman of the palace (6)."

(4) *See* Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 142, 143.

(5) Hilduis, great Chaplain to the Prince and the Abbot Vala.

(6) Dr. Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

[C] *Other works, which we ſhall give ſome abſtracts of in a note.*] I. *Liber adverſus Legem Gundobardi & impia certamina, quæ per eam geruntur*, i. e. "A Diſcourſe againſt the Law of Gondebaud, "and the impious combats, which are appointed by it. This Law decreed, that the diſputes between particular men ſhould be decided by a ſingle combat, or by ſome other trial, and not by the depoſition of witneſſes. He repreſents how contrary this Law, which was made by an Arian Prince, was to the genius of the Goſpel, to the charity, which Chriſtians owe to each other, and to the peace of the ſtate and of the Church. He obſerves that this is a Law neither of Moſes nor of the Goſpel; that the Chriſtian Religion is not eſtabliſhed by ſuch kinds of combats, but by the death of thoſe, who preach it; and that the guilty very often have the advantage over the innocent in ſuch combats. He adds, that Avitus Biſhop of Vienne, who had ſeveral conferences with Gondebaud upon Religion, and had converted his ſon Sigiſmund, had diſapproved of his cuſtom. He complains that the Canons of the Church of France ſhould be ſo little regarded; and at laſt he declares, that he could wiſh that all the King's ſubjects had but one and the ſame Law; but ſince he thought it almoſt impoſſible, he deſires at leaſt that this cuſtom, which was ſo unjuſt and prejudicial to the State, ſhould be aboliſhed. II. *Ad Bernardum Epiſcopum de privilegio & jure ſacerdotii*, i. e. "A Diſcourſe concerning the "Privileges and Rights of the Prieſthood, addreſſed "to Bernard Biſhop of Vienne." In this piece he obſerves, that all Chriſtians being members of Chriſt, who is the High-Prieſt, are Kings and Prieſts of the Lord; that we ought not to regard a Prieſt, when he teaches a doctrine contrary to that of Chriſt. He complains of the diſorders of that age; that men of no abilities, or character, or fortune, were raiſed to the Prieſthood, and kept by Noblemen in their families, to perform the loweſt and moſt ſervile offices. He exhorts the laity to pay due reverence to the Sacraments, whoever adminiſters them; and adviſes the Biſhops to take great care not to be partakers of other mens ſins, by conferring Orders upon vicious or ignorant and inſufficient perſons. III. *De Grandine & Tonitruis Liber*, i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning Hail and "Thunder." This is a very judicious piece, deſigned to undeceive the people, who were poſſeſſed with abſurd notions, that ſorcerers and witches were able to raiſe ſtorms of thunder and hail by their enchantments. He ſhews at firſt, from ſeveral paſſages of Scripture, that it is a great inſtance of weakneſs and even a kind of ſacrilege to aſcribe to men what belongs only to God. He ridicules the fancy of thoſe, who imagined, that there was a region in the air, whither the corn and fruits were convey'd to, which were beaten down by the hail. He ſhews from Scripture, that it is God alone, who chaſtiſes men with theſe ſcourges; that whatever is done in the air, is the effect of his power, either by himſelf immediately, or by the Angels, or men: that he is the only Mover and Creator of the univerſe; that if theſe wicked men had it in their power to injure and deſtroy others in that manner, all their enemies would be treated ſo; that we cannot find, that men have any methods of moving the air and ſky in ſuch a manner, the nature of which elements they know nothing of; that moſt of the ſtories of that kind, when examined throughly, prove falſe, tho' there are perſons ſtupid enough to expoſe themſelves to death by confeſſing them; juſt as it happened ſome little time before, when Grimoald Duke of Benevento was accuſed of having diſperſed every where a powder, which killed all the oxen. How is it poſſible, ſays he, that there ſhould be a powder, which ſhould deſtroy only the oxen without injuring other animals? Or how could ſuch a vaſt quantity of powder be procured? Who could diſperſe it every where, in order to execute ſuch a deſign (7)? IV. *Liber contra Objectiones Fredigiſi Abbatis*; i. e. "An Anſwer to the Objections of Fredegiſe Abbot of "St. Martin at Tours." This Abbot had objected againſt ſome paſſages in one of Agobard's writings, which the latter found himſelf obliged to defend. The firſt expreſſion, that Fredegiſe attacked, was, that *he, who is humble, and has a low opinion of himſelf, muſt believe himſelf obnoxious to error.* He urged againſt this aſſertion, that Chriſt was humble, and yet it is certain he could not imagine himſelf liable to error. Agobard anſwers, that his maxim is not to be underſtood as being in the leaſt applicable to our Saviour, who diveſted himſelf of his tranſcendent dignity, and humbled himſelf voluntarily, without the leaſt abatement of his power or exemption from the poſſibility of ſinning. But he confirms his aſſertion with regard to mankind, who are univerſally ſubject to error and ſin. Fredegiſe accuſed him likewiſe of having attacked the authority of the Scripture and the Interpreters, becauſe he had remark'd, that the rules of Grammar are not always obſerved in them. Agobard anſwers to this, that this ought not to make us doubt in the leaſt of the truth of the things related in Scripture; that the Interpreters have neglected thoſe rules, in order either to accommodate themſelves to the capacity of the vulgar, or to expreſs the ſenſe of the original more fully; that we muſt not doubt of the authority of the writers, whom the Holy Ghoſt has employed in compoſing the Canonical Books, or imagine, that they ought to have written in any other manner than they have done. That next to the originals, we ought likewiſe to acknowledge the authority of the verſion of the Septuagint, and St. Jerom's tranſlation from the Hebrew, and not to deſpiſe the Latin verſions, which have been made by Catholics from the Septuagint, but that there are ſeveral Interpreters, which may juſtly be objected to and corrected, particularly thoſe famous Heretics and Half-Jews, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, as well as the Latin Interpreters, whom St. Jerom has complained of; in ſhort, that with reſpect to Interpreters we ought to follow St. Auſtin's rule, who leaves us a liberty of judging and rejecting every thing that we do not find to be juſt or true in their writings. He proceeds then to examine into the inſpiration of the Scriptures, and aſſerts, that it is abſurd to imagine, that the Holy Ghoſt inſpired the Prophets and Apoſtles with the expreſſions and words, which they

(7) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 144.

in obſcurity for ſeveral ages, till Papirius Maſſo found a manuſcript of them by chance in a bookbinder's ſhop at Lyons, who was juſt going to cut it to pieces to bind his books with. Maſſo publiſhed this manuſcript at Paris in 1603 in 8vo (*m*), and the original was after his death depoſited by his brother in the King of France's Library. But Maſſo having ſuffered many errors to eſcape him in his edition, Mr. Baluze publiſhed a more correct edition at Paris in 2 Vol. in 8vo in 1666 from the ſame manuſcript;

(*m*) Cave, *ubi ſupra*, p. 440. Mr. Du Pin p. 150. and Olearius ſays it was in 1605.

made uſe of: To prove this point, he alledges the inſtance of Moſes, who ſays, that he had an impediment in his ſpeech; and he produces the teſtimony of St. Jerom, who acknowledges, that there is a difference of ſtyle between the writings of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, ſome of whom write with greater eloquence and dignity, others leſs nobly and politely, and ſometimes the ſame writer differently in different writings. This difference cannot be aſcribed to the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore it muſt be attributed to the men; and conſequently they, and not the Holy Ghoſt, are the authors of the words and expreſſions, which they make uſe of, tho' the latter inſpired them with the matter and ſenſe, which they were to write. In anſwer to the third queſtion, he attacks the ſentiment of his adverſary, who aſſerted, that the ſoul might be ſaid to be created apart from the body; and he maintains, that we ought to believe, that it is created in the body and with the body, tho' the Philoſophers imagine the contrary, and St. Auſtin was in doubt concerning it. He replies next to a queſtion propoſed to him, *Whether Truth is any thing but God*; in anſwer to which he affirms, that Truth is not always taken for God himſelf, tho' we cannot doubt, but that God is Truth. In the laſt place he defends himſelf for aſſerting that juſt men under the old Law might be ſaid to have been Chriſtians, ſince they believed in Chriſt, and were anointed with the inviſible oil of his grace, as well as thoſe, who are juſt men among the Heathens (8). V. *Epiſtola ad Bartholomæum Epiſcopum Narbonenſem de quorundam inluſione ſignorum.* This Letter was written by Agobard in his own name and that of Hildegiſus and Florus, who were Prieſts of Lyons, to Bartholomew Biſhop of Narbonne; and he mentions in it a certain diſtemper, which ſeized perſons of a ſudden, and made them fall down upon the ground as if they were troubled with an epilepſy; nay ſome of them felt a burning, which left an incurable wound. This happened very commonly in the churches; and the people being terrified at it, uſed to give conſiderable preſents to the churches in order to preſerve themſelves from this calamity. Agobard diſapproves of this practice, and examining into the cauſe of this diſeaſe, affirms that it muſt be reſolved into the will of God, who puniſhes men thus by the miniſtry of Angels. He then mentions ſeveral inſtances of ſuch judgments taken from Scripture, in which God has executed his juſtice by Angels, and even by mere animals themſelves. He aſſerts that theſe kinds of puniſhments are not inflicted by Devils, tho' he owns that God ſometimes permits them to diſturb and injure men. He returns then to the Biſhop's queſtion, what we are to think of thoſe perſons, who come to the churches, where they have been ſeized, and bring preſents to them: he ſays, that fear occaſions them to do what they ought not, and hinders them from doing what they ought; for it would be much better, ſays he, to give alms to the poor and the ſtranger, to apply themſelves to the Prieſt to receive the unction, according to the precept of the Goſpel and the Apoſtle, to faſt, to pray, and to perform works of charity. It is true, continues he, if theſe gifts to the church were employed as they ought, it would be an act of charity; but becauſe at preſent they ſerve only to gratify the avarice of men, and not to honour God or aſſiſt the poor, it is a ſhame to give to thoſe, who are inſatiably covetous, and who only hoard it up, or ſpend it in an improper manner. VI. *Epiſtola ad Lugdunenſes de Modo Regiminis Eccleſiaſtici*, i. e. "An Epiſtle to "the Clergy of Lyons concerning the manner of "Eccleſiaſtical Government." This was occaſioned by a conteſt among them about the Adminiſtration of the Church. It is a pathetic addreſs to them to apply themſelves entirely to the good of the Church, and to diveſt themſelves of all irregular and ſelfiſh purſuits and deſigns. VII. *De Diſpenſatione Eccleſiaſticarum Rerum Liber.* He remonſtrates in this piece againſt the abuſe of ſeizing the eſtates and emoluments of the Church, which were deſigned for the ſupport of the Miniſters and the relief of the poor, and turning them to other purpoſes. Nor does he complain only of the Laity on that account, but even involves the Biſhops, and Abbots, and others of the Clergy, in the ſame condemnation, whenever they make any other uſe of the goods of the Church, than what is agreeable to the laws of it, and the doctrine of the Fathers. VIII. *Liber contra Judicium Dei*, ſive *De Divinis Sententiis, cum breviſſimis adnotationibus, contra damnabilem opinionem putantium divini judicii veritatem igne, vel aquis, vel conflictu armorum patefieri.* This Diſcourſe was deſigned to explode the common methods of trying the innocence of perſons by ſingle combat, or obliging them to hold an hot iron, or to put their fingers into hot water, and other proofs of that kind. This cuſtom he ſhews to be contrary to the Spirit of the Goſpel, to Chriſtian charity, right reaſon, and the principles of our Religion. IX. *Sermo exhortatorius ad plebem de fidei veritate & totius boni inſtitutione.* In this Sermon to the people he diſcourſes of the chief Articles of Faith the Trinity, the Incarnation, Redemption, Union of Chriſt with the Church, the Neceſſity of Grace in order to do well and reſiſt temptations, the Duty of bearing Evil, the Obligation of Prayer, &c. which articles he confirms from paſſages of Scripture and the Fathers. X. *De Diviſione Imperii Francorum inter filios Ludovici Imperatoris flebilis Epiſtola.* i. e. "A "pathetic Epiſtle concerning the Diviſion of the Em- "pire of the Franks among the ſons of Lewis the "Emperor." This was addreſſed to that Emperor in 833, when he was at war with his ſons. XI. *De Comparatione utriuſque Regiminis Eccleſiaſtici & Politici, & in quibus Eccleſiæ dignitas præfulgeat Imperiorum Majeſtati*, i. e. "A Compariſon between the Eccle- "ſiaſtical and Civil Government, ſhewing in what "points the dignity of the Church is ſuperior to that "of the State. This was deſigned as an anſwer to the Emperor's order, which he iſſued out to the great Men, both of the Clergy and the Laity, charging them to be ready to combat for him, the one with the ſword, and the other with their tongue. To this piece is added, XII. *Epiſtola Gregorii IV. Papæ ad Epiſcopos Regni Francici*, i. e. "An Epiſtle of Pope Gregory IV. to the Biſhops of France. He wrote likewiſe, XIII. *Liber Apologeticus pro filiis Ludovici Pii Imperatoris adverſus patrem*, i. e. "An Apology for "the ſons of the Emperor Lewis the Debonnaire "againſt their father." He endeavours to ſhew in this writing, that they had taken arms only for the good of the State, their deſign being to purge the Court of all the cabals and enormities there, and to reſtore an union and good underſtanding between them and their father, and eſpecially to put a ſtop to the public diſorders of their mother-in-law, whom they had once confined; but ſhe having gained her liberty, had inflamed their father againſt them, and was perpetually raiſing tumults and diſturbances. They charged the Emperor with breach of his oath; and raiſing troops, which ought to have been employed againſt the Barbarians; and accuſe the Queen of committing indecent actions in public, and even before the Biſhops. Agobard adds, that the intereſt of the Public requires them to endeavour after the peace of the Empire; which is impoſſible to be done without having recourſe to the ſource of theſe misfortunes, which was nothing elſe but the irregular conduct, debauchery and ambition of the Queen whom he compares to Jezabel and Dalilah; and who had ſuch an entire aſcendant over the Emperor, that ſhe had occaſioned him to commit a great many inſtances of injuſtice; for which he had been obliged to do penance, and reſign the Crown to his ſon.

(8) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 144, 145.

ſcript, and illuſtrated it with Notes. He likewiſe added to it a Treatiſe of *Agobard* againſt *Amalarius's Book of Offices*, intitled, *Contra quatuor libros Amalarii Liber*, which he copied from an old manuſcript of Peter Marnæſius, and collated with another manuſcript of Chifflet. This edition has been likewiſe reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (*n*). Moreri has committed a few errors in this Article.

(*n*) Tom. 14. p. 234.

Theſe laſt words ſhew, that this book was written ſome time after the Emperor Lewis was depoſed in 833. XIV. *Cartula porrecta Lothario Auguſto in Synodo Compendienſi*, i. e. "A memorial addreſſed to the "Emperor Lotharius in the Synod of Compiegne." This was written in the year 833, and ſigned by him, (as was done by every one, of the other Biſhops,) and offered to Lotharius, expreſſing his approbation of the depoſing of his father Lewis. XV. *Epiſtola ad Ebbonem Epiſcopum Remenſem de Spe & Timore*; i. e. "An Epiſtle to Ebbo Archbiſhop of "Rheims concerning Hope and Fear." It conſiſted of a collection of paſſages of the Scriptures upon thoſe ſubjects; but we have only the Preface now remaining. XVI. *De Divinâ Pſalmodiâ Liber*, i. e. "Of divine "Pſalmody;" in which he defends the manner of ſinging in the church of Lyons againſt the objections, which were made to it by Amalarius the Deacon, as Mr. Baluze is of opinion. XVII. *De Correctione Antiphonarii Liber*. Agobard's works end with two pieces of Poetry; one is the Epitaph of Charlemagne; and the other Verſes upon the Tranſlation of the Relicks of St. Cyprian, St. Speratus, and St. Pantaleon, which were brought from Africa and Arles to Lyons (9). T.

(9) Cave, *ubi ſupra*.

AGREDA (*a*) (MARIA D') a fanatical or viſionary Nun, famous for a book, which was cenſured by the Sorbonne, lived in the ſeventeenth Century. Francis Coronel her father, and Catharine de Arena her mother, who lived at Agreda, a town of Spain, founded a Convent in their Houſe the 19th of January 1619. They were engaged in this deſign by a particular revelation. Our Maria took upon her the habit of a Nun the ſame day with her mother and ſiſter. She was profeſſed with her mother the ſecond of February 1620 (*b*). She was choſen Superior of the Convent in the year 1627; and during the ten firſt years of her charge, ſhe received from God and the Virgin Mary repeated commands to write the Life of the Bleſſed Virgin. *She reſiſted theſe commands till the year* 1637, *in which ſhe began to write. But having finiſhed it, ſhe committed it to the flames, together with ſeveral other writings, which ſhe had compoſed upon other ſubjects. In that affair ſhe followed the advice of a Confeſſor, who had the care of her conſcience during the abſence of her ordinary Confeſſor. But her Superiors, and particularly her former Confeſſor reprimanded her ſeverely for it, and commanded her to write a ſecond time the Life of the Bleſſed Virgin. Beſides which ſhe received a new injunction from God and the Virgin herſelf. She began again in obedience to theſe commands the eighth of December* (*c*) 1655. *She divided her work into three parts, containing eight books, which were printed at Liſbon, Madrid, Perpignan and Antwerp. The firſt part was tranſlated from Spaniſh into French from the edition at Perpignan, by Father Croſet a Franciſcan.* This tranſlation was printed at Marſeilles in the year 1696 (*d*). There are ſo many abſurdities in that work [*A*], though at the ſame time ſo well adapted to pleaſe the extravagant devotees of the bleſſed Virgin, that the Faculty of Divinity at Paris thought proper to fix a cenſure upon it [*B*]. This point was carried by them in ſpite of all the oppoſition

(*a*) She was called ſo commonly for brevity's ſake; but that was not the name of her family, but only that of the town, where the monaſtery was founded, of which ſhe was Superior.

(*b*) The profeſſing of her ſiſter was deferred, becauſe ſhe was not of age. See the *Journal des Savans* of the 16th of Jan. 1696, p. 51, 52. of the Holland edition.

(*c*) That is the day of the Conception of the Virgin Mary in the Kalendar.

(*d*) See the *Journal des Savans* of the 16th of Jan. 1696.

[*A*] *There are ſo many abſurdities in that work.*] We are told there, "That as ſoon as the Virgin came "into the world, the Almighty ordered the Angels "to convey that lovely Infant to the Empyrian Hea"ven; which they did ſeveral times. That God aſ"ſigned an hundred of each of the nine choirs of "Angels, that is nine hundred Angels, to wait upon "her; and that afterwards he appointed twelve "others to ſerve her in a viſible and corporeal "ſhape; and then eighteen more of the higheſt Or"der, who deſcended by Jacob's ladder to carry "meſſages from the Queen to the King. That for "the better government of this invincible Troop, "St. Michael, the Prince of the heavenly Hoſt, was "appointed their Captain. That the body of the "Bleſſed Virgin was firſt conceived on a Sabbath"day agreeably to that of the creation of the Angels. "That if the Virgin did not ſpeak as ſoon as ſhe "was born, it was not becauſe ſhe could not, but "becauſe ſhe was not willing. That before ſhe was "three years old ſhe ſwept the houſe, in which "work ſhe was aſſiſted by Angels, &c." There are a thouſand chimerical ſtories of that kind. Theſe extracts are given us by a Proteſtant Journal-Writer (1). Another Journaliſt, who is a good Catholic, aſſures us (2), that *we find nothing in the firſt ſix chapters, but viſions, in which Siſter Maria de Jeſus tells us, that God diſcovered to her the myſteries of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the decrees which he made to create all things.* That in the twentieth chapter (3), *ſhe gives an account of what happened to the Bleſſed Virgin during the nine months, in which ſhe was in the womb of St. Anne; that ſhe proceeds then to the birth of the Virgin, the name which was given her, the Angels who had charge over her, the employments of the firſt eighteen months of her infancy, the converſation which ſhe had with God at the end of thoſe eighteen months, her diſcourſes with St. Joachim and St. Anne, and the holy exerciſes which ſhe applied herſelf to till ſhe was placed in the temple at Jeruſalem.* If any one ſhould imagine, that among ſo many viſions, there is nothing concerning the Apocalypſe, he is very much deceived; for our *Maria*, not content with having explained the 12th chapter of the *Revelations of St. John*, has given us a full and particular explication of the 20th chapter, *as it relates to the Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin* (4). It would indeed be very ſurprizing, that in traverſing ſo extenſive an Ocean for ſeveral years together, ſhe ſhould not touch upon this rock. The title of this work in the tranſlation of Thomas Croſet is as follows: *The Myſtical City of God, the Miracle of Omnipotence, the Abyſs of Grace*, or, *the Divine Hiſtory of the Life of the moſt Bleſſed Virgin Mary Mother of God, our Queen and Lady, manifeſted in theſe latter ages by the Bleſſed Virgin to Siſter Maria de Jeſus, Abbeſs of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in the city of Agreda, of the Order of St. Francis, and written by the ſaid Siſter at the command of her Superiors and Confeſſors.*

(1) *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, Novemb. 1698. p. 140, 141.
(2) *Journal des Savans* of the 16th of January 1696. p. 52.
(3) Ibid. p. 53.
(4) *Journal des Savans* of the 16th of January 1696. p. 53.

[*B*] *The Faculty of Divinity at Paris thought proper to fix a Cenſure upon it.*] The Cenſure, which they publiſhed, is known to me only by the *Journal des Savans*, where I find, I. That the ſixth propoſition condemn'd intimates, *that God gave to the Bleſſed Virgin all that he was willing to give, and that he was willing to give her all that he could, and that he could give her every thing but his own Eſſence* (5).

(5) Idem of the 26th of Nov. 1696. p. 717.

II, That

oppoſition and clamour, which was raiſed by ſome of the Doctors of that Faculty [C].

II. That the ſeventh propoſition is in theſe terms: "I declare upon the force of truth and of the light, "in which I perceive all theſe ineffable myſteries, "that all the privileges, graces, prerogatives, fa- "vours, and gifts of the pure and ſpotleſs Mary, "which comprehend the dignity of Mother of God, "depend and take their origin from her being im- "maculate and full of grace at her conception; ſo "that, without this privilege, all the others would "appear defective, or like a magnificent building "without any ſolid and proportionable foundation "(6)." III. *That the ninth propoſition explains the words of the eighth Chapter of the* Proverbs *literally as relating to the Bleſſed Virgin, and inſinuates that* BY HER KINGS ARE RAISED AND SUPPORTED ON THEIR THRONES, PRINCES GOVERN, AND THE RULERS OF THE EARTH ADMINISTER JUSTICE (7). IV. *That the thirteenth propoſition imports, that if men had their eyes ſtrong and penetrating enough to perceive the Lights of the Bleſſed Virgin, they would be ſufficient to convey them to an happy immortality* (8). V. *That beſides theſe propoſitions there are ſeveral others contained under the fourteenth article, and which are particularly condemned as raſh and contrary to the wiſe rules, which the Church has preſcribed. To which is added, that the greateſt part of them ſavour of a fabulous humour and the chimeras of apocryphal authors, and expoſe the Catholic Religion to the contempt of infidels and heretics* (9). VI. *That with reſpect to the reſt, the Faculty declares, that they do not pretend to approve of ſeveral other things contained in that book, and eſpecially thoſe places, in which the author perverts the Text of Scripture, in applying it to her own ſenſe and prejudices, and where ſhe proteſts, that the opinions, which are merely ſcholaſtical, were immediately revealed to her.* Let us make a few ſhort reflections upon this ſubject.

(6) *Journal des Savans* of the 26th of Nov. 1696. p. 717.

(7) Ibid. p. 718.

(8) Ibid. p. 719.

(9) Ibid. p. 720.

I. In the firſt place, the School-Divines generally teach, that the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the Deity and of the Creatures, is, that God has nothing in his nature derived or adventitious, but that the creatures have nothing, but what is derived from ſome other cauſe. Theſe characters they expreſs by the barbarous terms *Aſeitas* and *Abalieitas*; from whence they conclude, that all the Attributes of God are communicable to the creature except the *Aſeitas*; and conſequently, that it is poſſible for a creature to be eternal *à parte ante*, and *à parte poſt* (10), and infinite with reſpect to knowledge, power, local preſence, goodneſs, juſtice, &c. They teach, generally, that by the obediential power, the creatures are capable of the faculty of working miracles, and even the power of immediate creation. If God therefore actually conferred upon the Bleſſed Virgin all that he could, it follows, according to the eſtabliſhed maxims of the ſchools, which Siſter Maria de Jeſus boaſts ſo highly of, that the Virgin muſt have exiſted from eternity, that ſhe is omnipotent, omniſcient, that ſhe fills every place, and in ſhort that ſhe is infinite in every reſpect. I have nothing to do but to ſuppoſe that our Abbeſs of Agreda regulated herſelf upon the opinions of the Spaniſh School-Divines; for it is no matter whether ſhe underſtood them or not. She tells us expreſly, that God gave to the Bleſſed Virgin every thing that he could, and that he could confer upon her all his attributes, except the Divine Eſſence itſelf. This is ſufficient for me to draw the concluſion, as I have done; and ſince it is thus, is it not aſtoniſhing, that the Sorbonne ſays only, that *this propoſition is falſe, raſh, and contrary to the doctrine of the Goſpel* (11)? Is not ſuch a cenſure much too tender? Ought they to have ſatisfied themſelves with theſe mild expreſſions? Was it ſufficient to ſay, that ſhe was *raſh* and *erroneous*, when ſhe applies to the Virgin Mary the literal ſenſe of thoſe words of Solomon, *By me Kings reign, and the Princes of the earth decree juſtice* (12)?

(10) That is, which has neither beginning nor end.

(11) *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 1696. p. 717.

(12) Ibid. p. 718.

II. My ſecond reflection is this: Thoſe who have examined attentively all that is ſaid concerning the power of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the ſhare that is given her in the government of the univerſe, have obſerved, that ſucceeding authors by endeavouring to ſurpaſs their predeceſſors, have brought this matter now to the very extremity of flattery, ſo that it is impoſſible to go further in their compliments. But as the reaſons of this extravagant humour of exceeding each other have never been diſcontinued; for when the devotion of people muſt be the ſpring of riches for a great number of men, who are willing to live in eaſe and affluence, there is a neceſſity of awakening this ſuperſtition, and keeping it alive from time to time by the entertainments of a new invention: as this, I ſay, makes it uſeful to break all bounds of probability, it is wonderful, that they have not gone one ſtep further, and that among ſo many Monks and Nuns, who have indulged this humour of invention, there has not been one yet, who has aſſerted, that the Bleſſed Virgin governs the world alone. How comes it to paſs, that Spain has not yet produced ſome writer or other, who ſhould boaſt, that he has learn'd by revelation, that God the Father having found by long experience the infinite capacity of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the excellent uſe that ſhe had made of the power, which he had inveſted her with, had reſolved to abdicate the Empire of the Univerſe; and that God the Son, conſidering he could not follow a better example, had taken the ſame reſolution; ſo that the Holy Ghoſt, who always acts conformably to the will of thoſe two perſons, from whom he proceeds, approving this excellent deſign, the whole Trinity had thus reſigned the government of the world into the hands of the Bleſſed Virgin? That the ceremony of the abdication, and of the tranſlation of the Empire, was performed ſolemnly in the preſence of all the Angels; that there was an act for that purpoſe made in the moſt authentic form; that ever ſince this time God has never interpoſed in any affairs of the univerſe, but repoſes the whole upon the conduct of the Virgin Mary; that orders were given to ſeveral Angels to publiſh this change of Government over the earth, to the end that men might know to whom and in what manner they ſhould hereafter apply in all their acts of invocation: not to God, becauſe he had declared himſelf diſengaged from the care of this world, nor yet to the the Bleſſed Virgin, as a Mediatrix or ſubordinate Queen, but as the ſovereign and abſolute Empreſs of the univerſe? How comes it, I ſay again, that ſuch an extravagance as this ſtill remains to be publiſhed to the world? But it will be ſaid, *Have you never heard of ſuch a Rodomontade as this?* I confeſs I never have; but I would not ſwear, that ſuch a thought never has appeared, much leſs that it never will riſe in the brain of ſome mad enthuſiaſt. *And perhaps if Maria d'Agreda had lived ten years longer, ſhe might have produced this monſter* (13), *and given us a copy of the Act of Abdication, wherein we ſhould have ſeen, that the Trinity being deſirous to live henceforward at eaſe, and to acknowledge their obligations to the Bleſſed Virgin, who had ſo wiſely ſuſtained for ſeveral ages a great part of the fatigue in the Government of the world, was of opinion, that there could be nothing more proper, nor any recompence more ſuitable to her merits, than to diveſt themſelves of their Government, and to conſign over to her an abſolute authority over the whole world.* However it muſt be confeſſed, that the idea of the inalienable power of the Deity is ſo well underſtood in all Chriſtian communions, that there is no reaſon to apprehend, that this chimera of an abdication could have ſubſiſted long, ſuppoſing it had ever riſen. We need not fear ſuch a thing in our days: this may ſatisfy us, and therefore we have no occaſion to torment ourſelves with phantoms, which may appear an hundred years hence. Let poſterity look to that. *Noſtros maneat illa cura nepotes.*

III. I obſerve in the third place, that there is nothing more true, than the remark of the Sorbonne, that the book of the *Abbeſs of Agreda* contains many things, which expoſe the Church of Rome *to the contempt and ridicule of infidels and heretics.* Happy was it for the Chriſtian Religion, that Celſus and Porphyry had not the opportunity of attacking it with thoſe arms, which an infinite number of books of that kind might furniſh them with now. What might not a Pagan Author, who had the vivacity and zeal

(13) We may obſerve, that as ſhe has a talent at perverting the Scripture in ſo egregious a manner, (See the *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 1696. p. 720.) ſhe could not fail of taking the advantage of what is written in St. John v. 22. *The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son*; and of another paſſage in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians xv. 24. *When Chriſt ſhall have delivered up the Kingdom unto God, even the Father.*

Faculty [C]. This cenſure, however juſt it was, notwithſtanding gave great ſcandal to a vaſt number of people. It is ſuppoſed, that the apprehenſion of this ſcandal obliged the Faculty to inſert in their Act a Declaration [D], which without ſuch a conſideration would have

zeal of Arnobius, ſay at this time againſt the church? If Henry Stevens, or Philip de Marnix were to come again into the world, what additions might they receive from the *Myſtical City of Maria d'Agreda*, the one to his *Apology for Herodotus*, and the other to his *Repreſentation of the Differences of Religion?*

IV. In the laſt place I ſay, that theſe authors, who pretend to revelation, impoſe egregiouſly upon the world. They give us that for immediate revelation, which they have learned by their own reading. For inſtance, here is the Abbeſs of Agreda, who affirms, that *thoſe opinions*, which are merely ſcholaſtic, *were diſcovered to her from heaven* (14).

(14) *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 1696. p. 720.

[C] *In ſpite of all the oppoſition .... raiſed by ſeveral Doctors of the Faculty.*] Here follow ſome extracts from a piece intitled, *The Affair of Maria d'Agreda, and the manner in which her condemnation was procured by a cabal of the Sorbonne* (15). It is a letter from an anonymous perſon to an anonymous one. *The odour of ſanctity in which this excellent Nun died, and the canonization of her, which has been ſollicited at Rome, had given me ſo high an opinion of her perſon, that I was ſurprized to hear that the Faculty of Divinity at Paris had aſſembled in order to condemn her writings.* Thus ſpeaks our author (16). Then he proceeds to ſuppoſe, *That they were ſome mercenary ſouls, who, at the ſollicitation of three Prelates, to whom they were devoted, procured her condemnation* (17). " The whole intrigue, con-
" tinues he (18), was managed thus. My Lord ***,
" a Prelate more firmly attach'd to the ſentiments of
" St. Thomas Aquinas, than a young Jacobine, who
" is obliged to ſwear implicitly *in verba Magiſtri*,
" could never bear that the Faculty ſhould give into
" the immaculate Conception of the Virgin with ſo
" much precipitation. The hatred which he enter-
" tained againſt Father Thomas Croſet, a Franciſcan,
" and the Tranſlator of that book, and which was
" occaſioned by a report that the Tranſlator had ſpoke
" againſt him, upon refuſal of a ſtation in his Dio-
" ceſe, and a deſire to make amends to A .... the
" King's Printer, who lives here now, for a conſi-
" derable loſs, which he ſuſtained by his works, and
" who had bought the impreſſion of this book,
" printed by H .... at Marſeilles, were the grounds
" of this uproar amongſt the Faculty; for in order
" to ſell a book ſoon, it is ſufficient to procure it
" to be condemned. Every body runs for it as it
" were to a fire; and this book, which was not
" worth above twenty Sous, was ſold by A ... for
" ten Livres, beſides what was ſold privately of
" a counterfeit impreſſion. This Prelate, in order
" to ſucceed the better in his deſign, prepoſſeſſed my
" Lord .... one of the moſt moderate Prelates of
" the Kingdom. Theſe two then joined themſelves
" to my Lord .... a perſon of a very low genius
" and ſuſceptible of every impreſſion and prejudice
" given up entirely to ceremony and trifles. You
" may obſerve that theſe Lords go hand in hand.
" This Triumvirate therefore ſpoke to all their
" creatures and gained Monſieur Le Fevre," Syndic of the Sorbonne, *who propoſed to the Faculty on the 20th of May the book of Maria d'Agreda.* Deputies were nominated to examine it. *They made a report* (19) *of ſixty eight propoſitions, which they termed heretical, raſh, ſcandalous and offenſive to modeſt ears.* They were printed with this character, which the Deputies gave them, and *diſtributed to the Doctors* (20), *that they might give their opinions at the firſt aſſembly* (21). *Father Meron, a Cordelier, of whom we have ſeveral excellent works both in Philoſophy and Chronology, deſired the Faculty not to precipitate the condemnation of a book, of which the Pope had reſerved the cognizance to himſelf, and had deputed ſeveral Cardinals who did then actually examine it* (22)... *The cabal fell upon him furiouſly, and he was obliged to tell them, that if they went on further without ſhewing any regard to his petition, he would appeal to the Pope from every thing that ſhould be reſolved againſt that book.* He declared however, *that if this appeal interfered in any manner with the rights of the Gallican Church, he would deſiſt* (23). From that day to the time of their meeting, there was a variety of intrigues made uſe of. *The day of the aſſembly being come, Meſſieurs de Sauſſoy and Gobillon condemned the book* (24). " But Monſieur Le Caron ſhewed them,
" that there was nothing in it that deſerved cenſure,
" which he confirmed by a great many ſtrong rea-
" ſons. There were parties on both ſides, which
" exerted themſelves in all the twenty nine Aſſem-
" blies that followed. The Syndic ſtigmatiz'd thoſe
" of Mr. Le Caron's party by the name of Agredins,
" which ſtill remains upon them." This affair was concluded the 17th of September. *There was as much clamour in the aſſembly-room as if it were a common hall* (25)... *The next day Meſſrs. du Flos and du Mas, formerly Counſellors in the Parliament of Paris, proteſted againſt this cenſure, and ſignified their proteſts to the Dean and Syndic of the Faculty, which proteſts ſtill ſubſiſt, not having been reverſed by any act* (26). *Since that time the Syndic and the Deputies met together, and made another cenſure — which was read the firſt of October; but before the reading of it the Syndic acquainted the Faculty with the oppoſition, that had been made againſt it by thoſe two Gentlemen. He obſerved likewiſe that the Archbiſhop of Paris having ſent for them to come to his Palace, had convinced them by ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that the Abbé du Mas was entirely brought over, and that he was ſure that when Monſr. du Flos had heard the cenſure read, he would likewiſe change his mind. Upon this, the writing of the Syndic was read, and they were all ſurprized to find ſeveral new propoſitions cenſured in it, which had never been mentioned to the Faculty before, and that ſeveral others, which had been coddemned, were retrenched, &c.* (27). The reader may judge of theſe extracts as he thinks proper.

(15) Tho' in the Title it is ſaid to be printed at Cologne in 1697, yet I believe that it was printed at Paris. It contains forty pages in 12°.

(16) Pag. 3.

(17) Pag. 12.
(18) P. 13 and the following.

(19) In the Aſſembly of the 2d of July. ibid. p. 28.

(20) Ibid. p. 29.

(21) Ordered to meet the 14th of July.

(22) Ibid. p. 30.

(23) *Affaire de Marie d'Agreda*, p. 31.

(24) Ibid. p. 35, 36.

(25) Ibid. p. 37.

(26) Ibid. p. 38.

(27) Ibid. p. 39.

[D] *That the apprehenſion of this ſcandal obliged the Faculty to inſert in their Act a Declaration.*] " They made firſt a ſolemn proteſtation,
" that they did not intend by this cenſure to detract
" any thing from the lawful worſhip, which the Ca-
" tholic Church renders to the Bleſſed Virgin; that
" they honoured her as the Mother of God; that
" they placed a peculiar confidence in her interceſ-
" ſion; that they adhered invariably to the opinion
" of the Fathers touching the Immaculate Concep-
" tion; and that they firmly believed her Aſſump-
" tion into heaven both of body and ſoul (28)." The author of a Letter, of which we have given ſeveral extracts in the preceding remark, tells us, that the cenſure, in which *they have laid down as acknowledged points the Conception and Aſſumption of the Virgin*, was made by the Syndic and the Deputies, after the body of the Faculty had entirely finiſh'd the judgment (29). This ſhews, that they had not the courage to publiſh the cenſure of the Faculty without joining a Salvo to it; and by this we may judge what danger there is in remonſtrating even againſt the moſt palpable errors, when they have a tendency to raiſe the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin. Whoever ſhould attempt to do it, would be expoſed not only to the indignation of the people, but even to that of the Monks and many other Eccleſiaſtics. They endeavoured therefore to eſcape this reſentment by elaborate Apologies and Prefaces (30). What a ſlavery is this? And what a proof it is, that the diſeaſe is incurable? The obſervation of Livy concerning the Roman Republic is equally applicable now to the Church of that name: *Labente deinde paulatim diſciplinâ, velut deſidentes primo mores ſequatur animo: deinde ut magis magiſque lapſi ſunt, tum ire cœperint præcipites, donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia noſtra nec remedia pati poſſumus, perventum eſt* (31). As diſcipline was relaxed by degrees, the ſtrictneſs of their morals began likewiſe to be relaxed; and in this manner declining every day more and more, they ruſh'd on precipitately to deſtruction, till at laſt theſe times are come, in which we can neither bear our vices, nor the remedies of them. The work of Maria d'Agreda is manifeſtly full of fables and abſurd opinions. However, as it favours

(28) *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 1696. pag. 716, 717.

(29) *Affaire de Marie d'Agreda*, p. 30.

(30) With regard to theſe devotees, thoſe verſes of Monſieur Deſpreaux have been applied to this ſubject. *Un Auteur a genoux, dans un humble Preface au Lecteur qu'il onnie abean demander Grace.*

(31) Livius *Hiſt.* lib. 1. *initio.*

have been abſolutely ſuperfluous; ſince the queſtion was not concerning any thing ſpecified in that declaration. We muſt not omit to obſerve, that the father of Maria d'Agreda became a Monk *in a Convent of the Order of St. Francis, where two of his ſons were Monks at that time, and that he lived there in a very exemplary manner, and died with the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of devotion (e)*. Nor ſhould we forget to mention, that the canonization of Maria d'Agreda was very warmly ſollicited at Rome. See the remark [C], at the beginning.

(e) *Journal des Savans* of the 16th of Jan. 1696. p. 51.

the erroneous notions, which ſome would inculcate, of the ſupereminent dignity and unlimited power of the Bleſſed Virgin, there was a neceſſity of uſing the greateſt addreſs, in order to procure the cenſure of it at Paris. The author of the Letter (32) does a greater injury than he imagines to his own Church and Nation, when he expoſes the management and artifice made uſe of by thoſe, who were engaged in cenſuring *the myſtical city* of this Spaniſh Abbeſs. There would have been no need of caballing, if the minds of men had not been prodigiouſly hardened with prejudice: in ſuch a caſe they would not have been obliged to have recourſe to theſe ſoftening methods. The cenſure would have been made, and nobody would have murmur'd at it. All the Courts of Inquiſition had prevented the Faculty of Divinity at Paris; whereas they have been all ſilent till now, if I am not miſtaken: nay even thoſe, who are ſo ready to condemn every writing, that oppoſes ever ſo tenderly the moſt doubtful traditions, if they are but favourable to the worſhip of Saints (33).

(32) Of which we have given the Title in the beginning of the Remark [C].

(33) The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Jeſuits at Antwerp were condemned by the Inquiſition at Toledo.

We may obſerve, that there is a particular reaſon, which might oblige the Sorbonne to ſome cautiouſneſs, and expoſe them to the oppoſition of ſome Doctors. And this is, that there have been ſo many conſequences drawn from the epithet of *Mother of God*, that there is hardly any notion ſo extravagant concerning the excellence and power of the Virgin, but what may in ſome meaſure be ſupported by arguments *ad hominem*, drawn from theſe conſequences. You are carried on by degrees wherever they pleaſe. The ſubtilties of the School-Divines confound you entirely: if you go back, they charge you with inconſiſtency. Thence it comes to paſs, that thoſe, who value themſelves upon reaſoning conſequentially, and favouring the popular devotion at the ſame time, have choſe rather to advance ſtill further, than to retire back again. And yet notwithſtanding this, their ſyſtem is ſtill irregular and imperfect; they want the Divinity of the Virgin Mary in a literal ſenſe; ſince, according to the order of things, the Mother of God ought to be a Goddeſs, and exactly of the ſame ſpecific nature with her Son. She would be ſo, if we would but adopt the imagination of the Cavalier Borri (34); but that has been condemned. The time however may come, when the neceſſity of this ſhall be diſcovered, and ſo this irregularity and inconſiſtence ſhall be adjuſted. This I imagine is the hearty deſire of a great many people (35). Every thing of this kind is poſſible under certain circumſtances, that is, when there ſhall happen a proper union between the temporal and ſpiritual intereſts. Every thing paſſes, when Princes concur with the Heads of the Eccleſiaſtical Party, under a proper ſituation of affairs in general.

(34) See the Remark [B] in the Article BORRI, and the text of that Article a little above the place to which that Remark belongs.

(35) *O ſi angulus ille Proximus accedat, qui nunc deformat agellum!* Horat. Sat. VI. lib. 2. ver. 8.

I ſhall conclude by obſerving, that if the Sorbonne had any hopes, that their cenſure would remove a ſtumbling-block out of the way of the New-converts, they were much deceived: for the oppoſition, which they met with from their own body, and the diſſatisfaction, which appeared after the publication of their Cenſure, ſcandalized thoſe Converts much more, than their Cenſure could poſſibly edify them. Add to this, that the great ſubject of their ſcandal appears ſtill entire in the Preface to that Cenſure; a Preface, which gives a new occaſion of continuing that important controverſy concerning the Worſhip of Saints, the exceſſes of which have excited ſeveral curious perſons to examine in a philoſophical manner from whence it took its origin (36).

(36) See the Remark [N] in the Article NESTORIUS.

☞AGRESTIS (JULIUS) a Captain (*a*) in Vitellius's army, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very brave, but at the ſame time very ſurpriſing action. The occaſion of it was as follows. Antonius who had revolted from Vitellius to Veſpaſian had took, plundered and laid waſte the city of Cremona. Vitellius, inſtead of doing his utmoſt to retrieve this loſs, endeavoured by all means to conceal it from the people [A]. Agreſtis who could not bear this indolence, or rather this ſtupid diſſimulation, laboured in many conferences he had with the Emperor, to awaken him to magnanimity and manhood; but all in vain: however, he prevailed with Vitellius that he himſelf might be ſent to ſurvey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the late tranſactions at Cremona. Neither attempted he to aſſume the lurking behaviour of a ſpy, and eſcape the notice of Antonius; but declaring to him the inſtructions from the Emperor and his own deſign, demanded to view the whole in perſon. Antonius ſent readily ſome perſons with Agreſtis, who ſhewed him all the ſcene of the fight, the deſolation and remains of Cremona, and the Legions taken priſoners. Agreſtis returned to Vitellius, but finding

(*a*) Tacitus ſays *Centurio*; a Centurion had the command over an hundred men.

[A] *Vitellius endeavoured by all means to conceal his loſs from the people.*] Tacitus's reflection on this occaſion is very judicious. "As Vitellius, *ſays he*, "after the ſore reverſe of his fortune at Cremona, "carefully ſmothered the news of the calamity, by "ſuch ſtupid diſſimulation he poſtponed not his di-"ſtreſſes themſelves, but the remedies of his di-"ſtreſſes. For had he declared the diſaſter, and had "recourſe to advice, a reſource would have been "found ſtill remaining of hopes and of forces. "Whilſt on the contrary he feigned that all his pro-"ceedings proſpered, he by ſuch falſe repreſentati-"ons left his condition deſperate (1)." This is alſo often the caſe of private perſons, who draw an irretrievable ruin upon themſelves, becauſe either out of ſhame or out of pride they conceal the bad condition of their affairs; whereas by diſcovering it in time to ſome friends, their downfal might have been prevented. And when Princes or their Miniſters endeavour to conceal the misfortunes of the ſtate; when they affect to repreſent it in a flouriſhing condition at the ſame time that trade is decaying apace, and ſtrangers are daily incroaching upon the liberty and the property of the natives, it is almoſt an infallible ſign of an approaching ruin. Of this Vitellius is a ſad inſtance; ſince he fell a ſacrifice to his own ſtupidity after a very ſhort reign (2). We cannot forbear tranſcribing here what Tacitus ſays with regard to this Emperor's diſſimulation. "About his "perſon, *ſays he*, was obſerved a wonderful ſilence "concerning the war; through the city all diſ-"courſes about it were prohibited, and for this "very cauſe theſe diſcourſes grew more common: "Nay ſuch as had they been left to their liberty, "would have recounted events truly, finding them-"ſelves reſtrained, publiſhed them now with tragi-"cal aggravations. Nor were the Leaders of the "enemy's hoſt wanting to blazen the fame of their "victory; with this view whatever ſpies of Vitel-"lius they ſeized they carried all over the camp, "that they might behold the mighty force of the "conquering army, and then ſent them back to Rome. "All theſe Vitellius, when he had ſecretly examined "them, cauſed to be murdered (3)."

(1) Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 3. p. m. 343.

(2) Of about 8 months, Sueton. *in Vitel.* cap. 15.

(3) Gordon's *Tacitus*, Vol. 2. p. 193.

ing him to reject as ſo many falſifications all the accounts which he brought, nay hearing himſelf accuſed of corruption and infidelity. "Since then, ſaid he, ſome remarkable confirmation is neceſſary, and ſince neither my life, nor my death can henceforth avail thee, I will furniſh thee with an evidence which thou may'ſt credit." Having ſo ſaid he left his preſence, and with a voluntary death confirmed to be true what he had declared [*B*]. Some authors relate, that by orders from Vitellius he was murdered, but of his faith and fortitude give the ſame teſtimony. This is what Tacitus tells us of Agreſtis (*b*); we have followed for the moſt part Mr. Gordon's tranſlation (*c*), being perſuaded we could not preſent the reader with one more accurate nor more elegant.

(*b*) *Hiſt.* lib. 3. p. m. 343. edit. Bleau.

(*c*) Vol. 2. pag. 193.

[*B*] *With a voluntary death confirmed to be true what he had declared.*] What a noble and generous action was this? How ſtrong a proof of this Captain's fidelity to his Prince, and love for his Country! Happy thoſe Princes who have ſuch faithful Counſellors; and happy the Nation, where thoſe who approach the Throne, dare to tell the truth, not only at the expence of their fortunes, but even at the expence of their very lives. England may boaſt of ſuch Patriots, who chuſe to ſacrifice their private intereſt rather than to enter into ſchemes that are deſtructive to the liberty of the Nation. And we may be ſure that ſuch generous and public-ſpirited men would alſo lay down their lives rather than betray the truſt repoſed in them. When a man undergoes a voluntary death, we may, generally ſpeaking, be perſuaded of his ſincerity: and when he dies to maintain the truth of a fact, of which he has been an eye-witneſs, the fact cannot be called in queſtion. This was the caſe of the Apoſtles with regard to Chriſt's Reſurrection. But then it muſt be obſerved, that thoſe, who had not ſeen the Lord, but believed his Reſurrection only on the teſtimony of others, who had ſeen him, cannot properly be called witneſſes of the Reſurrection, tho' they died for their religion: If the word *Martyr* [Μάρτυρ] properly ſignifies *a witneſs*, thoſe only can be ſtyled Martyrs, who had ſeen our Saviour raiſed from the dead, and who died to maintain the truth of his Reſurrection: I wiſh that thoſe, who write in defence of Chriſtianity, would reflect upon this, and not bring in as witneſſes of the Reſurrection, perſons who died in the ſecond or third Century; tho' their voluntary death may be a proof of their ſincerity, yet it cannot be one of Chriſt's Reſurrection, to which they were no witneſſes. I.

☞AGRICOLA (CNEIUS JULIUS), was born at Frejus in Provence. His father's name was Julius Græcinus, a man of Senatorian rank, and famous for his eloquence. He was put to death by Caligula for refuſing to accuſe Marcus Silanus. His mother's name was Julia Procilla, a Lady of exemplary virtue (*a*). He ſtudied Philoſophy and Civil Law at Marſeilles, as far as was ſuitable to his character as a Roman and a Senator. His firſt ſervice in war was under Suetonius Paullinus in Britain; and upon his return to Rome he married Domitia Decidiana, with whom he lived in the utmoſt harmony and tranquillity. He was choſen Queſtor in Aſia at the ſame time that Salvius Titianus was Pro-Conſul there; and he preſerved his integrity, though that Province was extremely rich, and Titianus, who was enormouſly avaritious, would have readily countenanced all the exorbitances which he could have committed, in order to ſkreen his own. He was afterwards choſen Tribune of the People, and then Pretor, under the Emperor Nero. In Veſpaſian's time he was made Legate to Vettius Bolanus in Britain, and upon his return was ranked among the Patricians by that Emperor, and afterwards appointed Governor of Aquitania; which poſt he held for three years, and upon his return was choſen Conſul, and then Governor of Britain, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct in ſeveral campaigns. He ſubdued the Ordovices and the Iſland Mona; and then reformed the abuſes occaſioned by the avarice or careleſſneſs of the former Governors. He put a ſtop to all manner of extortions, and cauſed juſtice to be impartially adminiſtred. Veſpaſian dying about this time, Titus his ſon, knowing his great merit, continued him in the government. In the ſpring he marched toward the North, where he made ſome new conqueſts, and ordered Forts to be built for the Romans to winter in. He ſpent the winter following in endeavouring to bring the Britons to conform to the Roman cuſtoms [*A*]. In his third campaign he advanced as far as the river Tweed; and in his fourth he ſubdued the nations between the Tweed and the two Bays, known by the names of the Fryths of Edinburgh and Dunbritton, into which the rivers Glota and Bodotria diſcharge themſelves. Here he built caſtles and fortreſſes in order to ſhut up the nations which were yet unconquered. In his fifth campaign he marched beyond the Fryths, where he ſubdued ſome nations, and fixed garriſons

(*a*) Tacit. *Vit. Agricol.* c. 4.

[*A*] *To bring the Britons to conform to the Roman cuſtoms.*] He thought the beſt way of diverting them from any attempts of riſing and taking arms, was to ſoften their rough manners, by propoſing to them new kinds of pleaſure, and inſpiring them with a deſire of imitating the cuſtoms of the Romans. Soon after this the country was adorned with magnificent temples, portico's, baths, and many other fine buildings both public and private. The Britiſh Nobles had their ſons educated in learning, and they, who before had the utmoſt averſion for the Roman language, now ſubmitted to the ſtudy of the Roman eloquence. They wore likewiſe the Roman habit. In ſhort, as Tacitus obſerves (1), they were brought to conſider thoſe things as ſigns of *politeneſs*, which were only ſo many badges of *ſlavery*. *Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars ſervitutis eſſet.* Juba, in the Tragedy of *Cato*, has elegantly expreſſed the Roman pretences of civilizing the world:

A Roman ſoul is bent on higher views;
To civilize the rude, unpoliſh'd world,
And lay it under the reſtraint of laws;
To make man mild and ſociable to man;
To cultivate the wild, licentious ſavage,
With wiſdom, diſcipline, and liberal arts,
Th' embelliſhments of life. Virtues like theſe
Make human nature ſhine, reform the ſoul,
And break our fierce Barbarians into men.

(1) *Vit. Agric.* c. 21.

garriſons along the weſtern coaſts over-againſt Ireland, deſigning to make a deſcent upon that Iſland, having had a perfect information of the ſtate of that country from a Nobleman, who had been baniſhed from thence. In his ſixth campaign he paſſed the river Bodotria, ordering his fleet, the firſt which the Romans ever had upon thoſe Seas, to row along the coaſts, and take a view of the northern parts. He was advancing farther northwards, when he was informed that the northern nations were marching againſt him with a formidable army, which he routed. In the following ſpring the Britons raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men commanded by Galgacus, who made an excellent ſpeech to them [*B*]. Agricola likewiſe addreſſed his ſoldiers in a very ſtrong and eloquent manner. The former were routed, and ten thouſand killed, whereas but three hundred and forty of the Romans were loſt. Domitian being informed of this victory grew jealous of him, and recalled him [*C*], under pretence of making him Governor of Syria. His death was ſuſpected to have been occaſioned by poiſon given him by that Emperor [*D*], and happened very ſeaſonably for him, conſidering the calamities which followed the unbounded cruelty and tyranny of Domitian. Tacitus the Hiſtorian, who married his daughter, has written his life, in which he gives an excellent character of him [*E*], and laments his death in a very beautiful and

[*B*] *Galgacus, who made an excellent ſpeech to them.*] He was a man of eminent rank and virtue, and his ſpeech is one of the ſevereſt ſatyrs imaginable upon the Romans. However Tacitus has inſerted it at length; and we ſhall give an abſtract of it as far as it relates to their character. "As often, ſays he, as "I conſider the cauſes of the war and our neceſſity, I "ſtrongly hope, that this day, and your unani-"mous conſent, will lay the foundation of our li-"berty over all Britain. For you are all free from "ſlavery; and there is no other land remaining for "us, or indeed any ſea ſecure, ſince the Roman fleet "is purſuing us. And therefore war and arms, "which are moſt honourable for the men of cou-"rage, are now the greateſt ſecurity even to the "coward." He then tells them, that tho' their diſtance had at firſt protected them from the attempts of the Romans, yet now their enemies had purſued them to the extremities of their country. *Thoſe robbers of the world*, ſays he, *when they can find no more land to ſubmit to their univerſal devaſtation, are reſolved to ſearch the ſea. If an enemy is rich, they are covetous; if poor, they are ambitious; they are not ſatisfied with the conqueſt of the whole Eaſt and Weſt; but have an equal deſire to the poor and richeſt countries of the world; to rob, and kill, and take away under falſe pretences, they call* EMPIRE; *and when they made a general ſolitude, they call it* PEACE. *Raptores orbis, poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuere terræ, & mare ſcrutantur; ſi locuples hoſtis eſt, avari; ſi pauper, ambitioſi. Quos non oriens, non occidens ſatiaverit; ſoli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiſcunt: auferre, trucidare, capere falſis nominibus*, imperium; *atque ubi ſolitudinem faciunt,* pacem *appellant* (2). He then proceeds to ſhew the miſeries, which they ſuffer'd from the Roman injuſtice and oppreſſion; and animates them with the example of Boadicea; he repreſents to them the importance of that battle, and tells them, that as they were now going to engage, they *ſhould think of their anceſtors and their poſterity: Proinde ituri in aciem & majores veſtros & poſteros cogitate.*

(2) Id. ibid. cap. 30.

[*C*] *Grew jealous of him, and recalled him.*] He received the news with all the outward expreſſions of joy, tho' his mind was very uneaſy at it. He had juſt before celebrated a fictitious triumph over Germany, and had hired men to counterfeit the part of ſlaves; which expoſed him to a general ridicule; ſo that he could not but be extremely chagrin'd, to find that Agricola's victory was every where ſpoken of with the utmoſt commendation. He was very apprehenſive from obſerving that a private man's name was extolled ſo much above his own. However he ſuſpended his reſolutions of reſentment againſt Agricola, till a proper opportunity ſhould offer; and therefore he ordered, that the ſenate ſhould decree him the triumphal ornaments, and a ſtatue crowned with laurel. Nay he inſinuated, that the Goverment of Syria, which was then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, ſhould be given to him. Tacitus tells us, that there was a report, that one of Domitian's Freedmen was ſent to Agricola with the orders for his being Governour of that province, and commanded to deliver them to him, if he was in Britain; but meeting him at ſea in his paſſage over from that iſland, he returned to the Emperor without delivering his meſſage. The Hiſtorian is not certain whether that report was true, or only invented as agreeable to Domitian's character. Agricola enter'd Rome very privately and in the night, that he might not give the leaſt umbrage; he lived in ſuch a manner as might prevent any jealouſy in the Emperor. However, his virtues could not but expoſe him to his reſentments; and he was very frequently accuſed before Domitian in his abſence, not on account of any real crime or injury which he had done, but becauſe the Emperor was jealous of his merit and reputation, and his enemies had taken the moſt effectual way to ruin him, by commending him. *Cauſa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læſi cujuſquam, ſed infenſus virtutibus Princeps, & gloria viri, ac peſſimum inimicorum genus, laudantes* (3).

(3) Idem, ibid. c. 41.

[*D*] *His death was ſuſpected to have been occaſion'd by poiſon given him by that Emperor.*] Mr. de Rapin Thoyras ſays expreſly, that *Domitian cauſed him to be poiſoned* (4). And Dion Caſſius * tells us he was killed by that Emperor. But Tacitus only ſays, that there was a conſtant rumour to that purpoſe: however he could not affirm any thing for certain: *Nobis nihil comperti affirmare auſim* (5). But he tells us, that thro' his whole ſickneſs the Emperor was perpetually ſending the Chief of his Freedmen and Phyſicians to enquire after his health. Whether this care was real or affected, is unknown. The laſt day of his life, there were Meſſengers conſtantly employed by Domitian to give him an account how near Agricola was to his end; and nobody could imagine, that the Emperor would have been ſo haſty to hear news, which would prove diſagreeable to him. *Supremo quidem die momenta deficientis per diſpoſitos curſores nuntiata conſtabat, nullo credente ſic adcelerari, quæ triſtis audiret.* When he read Agricola's Will, in which he left him coheir with his own wife and daughter, he was extremely pleaſed, as if it were deſigned as a mark of his regard and eſteem for him; for his mind, as Tacitus obſerves, was ſo vitiated by the perpetual flatteries of thoſe about him, that he did not conſider, that a good Father never leaves any but a bad Prince his heir. *Satis conſtabat lecto teſtamento Agricolæ, quo cohæredem optimæ uxori & piiſſimæ filiæ Domitianum ſcripſit, lætatum eum, velut honore judicioque tam cæca & corrupta mens aſſiduis adulationibus erat, ut neſciret à bono patre non ſcribi hæredem, niſi malum Principem* (6).

(4) Vol. 1. lib. 1. * Ἐσεάγει ὑπὸ Δομετιάνε. Dio. *in Tito.* p. 212. ed. R. Stephani 1551.

(5) Tacit. *ubi ſupra*, cap. 43.

(6) Idem, ibid.

[*E*] *Gives an excellent character of him.*] He was of a moderate ſtature rather than tall; and his countenance was extremely agreeable, and ſhewed all the marks of a good and great man. He died in the fifty ſixth year of his age; tho' he had lived long enough to eſtabliſh his fame upon the moſt ſolid foundation. He was not ambitious of poſſeſſing too great a fortune; but he enjoyed ſuch an one, as was ſufficient for a noble and generous mind. He had taſted all the ſatisfactions, which reſult from the conſciouſneſs of having acted ſuitably to the obligations of his ſuperior ſtations; and he had been veſted with all the ornaments and titles, which however miſplaced in others, were in him the rewards

and pathetic manner [F]. Moreri has committed ſeveral errors in this Article [G].

of real merit. He might be ſtyled an happy man, as Tacitus obſerves, ſince he eſcaped the miſeries, which the Roman Empire was ſoon after involved in, and died while his wife and daughter were living, in the poſſeſſion of his dignity, in the height of his fame, and with all his relations and friends ſafe and proſperous: *Filiâ atque uxore ſuperſtitibus, poteſt videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente famâ, ſalvis affinitatibus & amicitiis futura effugiſſe.* A man of his conſpicuous virtues muſt inevitably prove a ſhocking object to ſuch a tyrant as Domitian; whom Tacitus repreſents to have been more cruel in his treatment of men of merit, than even Nero himſelf. The latter, ſays he, was never preſent at the execution, he only gave orders for the commiſſion of his crimes, but he always avoided ſeeing the perpetration of them; whereas the chief part of the miſery of the ſufferers under Domitian was to ſee him in the midſt of their torments and to be ſeen by him. *Nero ſubtraxit oculos; juſſitque ſcelera, non ſpectavit: præcipua ſub Domitiano miſeriarum pars erat, videre & adſpici.*

[F] *Lamented his death in a very beautiful and pathetic manner.*] It is an elegant apoſtrophe to Agricola himſelf. The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to ſee a tranſlation of ſo fine a piece of Oratory, though the ſtrength and conciſeneſs of Tacitus are extremely difficult to be expreſſed in our language. "What aggravates mine and your daughter's ſorrow, "beſides the loſs of you, is, that we had not the "opportunity of ſitting by you in your ſickneſs, "ſupporting you in your faintings, and receiving the "ſatisfaction of your laſt looks and embraces. Then "we ſhould have received from you thoſe commands "and advices, which would have perpetually been "fixed in our memory. This is a great cauſe of our "regret; you were loſt to us by four years abſence "from us. It is certain, that you, beſt of fathers, "wanted nothing ſuitable to your character and cir-"cumſtances, ſince you had your tender wife preſent "with you; but you ſhould have been lamented "with other tears beſides her's, and at your laſt mo-"ments your eyes wanted the ſight of ſome who "were very dear to you. If there be any reſidence "for the Manes of the virtuous; if, as Philoſophers "are of opinion, the ſouls of the great are not ex-"tinguiſhed with their bodies, may you reſt in peace, "and recall us your family from too weak and wo-"maniſh lamentations for your death to the con-"templation of your virtues, which it is very un-"reaſonable to regret. Let us rather honour you "with a juſt admiration. This is the true honour, "and the beſt inſtance of piety, that we your neareſt "relations can ſhew you. This is what I ſhall repre-"ſent to your daughter and your wife, that the for-"mer would revere the memory of her father, and "the latter of her huſband, by revolving all his ac-"tions and words in their minds, and reflect more "upon the character and idea of his ſoul than of "his body. Not that I would in the leaſt oppoſe "the erecting to you images of marble or braſs; "but as the bodies of men are periſhing and mortal, "ſo likewiſe are their ſtatues; but the form of the "mind is eternal, and can never be preſerved or "expreſſed by any foreign materials or art, but only "by the real character and behaviour of the perſon "who imitates it. Whatever we loved and admired "in Agricola, ſtill remains, and will for ever remain "in the minds of men, and in the perpetual fame "that attends noble and great actions. Many of the "Ancients will be ſunk in oblivion without the leaſt "remain of fame or reputation; but Agricola will "be carried down to poſterity, and ſurvive in im-"mortal honour." *Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati ſumus, manet, manſurumque eſt in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, famâ rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios & ignobiles oblivio obruet; Agricola poſteritati narratus & traditus ſuperſtes erit* (7).

(7) Idem, ibid. c. 46.

[G] *Moreri has committed ſeveral errors in this Article.*] I. He tells us, that when Agricola was choſen *Queſtor or Treaſurer of Aſia, he acted with great integrity, and did not ſuffer himſelf to be perverted by the ill example of* HIS PREDECESSOR LUCIUS SALVIUS OTHO TITIANUS. But it appears from Tacitus, that Salvius Titianus was Pro-Conſul of Aſia at the ſame time that Agricola was Queſtor, and not his Predeceſſor in that office. Beſides, that Hiſtorian calls him only Salvius Titianus, and not as Moreri has done. II. He tells us, that *Agricola paſſed over to Ireland, a country till then unknown to the Romans, which he ſubdued.* But we find nothing of this in Tacitus, who only tells us, that he had a deſign to make a deſcent upon that Iſland; but this was never executed by him. III. He ſays, that upon *Agricola's return to Rome, Domitian would not ſuffer him to enter the city in the day time, leſt he ſhould be honoured by a public triumph.* But we find from Tacitus, that Agricola entered in this private manner for fear of giving umbrage to Domitian, and not that the Emperor gave any orders for that purpoſe. IV. He tells us, that Tacitus has affirmed, *that Veſpaſian promiſed to give his daughter in marriage to Agricola*; but there is nothing like this in that Hiſtorian; and it appears that he was married long before to Domitia Decidiana, who ſurvived him. T.

AGRICOLA. There have been almoſt an infinite number of authors of this name; but as there are but three or four, who are particularly known to me, I ſhall ſpeak only of them.

AGRICOLA (GEORGE) a German Phyſician, was excellently well verſed in the knowledge of metals. He was born at Glaucha in Miſnia the 24th of March 1494. The diſcoveries which he made in the mountains of Bohemia after his return from Italy, gave him ſo ardent a deſire of examining accurately into every thing that related to metals, that even when he was engaged by his friend's advice in the practice of Phyſick at Joachimſtal (*a*), he employed all the time that he could poſſibly ſpare in the ſtudy of Foſſils. In order to gratify this paſſion the more intenſely he removed to Chemnits, where he applied himſelf wholly to that ſtudy. He ſpent in the purſuit of it not only the penſion procured him from Maurice Duke of Saxony, but likewiſe part of his own eſtate, ſo that he gained by his labours much more glory than profit. He compoſed ſeveral works upon his favourite ſubject, as well as upon divers others [A]. He criticiſed upon what Budeus, Leonard Portius and Alciat had wrote concerning

(a) That is, the Valley of Joachim; it is a town in Miſnia.

[A] *He compoſed ſeveral works upon his favourite ſubject, as well as upon divers others.*] The Titles of ſome are as follow. *De Ortu & Cauſis Subterraneorum. De Natura eorum, quæ effluunt ex terra. De Natura Foſſilium. De medicatis Fontibus. De ſubterraneis Animantibus. De veteribus & novis Metallis. De Re metallicâ.* I eſteem as a work of Politics his Oration *De Bello Turcis inferendo* (1); as a work of Controverſy his Treatiſe *de Traditionibus Apoſtolicis*; and as a work of Phyſic his Book *De Peſte*. Melchior Adam is not certain whether the two laſt works were ever printed. I am alſo ignorant of it with regard to the Treatiſe of *Controverſy*; but I am well aſſured, that the other was printed at Baſil in the year 1554, and that there were two editions of it before Melchior Adam publiſhed his Book. See Merklin in his *Lindenius renovatus*.

(1) Printed at Baſil in the year 1538.

cerning Weights and Measures, and discovered several errors in them. Alciat undertook a defence of himself, but without success. Bodin is of opinion, that Aristotle and Pliny may be said to be perfectly ignorant, with regard to the knowledge of Metals, if compared with Agricola (*b*). I must not omit to observe, that when Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus went to join the army of Charles the Fifth in Bohemia, Agricola attended them, in order to shew his fidelity, though this obliged him at the same time to quit the care of his estate, his children and his wife, who was then big with child (*c*). He died at Chemnits the 21st of November 1555, a very firm Papist. The zeal with which he attacked the Protestant doctrine in the latter part of his life, though at first he had appeared not very averse from it [*B*], rendered him so odious to the Lutherans, that they suffered his body to continue unburied for five days together [*C*]. So that it was obliged to be removed from Chemnits to Zeits, where it was interred in the principal church (*d*). Such are the effects of a blind zeal [*D*]!

(*b*) Bodin. *Method. Histor.* See in Pope Blount's *Censura celebrior. Authorum*, p. 413. a great many honourable Elogiums upon Agricola.

(*c*) *Uxore prægnanti cum dulcissimis liberis domi relictâ, fortunis etiam omnibus postkabitis, cum jus jurandum; quo eis erat devinctus, nullo modo negligendum putaret, in exercitu eorum pene serex militavit.* Melchior Adam. *Vitæ Medicor.* p. 79.

(*d*) Id. ibid. p. 77, *& seq.*

[*B*] *He appeared at first not very much averse from the Protestant Doctrine.*] He disapproved not only of the scandalous traffic of indulgences, but also of several other things. We have four verses of his, which were posted up in the streets of Zwickaw (2) in the year 1519. They relate to the indulgences of Rome.

(2) Where he taught Greek.

Si nos injecto salvabit cistula nummo,
Heu nimium infelix tu mihi, pauper, eris!
Si nos, Christe, tuâ servatos morte beasti,
Jam nihil infelix tu mihi, pauper, eris.

" If wealth alone salvation can procure,
' How sad a fate for ever waits the poor!
" But if thou, Christ, our only Saviour be,
" Thy merits still may bless ev'n poverty!"

Melchior Adam is of opinion, that four things prevented the conversion of Agricola. I. The rash and unguarded Writings of some Divines. II. The scandalous Lives of several of the followers of the Reformation. III. The destroying of the images, and the insurrection of the Peasants. IV. The natural inclination, which he had for the pomp of ceremonies (3). Of these four reasons the three first render'd Erasmus entirely averse to the Protestant Party. A great many other persons, who had intensely longed for the Reformation of the Church, stumbled at the same stone as Erasmus; and thence it is, that Theodore Beza met with so many persons, who had once tasted of the good seed, and yet afterwards fell back into their former errors (4). Whenever this affair is mentioned to those, who are capable of attending to reason, it is observable that they say, that in the situation, in which things then were, there was no possibility of supporting the cause, and advancing it further by a moderate way of writing, and by mere patience; and that so the providence of God, whose methods are always infinitely wise, permit that men should appear such as they are, in the great work of Reformation, in order to obtain his end more naturally, which was, (as experience shews us,) to prevent one Religion from entirely ruining the other. This is well said. There are some means, which as they are the most proper to compleat half the work, are for that very reason incapable of finishing the whole.

(3) Melchior. Adam. *Vit. Medicor.* p. 80.

(4) See his *Hist. Ecclesiast.*

[*C*] *They suffered his body to continue unburied for five days together.*] Scaliger condemns this behaviour of theirs with a great deal of reason. *Agricolam*, says he (5), *quo nihil doctius, Lutherani mortuum sepelire noluerunt, quia manserat Pontificius. Italus quidam scripsit & hortatus est, ut sepelirent hominem Christianum: Barbaries magna.* i. e. " The " Lutherans would not suffer Agricola, one of the " learnedst men of that time, to be buried, merely " because he had continued a Roman Catholic. An " Italian Gentleman writ to them, and exhorted " them to bury a man who was a Christian. This " conduct of theirs was very barbarous." I would not venture absolutely to assert it was false, that an Italian had desired them by a letter to perform this last office of humanity; but I cannot see any probable ground for it. Scaliger's memory, or at least that of his pupils, seems to have confounded different things. There is extant a Letter of Matthiolus, wherein he complains that so venerable an old man as George Agricola should not be allowed in his own country ground enough to bury him. *Id. Matthiolus ad Caspar. Nævium Med.* (*lib.* 2. *epist.*) *queritur, hunc præclarum probumque senem in patria tantum terræ non inveniisse, quo suum operiretur cadaver* (6). This might give occasion to that false supposition, that an Italian had desired by a letter those, who had the body of that learned man, to bury him. You will not be surprized that I pay little regard to what the great Scaliger says here; for how can I depend upon him in any thing relating to Agricola, when he tells us at another time, that he was a perfect infidel in point of Religion, and scarce deserved even common burial? *Non minus eruditus, & in censendâ metallorum naturâ curiosus fuit, quam verè impius, nulli addictus Religioni, ut post mortem vix sepeliri meruerit* (7).

(5) *In Scaligeranis*, p. 5.

(6) Melch. Adam. *Vit. Medic.* p. 80.

(7) *Scaligerana prima*, p. 80.

[*D*] *Such are the effects of a blind zeal.*] There is scarce a Protestant now, but what condemns this usage of Agricola's dead body; and I doubt not, but that since that time the greatest part of the Lutherans condemned it likewise. Melchior Adam seems to cast the whole blame of it upon the Minister of the place. It is at this time much easier to observe the ill consequences of this false zeal; length of time has appeased the resentment, which like an impetuous storm, darkned the skies.

Eripiunt subito nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis: ponte nox incubat atra (8).

(8) Virgil. Æn. l. 1. v. 88.

" Raise all thy winds, with night involve the skies &c.
Dryden Virg.

What excesses are we carried to, in the way of reprisals, and when we think we have reason to speak, as Dido does in *Virgil*,

Res dura, & regni novitas, me talia cogunt
Moliri (9)!

(9) Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 567.

" My cruel fate,
" And doubts attending an unsetled state
" Force me, &c. Dryd. Virg.

Paul Freher tells us, that Agricola fell into such a violent heat of passion in a dispute in Divinity, that it threw him into a high fever, which carried him off immediately (10). He quotes only Melchior Adam for proof of this, who mentions nothing of it. It is very probable, that Agricola had irritated the Lutherans by some instances of an excessive aversion to them. Peter Albinus represents him (11) as an obstinate and rigid Roman Catholic. Compare this with the first *Scaligerana*.

(10) Pauli Freheri *Theatrum Viror. Illustr.* p. 1238.

(11) In his chronicle of Misnia.

AGRICOLA (JOHN), a Saxon Divine, born at Islebe (*a*) the 20th of April 1492 (*b*), was the cause of great disorders in the Protestant Religion, which he embraced. It is said, that he attended the Elector of Saxony as his Minister to the Diet of Spire in the year 1526, and to that of Augsbourg in the year 1530. But it is very certain, that in those journies he was only Minister to Count Mansfeld. It is true, that Count attended upon the Elector of Saxony, and during that time his Minister preached some-

(*a*) A town belonging to Count Mansfeld. He was as well known by the name of *Islebius* as by that of *Agricola*.

(*b*) Melchior. Adam. *Vit. Theolog.* p. 409.

times before the Elector; which was the ground of that miſtake. Agricola had a very good talent at preaching; this made him imagine himſelf a very conſiderable perſon, and that he might eaſily raiſe himſelf above Melancthon; for which reaſon he wrote againſt him in the year 1527 (*c*). His reſtleſs and ambitious temper induced him in the year 1536 to demand leave to quit his own country, where he was Miniſter and Principal of a College. His demand was attended with ſo many complaints, and appeared ſo unreaſonable to Count Mansfeld, that though he gained it, it was with the ſevereſt reproaches upon his ingratitude, avarice and drunkenneſs; beſides which, he was told, that he had exerciſed his function very negligently, and diſputed more againſt the Proteſtants than the Papiſts. He went thence to Wittemberg, and obtained there the place of a Profeſſor and a Miniſter. He taught ſeveral very dangerous doctrines concerning the uſe of the Law under the Goſpel, and in ſhort became the founder of the Sect of the Antinomians (*d*). Luther, who had been before his good friend [*A*], attacked him with great ſeverity, and obliged him to promiſe a recantation of his errors; but while the form of it, which he was to ſign, was drawing up, Luther publiſhed ſeveral new books, which piqued Agricola in ſo ſenſible a manner, that he preſented (*e*) to the Elector a very abuſive petition againſt his antagoniſt, in which he complains among other things, that he had imputed ſentiments to him which he had never eſpouſed. Luther anſwered this, with his uſual vehemence and fire, and that he might not continue under the imputation of a public ſlanderer, he brought teſtimonies from Iſlebe concerning ſeveral private converſations of Agricola. The Divines of Wittemberg came immediately to the aſſiſtance of Luther, and pronounced abſolutely, that his accuſations were well-grounded. The Elector of Saxony, very much embarraſſed with this affair, had appointed judges for both parties, and expreſſed his deſire, that they would find ſome method of accommodation, and then he made Agricola promiſe not to depart till the examination was over. This promiſe was broken; Agricola retired ſecretly to Berlin (*f*), without waiting for an anſwer to his demand for leave to depart. The Elector of Brandenburg endeavoured to make a reconciliation between him and Luther, but nothing could be done in it, except under one or other of theſe two conditions, either that Agricola ſhould return to wait the deciſion of the judges, or that he ſhould give a formal recantation of his errors in writing, and retract the injuries and reproaches which he had caſt upon Luther. He choſe the latter condition [*B*], and publiſhed a book at Berlin, in which he aſks pardon of thoſe whom he had offended by his errors, and eſpecially of Luther; and proteſts that he is reſolved to live and die in that faith which he had before attacked. Luther did not confide in theſe ſtrong proteſtations of his. Agricola upon this complained to the Elector of Saxony, and aſſured him, that he never had felt ſo ſenſible a regret for any thing as for the conteſt, which he had with that *Man of God* (*g*); and that ſince he could not be believed even upon his oath, he referred his cauſe to the Judge of the whole world. However, he humbly beſeeched his Highneſs the Elector to order the payment of his ſtipend for three months, which was due to him, becauſe he had the greateſt occaſion for it to ſupport his wife and nine children (*h*). I believe that he was never able to recover the favour either of the Elector, or of Martin Luther. However he comforted himſelf without doubt with the reputation which he gained at Berlin by being Preacher at court, and by being choſen to compoſe a work which made a prodigious noiſe in the world: I mean the *Interim* which he wrote in conjunction with Julius, Phlug and Michel Heldingus (*i*), in the year 1548. It is ſaid, that the Emperor rewarded Agricola very magnificently for his ſhare in that affair. The conteſt which was raiſed ſome time after in Germany among the Proteſtant Divines (*k*), ſhewed that this Miniſter was a man of a dangerous ſpirit, and of a very turbulent ſpirit. He appeared very buſy in bringing matters to a ſettlement, and in all his conferences

(*c*) Concerning the form of eccleſiaſtical viſitation, drawn up by Melancthon.

(*d*) *See* the article ISLEBIANS.

(*e*) On the 20th of March 1540, during the Aſſembly at *Smalcalde*.

(*f*) In the year 1540.

(*g*) See the Remark [*B*].

(*h*) Taken from the anſwer of Seckendorf to the Lutheraniſm of Father Maimburg, lib. 3. pag. 306, to p. 310.

(*i*) He was commonly called Michael Sidonius, becauſe he was titular Biſhop of Sidon.

(*k*) It was concerning indifferent points in Religion.

[*A*] *Luther . . . had been his good friend.*] They were both of the ſame town. We find that Agricola was Secretary to Luther at the Conference at Leipſic in 1519 (1), and that he was ſent to Francfort in 1525 (2), with a letter from Luther to the Magiſtrates, in order to be received as a Miniſter of the Goſpel there. The author, whom I quote (3), cenſures Monſr. Varillas, for ſaying that Luther undertook nothing of importance without the concurrence of Agricola. This is puſhing the matter too far, and it is impoſſible to give proofs of that fact.

(1) Seckendorf. *Hiſt. Luth.* lib. 1. p. 92. *liter. r.*
(2) Ibid. p. 243. *lit. c.*
(3) Ibid. lib. 3. p. 306. num. 1.

[*B*] *He choſe the latter condition.*] It is probable, that he was induced to this low ſubmiſſion by theſe two reaſons; Firſt, that he ſaw nothing was to be hoped for from the deciſion of his cauſe: becauſe he could not gain from it, unleſs Luther was declared at the ſame time a ſlanderer of his brethren. And therefore he muſt have been the moſt credulous man in the world, if he had expected ſucceſs in Saxony on thoſe terms. The people would undoubtedly have ſtoned the Judges, if they had caſt ſuch an odium upon their great Reformer. The Church, they would have urged, had need of the good reputation of Luther to ſupport it. The Papiſts would receive a prodigious advantage from any reflection upon him. Have not we ſeen many inſtances of this kind, where thoſe, who are but Pygmies in compariſon of Luther, have by this means eſcaped the Church-diſcipline and ſeverities, which they deſerved for their irregularities? The ſecond reaſon, upon which Agricola acted, was plainly the apprehenſion of loſing, if he ſhould continue obſtinate, his quarter's ſtipend, which was due to him. Read what follows: *Neque tamen hoc ſcripto ſtatim, ut ſperaverat, Luthero de verâ converſione ſuâ fidem fecit; id quod ipſe Agricola literis d.* 19. *Decemb. apud Electorem Saxoniæ queritur, nihilque tota vita ſibi gravius accidiſſe quam ſimultatem illam cum viro Dei, quem ipſe patris loco veneratus ſit, & in cujus obſequio mori velit, apud quem tamen nihil proficiat, ne juramenti quidem oblatione; ideo ſe Deo cauſam committere. Petit tamen ut ſibi, ad alendum uxorem novemque liberos, trimeſtre,* quod reſtare ſibi dicit, *ſalarium non denegetur, ſe enim id diligenti lectione promeritum* (4).

(4) Seckendorf. *Hiſt. Luther.* p. 310. num. 16.

conferences for that end, he gave full ſcope to the fluency of ſpeech, which he was naturally maſter of; but it was all to no purpoſe. He died at Berlin in 1566. He had been Superintendant (*l*) of the Mark of Brandenburg (*m*). It is ſaid, that he wanted to reſtore the uſe of holy oils in the caſe of the ſick, and that he was very poſitive that they would work the ſame miraculous cures as they did in the primitive ages (*n*). He wrote but few books [*C*]. It is carrying the matter much too far, to ſay that he returned to Popery [*D*].

(*l*) So the Lutherans term thoſe Miniſters, who have the inſpection over ſeveral Churches.

(*m*) Micrælius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 733. edit. ann. 1679.

(*n*) Melch. Adam. *Vit. Theolog.* p. 411.

[*C*] *He wrote but few Books.*] *An Explication of three hundred German Proverbs* was one of the firſt. He there treats Ulric, Duke of Wirtemberg (5) extremely ill. This was complained of, ſo that the author was obliged to acknowledge his fault in a very ſubmiſſive letter. However this did not prevent Duke Ulric from alledging, amongſt other grievances, at the Diet of Francfort in the year 1536, that John Agricola was protected in the country of Mansfeld, tho' he had abuſed him in the moſt virulent and public manner (6). The author added above four hundred Proverbs to his ſecond edition of this work. He wrote *Commentaries upon St. Luke*; he confuted the Explication of the nineteenth Pſalm, publiſhed in High Dutch by Thomas Muncer, &c. (7).

(5) Idem, lib. 2. p. 135.

(6) Idem, p. 142. *lit. b.*

(7) Melchior. Adam. *Vit. Theolog.* p. 411.

[*D*] *He did not return to Popery.*] It is very certain, that when he left Saxony, he retired to the Court of Brandenbourg, where the Elector Joachim II, who had eſtabliſhed the Reformation in his dominions, in the year 1539 (8), received him with great diſtinction, and made him his Preacher in ordinary. It is no leſs certain, that he enjoyed the favour of that Prince till his death. It is a very great error therefore to ſay, as Melchior Adam and Paul Freher do, that Agricola was a Papiſt, *tunc Pontificiis ſeſe adjunxerat*, at the time when Charles the fifth employed him to draw up the *Interim*. He relaxes, I confeſs, upon ſeveral things, in the *Interim*; but did not Phlug and the Biſhop of Sidon do the ſame upon ſeveral others? And were they Lutherans upon that account? It is very true that the project formed by theſe three men did not ſatisfy either Proteſtants or Papiſts: But there is a great difference to be made between thoſe, who for the ſake of peace give up ſome particulars of the Reformation, and thoſe, who actually abandon the Proteſtant Communion to enter into that of Rome. Agricola was without doubt of the former claſs; but as he never appeared in the other, he ought not to be conſidered as a Papiſt. There is a great miſtake therefore in thoſe words of Micrælius; *Joh. Agricola . . . noſter primò, deinde ſuus, tandem Pontificiorum* (9). i. e. "John Agricola was of our party at firſt, then of a particular one "of his own, and at laſt of the Roman Catholic." I cannot tell, whether what he ſays three lines lower, *Homini Epicuræo ſimilior quàm pio Theologo, ut ſcribit Oſiander ad annum* 1566, *quo obiit Agricola.* i. e. "He was more like an Epicurean than a pious Divine, as Oſiander ſays of him in his *Chronicle* under the year 1566, in which Agricola died," is to be underſtood as if he was a man of pleaſure, or only as if he held that all Religions were equally indifferent in themſelves.

(8) Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Luther.* lib. 3. p. 234, *& ſeq.*

(9) Micrælius, *Syntagma. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 733.

AGRICOLA (MICHAEL) a Lutheran Miniſter at Abo in Finland, was the firſt who tranſlated the New Teſtament into the language of that country, which contributed very much to the propagation of Lutheraniſm (*a*).

(*a*) Micrælius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 733.

AGRICOLA (RODOLPHUS) was one of the moſt learned men in the fifteenth Century. Italy, which at that time treated every thing as barbarous, that was on this ſide the Alps, produced no genius comparable to what Friſeland could boaſt of in her Agricola. This great man was of very mean extraction [*A*]. He was born in the year 1442 in the village of Baſſlon two miles from Groningen. He gave proofs even in the lower claſſes at ſchool what a figure he would one day make in the world; and he had ſcarce taken his degree of Maſter of Arts at Louvain, when he was offered a Profeſſorſhip. But his inclination carried him rather to travel. He went from Louvain to Paris, after having lived in the former like an ancient athlete, that is, with all the imaginable ſobriety, chaſtity and application to labour [*B*]. From Paris he went to Italy,

[*A*] *He was of very mean extraction.*] I know that in the *Life of Agricola* among the Profeſſors of Groningen we are told, that he was born of one of the moſt conſiderable families in Friſeland: *Ex Agricolarum familiâ apud Friſios inter honoratiores ſemper habitâ vir hic incomparabilis oriundus.* But as that Life is not at all different from that in Melchior Adam, it is not ſufficient to ballance the teſtimony of Ubbo Emmius. Let us ſee then what he ſays, ſince he underſtood the Hiſtory of his own country better than any man in the world. *Obſcuris natalibus apud Baſloos ortus* (Rodolphus Agricola) *tantum ſibi in literis nomen paravit per omnem Europam, ut, &c.* (1).

(1) Ubbo Emmius, *Hiſt. Friſio.* lib. 30. *ad ann.* 1490, p. 457.

I have been referred (2) to two proofs of Emmius's opinion from the Letters of Agricola. One is, that his ſiſter by the mother's ſide was ſent to Groningen to learn to work in furs, and to make cuſhions, *pellicea opera & texturam pulvinariam.* The other is, that the father of that girl was Receiver to the church in his own village. He was in great diſtreſs, upon his being robbed by one of his ſons of an hundred *florins*, which belonged to the church. *Venit ad me nudius tertius pater tuus turbatus & gemens, & prope cum lacrymis queſtus eſt mihi, Henricum fratrem noſtrum pridie ejus diei clam ſibi abſtuliſſe centum florenos noſtræ monetæ ex pecuniâ ſacrâ, cujus curam, ut ſcis, ille gerit.* Our Rodolphus, who was then at Groningen, wrote thus to John his brother by the mother's ſide.

(2) By Mr. de la Monnoie.

[*B*] *Like an ancient Athlete, that is with all the imaginable ſobriety, chaſtity, and application to labour.*] The ancients obſerve, that their *Athletæ* or Wreſtlers inured themſelves to labour, and abſtained carefully from wine and women.

Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer; ſudavit, & alſit,
ABSTINUIT VENERE ET VINO (3).

That is,

"The man that is reſolv'd the prize to gain,
"Doth often run and take a world of pain;
"Bear heat and cold, his growing ſtrength improve,
"Nor taſte the joys of wine, nor ſweets of love.
Creech Horace.

(3) Horat. *de Art. Poët.* ver. 412, *& ſeq.*

This abſtinence was very remarkable in Agricola; and the other kind of temperance with regard to drinking was very uncommon and ſingular in him, conſidering the country where he lived. *Lovanii vixit honeſtiſſimè ab omni compotatione ac commeſſatione contra gentis ſuæ morem alieniſſimus. Tantus erat in eo bonarum literarum amor, tam indefeſſum ſtudium, ut turpis Veneris fornices & luſtra ne noverit quidem* (4). This virtue of chaſtity was always very rare, and the other continues ſo ſtill. For the infinite ſcandal of Chriſtianity and Learning, we ſee almoſt univerſally amongſt Students an horrible inclination to debauchery. Perhaps they were as bad formerly; and in that caſe I am aſtoniſhed, that we have not had a Proverb of this kind, *Sine Venere & Baccho frigent Muſæ*, i. e. "Without "Venus and Bacchus the Muſes grow cold," as we have already, *Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus*, i. e. "Without Ceres and Bacchus Venus grows languid."

(4) Melch. Adam. *Vitæ Philoſoph.* p. 15.

Italy, and ſtaid two years at Ferrara [C], where the Duke honoured him with a great many conſiderable favours. Theodorus Gaza read Lectures upon Ariſtotle in that city. Agricola, who was one of his Auditors, read likewiſe Lectures in his turn, and was no leſs admired for his ſtyle than for his accent. It was a very ſenſible regret to that nation, that he was not born in Italy. It was in his power at his return to his own country to have been preferred to the moſt conſiderable employments; but his love for learning prevented him from engaging in them, or made him leave them immediately. He accepted at laſt of a poſt at Groningen, and attended the court of Maximilian I. for ſix months upon the affairs of that city. He executed this commiſſion with great ſucceſs, but had no reaſon to commend the gratitude of his maſters, ſo that he left them, and returned to his travels. He refuſed, out of his great fondneſs for liberty, to accept the Preſidentſhip of a College, which was offered him at Antwerp. For how could he be induced to accept it, when he had refuſed to enter into the ſervice of the Emperor Maximilian though upon very advantageous terms? He preferred repoſe and independence to every other conſideration, which ſhewed the juſtneſs of his taſte. After he had lived this ambulatory kind of life for many years, he fixed at laſt in the Palatinate, where the Biſhop of Worms, whom he had inſtructed in the Greek language, had found means to ſettle him. It was in the year 1482 that he fixed in the Palatinate, where he paſſed the reſt of his life [D], ſometimes at Heidelberg, and ſometimes at Worms. The Elector Palatine was pleaſed to hear him diſcourſe concerning antiquity, and deſired him to compoſe *an Abridgment of ancient Hiſtory*. Agricola performed this with great accuracy and beauty. He read publick Lectures at Worms; but his Auditors being more accuſtomed to the querks and ſubtleties of Logic than to polite Literature, had not that turn of genius which he deſired. He began to ſtudy Divinity about the fortieth year of his age; and having no hopes to ſucceed in it without the knowledge of the Hebrew, he applied himſelf to that language, which he began to make a good progreſs in [E], by the aſſiſtance of a Jew. But death, which ſeized him at Heidelberg the 28th of October 1485 (a), ſuffered him not to continue it. He reſigned up his ſoul to God in a very devout manner, and was buried in the Franciſcan habit in the church of the Minor Friars in that city. The account which has been given of his character plainly ſhews us, that he was a very honeſt man, ſincere, without envy, moderate and good-natured. He was never married, though

(a) Eraſmus was deceived therefore, when he was informed, that Agricola died before he was forty years old. Adagior. *Chil.* 1. *Cent. IV. num.* 39.

It ſeems that Youth in all Academies have a long while behaved themſelves in ſuch a manner, as if the former of theſe maxims were true.

[C] *And he ſtaid two years at Ferrara.*] He learned Greek there, and taught Latin. He diſputed with Guarinus, which of them could write beſt in Proſe, and with the Strozza's, who could make the beſt Verſe; and with reſpect to Philoſopy he had converſations with Theodorus Gaza (6).

(6) Valerii Andreæ, *Bib. Belg.* p. 798.

[D] *It was in the year* 1482 *that he fixed in the Palatinate; where he paſſed the reſt of his life.*] Melchior Adam aſſures us of this. *Cum hoc* (Joanne Camerario Dalburgio) *ab anno* 1482 *partim Heidelbergæ, partim Wormatiæ, ad ultimum vitæ actum uſque vixit conjunctiſſimè* (7). But Mr. de la Monnoie has diſcovered an error in this account; which he has been pleaſed to remark to me as follows: "Rodolphus Agricola in a letter of his to Jacobus "Barbirianus, dated by miſtake 92, inſtead of 82, "and in another of the ſame date to his brother "John, tells them that in a Journey he took that "ſame year to Heidelberg, he had promiſed John "d'Alburg, Chancellor of the Count Palatine, and "Biſhop of Worms, to return to him the year fol-"lowing. We find however by his other Letters, "that he did not return thither before the middle "of the year 1484. So that the calculation of Voſ-"ſius, *pag.* 566. *de Hiſtor. Latin.* concerning Ro-"dolphus Agricola's having been three years Regent "at Heidelberg (8), is not at all juſt. Sigiſmond of "Foligni, commonly called *Sigiſmundus Fulginus*, "is alſo miſtaken, when he tells us, that Rodolphus "died upon the road in his return from Rome to "his own country. He departed from Rome in "1480, and he died five years after at Heidelberg. "I cannot diſcover by reading his works, that he "ever performed the function of a Profeſſor at "Worms." We have a Letter of Peter Scottus dated the 18th of February 1484, in which he ſays, that he underſtood with a great deal of ſatisfaction, that Agricola had begun to read Lectures to the young Students at Heidelberg. *Argentinam reverſus, cum intellexiſſem . . . te Heidelbergæ cœpiſſe purgare, & linguas juvenum & aures, ut illæ nil ſceleroſum balbutiant, hæ verò tuis tam peritis & dulcibus elegantiis delibatæ, omnes illas ſciolorum inſulſas & verboſas ineptias quaſi magicas incantationes declinent; tum ego vehementer ſum gaviſus* (9).

(7) Melch. Adam. *Vitæ Philoſ.* p. 16.

(8) Obſerve that Melchior Adam does not ſay, that Agricola ever taught Philoſophy at Heidelberg. Voſſius ſuppoſes that he taught it there for three years.

(9) *Centuria Epiſtolar. Philologic. a Gellioſto editarum*, p. 55, 56.

[E] *He began to make a good progreſs in it.*] We find by his own account, that at firſt the ſtudy of it ſeemed to him very difficult. *Studia Hebræa . . primùm & plurimùm negotii, uti ſcribit ipſe, exhibuerunt, ut ſibi videretur cum Antæo luctari* (10). Afterwards meeting with a Jew, who underſtood that language pretty well, he gained ſo much knowledge of it in a few months, as to be able to tranſlate ſeveral of David's Pſalms without any error. *Nactus Judæum ejus linguæ utcunque peritum paucis menſibus tantum profecit, ut aliquot Pſalmos Davidicos in Latinam linguam citra culpam tranſtulerit* (11). However we have no grounds to ſay with Voſſius, that he was *very learned* in the Hebrew, *Hebraicè doctiſſimus* (12). We may juſtly diveſt him of that ſuperlative title, and treat him as a Cavalier, who is obliged to diſmount, and placed among the Foot. Geſner has diſtinguiſh'd this point much better than Voſſius. The latter has given the ſuperlative indifferently to his skill in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but Geſner expreſſes himſelf more accurately thus; *Græci & Latini ſermonis peritus, & Hebraicæ linguæ non ignarus* (13). i. e. "He was skilled in the Latin "and Greek tongues, and not ignorant of the Hebrew." He borrows theſe words from Trithemius. Konig carries it even farther than Voſſius; for he uſes the ſuperlative *callentiſſimus*. See below the third error of Varillas. We may obſerve likewiſe, that Trithemius does not ſpeak with ſufficient exactneſs, when he tells us, that Agricola made a tranſlation of the *Pſalter* from the original Hebrew (14); for it is never uſual to rank amongſt the works of an author the Exerciſes which he made, while he was learning a language. Now it is plain, that Agricola's tranſlation of ſome of the Pſalms of David, was an Exerciſe, which his Jew corrected for him. This Jew was converted to Chriſtianity, and John Dalburg, Biſhop of Worms (15), maintained him in his houſe merely out of regard to Agricola, if we may depend upon Valerius Andreas. *Primus exſulantes è Germaniâ Græcas reſtituit literas, quibus ætate provectior etiam Hebraicas adjecit, præceptore uſus Judæo quodam ad fidem converſo, quem Wormatienſis Epiſcopus Joannes Dalburgius ſolius Rodolphi cauſa domi ſuæ alebat* (16).

(10) Melch. Adam. *Vitæ Philoſ.* p. 18.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 19.

(12) *De Hiſt. Lat.* p. 566.

(13) Geſner. *Bib.* folio 585.

(14) Quoted by Val. Andreas, *Bib. Belg.* pag. 798. Geſner likewiſe affirms the ſame thing.

(15) Not of Heidelberg, as Monſ. Bullart ſays, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 276.

(16) Val. And. *Bib. Belg.* pag. 798.

though he was in love, or seemed to be so, several times. He had resolved in his younger years to marry; but having duly considered that affair, he changed his design, not so much out of fear of domestic inconveniences, as from a natural indolence in his temper [F], which rendered him impatient of the least care. One would hardly imagine that a man so deeply engaged in the study of antiquity, could set to music Songs of his own composition, and yet he treated the Ladies sometimes in this manner [G]. It is said, that with respect to religion he had some foretaste and anticipation of that light, which appeared so eminently in the following age [H]. He left his books to Adolphus Occo a native of Friseland, and Physician to the city of Augsbourg (b). Moreri was mistaken in saying, that Erasmus and Agricola became acquainted at Ferrara. Paul Freher did not understand what he copied from Erasmus [K] in praise of Agricola. We learn from the same Erasmus, that Agricola died for want of timely assistance from the Physicians [L]. Reuchlin pronounced the Funeral Oration for this learned man (c). Mr. Varillas has committed a great many errors [M], and will

(b) Melchior. Adam. *Vit. Philosoph.* p. 15. & *seq.*

(c) Val. Andr. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 798.

[F] *From a natural indolence of temper.*] As I cannot reach the full force of his expressions, I shall give the Greek words themselves which he made use of. *Uxorem nunquam duxit; quanquam in priore ætate duxturum destinârat. Sed postea quam incepit diligentius se ipse introspicere, aversus est ab eo consilio, non incommodis rei œconomicæ, sed deterruit ipsum genus vitæ suæ & animus levissimis etiam curis impar, καὶ φιλάσχολόν τι τῆς φύσεως* (*verba sunt ipsius, epistola quadam ad Capnionem*) *ἧγε μᾶλλον ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν τις παυσῖς τῶν βίων* (17).

(17) Melch. Adam. *Vitæ Philosoph.* p. 19. See likewise the *Life of Agricola* among those of the Professors of Groningen.

[G] *He treated the Ladies sometimes in this manner.*] Thus speaks his Historian, *Puellas amare se nonnunquam simulabat, verùm nunquam deperibat. In earum gratiam vernaculâ linguâ quædam carmina scripsit elegantissimè, quæ virginibus primariisque amicis præsentibus voce & testudine modulatissimè canebat* (18). He understood all kinds of Music, both vocal and instrumental. *Canebat voce, flatu, pulsu* (19).

(18) Melch. Adam. *Vit. Philos.* p. 18.

(19) Ibid.

[H] *He had some fore-taste and anticipation of that light, which appeared so eminently in the following age.*] There was a person, who heard a conversation between him and Wesselus, and testified, that they lamented extremely the darkness of the Church, and expressed their disapprobation of the Mass, Celibacy, and the doctrine of the Monks concerning Justification by works (20).

(20) Ibid. and *Vitæ Professor. Groningens.*

[I] *Moreri was mistaken in saying, that Erasmus and Agricola became acquainted at Ferrara.*] It is easy to prove this. Erasmus was born in the year 1467. He studied at Deventer when he was twelve or thirteen years old. Agricola was at Ferrara in the year 1476 and 1477. How then was it possible for him to contract an eternal friendship with Erasmus in that city? If Moreri had read the prediction of Agricola concerning Erasmus, he would not have told us, that it was in this city that they came to know each other. The case is this: Agricola in his return from Italy, having read the Themes and Exercises of Hegius's Scholars at Deventer, he found something so peculiar in those of Erasmus, that he had a mind to see the boy; and having viewed him very attentively, he pronounced that he would prove a great man. Erasmus was not twenty years old, when Agricola died; and at that time he had not broke out of the obscurity in which he was confined by his impertinent tutors. So that there could not possibly be that strict friendship between him and Agricola, which Moreri speaks of. Besides this error, (that I may dispatch them all at once,) there are several others in that writer. *Agricola*, says he, *was well skilled in all kinds of Literature, and even in the Greek language.* This is just as ridiculous, as if one should say, *Such a man understands every part of Divinity, and even the controversies concerning Grace.* Is not the Greek tongue one of the noblest parts of learning? I am at a loss to know where Moreri has read, that Agricola was Syndic of the city of Groningen for two years.

[K] *What he copied from Erasmus* (21).] He applies to our Agricola what Erasmus speaks of another person. We must observe, that Erasmus having highly extolled Agricola, confesses that one of the reasons, which inclined him to such a profusion of compliments upon him, was, that his own Master (22) had been a Scholar of Agricola (23). Upon this occasion he represents his Master's merit in a strong manner, and among other things he says of him, that even envy herself could not discover any fault in him, except his too great contempt for fame, his neglect of the future, and his never having writ any thing but for amusement. Freher quotes this remark, as if it belonged to Agricola, by which means he makes Erasmus guilty of a great mistake; for the works of Agricola collected into a body (24), and printed at Cologn in the year 1539, shew that he wrote a great deal, and with the utmost accuracy and application.

(21) In his *Theatrum Viror. Erudit.* p. 1430.

(22) Alexander Hegius.

(23) Erasm. Adag. *Chiliade I. Centur. IV.* num. 39. p. 145.

(24) By the care of Alard of Amsterdam. They contain two volumes in 4°.

[L] *He died for want of the timely assistance of Physicians.*] This is what Erasmus tells us; the reader will be pleased to read his own words: *Veluti si quis in morbo capitali Medicum opperiatur insignem aut procul accersendum; quæ res hominem illum verè divinum extinxit Rodolphum Agricolam; etenim dum cunctatur Medicus, mors antevertit* (25).

(25) Erasm. Adagior. *Chil. III. Cent. III.* num. 62. p. 703.

[M] *Mr. Varillas has committed a great many errors.*] I. He says (26), that *Agricola had so prodigious a memory, that nothing ever escaped him, which he had once retained.* This is an hyperbole, which I find no foundation for in the History of this great Man, tho' we have a very particular account of his excellencies. Is it probable, they would have omitted this, which is the most extraordinary talent imaginable? II. *He became a prodigy of learning, without any books, but what he borrowed, and without any master.* The hyperbole here is attended with a palpable falsity; for we are told in his Life, that he was sent very young to school (27); and that after he had learned the *Grammar*, he went to study at Louvain, where he lodged at the college of *the Falcon*, and performed all the parts of a Student in Philosophy, and devoted himself likewise to persons, who were distinguished for their knowledge of polite Literature. At Ferrara he was a constant auditor of Theodorus Gaza. *Ibi Theodorum Gazam Aristotelis scripta enarrantem diligenter audivit* (28). It is true that upon his journeys he carried but few books with him, and having left the rest of his Library with his friends, he borrowed what he had occasion for: But besides that there is scarce any Man of letters, but what does so in travelling, will any one pretend to say, that Agricola got all his learning in his travels? III. *He began his studies where others use to finish them, that is, with the Hebrew tongue. He was resolved to learn it not only in its purity, but with all the changes, which were made in it by time and the refinement of the Rabbins. He took the same care to learn the Greek.... And at last he applied himself to Latin, without any regard to the remonstrances of those, who would have dissuaded him from this method, by representing to him, that the habit of writing and speaking Hebrew would introduce into his manner of writing something very inconsistent with the phrases and expressions of the Latin.* Who can read this without astonishment, if he but knows, that our Rodolphus did not learn Hebrew till a few years before his death, and that he made but a small progress in it (29)? I imagine, that Mr. Varillas was drawn into this mistake by the following Latin passage *Transisti enim Hebraicas, Græcasque literas usque adeo stupendâ celeritate, ut nequaquam Groningia in ultima Frisiæ, sed Hierosolymis Athenisque natus ac educatus à doctissimis crederere. Latinam parem tantæ felicitati dedisti, docuisti que, ut &c.* (30). "For "you,

(26) Varillas Anecdot. de Florence. p. 184.

(27) *Puer admodum in ludum Literarium missus.* Adam. *Vitæ Philosoph.* p. 13.

(28) Ibid. p. 15.

(29) See the Remark [E] above, and join to it these words of Erasmus: *Extremo vitæ tempore ad literas Hebraicas totum animum appulerat.* i. e. "In "the latter part "of his life he "applied him- "self wholly to "the study "of Hebrew."

(30) Paul. Jovius, *Elogior.* Cap. XXXIII.

give us occaſion to mention ſome particulars concerning the publication of one of Agricola's books, entitled, *De Inventione Dialectica* [*N*].

" you, (it is an apoſtrophe to Agricola,) you paſſed " thro' the Hebrew and Greek tongues with ſuch an " amazing expedition, that you did not ſeem to " have been born at Groningen in Friſeland, but at " Jeruſalem and Athens, and to have been educated " under the moſt learned Men in the world. The " Latin tongue you learned and taught with ſuch " ſucceſs, that &c." This I believe gave occaſion to Mr. Varillas to imagine that Agricola learned Hebrew firſt, then Greek, and laſt of all Latin, and that he uſed to compoſe and converſe in Hebrew. IV. *He made ſuch a ſurprizing progreſs in Latin, that Eraſmus, who was not generally very free in commanding thoſe qualifications in others, which he poſſeſſed himſelf, could not be wearied with admiring him, eſpecially after he had publiſhed his* Commentaries upon the Rhetoric and Logic of Ariſtotle, *written with an elegance worthy the age of Auguſtus.* Eraſmus was ſo inconſiderable and unknown in the world, when Agricola died, that it is very abſurd to trace his admiration of him from any time before the death of Agricola. Beſides it is an Anachroniſm to ſay, that this illuſtrious Man lived ſo long, as till Eraſmus's own reputation in polite Learning prevented him from giving any other perſon a ſhare in the glory of it. I have two remarks more to make. The *Commentaries upon Ariſtotle's Logic* were not publiſhed till after the author's death. Eraſmus acquaints us with this particular, and alſo tells us, that they were mutilated and imperfect. *Latitabant apud neſcio quos Commentarii Dialectices; nuper in publicum prodierunt, ſed mutili* (31). However it is very certain, that it is not in this work, we are to admire the Latin of Agricola, nor the elegance of the Auguſtan age. V. *The Elector Palatine . . . ſent for Agricola to Heidelberg . . . gave him the firſt Profeſſorſhip of Eloquence in the univerſity . . . and made him Counſellor of State.* The Life of Agricola, which we have among the Lives of the Profeſſors of Groningen, and that in Melchior Adam, mention nothing of this. It is the Biſhop of Worms, who is ſaid to have engaged him to go into the Palatinate.

(31) Eraſm. Adag *Chil. I. Cent. IV. num.* 39. p. 145.

[*N*] *One of Agricola's books, entitled,* De Inventione Dialecticâ.] Here an obſervation follows communicated to me ſince the firſt edition. " Rodolphus Agricola compoſed no regular Commentaries " upon Ariſtotle's *Logic* or *Rhetoric*. We have nothing of his upon that ſubject but three books " *De Inventione Dialecticâ*, printed firſt at Louvain " in 1516 by the direction of Alard of Amſterdam, " who publiſhed them without any order, as he " had recovered them. Some time after this one " James le Febvre of Deventer cauſed a report to be " raiſed that he had a manuſcript *De Inventione Dialecticâ* that contained three books more than the edition of Louvain. This proved a notorious falſity. " Alard, who went on purpoſe to ſee this Le Febvre at " Deventer, having examined his manuſcript, found " that it was neither larger, nor more correct, than " that from which the Louvain edition was printed. " Upon this he reproached Le Febvre for having " publiſhed ſuch a falſhood, who endeavoured to " excuſe himſelf, though to little purpoſe. Since " the year 1528 Pompeius Occo, having received the original manuſcript of Agricola, which " had belonged to his uncle Adolphus, he put it " into the hands of Alard, who finding it very " compleat and in good order had it printed at " Cologne in 4to, with large Commentaries, in the " year 1539. Some years before this, John Matthew Priſſemius, to whom Alard had communicated his manuſcript, had publiſhed in the ſame " city with his own Comments. This work, " which is the maſter-piece of Agricola, has been " always eſteemed for the accuracy of the ſtyle (32), " and the exactneſs of the reaſoning." This remark is owing to the ſame hand, to which I am obliged for that in the note [*D*] (33).

(32) All this may be true, notwithſtanding which the work may be very remote from the polite manners of the age of Auguſtus, and inferior in elegance to the other writings of Agricola.

(33) Mr. de la Monnoie.

☞ AGRIPPA, ſirnamed (CASTOR) (*a*), flouriſhed under the Emperor Hadrian, about the year 132 (*b*). He was a man of great learning (*c*), and wrote a very accurate work againſt the hereſy of Baſilides, in which he confuted his errors, after he had detected them, and ſhewn his ſeveral evaſions and ſubterfuges. Euſebius tells us (*d*), that Agrippa obſerved, that Baſilides had written four and twenty books upon the Goſpel [*A*]; that he had forged Prophets who never exiſted, to whom he gave very ſtrange and uncommon names, ſuch as Barcabas and Barcob [*B*], in order to ſtrike the more forcibly upon the minds of thoſe who were apt to admire ſuch things. He ſaid likewiſe, that this Heretic taught, that it was a matter of an indifferent nature to eat ſacrifices offered up to idols; that it was lawful to renounce the faith in time of perſecution, and that in imitation of Pythagoras, he enjoined his ſcholars ſilence for five years [*C*]. Theodoret tells us (*e*), that he confuted Iſidorus the ſon of Baſilides in a book

(*a*) Euſeb. l. 4. c. 7. S. Hieronym. *de Viris Illuſtr.* c. 21.
(*b*) Cave, *Hiſt. Litter.* pag. 35. edit. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1720.
(*c*) Euſeb. and S. Hieron. *ubi ſupra.*
(*d*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*e*) *Hæret. Fab.* l. 1. c. 4.

[*A*] *Baſilides had writttn four and twenty books upon the Goſpel.*] St. Jerom likewiſe informs us of this particular (1); *adverſum viginti quatuor Baſilidis hæretici volumina, quæ in Evangelium confecerat, fortiſſimè diſſeruit.* Valeſius in his Notes upon Euſebius (2) obſerves, that he does not mention which of the Goſpels Baſilides wrote thoſe books upon, whether upon that of St. Matthew, or of St. Mark. He ſuppoſes therefore, that he wrote them upon his own Goſpel, which he publiſhed under his own name, and which is mentioned by Origen (3), who calls it Τὸ κατὰ Βασιλείδην εὐαγγέλιον, i. e. " The Goſpel according to Baſilides," and by St. Ambroſe (4), and St. Jerom (5). We have a Fragment of the 13th Book of Baſilides in Archelaus's diſpute with Manes (6); and another in Epiphanius (7). Theſe books of his were called his *Exegetics* (8); and Clemens Alexandrinus (9) has given us ſome extracts from the 23d Book under that title. The reader may conſult *Dr. Grabe's Spicilegium* (10).

(1) *De Viris Illuſtrib.* c. 21.
(2) *Loco ſupra citato.*
(3) Hom. 1. *in Lucam.*
(4) *Proœm. in Luc.*
(5) *In Matth.*
(6) C. 55. *Ses* J. A. Fabricii *Not. in St. Hieron. de Viris. Illuſt.* c. 21.
(7) *Hæreſ.* xxiv. num. 1.
(8) Ἐξηγητικοί.
(9) Stromat. l. 4. p. 506, 509.
(10) Tom. 2. p. 35, *& ſeq.*
(11) *De Viris Illuſt.* c. 21.
(12) Lib. 2.
(13) C. ii.

[*B*] *Barcabas and Barcob.*] Rufinus has given theſe names, Barchaban and Barchob; St. Jerom Barcaban and Barcob (11); and Nicephorus (12) Barcabban and Barcoph. In a book, which paſſes under St. Jerom's name, *De Hæreſibus* (13). we have theſe names Barcobbam and Barcobbet. The name Barcoph is not unlike in ſound to that of the Prophet Parchor, mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus (14), where he quotes Iſidorus the ſon of Baſilides ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Προφήτου Παρχὼρ ἐξηγητικῶν. Epiphanius (15) interprets the word *Barcabban, the ſon of fornication or parricide. For,* ſays he, *Cabba means Fornication according to the Syrian Dialect, and Parricide according to the Hebrew.* Euſebius (16) ſays, that *Coph* (17) means *a Calling* (18); and St. Jerom (19) explains it by the word *Vocatio,* which is to the ſame purpoſe.

(14) Stromat. p. 64. *apud* J. Alb. Fabric. *ubi ſupra.*
(15) *Hæreſ.* XXVI. 2.
(16) Præpar. x. 5.
(17) Καφ.
(18) Κλῆσις.
(19) Epiſt. 155. *ad Paulum.*

[*C*] *He enjoyed his Scholar's ſilence for five years.*] This, ſays Mr. le Clerc, was done by him, that he might have time to make a trial of their folly and ſtupidity; and indeed he might be very certain, that any man was egregiouſly fooliſh, who would keep ſilence for ſo many years, and follow an impoſtor teaching and acting ſuch a variety of abſurdities. *Sectatoribus ſuis quinquennale ſilentium, Pythagoreorum more, imponebat; quod factum ab eo videtur, ut eorum ſtultitiæ experimentum ſumeret; ac ſanè bona fide inſanire eum intelligere poterat, qui per quinquennium ſilentio ſibi impoſito, planum tot abſurda docentem & facientem adſectari ſuſtinebat* (20).

(20) Jo. Clerici *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 589. edit. Amſtelod. 1716.

T.

book which he wrote againſt him. We know nothing more of this author; for his works are loſt, and we have no conſiderable fragment of him remaining.

AGRIPPA (HENRY CORNELIUS) a great Magician, if we believe many perſons (*A*), was a man of conſiderable learning in the ſixteenth Century. He was born at Cologne the 14th of September 1486 (*a*) of a noble and ancient family [*B*]. Having an inclination to follow the ſteps of his anceſtors (*b*), who for ſeveral ages had acted in conſiderable poſts under the Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria, he entered very young into the ſervice of the Emperor Maximilian. He had at firſt the poſt of Secretary; but as he was equally formed for the ſword and for the pen, he afterwards took arms, and ſerved that Emperor ſeven years in his army in Italy [*C*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral engagements, and as a reward for his illuſtrious actions he received the honour of Knighthood. To theſe military honours he thought proper to add thoſe of the Univerſities [*D*]; and took the degrees of Doctor of Laws and Phyſick. He was unqueſtionably a very great genius, and well ſkilled in an infinite number of things and a variety of languages [*E*]; but his too great curioſity, with the freedom of his pen, and the inconſtancy of his humour, involved him in a ſeries of misfortunes. He was for ever changing his ſituation; he was always in ſome diſtreſs or other, and to compleat his unhappineſs, he drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Eccleſiaſtics by his writings. We find by his Letters that he was in France before the year 1507 (*c*), that he went to Spain in 1508 (*d*), and that he was at Dole in 1509 (*e*). He read public Lectures there [*F*], which engaged him in a controverſy with Catilinet a Franciſcan. The Monks at that time ſuſpected every thing of error or hereſy, which they did not underſtand; how then was it poſſible for them to bear, that

Agrippa

(*a*) Agrippa Epiſtol. xxvi. lib. 7. p. 1041. edit. Lugd. in 8°.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. Epiſt. xviii. lib. vi. p. 970, and Epiſt. xxi. lib. vii. p. 1021. See likewiſe pag. 736.

(*c*) Agrippa Epiſt. i. lib. i.

(*d*) Epiſt. x. lib. i.

(*e*) Epiſt. xvii. lib. i.

[*A*] *A great Magician, if we will believe a great many people.*] Paulus, Jovius, Thevet, and Martin del Rio, are his principal accuſers. We ſhall ſee in the remark [*P*] the blunders, which they have fallen into. They are very palpable; and yet an infinite number of people are ſtill perſuaded upon the authority of theſe writers, that he was a compleat conjurer.

[*B*] *Of a noble and ancient family.*] It was called de Nettesheym. Mr. Teiſſier p. 99. of the ſecond tome of his Additions to the *Elogia* extracted from *Thuanus*, aſſures us, that *Agrippa was a native of Nettesheym in the country of Cologne.* Melchior Adam, whom he quotes, ſays nothing of this. He tells us, that he was born in the city of Cologne itſelf (1), and refers us to a Letter of his, where we read theſe words addreſſed to the Magiſtrates of Cologne; *Poſſim vobis horum veriſſima exempla referre, niſi civium veſtrorum pudori parcendum, & patriæ meæ rationem habendam ducerem. Sum enim & ego, ſi forte neſcitis, civitate veſtrâ oriundus, & primâ pueritiâ apud vos enutritus* (2). i. e. "I might, ſays he, "produce inconteſtable examples of theſe things "to you, but that I am willing not to diſgrace "your Citizens, and to have ſome regard to my "own country. For I myſelf, (if you have for"got that circumſtance,) owe my birth and educa"tion to your city." Thevet has committed a prodigious miſtake in ſaying that *he was born in the town of Neſtre* (3). I know nothing of his father, but that he was engaged in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria (4), and died about the beginning of the year 1518 (5).

(1) Melch. Adam. *Vitæ Medic.* p. 16.

(2) Agripp. Epiſt. xxvi. lib. 7. pag. 1041.

(3) Thevet *Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 7. p. 222. Paris ed. in 1671. in 7 Vol. 120.

(4) Agrip. Epiſt. xviii. lib. 6. pag. 970.

(5) Idem, Epiſt. xix. lib. 2. pag. 736.

[*C*] *He ſerved ſeven years . . . in the army in Italy.*] Paul Freher, who very ſeldom ventures to recede a ſtep from the authors, whom he copies, has here attempted to proceed upon his own authority, and to ſhew that he can ſay ſomething, that Melchior Adam had not ſaid before him. But he has ſucceeded very ill in it; for he makes theſe ſeven years begin in 1508, and end in 1515. If he had been converſant with Agrippa's works, he would have known, that this author was in Spain in 1508, at Dole in 1509, and in England in 1510. It is plain then that theſe ſeven years muſt have begun in 1511, and that Agrippa muſt have pretended to have been in the Emperor's army all the while he was in Italy. But his letters would have confuted this, when we examine the dates of them. It does not appear that from the time that he took upon him the Profeſſorſhip at Pavia in 1515, he had any poſt in the army. However Freher, in all that he copies from Melchior Adam, contents himſelf with the errors of that author, and never adds any new ones of his own. See his *Theatrum*, p. 1221.

[*D*] *To theſe military honours he thought proper to add thoſe of the Univerſities.*] It is worth while to ſee how he expreſſes this. *Utriuſque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor evaſi, antea etiam Auratus Eques; quem ordinem non precario mihi redemi, non à tranſmarinâ peregrinatione mutuavi, non in Regum inthroniſatione impudenti inſolentiâ ſurripui, ſed in publicis præliis media acie bellica virtute commerui* (6). i. e. "I was made Doctor of Laws and of Phyſic, "as I was before a Knight; which Order I did not "procure by a venal ſubmiſſion, nor by travelling "into foreign countries, nor extorted inſolently at "the coronation of a King, but merited it by pub"lic proofs of my valour in the midſt of ar"mies."

(6) Idem, Epiſt. xxi. lib. 7. pag. 1021. See likewiſe p. 737, 977.

[*E*] *A variety of languages.*] He underſtood eight, and of that great number there was but two, which he was not a perfect maſter of. He will tell it himſelf, tho' perhaps not with too much modeſty; and we ſhall do him no injury in valuing him in as high a manner, as he rates himſelf. *Octo linguarum mediocriter doctus, ſed illarum ſex adeo peritus, ut ſingulis non loqui modo & intelligere, ſed & eleganter orare, dictare, & transferre noverim; tum præter multimodam etiam abſtruſarum rerum cognitionem, peritiam, & cyclicam eruditionem, utriuſque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor evaſi* (7). i. e. "I am pretty "well skilled in eight languages, and ſuch a com"pleat maſter of ſix of them, that I cannot only "ſpeak and underſtand every one of them, but even "make an elegant oration, dictate, and tranſlate in "them; and beſides a very extenſive knowledge of "the moſt abſtruſe things, and a general acquain"tance with the whole circle of ſciences; I am "likewiſe a Doctor of Laws, and of Phyſic." He engaged very early in the ſearch after the Philoſopher's ſtone; and it ſeems he had been repreſented to ſeveral Princes as a perſon very capable of attaining the *Grand Operation*; which ſeveral times brought him into danger of loſing his liberty (8). It is very certain, that a man, who ſhould be ſuppoſed capable of making gold, would have great reaſon to apprehend, that ſome Prince or other would confine him. They would ſecure him for their own uſe, and prevent other Princes from receiving any advantage by him.

(7) Idem, Epiſt. xxi. lib. 7. pag. 1021.

(8) Idem, Epiſt. iv. and x. lib. i.

[*F*] *He read public Lectures at Dole.*] He ſeems to contradict himſelf upon this affair; for ſometimes he ſays, that he read them without any ſtipend, and ſometimes he had one: *Publicis prælectionibus, quas ad honorem illuſtriſſimæ Principis Margaretæ & uniti ſtudii Dolani feci* GRATIS. Thus he ſpeaks in his Expoſtulation againſt the Franciſcan Catilinet (9). But in other places he ſays, that he incorporated among the Profeſſors of Divinity, and received his ſtipend accordingly. *In Dola Burgundiæ publ. lectura ſacras literas profeſſus ſum, ob quam ab hujus ſtudii Doctoribus in Collegium receptus, inſuper regentia & ſtipendio donatus ſum* (10). The method of reconciling this is to ſay, that at firſt he read *gratis*, and afterwards had a ſtipend allowed him.

(9) Idem, Operum tom. 2. pag. 510.

(10) Idem, Defenſ. Propoſit. p. 596.

Agrippa ſhould explain the myſterious work of *Reuchlin de Verbo Mirifico* with impunity? This was the ſubject of the Lectures which he read at Dole in the year 1509 with great applauſe. The Counſellors of the Parliament went themſelves to hear him (*f*). In order to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Margaret of Auſtria, Governeſs of the Low-Country, he compoſed his *Treatiſe of the Excellence of Women* (*g*); but the perſecution which he met with from the Monks, prevented him from publiſhing it. Upon this he quitted the field to them, and went over to England (*h*), where he laboured upon St. Paul's Epiſtles (*i*), though he had another very ſecret affair in hand at that time. At his return to Cologne he read public Lectures there upon thoſe queſtions in Divinity, which are called *Quodlibetales*; after which he went to Italy to join the army of the Emperor Maximilian, and ſtaid there till he was ſent for to Piſa by the Cardinal de Sainte Croix. Agrippa would have diſplayed his talents there, as a Divine of the Council, if it had continued to ſit. This would not have been a proper method of gaining the favour of the Court of Rome, nor have procured him ſuch an obliging Letter as he received from Leo X. [G], and from which we may preſume that he changed his opinion. After this he taught Divinity publickly at Pavia and Turin (*k*). He read Lectures upon Mercurius Triſmegiſtus at Pavia in the year 1515 (*l*). His departure from that city the ſame year, or the year following, ſeemed rather a flight than a retreat. This appears from the XLIX Letter of his firſt book compared with the LII. He had at that time a wife and children [*H*]. It appears

(*f*) See his *Expoſtulatio cum Joanne Catlineto Fratrum Franciſcanorum petr. Burgundiam Provinciali Miniſtro.* Operum tom. 2. p. 508.

(*g*) See his Epiſtle Dedicatory to this Treatiſe dated from Antwerp Ap. 1529.

(*h*) His *Expoſtulatio* is dated from London in 1510.

(*i*) Agrip. *Defenſio Propoſit.* p. 596.

(*k*) Id. ibid. pag. 596.

(*l*) Agripp. *Operum* tom. 2. pag. 1073.

[G] *An obliging Letter, which he received from Leo X.* (11).] It is dated at Rome the 12th of July 1513, and ſigned *Petrus Bembus*. He is commended in it for his zeal to the Apoſtolical See, which was repreſented to the Pope by the Nuncio himſelf. *Ex literis venerabilis fratris Ennii Epiſcopi Verulani nuncii noſtri, aliorumque ſermonibus de tuâ in ſanctam Sedem Apoſtolicam devotione, deque tuo in ejus libertate incolumitateque tuenda ſtudio diligentiaque intelleximus: quod quidem nobis gratiſſimum fuit. Quapropter te in Domino magnopere commendamus, laudamuſque iſtum animum atque virtutem* (12). We may obſerve that this Brief cannot be made uſe of in order to clear Agrippa of the imputation of a Necromancer (13); for it was written ſeveral years before he fell under that ſcandal.

(11) It is the XXXVIIIth of the firſt book among thoſe of Agrippa.

(12) *Oper.* Agrippæ, tom. 2. p. 710.

(13) It was urged to ſuch a purpoſe in *Crocii Animadver. Philol. & Hiſtor.* part 2. p. 14, 15.

[*H*] *He had at that time a wife and children.*] Though I uſe the plural number, yet I know that he had but one ſon: *Quorſum, quæſo, in tam ſuſpecta tempeſtate una cum uxore filioque ac familia confugiſſem, relicta Papiæ domo ac ſupellectile rebuſque omnibus?* That is, "To what purpoſe ſhould I run away "in ſo dangerous a time, with a wife, a ſon, and "family, and leave my houſe and furniture and all "that I had at Pavia?" It is thus he ſpeaks in his 49th Letter of the ſecond book. He was very well pleaſed with his wife; for he writes thus of her in another place: *Ego quidem Deo omnipotenti innumeram habeo Gratiam, qui uxorem mihi conjunxit ſecundum cor meum, virginem nobilem, bene moratam, adoleſcentulam, formoſam, quæ ita ad meam vivit conſuetudinem, ut ne contumelioſum verbum inter nos intercidat, atque quo fæliciſſimum me dixero, quorſum ſe res vertunt, in proſperis & adverſis, ſemper æque mihi benigna, affabilis, conſtans, integerrimi animi, ſani conſilii, ſemper apud ſe manens* (14). That is, "I have "the greateſt reaſon to return innumerable thanks to "Almighty God, that he has given me a wife exactly after my own heart, a virgin of a noble family, well behaved, young, beautiful, of ſo ſweet "and flexible a temper, that there never paſt any "harſh word between us; and what makes me the "happieſt of mankind, in whatever ſituation my affairs are, whether proſperous or adverſe, ſhe ſtill "continues the ſame, equally kind, affable, conſtant, "ſincere and prudent, and always eaſy and miſtreſs "of herſelf." There is but one thing that he has omitted, and that is, whether ſhe was rich or not; for in other reſpects he repreſents her as poſſeſſed of all the qualifications that one could wiſh, beautiful, young, virtuous, noble, and of ſo happy a temper, that ſhe was never out of humour. He loſt her in the year 1521, and had her buried, for what reaſon I know not, at Metz, from which city he had removed ſome time before (15). He gave a fund for ſaying maſs annually for the ſoul of the deceaſed (16). He married a ſecond time at Geneva in the year 1522 (17). He commends this wife as much as the former. *Ante biennium hoc ſecundam uxorem duxi, virginem nobilem pulcherrimamque, quæ adeo ad meam vivit conſuetudinem, ut neſcias iſtane priorem, anne hanc illa, utra alterum in amando obſequendoque æquet an ſuperet* (18). That is, "About two years "ago, ſays he, I married a ſecond wife, a noble and "beautiful virgin, whoſe temper is ſo agreeable to "mine, that it is doubtful whether ſhe or my former "wife exceeds in affection and obedience to me." But the latter ſurpaſs'd the former very much in fruitfulneſs; he had but one ſon by the former, whereas the latter was brought to bed three times in two years, and a fourth time the year following. *Duos iſta mihi filios peperit, ambo ſuperſtites, filiamque unam, quæ vita exceſſit* (19).... *Uxor mea jam partui proxima eſt* (20). That is, "She has given "me two ſons, both alive, and one daughter, who "is dead.... She is now ready to be brought to "bed." He does not ſay, whether ſhe was rich, but one of his friends aſſures us ſhe was. *Te nunc degere Gebennis, illicque proba, nobili, formoſa, ac locuplete ducta uxore in artis Apollineæ experimentis clarere ſingulariter* (21). But I am not of opinion that this was true; for the Letters of Agrippa, after this ſecond marriage, complain of poverty as much as before. The third ſon, by this marriage had the Cardinal of Lorrain for his God father (22). When he departed from Paris for Antwerp in the month of July 1528, he left his wife at Paris big with child (23). She was brought to bed of her fifth ſon at Antwerp the 13th of March 1529 (24), and died there in the month of Auguſt 1529, extremely regretted by her husband, as appears from his LXXXI Letter of the fifth Book. She was then almoſt twenty ſeven years old. I have not obſerved, that he makes any mention of his third marriage in his Letters; but we know from other hands, that he divorced his wife in the year 1535: *Ubi conjugem Mechlinienſem Bonnæ repudiaſſet anno triceſimo quinto ſupra ſeſqui milleſimum.* i. e. "When he had "divorced his wife, which he married from Mich"len, at Bonne, in the year 1535." This we underſtand from John Wierus (25), who had been his domeſtic. If Thevet had been acquainted with all theſe particulars, he would not have contented himſelf with ſaying only that *Agrippa married Mademoiſelle Louyſe Tyſſie, born of a noble family, in the 25th year of his age, and in that of Chriſt* 1509 (26); but he would have ſpoken at leaſt in general of his two other marriages. Melchior Adam knew more of this than Thevet; for he tells us that Agrippa had two wives; *Duum uxorum maritus nobilium, & liberorum aliquot parens.* But beſides that he ſeems to know nothing of his third marriage, he makes ſeveral miſtakes in Chronology, when he ſpeaks of the firſt. His words are theſe: *Mortuo Maximiliano, ſub diverſis & principibus & civitatum magiſtratibus per Italiam, Hiſpaniam, Angliam, Galliam, egit, multaque egregia facinora deſignavit. Tandem laborum terra marique exantlatorum ſatur, ac quietis & otii cupidus ducta uxore, virgine nobili, ſedem in Allobregibus fixit, ut procul negotiis*

(14) Agripp. Epiſt. XIX. l. 2. p. 736.

(15) Epiſt. VIII. lib. 3. p. 785.

(16) Epiſt. XIX. lib. 4. p. 846.

(17) Epiſt. XXXIII. lib. 4. p. 800. See likewiſe p. 852.

(18) Epiſt. IX. lib. 3. p. 818.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Epiſt. LXXIX. lib. 3. p. 826.

(21) Ep. XXXIII. lib. 3. p. 800.

(22) Epiſt. LXVI. lib. 3. p. 827.

(23) Epiſt. IV. lib. 6. p. 933.

(24) Epiſt. LXVIII. lib. 5. p. 941.

(25) Wier. *de Magis* c. 5. pag. 111.

(26) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſtres*, p. 222, 223.

pears from his ſecond book of Letters, that his friends endeavoured in ſeveral places to procure him ſome honourable ſettlement or other, either at Grenoble, Geneva, Avignon, or Metz. He choſe to fix in the laſt of theſe places; and I find, that in the year 1518 (*m*), he exerciſed the ſeveral offices of Syndic, Advocate and Orator to that city (*n*). The perſecutions which were raiſed againſt him by the Monks, becauſe he had refuted the common notion concerning St. Anne's three huſbands, and becauſe he protected a country woman who was charged with witchcraft [*I*], obliged him to quit the city of Metz. What induced him to write to prove that St. Anne was but once married, was becauſe he ſaw his friend James Faber Stapulenſis abuſed in ſo outrageous a manner by the Preachers of Metz, for maintaining that opinion (*o*). Agrippa retired into his own country of Cologne in the year 1520, leaving without any reluctance a city, which theſe turbulent inquiſitors had rendered averſe to every thing of polite Learning and real merit (*p*). This is the fate of every country, where ſuch people gain the aſcendant, whatever religion they profeſs. He left his own country in 1521, and went to Geneva (*q*). He did not gain much money there, for he complains, that he had not enough to bear his charges to Chamberi (*r*), in order to ſollicit in perſon a penſion, which he had expectations of from the Duke of Savoy. Theſe expectations were diſappointed; and upon this he went from Geneva to Fribourg in Switzerland (*s*) in the year 1523 (*t*), to practiſe Phyſic there, as he had done before at Geneva. The year following he went to Lyons, and obtained a penſion from Francis I. He engaged himſelf to that King's mother as her Phyſician, but he did not make his fortune by it, nor even attend her (*u*) at her departure from Lyons in the month of Auguſt 1525, when ſhe went to conduct her daughter to the borders of Spain. He was left behind at Lyons, deſiring in vain the aſſiſtance of his friends, in order to procure the payment of his ſtipend; but before he received it, he had the unwelcome account of his being croſſed out of the liſt (*x*). The cauſe of this diſgrace was, that having received orders from his miſtreſs to examine by the rules of Aſtrology what ſucceſs the affairs of France were likely to have, he took too great a freedom in complaining that this Princeſs ſhould employ him in ſuch impertinent curioſities, inſtead of things of more importance. The Lady was piqu'd extremely at this remonſtrance of his (*y*); but ſhe was more enraged, when ſhe came to know that his aſtrological calculations had promiſed new ſucceſſes to the Conſtable of Bourbon [*K*]. Agrippa, finding

(*m*) Agrip. Epiſt. xii. lib. 2.

(*n*) See his IVth Oration *Operum* tom. 2. p. 1090.

(*o*) Epiſt. xxv. lib. 2. p. 743. See likewiſe pag. 746.

(*p*) Epiſt. xxxii. lib. 2. p. 749.

(*q*) Epiſt. vii. lib. 3. p. 784.

(*r*) Epiſt. xxiv. lib. 3. p. 794.

(*s*) And not in Briſgaw, as Melchior Adam ſays.

(*t*) Epiſt. xli. lib. 3. *& ſeq.*

(*u*) Epiſt. lxxix. lib. 3. p. 828.

(*x*) Epiſt. iii. lib. 4. p. 869.

(*y*) Ep. xxxvii. lib. 4. p. 859. *item.* p. 870.

negotiis ſibi ac muſis viveret. Invitatus autem ab inclyta Mediomatricum repub. munus Syndici, Advocati, & Oratoris obivit (27). i. e. "After the death of "Maximilian, he lived in ſeveral kingdoms and "publicks in Italy, Spain, England, and France, "where he engaged in ſeveral noble deſigns. At "laſt being tired of the fatigues, which he had ſuf"fered both at ſea and land, and deſirous of living "in a more eaſy and quiet manner, he married a "young Lady of a noble family, and ſettled in Sa"voy, that he might be remote from buſineſs, and "applied himſelf wholly to his ſtudies. But be"ing invited by the famous city of Metz *, he per"formed the office of Syndic, Advocate and Orator "there." We may obſerve, that the Emperor Maximilian died the 12th of January 1519, and that Agrippa went to Spain 1508, and to England in 1510. So that here is a remarkable anachroniſm. After his return from England, he ſtaid ſome time at Cologne; and then went to Italy. He was there ſtill in 1517 (28). He was at Metz in 1518 (29). He did not return to Italy, after he had left it to go to Metz. So that here is another anachroniſm. Obſerve likewiſe, that in the year 1515 he was already married (30). Where then are the great fatigues, which he is ſaid to have ſuffered both by ſea and land after the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which he reſolved to put an end to by marriage? How then can he be ſaid to have ſettled with his wife in Savoy, when he led ſuch an ambulatory kind of life with her in Italy? Add to this, that before his journey to Metz, he had not ſettled himſelf in Savoy, and that he was Syndic of Metz before the death of Maximilian. Melchior Adam has a prodigious number of errors of this kind. But part of theſe, which I have taken notice of, are ſo much the more excuſable in him, as he has fallen into them by following Agrippa himſelf, who for want of memory, or ſome other reaſon, told Margaret Queen of Hungary, that after the death of Maximilian, he took ſuch and ſuch journeys, &c. See his XXI Letter of the VII Book. It would be entertaining enough to ſee ſomebody undertake to reconcile Melchior Adam with Thevet. According to the latter, Agrippa was married at twenty three years of age; but the other aſſures us, that he was not married till after an infinite number of journeys and affairs, which he was engaged in, and when he was quite fatigued with labour, and deſirous of ſome reſt at laſt.

(27) Melchior Adam. *Vit. Medicor.* p. 17.

* Then a free City.

(28) Agripp. Ep. i. lib. 2. p. 722.
(29) Epiſt. xii. lib. 2. p. 730.
(30) Epiſt. xlvii, xlviii. lib. 1.

[*I*] *He protected a country-woman who was* (α) *charged with witchcraft.*] Nicholas Savini a Dominican, Inquiſitor at Metz, inſiſted upon putting this woman to the torture, merely upon the account of an idle prejudice againſt her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of one, who had been burnt for witchcraft (31). Agrippa exerted all his endeavours, that the proceſs might be carried on regularly; and yet he could not prevent her from being put to the torture; but he managed the matter ſo, that it appeared ſhe was not guilty. Upon this her accuſers were fined (32), which was too mild a puniſhment, and not an equivalent to that which ſhe would have ſuffered in caſe ſhe had been found guilty.

(31) Ep. xxxix. lib. 2. p. 754.

(32) Epiſt. xl. lib. 2. p. 757. See likewiſe pag. 763.

§ (α) This country-woman was of Vapey *, a village ſituated near the gates of Metz, and belonging to the Chapter of the Cathedral. There appeared in the Clergy of Metz, which were the principal accuſers of that woman, ſo much mean paſſion and prejudice, and ſuch a profound ignorance of all Polite Learning and true Philoſophy, that upon this account Agrippa in his Letter of the ſecond June 1519, gives the city of Metz the character of being *omnium bonarum literarum virtutumque Noverca*, i. e. "the Step-mother of all good learning and "virtue;" which ignominious words perhaps gave occaſion to the proverb *Metis avara ſcientiarum Noverca*, i. e. "Covetous Metz, the Stepmother of "ſciences." CRIT. REM.

* *Villa Vapeya.*

[*K*] *Promiſed new ſucceſſes to the Conſtable of Bourbon.*] His complaints of being employed in the impertinences of Aſtrology muſt needs be very diſpleaſing. *Scripſi Seneſchallo, ut admoneat illam, ne ad tam indignum artificium ingenio meo diutiùs abutatur, nec in has nugas ulteriùs impingere cogar, qui multò fælicioribus ſtudiis illi inſervire queam* (33). i. e. "I wrote to the Seneſchal, that he might de"ſire her, not to abuſe my underſtanding any longer "in ſuch an unworthy employment, nor oblige me "to continue my application to ſo abſurd a ſtudy, "ſince I was able to be uſeful to her in more impor-

(33) Epiſt. xxix. lib. 4. p. 854.

ing himſelf thus abandoned, murmured, raged, threatned [*L*], wrote, and ſpoke every thing that his impetuous humour ſuggeſted to him; but at laſt he was obliged to look out for a new ſettlement. He caſt his eyes upon the Low-Countries, and having procured at Paris, after a tedious delay, a paſſport which was neceſſary, he arrived at Antwerp in July 1528 (*z*). One cauſe of this delay was the paſſion of the Duke of Vendome, who inſtead of ſigning the paſſport, tore it in pieces, proteſting he would never ſign it for a conjurer (*aa*). In the year 1529 Agrippa was invited at the ſame time by Henry King of England, by the Chancellor of the Emperor, by an Italian Marquiſs, and by Margaret of Auſtria, Governeſs of the Low-Countries (*bb*). He choſe the laſt offer, and accepted of the charge of Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor, which that Princeſs gave him. He publiſhed by way of introduction *The Hiſtory of the Government of Charles the Fifth*; and ſoon after this he was called upon to make the Funeral Oration for that Princeſs, whoſe death was in ſome meaſure the life of our Agrippa; for they had infuſed into her mind the moſt terrible prejudices againſt him [*M*]. Beſides, they had done him the ſame diſkindneſs with the Emperor himſelf (*cc*). The

(*z*) Epiſt. li. lib. 5. p. 932.

(*aa*) *Conſpecto ſive audito nomine meo, præcipiti irâ repente diripuit papyrum totum inquiens ſe nequaquam ſignaturum in favorem Divinatoris.* Epiſt. xxx. lib. 5. p. 920.

(*bb*) Ep. lxxxiv. lib. 5. p. 951.

(*cc*) Epiſt. xv. lib. 6. p. 969.

" tant ſubjects." But the worſt of the affair was, that this abſurd art diſcovered too great ſucceſs in favour of a party that was odious. *Rediit in mentem ſcripſiſſe me Seneſchallo, comperiſſe me in* BORBONII *natalitiis revolutionibus illum fruſtratis veſtris exercitibus etiam in hunc annum victorem fore . . . dixique intra me, O infelix Propheta! hoc vaticinio jam omnem Principis tuæ gratiam concacaſti: hoc eſt ulcus, hic antrax, hic carbo, hic cancer ille, quem noli me tangere dicunt, quem tu imprudens tetigiſti etiam cauterio* (34). i. e. " I remembred that I had writ to " the Seneſchal that I found by calculating Bour- " bon's nativity, that he would vanquiſh your ar- " mies again this year, . . . and I ſaid within myſelf, " Unhappy Prophet that thou art! by this predic- " tion thou haſt ruin'd thy ſelf entirely in the Prin- " ceſs's favour: this is the ulcer, this is ſuch a can- " cer, as they call a *noli me tangere*, and which thou " haſt touched imprudently even with a cauſtic." Thoſe who are acquainted with the circumſtances of that time, know that our Aſtrologer could have done nothing more improper in paying his court to the mother of Francis I, than to foretel good ſucceſs to the Conſtable. Agrippa was from that moment conſidered a Bourboniſt (35). In order to remove this imputation he repreſented the ſervice, which he had done to France, in drawing off four thouſand good foot ſoldiers from the Emperor's party, and engaging them in that of Francis I. He urged likewiſe the refuſal that he made of very advantageous terms, which were offer'd him, when he came from Fribourg, in caſe he would enter into the ſervice of the Conſtable. It appears from his ivth and vth Letter of the vth Book, that he kept a very ſtrict correſpondence with that Prince in the beginning of the year 1527. He gave him advice and counſel, tho' he refuſed to go to him, and he promis'd him the victory. He aſſured him, that the walls of Rome ſhould fall down at the firſt attack; he forgot only the chief thing of all, that is, that the Conſtable ſhould be ſlain there. *Jam fata illis propinquam ſtragem ſuamque perniciem denunciant: mox illa ſuperba mœnia vix oppugnata corruere videbis. Eja ergo nunc, ſtrenuiſſime Princeps, quem tantæ victoriæ ducem fata conſtituunt; rumpe moras, perge intrepide quo cœpiſti proſpere, aggredere fortiter, pugna conſtanter, habes electiſſimorum militum armatas acies; adeſt cœlorum favor, aderit & juſti belli vindex Deus nihil formidaveris; ingens ſiquidem te manet gloriæ triumphus* (36). i. e. " The " Fates, *ſays he*, now threaten them with approach- " ing deſtruction; thoſe proud walls will fall down " before you upon the firſt attack. Riſe then, va- " liant Prince, whom fate has deſtined for ſo glo- " rious a conqueſt; break off all delay; proceed " as proſperouſly as you have begun; attack with " your uſual valour; you have an army of the " choiceſt ſoldiers; you have the favour of heaven " to protect you; you will have God's aſſiſtance in " ſo juſt a war; therefore, fear nothing, while " ſo illuſtrious a triumph is waiting for you." The death of the Conſtable, which happened before Agrippa left Lyons, puts me in mind of three errors of Melchior Adam. He ſays that Agrippa being invited firſt by the Conſtable, and then by the Chancellor, went to the court of Burgundy, where he ſoon became very unhappy by the death of both his patrons. He has here committed three anachroniſms. I. The Conſtable was dead before Agrippa left France, and he never had any deſign to ſend for him to the court of the Princeſs Margaret (37). II. The Chancellor Gattinara indeed had a mind to ſend for him, but it was to the court of Charles the Fifth; Agrippa diſtinguiſhed this invitation very clearly from that, which was propoſed him in relation to the court of Princeſs Margaret (38). III. He was in the Low-Countries, when the Chancellor made propoſals to him.

(34) Epiſt. lxii. lib. 4. p. 880.

(35) Ibid. p. 881.

(36) Epiſt. vi. l. 5. p. 900. This Letter was writ from Lyons the 30th of March 1527.

(37) This is that which is meant by the court of Burgundy.

(38) Ep. lxxxiv. lib. 5. pag. 951.

[*L*] *Agrippa, finding himſelf thus abandoned, murmured, raged, threatned.*] He had uſed ſome threats even before his penſion was taken away. His indignation upon his not being paid his ſalary, and the contempt ſhewn him, urged him to ſay, that he ſhould be obliged to take ſome deſperate counſel or other. *Crede mihi*, ſays he to one of his friends (39), *eò ſe inclinant res meæ atque animus, ni tuis precibus illiuſque celeri adjuver auxilio, malo aliquo utar conſilio. Siquidem & malis artibus nonnunquam bona fortuna parta eſt.* i. e. " Believe me, my mind and " circumſtances are in ſuch a ſtate, that unleſs your " deſires and her immediate aſſiſtance change my re- " ſolution, I ſhall take ſome deſperate courſe, ſince " good fortune is ſometimes obtained by bad me- " thods." After he knew for certain his diſmiſſion, he wrote ſeveral thundering letters, and threatned to publiſh ſome books, in which he would expoſe all the ſecret hiſtory of thoſe Courtiers, who had ruined him (40). Nay he proceeded ſo far, as to ſay in a very brutal manner, that he would for the future account that Princeſs, to whom he had been Counſellor and Phyſician, as a cruel and perfidious Jezebel. *Nec ultra illam ego pro Principe meâ, (jam enim eſſe deſiit,) ſed pro atrociſſimâ & perfidâ quadam Jeſabele mihi habendam decrevi* (41). What then would he not have done in ſuch a paſſion, and with ſo ſtrong a deſire of revenge, if he had been poſſeſſed of as great an influence and power over the Devils, as he has been repreſented to have? I never heard, that any one has aſſerted, that this rage of his was the leaſt deſtructive to any perſon in the court of France. This unhappy man was equally diſſatisfied with the court of Charles the Fifth. He preſented a petition to the Privy-Council of that Emperor, in which he diſcovered his paſſion without diſguiſe, and repreſents that he could do whatever miſchief or good he pleaſed. His threatnings were the moſt plain and intelligible in the world; but they ſlighted them without any ill conſequence. *Cogeretis me acceptam ea repulſa injuriam ad novarum rerum licentiam transferre, & malo aliquo conſilio (ceu quale Hermocles dedit Pauſaniæ) uti oportere. . . . Quin & malis artibus ſæpiſſime bona fortuna parta eſt. . . Sed interea memineritis inter Æſopi Apologos eſſe murem aliquando ſubveniſſe leoni & ſcarabeum expugnaſſe aquilam* (42). i. e. " You will oblige " me by this ill uſage to take my revenge by con- " triving ſome new and dangerous deſigns againſt " you, and to engage in ſome deſperate counſel, ſuch " as Hermocles gave to Pauſanias. . . . For ſometimes " good fortune is procured by bad methods. . . . But " in the mean while remember, that among Æſop's " Fables, a mouſe once aſſiſted a lion, and a beetle " conquered an eagle."

(39) Epiſt. xxv. lib. 4. p. 850.

(40) See the liid and lxiid Letter of the 4th book.

(41) Epiſt. lxii. lib. 4. p. 884. See the liid Letter of the 5th Book, which is full of rage, and the xiiith of the ſame book, where he ſays, that this Princeſs would be ill adviſed, if ſhe took him again into her ſervice.

(42) Epiſt. xxii. lib. 2. p. 979.

[*M*] *They had infuſed terrible prejudices into the mind of that Princeſs againſt him.*] Thus he writes concerning

The Treatiſe of *The Vanity of the Sciences*, which he publiſhed in 1530, enraged his enemies extremely (*dd*). And that, which he printed ſoon after at Antwerp (*ee*), of *Occult Philoſophy* (*ff*) furniſhed them with new pretences to deſtroy his reputation. It was happy for him, that Cardinal Campegius the Pope's Legate, and the Cardinal de la Mark Biſhop of Liege, ſpoke in his favour (*gg*). But their kind offices could not procure him one farthing of his penſion as Hiſtoriographer, nor prevent him from being put into priſon at Bruſſels in the year 1531 (*hh*). He did not continue there long. The next year he paid a viſit to the Archbiſhop of Cologne (*ii*). He had dedicated to him his *Occult Philoſophy*, and received a very obliging letter from him in return (*kk*). His fear of his creditors was the cauſe of his ſtaying longer in the country of Cologne than he was willing (*ll*). He attacked very vigorouſly the inquiſitors, who had ſtop'd the impreſſion of his *Occult Philoſophy*, in his ſecond edition of it, which he publiſhed at Cologne with corrections and additions. See the XXVIth Letter of his VIIth Book, and the following Letters. In ſpite of all their efforts he finiſhed this impreſſion in 1533. He ſtaid at Bonne till 1535. That year he took a reſolution to return to Lyons. He was impriſoned in France for ſomething which he had writ againſt Francis the Firſt's mother, but he was enlarged from his confinement at the deſire of ſeveral perſons, and went to Grenoble, where he died the ſame year 1535 (*mm*). Some authors write, that he died in the Hoſpital; but as Gabriel Naudé aſſures us, it was *at the houſe of the Receiver-General of the Province of Dauphiné, whoſe ſon was firſt Preſident of Grenoble* (*nn*). Mr. Alard, pag. 4. of his *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné*, tells us, that he died at Grenoble, *in the houſe belonging to the family of Ferrand in Clerk-Street, and which belonged then to the Preſident Vachon, and that he was interred in the church of the Dominicans*. He always lived in the Romiſh communion, ſo that there is no ground for ſaying that he was a Lutheran [*N*]. I am not of opinion that he wrote for the divorce

(*dd*) Epiſt. xx. lib. 6. p. 974.
(*ee*) Epiſt. xiv. lib. 6. p. 968.
(*ff*) *See* Remark [*Q*].
(*gg*) Ep. xx. l. 6. p. 975. Epiſt. xii. lib. 7. p. 1010. Epiſt. xxi. lib. 7. p. 1022.
(*hh*) Epiſt. xxiii. lib. 6. p. 980.
(*ii*) Epiſt. 6. l. 7.
(*kk*) Epiſt. i. l. 7.
(*ll*) Epiſt. xxi. lib. 7. p. 1024.
(*mm*) Joh. Wierus *de Magis*, cap. 5. p. 111.
(*nn*) Naudé *Apol. des grands Hommes, &c.* p. 427.

concerning that affair, after having complained, that he was left to ſtarve. *Quod ad te ſcribam non habeo aliud, niſi quod hic egregiè eſurio, ab iſtis aulicis Diis totus præteritus. Quid magnus ille Jupiter* (43), *ſuſpicari nequeo. Ego quanto fuerim in periculo, jam primum reſcivi; tantum enim dictum eſt mihi; prævaluerunt cuculliones illi apud Dominam, ſed muliebriter religioſam Principem, ut niſi illa mox periiſſet, jam ego, quod maximum crimen eſt, monachalis majeſtatis ſacræque cucullæ reus tanquam in religionem Chriſtianam impius periturus fuiſſem* (44). i. e. "I have nothing to write to you, but this, "that I am ready to ſtarve here, being entirely "abandoned by thoſe Deities of the court. What "the great Jupiter himſelf intends, I know not. "I underſtand now what great danger I was in "here; the Monks prevail ſo far upon the Princeſs, who is ſuperſtitious, as women generally "are, that unleſs her death had prevented it, I "ſhould undoubtedly have been tried for my offences againſt the Majeſty of the Coul, and the "honour of the Order of Monks, (which are ac"counted the greateſt crimes in the world,) as if "I had blaſphemed the Chriſtian Religion; and this "would inevitably have deſtroyed me." It generally happens, that a Miſtreſs is much more formidable than a Maſter, when a perſon is accuſed of irreligion.

(43) He means Charles the Vth.
(44) Epiſt. xv. lib. 6. p. 968.

[*N*] *There is no ground for ſaying that he was a Lutheran.*] I own, that I have not obſerved in his Letters, when he ſpeaks of Luther, that he uſes any harſh expreſſions or reflections. I own too, that he took pains to inform himſelf very particularly of every thing, that Luther or his followers publiſhed concerning the points in diſpute; but this does not ſhew certainly, that he approved of the opinions of that Reformer. Might not the moſt rigid Proteſtants of the Geneva confeſſion give orders for the buying every thing, that the Sectariſts of Tranſilvania publiſh; and would it not be ridiculous to pretend, that they are of the ſame opinion with thoſe heretics? Thoſe, who embraced Luther's Reformation, did not treat that Doctor with the indifference, which appears in Agrippa's Letters, that is, without applauding or blaming him. If Agrippa was the author of the LXXXII Letter of the III Book, there would be no doubt, but that he was a ſtaunch Lutheran; for tho' the title is, *Agrippa ad Amicum*, i. e. "Agrippa to a Friend," yet it is very certain he was not the author of it. The proof of which is this: He, who wrote that Letter, ſays his wife was brought to bed of a ſon in November 1525. Now Agrippa's wife was brought to bed of a ſon in July before: this is clear from the LXXVI Letter of the III Book, where we ſee, that the Cardinal of Lorrain was Godfather to that child. It appears therefore inconteſtable that Agrippa did not write the Letter in queſtion; not to mention, that he was not at Strasbourg, but at Lyons, at the time when that Letter was writ from Strasbourg. So that thoſe, who would furniſh Sixtus Senenſis, who aſſerts, that Agrippa was a Lutheran (45), with ſuch a proof as this (*α*), ſupply him with one that ſignifies nothing. Quenſtedt has refuted Sixtus Senenſis, from the VI chapter of the Treatiſe *of the Vanity of Sciences*, where Agrippa calls Luther an Heſiarch. This argument is infinitely more ſolid, than that, which a Divine of Utrecht made uſe of, who alledges the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, which Agrippa was preferred to at Dole and Pavia, and the employment he enjoyed under the Cardinal de Sainte Croix at the Council of Piſa (46), as proofs, that he was not a Lutheran. This proves nothing at all; for all theſe honours of his were conferred upon him before ever Luther preached againſt the Pope. If it be asked, why Agrippa ſpeaks in ſeverer terms of Luther in his book *Of the Vanity of Sciences*, than in his Letters, I might anſwer indeed, that this was a work, in which he deſigned to criticize upon all the world; but I choſe to make uſe of another reaſon. When he wrote that Treatiſe, he had evidently loſt the hopes he had at firſt conceived of Luther. I believe that he, as well as Eraſmus, conſidered this Reformer at firſt as an Hero, who would put an end to the tyranny, which the Mendicant Friars and the reſt of the Clergy exerciſed over the minds and conſciences of mankind. They were ignorant and abandoned to pleaſure; they encouraged a thouſand baſe and abſurd ſuperſtitions, and would not ſuffer Polite Learning to make any progreſs in the world. They would not break thro' the barbarity and ignorance of the age, nor permit others to do ſo; ſo that it was enough for a man to have a fine genius, well cultivated with elegant learning, to be the perpetual object of their violent declamations. Agrippa, Eraſmus, and ſeveral other men of diſtinguiſhed wit, were extremely glad, that Luther had broken the ice; they waited for a lucky criſis, to deliver mankind from this oppreſſion; but when they ſaw, that things took another courſe, than what they wiſh'd for, they were the firſt to caſt a ſtone at Luther. However we may obſerve that Agrippa was ſubject to ſome change and irreſolution of mind. He proteſted to Eraſmus, when he ſent him his Diſcourſe upon *the Vanity of Sciences*, that he was exactly conformable to the opinions of the Church: *Illud te admonitum volo, me de his quæ ad Religionem attinent nequaquam ſecus ſentire quam ſentit Eccleſia Catholica* (47).

(45) Sixti Senenſis *Bib. Sanctâ* lib. 5. *Annotat.* lxxi. *apud* Quenſtedt *de patr. Illuſtr. Viror.* p. 144. *Delrio Diſſynis*, lib. 2. Quæſt. 16. and Tannerus upon the Treatiſe of *St. Thomas de Potentiâ Angelorum* Quæſt. III. repreſent Agrippa as a Proteſtant. *See* Voet. *Diſp.* part 3. p. 616.
(46) Voetii *Diſput. Theolog.* part 3. p. 616.

divorce of Henry VIII. [O]. With regard to magic, which he is accuſed of, I leave every one to believe as he thinks proper. One thing I know very well, that the Letters

(47) Ep. xxxvi. lib. 6. p. 999.

(48) Epiſt. xii. lib. 7. p. 1013.

(49) See the xiiith Letter of the 7th book, p. 1013. He appears very favourable to this new Religion in his xviiith and liid Letter of the 3d book.

(50) Epiſt. xii. lib. 7. p. 1013.

(51) Epiſt. xvi. and xxxiv. lib. 3. See likewiſe Ep. xv. of the ſame book.

lica (47). In his Apology for this diſcourſe to the Pope's Legate he wiſhes, that God would purge his Church from the impiety of heretics (48). And a little after this he wrote to Melanćthon in the moſt obliging manner imaginable (49): he deſires him to ſalute in his name that invincible heretic Martin Luther: *Salutabis mihi invićtum illum hæreticum Martinum Lutherum; qui, ut in Actibus ait Paulus ſervit Deo ſecundum ſećtam quam hæreſim vocant*; i. e. "Who after the way, that they call Hereſy, ſerves "God." And then he intimates to him his deſire to depart out of Babylon. *Utinam hic Nabuchodonoſor* (he ſpeaks of Charles the Fifth,) *aliquando ex beſtia rediret in hominem, aut ego relinquere poſſem iſtud Ur Chaldæorum* (50). i. e. "I wiſh, *ſays he*, "that this Nabuchodonoſor would from a beaſt "return to be a man, or that I could leave this Ur "of the Chaldees." There was a time, when the brethren were recommended to him (51). So that what he wrote here to Melanćthon was only a return of thoſe firſt deſires of his, which his own diſgraces and the unjuſt treatment he met with from the Catholic Divines inſpired him with. However it is very certain, that he lived and dy'd in the Romiſh Communion. We ſhall take notice of ſome of his opinions in the remark [T].

§ (α) Agrippa in the 19th chapter of his Apology ſpeaks in ſo magnificent a manner of Luther, and with ſuch contempt of the chief adverſaries of that Reformer, that it is plain Sextus Senenſis's aſſertion, that Agrippa was a Lutheran, was founded upon that paſſage. Now as it was more proper to quote here this writing of Agrippa, than ſeveral of his Letters, it is to be preſumed, that Mr. Bayle had not read it with ſo much care as he did his Letters. CRIT. REM.

[O] *I am not of opinion that he wrote for the divorce of Henry VIII.*] I have read in the work of a very excellent writer, that Cranmer having taken "a journey into Germany, he fell into the acquaint- "ance of the famous Cornelius Agrippa, to whom "he mentioned the affair of the divorce, and repre- "ſented the neceſſity of it in ſo ſtrong a manner, "that this great man taking upon him the defence "of King Henry's conduct, was very ill treated by "the Emperor, and died at laſt in priſon (52)." An author, who has given us a Criticiſm upon that work, replies among other things; I. *That R. Wakefield, who wrote at that time for Henry VIII. ſays poſitively, that he anſwered a book of the Biſhop of Rocheſter's, and another, which was ſuppoſed to be written by Vives or Agrippa.* II. *That Agrippa died in France, and was never a priſoner in Germany* (53). I have obſerved in Agrippa's Letters ſeveral things, which induce me to think that he was not of Cranmer's opinion. The Embaſſador of the Emperor at London (54) wrote to Agrippa the 26th of June 1531, to deſire him to ſupport the intereſt of the Queen (55), and put him in mind of a paſſage in his diſcourſe *of the Vanity of Sciences*; which is very ſevere upon Henry VIII. *Hodie adhuc neſcio cui regi perſuaſum audio, ut liceat ſibi jam plus viginti annorum uxorem dimittere, & nubere pellici* (56). That is, "I hear, that a certain King has been perſuaded "to divorce his Queen who has been his wife above "twenty years, and to marry a harlot." Agrippa replied to this, that he would readily engage in this deſign, if the Emperor would give him orders or a commiſſion for that purpoſe. He proteſts in very ſtrong terms, that he deteſted the compliance of thoſe Divines who approved of the Divorce; and with regard to the Sorbonne he writes thus. *Non eſt mihi incognitum queis artibus res hæc apud Pariſiorum Sorbonam tractata eſt, quæ cæteris tanti ſceleris auſum temerario porrexit exemplo. Vix me continere queo, quin imitatus poëtam illum exclamem*, Dicite, Sorbonici, in Theologia quid valet aurum? *Quantum pietatis & fidei illorum pectore clauſum putabimus, quorum venalis magis quam ſincera conſcientia eſt, qui extimeſcendas univerſo orbi Chriſtiano determinationes auro venales fecerunt, ac ſervatam tot annis fidei & ſinceritatis opinionem, nunc tandem extrema avaritiæ infamia corruperunt* (57)? That is, "I know very "well with what arts this affair was managed in the "Sorbonne at Paris, who by their raſhneſs have ſet "others an example to lead them into the ſame crime. "When I conſider this, I can ſcarce contain my ſelf "from exclaiming in imitation of Perſius, *Say, ye "Sorbonniſts, what has Gold to do with Divinity?* "What piety and faith ſhall we think to be in their "breaſts, whoſe conſciences are ſo venal, and who "have ſold their judgments and deciſions, which "ſhould have the greateſt regard paid them by "the whole Chriſtian world, for money, and "have ſpoiled the character, which they main- "tained ſo many years for ſincerity and fidelity "by this extreme avarice." He does not omit to repreſent the danger, which he ſhould be expoſed to, by writing againſt a divorce, which ſo many Divines approved of; *a race of men*, ſays he, *who have a prodigious reſentment againſt me upon the account of my* VANITY OF SCIENCES. The Embaſſador returned to the charge; he gave him hopes, that the Queen of England would write either to the Emperor or the Queen of Hungary, to obtain an order for him to write upon that ſubject; and explained to him the reaſon why Eraſmus, Vives, and other fine writers of that time were not to be choſen ſo ſoon as he (58). Agrippa thought himſelf already engaged to undertake that work; for in his Letter to the Queen of Hungary, after his retirement to Bonne, he repreſented to her, how he had devoted his whole ſtudy to his employment as an Hiſtoriographer, though he had yet received no profit from it: *I am collecting*, ſays he, *Memoirs for the Hiſtory of the Wars in Italy and Hungary; and beſides this, I have a greater deſign in agitation, which is to write in defence of Queen Catherine your aunt.* His own words are theſe: *Sed longe majus his negotium pro veſtri ſanguinis decore, pro tuâ, inquam, materterâ Angliæ celebratiſſima Regina meis humeris impoſitum ſuſcepi, in quo licet multi hactenus operam ſuam collocarunt, nullus adhuc nodum rei diſſecuit* (59). I believe that this deſign was never executed. The author being in diſgrace at the Emperor's Court, thought it proper without doubt not to expoſe himſelf to the indignation of the King of England. If Cranmer had gained him (β), it muſt have certainly been in the year 1532; and if Robert Wakefeld publiſhed his Book before the year 1532 (60), it is very plain, that the Treatiſe which he refuted, and which was ſuppoſed to be Vives's or Agrippa's, could not poſſibly be the latter's. We may obſerve likewiſe, that Sanders, who names ſeveral authors who wrote againſt the divorce (61), does not mention Agrippa among them.

(52) The *Hiſtory of the Reformation by Dr. Burnet Biſhop of Salisbury*, in the year 1530. book 2.

(53) *Le Grand Hiſtoire du Divorce de Henry VIII.* tom. 2. p. 116. See likewiſe tom. 1. p. 249.

(54) He is called in Agrippa's Letters *Euſtochius Chapuſius*, and in Eraſmus's *Euſtathius Chapuſius*.

(55) Agrip. Ep. xix. lib. 6. pag. 973.

(56) Agrip. *de Vanitat. Scient.* cap. 63. p. 124.

(57) Agripp. Ep. xx. lib. 6. pag. 974.

(58) Epiſt. xxix. lib. 6. p. 986. See likewiſe Ep. xxxiii. p. 996.

(59) Epiſt. xxi. lib. 7. p. 1024.

§ (β) Agrippa was not gained in this affair in 1533, at which time, if I am not miſtaken, he publiſhed his *Apology* againſt the Doctors of Louvain, and he could not undertake it afterwards without the ſame ſhameful prevarication, which he reproached the Sorbonne with. *Eodem*, ſays he, ſpeaking of that famous body, *his recentibus annis Papam non poſſe diſpenſare, ut frater ducat uxorem fratris mortui ſine liberis, atque propterea matrimonium inter Angliæ regem & Cæſaris amitam, velut contra jus naturale & divinum, indiſpenſabile, pro inceſtuoſo, abominabili, & ſacrilego adulterio damnarunt, magna Sorbonæ infamia: cum non multis ante pro Auguſtino Furnario Civi ac Patricio Genuenſi determinaviſſent oppoſitum* *. "A few years ago they determined here, that the "Pope had no power of diſpenſing with a brother's "marrying the widow of his brother who died with- "out children; and for that reaſon they condemned "the marriage between the King of England and the "Emperor's aunt, as contrary both to the law of "Nature and of God, not capable of a diſpenſation, "and as an inceſtuous, abominable and ſacrilegious "adultery, to the great ſcandal of the Sorbonne; "ſince a few years before they determined the very "contrary in favour of Auguſtin Furnarius a Citizen "and Nobleman of Genoa." It is not only in the edition of 1536, that we find the paſſage which we have given in the Remark [X], and which Crenius obſerves was retrench'd in the Lyons edition of the *Vanity of Sciences*. This paſſage appears again in the edition of 1539, and in all the preceding editions of that book. CRIT. REM.

(60) Mr. Le Grand, tom. 1. p. 249. ſays, that this work was intitled *Cotzer*. Now it appears from the *Catalogue of Oxford*, p. 246, that the *Cotzer* was printed at London in 1527.

(61) Sanderi *Hiſt. Schiſmatis Angliæ*.

* Agrp. *Apol.* cap. 2.

ters which he wrote to his moſt intimate friends, without any deſign that they ſhould ever be printed, carry in them all the characteriſtics of a man accuſtomed to reflections of Religion, and to the language of Chriſtianity. His accuſers were not well informed of his adventures [*P*]; which invalidates their teſtimony. One would be ſurpriſed

[*P*] *His accuſers were not well informed of his adventures.*] I obſerved in my firſt remark that Paulus Jovius, Thevet, and Martin del Rio, are his chief accuſers; I promis'd to ſhew their errors, which are as follows.

I. Paulus Jovius tells us, that he died at Lions in a poor Tavern; and charges him with the infamous ſuſpicion of magic, for the reaſon, which follows: "Agrippa, *ſays he* (62), always had a Devil attending him in the ſhape of a black dog. "When death ſeized him, and he was adviſed to repent, "he took off of the dog's neck a collar ſtudded with "nails, which formed ſome necromantic inſcriptions, and ſaid to him, *Get away thou wretched beaſt, "which art the cauſe of my total deſtruction.* The "dog immediately run away to the river Saone, "and leap'd in, and was never ſeen more." This author has extolled Agrippa highly for his genius and learning, which, he tells us, procured him the honour of Knighthood from the Emperor. *Vir educatus in literis, & à Cæſare eruditionis ergo Equeſtris Ordinis dignitate cohoneſtatus* (63). We ſhall begin our Criticiſm with this.

(62) Paulus Jovius *in Elogiis* cap. 91.

(63) Idem, ibid.

It is certain from the teſtimony of Agrippa himſelf, that the honour of Knighthood was the reward of his military ſervices (64). Again, he did not die at Lyons; and laſtly, John Wierus his domeſtic aſſures us that this black dog was a real dog, and that he himſelf had often led him with an hair-cord. *Silentio involvi*, ſays he (65), *diutius ob veritatis prærogativam non patiar, quod in diverſis aliquot ſcriptoribus * legerim, Diabolum forma canis ad extremum Agrippæ halitum Comitem ipſi fuiſſe, & poſtea neſcio quibuſmodis evanuiſſe. Satis equidem mirari hic nequeo tantæ exiſtimationis viros tam inſulsè aliquando loqui, ſentire & ſcribere ex inaniſſimo vulgi rumore, canem hunc nigrum mediocris ſtaturæ, Gallico nomine Monſieur, (quod Dominum ſonat,) nuncupatum novi ego ſi quis alius familiariſſimè, quem nimirum non raro, ubi Agrippam ſectarer, loco ex pilis concinnato alligatum duxi; at verè naturalis erat canis maſculus, cui alias fæmellam ferè colore & reliqua corporis conſtitutione ſimilem, quam Gallicè Mademoiſelle (Dominam) appellabat, me præſente, adjunxit.* i. e. "I ſhall not conceal any longer, for "the ſake of truth, what I have read in ſeveral writers, that the Devil attended Agrippa to his laſt "breath in the ſhape of a dog, and afterwards vaniſhed nobody knows how. I cannot but wonder "extremely, that authors of ſo great a character "ſhould venture to ſpeak, think, and write ſo abſurdly merely upon idle and popular rumors. I remember very well this dog, who was black, and "of a moderate ſize, and called by a French name "*Monſieur*, and I have often led him tied with an "hair-cord, when I waited upon Agrippa. This was "a real natural dog, and his Maſter often in my preſence coupled him with a bitch extremely like him "in colour and ſhape, which he called *Mademoiſelle.*" The ſame author adds, that Agrippa was very fond of this dog; that he kiſſed him very often, let him eat at his table, and lie in his bed; and while Wierus and Agrippa were at ſtudy at the ſame table, the dog always lay upon an heap of papers between them. Now as Agrippa was whole weeks together without going out of his ſtudy, and yet knew almoſt every thing, that paſs'd in different parts of the world, there were ſilly people enough, who ſaid that his dog was certainly a Devil, who told him every thing. It is not long ſince a French Refugee Soldier told me very ſeriouſly, that when Mr. de Melac (66) had his dog with him, he always returned victorious. He aſſured me, that it was the general opinion of the ſoldiers, that this maſtiff was a familiar ſpirit which diſcovered to his Maſter the ſituation of the enemy, their number, deſigns, &c. Mr. de Melac was not perhaps diſpleaſed that they believed ſo; for this notion might give the ſoldiers a ſtrong confidence in his conduct (67). Upon ſuch reports as theſe Paulus Jovius founded his opinion.

(64) See above the Remark [*D*].

(65) Johan. Wier. *de Magis*, cap. 5. p. 111.

* Jovius *in Elogiis*, and from him Andrew Hendorff in *Lib. Exempl. Germaner.* and others.

(66) Lieutenant General of the French armies. He ſerved in the armies in Germany during the war, which was concluded in 1697. See Remark [*B*] of the article LANDAU at the end.

(67) See what Plutarch ſays of Sertorius's hind in the Life of that General.

II. Let us now proceed to Mr. Thevet. *It is undeniable*, ſays he (68), *that Agrippa gave himſelf up to the moſt ſubtle and execrable magic imaginable, and which he profeſſed ſo openly in the face of the world, (as will appear from the preſent diſcourſe,) that there is no poſſibility of conteſting that point by denials, palliations, or diſguiſes.* Let us now ſee what the proofs, which he pretends to bring, are reduced to. In the firſt place, *Anthony de Leva entertained this man ſo intimately, that by his counſel and prudence he gained the great deſigns, which he had in view; and this made ſeveral perſons, who envied that Spaniard his ſucceſſes, report, that it was by the art magic of Agrippa that he griped his enemies with his lame and gouty hands, which other valiant Commanders could not do with all the terror and force of their arms* (69). In the ſecond place, *the precepts of Agrippa are ſo unreaſonable, that Doctor John Wier, tho' in ſeveral places of his works he commends and extols him as his excellent Maſter, yet ſometimes is obliged to leave him and diſown his opinions* (70). He refers us to the 44th chapter of the 2d book concerning illuſions and apparitions of Spirits (71), to obſerve there how John Wier (with Cardan de Subtilitate, Book the 18th) *ridicules the whimſical dreams of Agrippa, who invented the moſt abſurd ſtories imaginable of Apparitions.* In the third place, *his book of Occult Philoſophy was condemned and cenſur'd by Chriſtians . . . and upon that account he was obliged to leave Flanders, where they would not ſuffer him to continue profeſſing magic as he did. Thence he went to Italy, where he lived about three years, and diſperſed ſo much poiſon, that ſeveral perſons of character perceiving that he had in ſo ſhort a time infected the very air of Italy, purſued him with ſuch reſolution, that he retired immediately to Dole, where he read Lectures publicly upon the Book* De Verbo mirifico (72). In the fourth place, *he made uſe of his Black Art in Burgundy in ſuch a flagrant manner, that if he had not run away, there was reaſon to fear that he would have a fire to light him much nearer than he deſired.* In the fifth place, *he returned to Lyons in very miſerable circumſtances; he tried every method to ſupport himſelf, but he gained ſo little by it, that he died in a poor mean tavern there, abhorred by all the world, who deteſted him as an execrable magician, becauſe he always carried with him a Devil in the ſhape of a dog.* Thevet adds the reſt of the ſtory, which Paulus Jovius has inſerted in his *Elogia.*

(68) Thevet *Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 7. p. 221. Paris edit. of 1671 in 8 vol. in 12°.

(69) Ibid. p. 223.

(70) Ibid. p. 225.

(71) I cannot find any book that bears this title, nor this diviſion, in the works of John Wier, printed at Amſterdam in 1660 in 4°.

(72) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* p. 226.

It would be eaſy to invalidate all theſe five proofs. There is no occaſion to confute the firſt, ſince Thevet acknowledges, that *Anthony de Leva did not apply to Agrippa for any charms, or the aſſiſtance of any unlawful art* (73), *but rather on account of his great and extenſive genius* (74); and that *the Emperor took him into his ſervice, at the deſire of Anthony de Leva, only upon the aſſurance, that by his ſagacity and judgment, he would extricate himſelf out of thoſe difficult affairs, in which he was then involved.* Thus we ſee he is acquitted even by the confeſſion of the accuſer himſelf; but it is much more difficult to diſcharge the latter from the moſt profound ignorance imaginable. I have not obſerved in Agrippa's Letters any mark of his correſpondence with Anthony de Leva; and I am aſtoniſhed, that ſo many excellent authors have reported upon the ſingle authority of ſuch a writer as Thevet, that *he was a favourite of Anthony de Leva, and a Captain in his troops* (75). He never was in the Spaniſh ſervice; he ſerved only in the army of the Emperor Maximilian; and I believe, that after the Oration, which he made at Pavia in the year 1515, he never bore arms. Here follows a paſſage in that Oration: *Neque mireris, Marchio illuſtris, Joannes Gonzaga ſtrenuiſſimus militum Dux, quod cum me proximis his annis fæliciſſimis Cæſarcis caſtris Præfectum cognoſceres, nunc me ſacrarum literarum præpoſitum pulpito cernas* (76). i. e. "Nor wonder, illuſtrious Marqueſs, "John Gonzaga, incomparable General, that you "ſee

(73) Ibid. p. 223.

(74) Ibid. p. 225.

(75) Naudé *Apologie des grands Hommes*, p. 405. *See likewiſe* Teiſſier *Elog. tirez de Mr. de Thou.* tom. 2. p. 99. See below the quotation (79).

(76) Agripp. *Operum* tom. 2. p. 1075.

priſed at their blunders, and the effects produced by them notwithſtanding all the negligence which they have been guilty of in examining the facts. After all, if he was a Conjurer, it is a very ſtrong proof how inſignificant magic is, for there never was a man who had worſe ſucceſs than he, or was oftener in danger even of wanting bread. The receivers of the revenue of Francis I. and Charles V. were undoubtedly well perſuaded

" ſee me, whom a few years ago you knew an Offi-
" cer in the Emperor's victorious Army, now in the
" chair of a Profeſſor of Divinity." He ſtaid ſome time in Italy; where he had William Paleologus, Marqueſs of Montferrat, for his Patron, to whom he dedicated his Treatiſe *De triplici Ratione cognoſcendi Deum*, i. e. " Of the threefold method of " knowing God," in the year 1516 (77). He taught at Turin, and paſs'd again the Alps in the beginning of the year 1518 (78). Let any body ſhew me, when Anthony de Leva ſerved the Emperor Maximilian. But there is another more flagrant inſtance of ignorance than this: Agrippa obtained the title of Counſellor and Hiſtoriographer of Charles the Fifth by means of the friends, whom he met with at the court of the Princeſs Margaret, Governeſs of the Low-Countries. Charles the Fifth was not then in the Low-Countries; he came thither ſome time after ſo violently prejudiced againſt Agrippa, that if it had not been for the kind offices of Cardinal Campegius and the Cardinal *de la Mark*, he would undoubtedly have been committed to priſon. The Sieur Clavigni de Sainte Honorine ſays, that the end of Agrippa would have been as fatal as that of Lucilio Vanini, if Cardinal Campegius and Anthony de Leva, his Patrons, had not prevailed upon Charles the Fifth not to puniſh him (79). He would not ſee Agrippa, nor order the payment of his ſalary, ſo far was he from making uſe of his counſel, in order to extricate himſelf *from thoſe difficult affairs which he was involved in*. It is a very merry proof of Agrippa's skill in the Law, to ſay that *Charles the Fifth received him into the number of his Counſellors. He had ſtudied the Law*, ſays Mr. Thevet (80), *with ſo much application, that* (as I obſerved above) *he was admitted by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, as one of his Counſellors.* He had ſaid in the preceding page, that *he was ſo well received at the court of that Emperor, that he was made one of his Counſellors.* Is it not well known, that the title of *Counſellor to the King* is given to an infinite number of men, to Phyſicians, Hiſtoriographers, and Authors, who are as ſeldom admitted into his Council, as the loweſt of the Citizens? The ſecond reaſon of Thevet proves nothing. Agrippa, ſays he, mentions ſeveral ſtories of Apparitions ſo ridiculous, that even one of his beſt friends cannot forbear laughing at them; therefore he was a conjurer. What then would become of Bodin, Martin del Rio, le Loyer, and the greateſt part of the writers of *Demonography*, if this manner of reaſoning was to take place? The third reaſon abounds with falſities. If Agrippa had made a profeſſion of magic; they would not have been contented to have driven him out of Flanders; it is not uſual to puniſh ſo black a crime in ſuch a gentle manner. He never was in Italy after the cenſures paſt upon his *Occult Philoſophy*. That Work was not publiſhed till 1531. If Agrippa *had diſperſed* in Italy the poiſon of his magic in ſuch abundance, would the Cardinal de Sainte Croix have choſen him for one of the Divines of the Council of Piſa? Would the Pope have written ſo reſpectful a Brief to him as he did in 1515 (81)? So far was he from flying out of Italy to Dole, that he did not go to Italy, till he left Dole. The fourth reaſon is founded upon a falſe ſuppoſition. Agrippa brought himſelf into trouble at Dole by running into the hypotheſes of Capnio, whoſe Book *De Verbo mirifico* he read Lectures upon there. The diſputes between the Monks and Capnio are well known. Catilinet the Franciſcan, who choſe rather to preach againſt Agrippa before the Princeſs Margaret, than to diſpute fairly with him at Dole, undertook to defame him at Ghent in the pulpit of truth; but he did not accuſe him at all of magic; he only charged him with too great an attachment to the *Jewiſh Cabala*, and with perverting the Scripture with cabaliſtical interpretations (82). Theſe ill-plac'd declamations of the Franciſcan, who inſtead of prejudicing the Court and the people againſt an abſent Profeſſor, ſhould have accuſed him before the Judges of the Academy, did not hinder the famous Dr. John Colet from entertaining him at his houſe in London, nor the Emperor Maximilian, Grandfather of the Princeſs Margaret, from giving him an employment in Italy (83). The fifth reaſon of Thevet has been already refuted. He only copies *Paulus Jovius*; and they have both of them been ſo imprudent as to mention the poverty of Agrippa. A proper method this, to perſuade a judicious reader, that he was a great conjurer! An admirable argument to perſuade the people, when it was generally known, that *whenever there was a Prince or great Man, whom fortune ſmiled upon, immediately he was reproached with employing and careſſing of Agrippa* (84)!

III. With regard to Martin del Rio, he gives us an account of three or four particulars. I. When Agrippa was upon his travels he uſed to pay money at the inns, which ſeemed very good; but in a few days it appeared to be pieces of horn or ſhells (85). II. Charles the Fifth baniſh'd him from the court and the Empire with two other perſons of quality, who had promiſed to raiſe him vaſt treaſures by means of magic (86). III. The ſame Emperor did not remit the puniſhment of death to him; but he condemn'd him to baniſhment, when he found he was fled (87). IV. Agrippa had a boarder in his houſe at Louvain, who was very curious. One day, when he was going out of town, he ordered his wife not to let any perſon into his ſtudy. However the boarder got the key of it, and went into it, where he met with a Book of Conjurations which he began to read; he heard a knocking at the door once or twice without interrupting his reading: The Devil wanted to know who call'd for him, and upon what account; and becauſe the other could not give him an anſwer, he ſtrangled him upon the ſpot. Agrippa at his return home ſaw the Devils leaping and dancing upon his houſe; he called to them, and underſtood from them what had happen'd. Upon this he commanded the Devil, who had killed the man, to enter into his dead body, and to walk ſeveral turns in a place, which was much frequented by the Students, and then to depart. This was done. The boarder, after three or four turns in the walk, fell down dead. It was believed a long while that he died ſuddenly; but there were ſome marks, as if he were ſtrangled, which made the thing ſuſpected from the firſt; but time diſcovered the whole affair; and Agrippa flying thro' Lorrain, begun to publiſh the hereſies, which he had before concealed in his heart (88).

The misfortunes of Agrippa, and the fear, which he repeats ſo often in his Letters of wanting even bread to eat, fully confutes the firſt of theſe ſtories. When a perſon has ſuch a ſhort method of paying his creditors, he has no occaſion to be in pain how he ſhall live: this is always current money. It is not true, that Charles the Fifth ever expelled him his dominions. He was too prudent an Emperor to puniſh in that manner a conjurer, who could raiſe treaſures with ſuch eaſe; he would have apprehended, that other Princes would make uſe of this ſecret to his own injury. Del Rio refutes the ſecond ſtory by the third; for he pretends in the latter, that the Emperor would have put Agrippa to death, if he had him in his power; and that the ſentence of baniſhment was denounced againſt him after his eſcape. Theſe are mere fables. Agrippa preſented one petition after another to the Emperor's Council, that either his ſalary might be paid, or leave given him to depart (89); and when he was quite tired out, and could obtain nothing, he went to Cologne, where he remonſtrated in the boldeſt terms imaginable to the Magiſtrates againſt the Monks, who ſtop'd the impreſſion of his work (90). He lived very peaceably at Bonne till he took his journey to France. 'Would Charles the Fifth have permitted this to a man, who had been baniſhed his dominions?

(77) Ibid. pag. 480, and 718.

(78) Epiſt. pag. 728, 730.

(79) Clavigni *de Sainte Honorine de l'Uſage des Livres ſuſpects*, p. 106.

(80) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* p. 222, 223.

(81) Agripp. Ep. xxxviii. lib. 1. p. 710.

(82) See Agrippa's *Expoſtulatio* tom. 2. of his works, p. 508.

(83) Agripp. *Oper.* tom. 2. p. 596.

(84) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* p. 224.

(85) Del Rio, *Diſquiſ. Magic.* lib. 2. Quæſt. xii. num. 10.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Ibid. lib. 5. Sect. 2.

(88) Ibid. lib. 2. Quæſt. xxix. Sect. 1.

(89) See his works Vol. II. from p. 975 to p. 984. and pag. 1017, *& ſeq.*

(90) Ib. p. 1033.

perſuaded of his innocence in that point, if we conſider how they trifled with him, when he applied to them for the payment of his ſalary. There are ſeveral miſtakes in fact in the method that ſome have taken to apologize for him [2]. Moreri has declared

nions? Would he have ſhewn this indulgence to a conjurer, who had eſcaped even capital puniſhment only by his flight?

With regard to the laſt ſtory, we may conſult Gabriel Naudè, who ſpeaks as follows: *One may deny this with more reaſon, as Ludwigius* * *has done, than Delrio aſſerts it, ſince he tranſlated it word for word from a book intitled* The Theatre of Nature, *publiſh'd in Italian and Latin under the name of* Stroza Cicogna, *and in French and Spaniſh under that of* Valderama (91). We have likewiſe another way of confuting it, which is thus: Del Rio obſerves that his wife, who lent the key to the boarder, was afterwards divorced from Agrippa. This then muſt have been his third wife. Now his ſecond wife did not die till 1529; ſo that this ſtory of the boarder's misfortune muſt have been later than 1529, and conſequently Agrippa muſt have fled to Lorrain after the year 1530 or thereabouts. It follows then, that after he was made Hiſtoriographer to Charles the Fifth, he muſt have hired an houſe at Louvain for his boarders: but nothing is more falſe than this; for I. he did not go to Lorrain as a fugitive; he went thither to take upon him a very reputable office at Metz, which was offered him in the moſt obliging manner poſſible, at the ſame time that he had ſeveral other honourable and advantageous ſettlements propoſed to him at other places (92). II. He went to Lorrain only in 1518, and then he had his firſt wife with him. III. The opinions which he maintained in that country, and which expoſed him to the indignation of ſeveral Monks, were neither magical nor heretical; they turned only upon this queſtion, whether St. Anne the Mother of the Bleſſed Virgin had three husbands, and a child by every one of them, or only one husband, and one daughter by him. Agrippa maintained the latter opinion (93), which does infinitely more honour to the memory of St. Anne. IV. It is probable that he never lived any where but at Antwerp and Mechlin, after he was made Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor, till he retired to the Elector of Cologne; and I believe he never kept boarders at Louvain. We may therefore be diſpens'd from anſwering Martin del Rio and his adherents, till they have adjuſted the circumſtances of time and place.

I am ſurprized, that the celebrated Monſieur Naudè did not think of objecting againſt the accuſers of Agrippa this prodigious number of hiſtorical falſities, which I have fixed upon them.

[2] *There are ſeveral miſtakes in fact in the way, that ſome have taken to apologize for him.*] I have Gabriel Naudé in view. He endeavours to juſtify him, amongſt other reaſons, *on account of the favour which he was in with two Emperors, and as many Kings* (94). This ſuppoſes that Charles V. had a particular friendſhip for him; but if we read the complaints of that author (95), we ſhall evidently ſee the contrary. Beſides, Naudè imagines, that there was no clamour raiſed againſt his *Occult Philoſophy*, till a long time after it was publiſhed. He tells us, that this book was exclaimed againſt merely upon account of the injuries, which they imagined they had received from his Treatiſe of *The Vanity of Sciences*. It is true, this laſt book enraged ſeveral perſons extremely. The Monks, the Academics, the Preachers, and the Divines, ſaw themſelves drawn there in their proper colours. Agrippa was a man of too warm a genius. *Ex ejus Libri* (de Vanitate Scientiarum) *qualicunque guſtu deprehendi hominem eſſe ardentis ingenii, variæ lectionis, & multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore copia quam delectu, ac dictione tumultuoſa verius quam compoſita. In omni genere rerum vituperat mala, laudat bona. Sed ſunt qui nihil aliud ſuſtinent quam laudari* (96). That is, "I found, ſays Eraſmus, by reading a little of his "book of (*The Vanity of Sciences*,) that he was a "man of a warm and lively genius, great reading, and "vaſt memory, but ſometimes of greater copiouſneſs than choice; his ſtyle is rather exuberant and "rapid than ſufficiently digeſted and eaſy. Upon "every ſubject he blames what is bad, and commends "what is good. But there are ſome people who can "bear nothing but applauſe." His painting was too ſtrong, his colours too deep, and his ſtrokes too lively and expreſſive. They were diſpleaſed at it, I confeſs; but it is not true that their indignation had any effect upon a book, which had been left undiſturbed for ſeveral years before. Naudè would have done better to have kept this thought for another occaſion; he would have found where to place it, either ſooner or later, though his reading and knowledge had been much leſs than it was. I ſhall explain my ſelf thus. It is not very uncommon for bigots to leave a book a long while in quiet, and even the author, whatever the book is, provided it does not attack themſelves perſonally. But if after the courſe of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, they have any diſpute with the author; if any new work of his appears, that expoſes in publick what they would conceal from the eyes of the world, t e former book is immediately brought out of its repoſe, and is ſtigmatized as heretical, impious, and fit only for the flames. They are in a moment ſeized with the zeal of the Lord's Houſe; they endeavour to infuſe the ſame prejudices into perſons of character; but every one who is a dupe to their unreaſonable humour, ſees well enough what a ſhameful and vicious paſſion they cover under the pretence of Piety and Religion. Let us do juſtice to the Divines of Louvain; they do not deſerve the odious imputation which the Apologiſt of Agrippa has caſt upon them by ſuch an inſinuation as this; the *Occult Philoſophy* was not printed till after the diſcourſe upon *The Vanity of Sciences*. It is ſufficient to reproach them with having made uſe of a thouſand mean artifices, in order to fix upon ſome damnable poſitions in his latter book. See the ſtrong anſwer which was made to them: it is in the ſecond volume of Agrippa's works, and begins at page 252.

An inſtance of the unreaſonable conduct of Bigots.

Let us now give a ſhort hiſtory of this *Occult Philoſophy*. Agrippa wrote this work in his younger years (97), and ſhewed it to the Abbot Trithemius, who inſtructed him in ſeveral points (98). Trithemius was charmed with it, as appears from a Letter writ to him the 8th of April 1510 (99); but he adviſed him not to communicate it but to his moſt intimate friends. I cannot tell whether the author ſhewed it to too many perſons, or whether thoſe who firſt had a copy of it wanted diſcretion. The truth is, that ſeveral manuſcript copies were diſperſed almoſt over all Europe. I need not obſerve that the greateſt part of them were very defective; for this generally happens in ſuch caſes. They had begun to print from one of thoſe faulty copies; it was this determined the author to publiſh it himſelf, with the additional improvements and alterations which he had made in it after he had ſhewed it to the Abbot Trithemius. Melchior Adam is miſtaken, when he ſays that Agrippa, having corrected and enlarged this book in his more advanced years, ſhewed it to the Abbot Trithemius. He had refuted his *Occult Philoſophy* in his Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences*; and yet he publiſhed it, in order to prevent others from printing it full of faults and imperfect (100). He obtained the approbation of it from ſeveral Doctors of Divinity, and others, who were particularly appointed by the Emperor's council to read it over. *Liber ille jam nuper per aliquos eccleſiæ prælatos & doctores ſacrarum humanarumque literarum eruditiſſimos, & ex Cæſaris conſilio ad hoc ſpecialiter deputatos commiſſarios examinatus & probatus fuerit, deinde etiam totius Cæſarei conſilii aſſenſu admiſſus, & ejuſdem Cæſareæ Majeſtatis authentico diplomate & appenſa in rubra cera Cæſaris aquila privilegiatus, inſuper Antwerpiæ, & poſtea etiam Pariſiis, ſine contradictione impreſſus, & publicè venditus & diſtractus ſit* (101). That is, "That book, ſays he, was examined and approved "of by ſeveral Prelates of the Church, and Doc"tors well skilled in Divinity and human learn"ing, who were particularly appointed by the Em"peror's council for that purpoſe; then it was alſo "admitted

An account of his book of *Occult Philoſophy*.

(97) See the Preface.

(98) Agripp. Epiſt. xxxiii. l. 3. p. 800.

(99) It is extant at the beginning of the book, and in p. 704 of the 2d tome of his works.

(100) See the Preface.

(101) Agripp. Epiſt. xxvi. lib. 6. p. 1033. See likewiſe pag. 1045.

• Quæſt. xv. Dæmonomag. fol. 187.

(91) Naudè, *Apol. pour les grands Hommes*, p. 423.

(92) Agrip. Ep. ix. and x. lib. 2. but ſee particularly his *Addreſs of Thanks to the Gentlemen of Metz*, p. 1092.

(93) Agripp. *Operum* tom. 2. p. 583, 747.

(94) Naudè, *Apol. pour les grands Hommes*, p. 409.

(95) Agripp. Ep. lib. 4. p. 975, and in many other places; ſee the 2d Vol. of his works, pag. 251, 447, 584, and the places marked above in the marginal quotation of the text (gg).

(96) Eraſmus, Epiſt. lib. 27. p. 1083.

clared boldly in his favour, which is a thing that could ſcarcely be expected from him. His faults are not very numerous upon this Article [*R*]. We have already touched upon the principal works of Agrippa, but ſhall ſpeak more particularly of them in the Remarks. It is ſufficient to add here, that he wrote *a Commentary upon the Art*

" admitted by the conſent of the whole council, and " had an authentic privilege with a ſeal of red wax, " repreſenting the Imperial Eagle, hanging to it. " And beſides this it was printed at Antwerp, and " then at Paris, and publiſhed, and bought up, with- " out any manner of contradiction." Upon theſe approbations he gained a privilege from his Imperial Majeſty, and printed his book at Antwerp, and dedicated it to the Elector of Cologne. His dedication is dated from Mechlin in January 1531, and it is the 13th Epiſtle of the 6th book of his Letters. This book was publiſhed in 1531. It was immediately reprinted at Paris. Theſe two editions were ſold without any hindrance. The author was preparing for another edition at Cologne. Father Conrade d'Ulme, Inquiſitor of the Faith, got intelligence of this, and put a ſtop to the impreſſion; but the vigorous petition of Agrippa to the Magiſtrates had without doubt its proper effect, ſince there is an edition of the *Occult Philoſophy* at Cologne in 1533. It contains three books, whereas the former contained but the firſt (102). After his death there was added a fourth book, which is not by the ſame author. *Optimo jure his* (libris magicis) *annumeratur abominabilis libellus nuper in lucem ab impio homine emiſſus, tributuſque Henr. Corn. Agrippæ, meo olim hoſpiti & præceptori honorando, ultra annos quadraginta jam mortuo, ut hinc falſo ejus manibus jam inſcribi ſperem, ſub titulo quarti libri de Occulta Philoſophia, ſeu de ceremoniis magicis: qui inſuper clavis librorum trium de Occultâ Philoſophia omniumque magicarum operationum jactatur* (103). That is, " To theſe (*magical books*) we " may very juſtly add an execrable book lately pub- " liſhed by ſome impious perſon, and aſcribed to " Hen. Corn. Agrippa, in whoſe houſe I formerly " lived, and who was my honoured preceptor, and " has been dead above forty years; ſo that from " hence I hope it is falſely attributed to him. It is " entitled *The Fourth Book of Occult Philoſophy, or* " *concerning Magical Ceremonies*, and it is repreſented " as a key to the three books of *Occult Philoſophy*, " and to all the operations of magic." Thus writes John Wierus. I have ſeen an edition in folio of the *Occult Philoſophy* in 1533, without any mention of the place where it was printed. The privilege of Charles V. is at the beginning in French, dated at Mechlin the 12th of January 1529, if I am not miſtaken.

(102) See his dedication of the 2d and 3d book to the ſame Elector of Cologne.

(103) Wier. *de Magis*, cap. 5. p. 108.

Let us ſee now the falſities which are contained in the following words of Naudè. " The Divines of " Louvain very rigorouſly cenſured his declamation " againſt the *Vanity of Sciences*. John Catilinet a " Franciſcan, exclaimed publickly againſt his Lec- " tures at Dole *de Verbo Mirifico*. The Dominicans " of the city of Metz wrote againſt the Propoſitions " which he publiſhed to ſupport the opinion of Fa- " ber Stapulenſis, that St. Anne was but once mar- " ried. And yet not one of theſe Cenſors could ever " find any thing to except againſt in his two firſt " books of *Occult Philoſophy*, which were printed *a* " *long time before* any of theſe writings, as well at " Paris, as Antwerp and other places. . . . (104)." Obſerve, that he repeats theſe words *a long time before* in page 416. Now in order to comprehend this whole miſtake, we muſt remember that Catilinet declaimed againſt Agrippa's book in 1509; the Dominicans of Metz wrote upon St. Anne in 1519; and the Diſcourſe upon the *Vanity of Sciences* was publiſhed in 1530, one year before the *Occult Philoſophy*. " The avarice of the bookſellers and the vanity of " ſome perſons . . . ſays Naudè (105), have injured " the memory of this author, by aſcribing to him a " fourth book, full of magical, vain, ſuperſtitious " and abominable ceremonies, and publiſhing it with " his three books of *Occult Philoſophy* . . . Wierus " aſſures us *, in defence of Agrippa, that this book " was not publiſhed till twenty ſeven years after his " death, and that he undoubtedly never compoſed " it (106).

(104) Naudè, *Apolog. pour les grands Hommes*, p. 411.

(105) Ib. p. 413.

* Lib. 2. *de Præſtigiis.*

(106) Naudè *Apolog. pour les grands Hommes*, p. 414.

Theſe words of Naudè, *till twenty ſeven years after his death*, compared with the paſſage in Latin quoted above (107), may cauſe ſome confuſion; but in order to remove this difficulty, it is ſufficient to obſerve the different editions of John Wierus. He reviſed and enlarged his work ſix times. Naudè had without doubt an edition which the author publiſhed in 1562. It was then twenty ſeven years ſince the death of Agrippa. My edition was publiſhed thirteen or fourteen years after this; and this is the reaſon why the author uſes this expreſſion, *ultra annos quadraginta jam mortuo*; i. e. " who has been dead " now above forty years." It retains ſtill the word *nuper*, i. e. *lately*, which is an error; for he deceives his readers by that means. He makes them believe that the fourth book of the *Occult Philoſophy*, was not printed till twenty ſeven or forty years after Agrippa's death, which is falſe. It very ſeldom happens, that thoſe who make additions to their books ſeveral times, take care to change throughout them the particular words which diſtinguiſh the times.

(107) Quotation (103).

Out of regard to thoſe, who have not read the works of Agrippa, I ſhall give an account here how it is proved, that the declamation againſt *the Vanity of Sciences* was printed in 1530, and *the Occult Philoſophy* in 1531. It appears from a Letter printed with thoſe of Agrippa, and dated the 10th of January 1531 (108), that the Elector of Cologne had received a copy of that of *the Vanity of Sciences*, and had ſeen ſeveral leaves of *the Occult Philoſophy*, which was printed at Antwerp. The author of the *Bibliotheque de Dauphinè* has taken unneceſſary pains in his *Errata*; he puts there 1567 inſtead of 1467. His book intimates, that the Treatiſe of *the Vanity of Sciences* was compoſed at Grenoble in 1467. But as this is corrected in the *Errata*, you muſt ſuppoſe, that it was compoſed thirty two years after the author's death. It would have been as well not to have corrected this at all. I believe it would have been an error, whatever year he had pitch'd upon; for I am of opinion that our author was but a ſhort time at Grenoble before he died there.

(108) It is the 14th of the 6th book, p. 968.

[*R*] *The faults of Moreri are not very numerous upon this article.* I. We may obſerve in him *Cohori* inſtead of *Gohori*; *Gattinaria* inſtead of *Gattinara*; *Rauclin* inſtead of *Reuchlin*; *Carlinetus* inſtead of *Catilinetus*. II. He ſays that *Agrippa obtained a Profeſſorſhip at Padua:* this is falſe, for it was at Pavia. Mr. Teiſſier was likewiſe deceived by the ſimilitude of words: he has given us Paris for Pavia. Perhaps it is the fault of the Printer. However the reader ought to be told not to credit what he finds in *Teiſſier*, that Agrippa was *a Profeſſor of Divinity at Dole and Paris* (109). It is to be feared, that ſome compiler will collect all that he ſhall find diſpers'd in ſeveral books, and ſo give us an account one time or other, that Agrippa was a Profeſſor of Divinity at Dole, Paris, Pavia, Turin, Padua, Cologne, &c. It happens without doubt very often, from ſuch a cauſe as this, that the preferments of a man have been multiplied beyond the truth, and ſeveral reflections have been made from thence to his advantage upon the great extent of his merit. III. The following words occaſion great confuſion: *The Cardinal de Sainte Croix would have engaged him to attend him to the Council, which was to be called at* Pisa; *and at the ſame time he was ſollicited by the King of England, by Margaret of Auſtria, and by Gatinaria, Chancellor of Charles the Fifth, to enter into their ſervice.* The rules of Grammar require that all this ſhould be referred to the ſame time; and upon that foot Moreri has committed a very great error; for it was in 1529, and a long while after the affair of Piſa, that Agrippa was ſent for by Henry the Eighth, Margaret of Auſtria, and the Chancellor of Charles the Fifth. But otherwiſe, if any one would take upon him to conteſt this point, he might deny, that all theſe offers were referred to the ſame year. The reader foreſees the poſſibility of ſuch cavils as this; and ſo, he cannot tell, where to fix himſelf. IV. But there is

(109) Teiſſier, *Elog. tirez de Mr. de Thou.* tom. ii. p. 99. edit. of Utrecht in 1696.

no

Art of Raimund Lulli, and a *Diſſertation upon Original Sin*, where he aſſerts, that the fall of our firſt parents was occaſioned by their immodeſty and luſt. He promiſed a piece againſt the Dominicans (*S*], which would have pleaſed a great many perſons, as well thoſe of the Romiſh church as others who are divided from it. He had ſome opinions which were out of the common road of thinking [*T*] ; and there never was any Proteſtant who ſpoke with more zeal than he againſt the intolerable boldneſs of the Legendary writers (*oo*).

(*oo*) See the Preface before his Treatiſe of the *Monogamy of St. Anne, Operum*, tom. 2. p. 1053.

We muſt not omit to mention the key of his *Occult Philoſophy*. He reſerved it only for his friends of the firſt rank, and he explained it in a manner not very different from the doctrines of our Quietiſts [*U*]. We may obſerve, that the edition of his works

no art or palliation can be made uſe of in favour of what follows: *But Agrippa, who loved liberty extremely, preferred the pleaſure of travelling to all theſe advantages; and having paſſed ſome time at Fribourg, Geneva, and other places, he retired at laſt to Lyons.* This is a very great anachroniſm, and complicated with ſeveral other falſities. Moreri pretends that he accepted none of the offers made him; but it is certain, that he embraced that of the Princeſs Margaret; and even at that time, he thought no more of travelling again, having ſatisfied his deſire, and been at Geneva, Fribourg, and Lyons. V. It is not true, that Paulus Jovius, Del Rio, Thevet, and ſeveral other writers, aſſert, that *Agrippa had two Devils attending him in the ſhape of two little dogs, and that he called one of them Monſieur, and the other Mademoiſelle.* Paulus Jovius, Thevet, &c. ſpeak only of one dog, and never mention his name. VI. We are not to diſtinguiſh the Treatiſe of *the Vanity of Sciences* from the other works of Agrippa, which make up two volumes; for that book is at the beginning of the ſecond volume. I ſay nothing of the confuſion in point of Chronology, that runs thro' the whole account of him by Moreri.

[*S*] *He promis'd a piece againſt the Dominicans.*] As they were the chief Directors of the Inquiſition, there is no wonder, that he was exaſperated againſt them more than againſt all others. His patience was quite loſt, when he ſaw them ſpare the errors of their brethren, at the ſame time that they were ſo ſevere and inflexible againſt the doubtful propoſitions of others. This indulgence of theirs would have been leſs ſcandalous, if it had been only found in them; but the misfortune is, that the people are ſo abſurd, that while they commend the zeal of an Inquiſitor, who finds hereſies wherever he pleaſes, they will not bear any recrimination upon him, nor ſuffer his pernicious doctrines to be expoſed to the public. Agrippa deſigned to ſpeak to the Dominicans concerning this, and other matters likewiſe. *Neque tamen putetis*, ſays he (110) to the Magiſtrates of Cologne, *hunc ſolum articulum apud illum reperiri hæreticum, ſed alii multi, quos cum hic nimis longum vobiſque tædioſum foret referre enumerabo alibi, in eo ſcilicet libro, quem* De Fratrum Prædicatorum Sceleribus & Hæreſibus *inſcripſi, ubi infecta ſæpius veneno Sacramenta, ementita ſæpiſſime miracula, interemptos veneno Reges & Principes, proditas urbes & reſpublicas, ſeductos populos, aſſertaſque hæreſes, & cætera ejuſmodi Heroum illorum facinora flagitiaque in varias transfuſa linguas, omnique populo expoſita dilucidè narrabo.* i. e. "Do "not imagine, that this is the only heretical article "in that order *; there are a great many more, which "it would be here too tedious to mention; but I "ſhall give a particular account of them in another "book of mine, which I have entitled *An Hiſtory* "*of the Crimes and Hereſies of the Predicant Friars*, "where I ſhall ſhew the world the intolerable wic"kedneſs of that Order, how often they have poi"ſoned the Sacraments themſelves, what fictitious "miracles they have invented, how many Kings and "Princes they have killed, how many Cities and "Commonwealths they have betrayed, how many "people they have ſeduced, and what hereſies they "have maintained, with many other of their enormi"ties and crimes, publiſhed to all the world in ſeveral "languages, and which I ſhall give the world a clear "account.

(110) Agripp. *Oper.* tom. 2. p. 1037.

* The Dominicans.

[*T*] *He had ſome opinions, which were out of the common road of thinking.*] I have already touch'd upon that concerning the Fall of Adam. The others were not ſo very obnoxious; the only fault of them was their being conformable to the doctrines of the Reformation. His *Diſſertation upon Marriage*, dedicated to Louiſa of Savoy, Mother of Francis I, ſtrikes very ſtrongly upon the Law of Celibacy, and ſhews very clearly, that adultery breaks off the marriage-compact. One of his friends (111) gave him to underſtand, that this Diſſertation diſpleaſed the Court, and that they dared not then preſent it to the Princeſs. See his anſwer to this. He did not approve of images; and he would very willingly have embraced a Reformation, which would not have occaſioned the raiſing of altar againſt altar (112)

(111) Capellanus, Phyſician to Francis I. ſee Agrippa's *Letters* p. 832, 833, 836.

(112) *See* Geſner. *Biblioth.* fol. 309 *verſo.*

[*U*] *He explained his* Occult Philoſophy *in a manner not very different from the ſpeculations of our Quietiſts.*] I ſhall quote another obſervation of Naudè, deſigned to ſhew, that under the pretence of this key, there is no reaſon for aſſerting Agrippa to have been the author of the 4th book of the *Occult Philoſophy*. *Nor muſt it be objected*, ſays he (113), *that the ſame Agrippa ſays in ſeveral places of his Epiſtles* *, *that he kept to himſelf the Key of the three books, which he had publiſhed* (114); *for, beſides that we may anſwer with a great deal of probability, that he mentioned this Key in order to make himſelf be courted by the curious, as Jamet Gohory* †, *and Vigenere* ‡, *tell us, that he boaſted upon the ſame view, that he had diſcovered the manner of making the mirror of Pythagoras, and the ſecret of extracting the ſpirit of gold from its body, in order to make fine gold from ſilver and copper, by adding only that ſpirit to it, which had been ſeparated from the gold. beſides this reaſon, I ſay, he explains ſufficiently what he meant by ſuch a Key in his 19th Letter of the 5th Book.* "*Hæc eſt illa vera & mirabilium* "*operum occultiſſima Philoſophia, clavis ejus intel*"*lectus eſt: quanto enim altiora intelligimus, tanto* "*ſublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque & majora,* "*& facilius, & efficacius operamur.*" That is, "This is the true *Occult Philoſophy*, which per"forms ſuch wonderful things; the key of it is the "underſtanding; for the higher knowledge is raiſ"ed, the more ſublime virtues we gain, and the "eaſier and more effectually we perform great "things." Naudè ſtops here, but Mr. de la Monnoie goes much further; for he has done me the favour to ſhew me, that the ſentiments of Agrippa are very agreeable to thoſe of the Quietiſts. We ſhall eaſily be convinced of this, if we examine what follows. Agrippa mentions this Key in two Letters, which he wrote to a Monk (115), who was very much attached to the *Occult Sciences*. He repreſents to him, that all that theſe books tell us of the power of Magic, Aſtrology, and Alchymy, is falſe and deluſive, when it is underſtood literally; that the myſtical ſenſe is to be ſought for; a ſenſe, which none of the adepts have yet diſcovered and unfolded; and which is almoſt impoſſible to unfold, without the aſſiſtance of a good interpreter, at leaſt if a perſon is not illuminated by the Spirit of God; which happens to but very few (116). *O quanta leguntur ſcripta de inexpugnabili magicæ artis potentiâ, de prodigioſis aſtrologorum imaginibus, de monſtrifica alchymiſtarum metamorphoſi, deque lapide illo benedicto, quo, Midæ inſtar, contacta æra mox omnia in aurum argentumve permutentur; quæ omnia comperiuntur vana ficta, & falſa, quoties ad literam practicantur* (117). He then adds, We muſt not ſeek for the principle of theſe grand operations out of our ſelves. It is within us: it is an inward Spirit, which can very innocently perform all that Magicians and Alchymiſts promiſe. I ſhall not write to you particularly upon this point; for theſe are things not proper to

(113) Naudè, *Apol. pour les grands Homm.* p. 414, 415.

* Epiſt. lvi. lib. 4. xiv. lib. 5.

(114) Naudè is miſtaken, they were not then publiſhed.

† *Libro de Myſt. not. Comment. in Paracelſ. de Vit. longa*, fol. 61.

‡ In his *Chiffres* fol. 16 and 27.

(115) *Aurelius ab Aquapendente, Auguſtinianus.*

(116) *Niſi furcit divino Numine illuſtratus, quod datur pauciſſimis*, Agripp. Ep. xiv. lib. 5. p. 904.

(117) Idem, ibid.

works at Lyons in two volumes in Octavo was caſtrated in one place, which might have given offence to the Eccleſiaſtics [*X*].

be committed to writing. The Spirit communicates them to the Spirit in a few conſecrated words. *Atque hoc eſt, quod te nunc ſcire volo, quia nobis ipſis eſt omnium mirabilium effectuum operatur: qui, quicquid portentoſi Mathematici, quicquid prodigioſi Magi, quicquid invidentes naturæ perſecutores Alchymiſtæ, quicquid dæmonibus deteriores malefici Necromantes promittere audent, ipſe novit diſcernere & efficere, idque ſine omni crimine, ſine Dei offenſâ, ſine religionis injuriâ. In nobis, inquam, eſt ille mirandorum operator,*

Nos habitat, non tartara, ſed nec ſydera cœli.
Spiritus in nobis qui viget, illa facit.

Verum de his nobis quam latiſſimè tecum conferendum eſt, & coram. Non enim committuntur hæc literis, nec ſcribuntur calamo, ſed Spiritu Spiritui paucis ſacriſque verbis infunduntur, idque ſiquando nobis ad te venire contigerit (118). I have taken this extract from a Letter dated from Lyons the 24th of September 1527. The other Letter was written from the ſame city the 19th of November following. Agrippa there opens his myſtery. He ſays that true and ſolid Philoſophy conſiſts in being united to God by an eſſential and immediate contact, which is able to transform us into the Divine Nature. "The underſtanding, *ſays he*, is the key "of this Philoſophy; but in order to be united to God, "we muſt be diſengaged from matter, and dead to the "world, to the fleſh, to the ſenſes, and to all the "animal man." His Latin will much better expreſs this jargon. *Quod ad poſtulatam Philoſophiam attinet, te ſcire volo, quod omnium rerum cognoſcere opificem ipſum Deum, & in illum tota ſimilitudinis imagine ceu eſſentiali quodam contactu ſive vinculo tranſire, quo ipſe transformeris, efficiareque Deus, ea demum vera ſolidaque philoſophia ſit: quemadmodum de Moyſe ait Dominus, inquiens*; Ecce ego conſtitui te Deum Pharaonis. *Hæc eſt illa vera & ſumma mirabilium operum occultiſſima Philoſophia. Clavis ejus intellectus eſt. Quanto enim altiora intelligimus, tanto ſublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque majora, & facilius & efficacius operamur. Verum intellectus noſter carni incluſus corruptibili, niſi viam carnis ſuperaverit, fueritque propriam naturam ſortitus, divinis illis virtutibus non poterit uniri, (non enim, niſi ſibi quam ſimilibus congrediuntur,) ac pervidendis illis occultiſſimis Dei & Naturæ ſecretis omnino inefficax eſt; atque*

Hoc opus, hic labor eſt, ſuperas evadere ad auras:

....Mori enim oportet, mori, inquam, mundo & carni, ac ſenſibus omnibus, ac toti homini animali, qui velit ad hæc ſecretorum penetralia ingredi; non quod corpus ſeparetur ab anima, ſed quod anima relinquat corpus. De qua morte Paulus ſcribit Coloſſenſibus; Mortui eſtis, & vita veſtra abſcondita eſt cum Chriſto; *& alibi clarius de ſeipſo ait*, Scio hominem in corpore vel extra corpus neſcio, (Deus ſcit,) raptum uſque ad tertium cœlum; *& quæ reliqua ſequuntur* (119). "This precious death, "*adds he*, is granted but to a few, who are favoured "by God, or bleſs'd with a benign influence of the "Stars, or raiſed by their merits, or ſupported by "the ſecret of the art." *Hac, inquam, precioſa in conſpectu Domini morte mori oportet, quod contingit pauciſſimis, & forte non ſemper. Nam id*

Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuere:

Primum, qui non ex carne & ſanguine, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt; proximè, qui naturæ beneficio ac cœlorum genethliaco dono ad id dignificati ſunt; cæteri meritis nituntur & arte, de quibus viva vox te certiorem reddat (120). He confeſſes ingenuouſly that he is not of the number of theſe favourites of heaven, and that he has no hopes of attaining that ſublime degree of happineſs; for he had always been embarraſs'd in the vortices of matter, he had been too ſenſual in the turn of his mind, too fond of his wife, too much attached to the fleſh, and the world, and to the cares of his family, &c. His only deſire was to be conſidered as a director, to ſhew others the right way (121). *Verum hoc te admonitum volo, ne circa me decipiaris, ac ſi ego aliquando divina paſſus tibi iſta prædicem, aut tale quid mihi arrogare velim, vel concedi poſſe ſperem, qui hactenus humano ſanguine ſacratus miles, ſemper ferè aulicus, tum carnis vinculo chariſſimæ uxori alligatus, omnibuſque inſtabilis fortunæ flatibus expoſitus, totuſque in carne, à mundo, à domeſticis curis tranſverſum actus, tam ſublimia immortalium Deorum dona non ſum adſecutus; ſed accipi me volo velut indicem, qui ipſe ſemper præ foribus manens, aliis, quod iter ingrediendum ſit, oſtendo* (122).

[*X*] *Caſtrated in one place, which might have given offence to the Eccleſiaſtics.*] The author declaims in that paſſage againſt the Law of Celibacy, and ſays, that thoſe, who ſupport it, would perhaps chooſe rather to allow concubinage than marriage to the Prieſts, becauſe they receive a conſiderable revenue by giving licences to keep concubines. He adds, that a certain Prelate boaſted openly at his table, that he had in his Dioceſe eleven thouſand Prieſts, who kept concubines, and paid him each of them a crown a year for their licences. Here is the paſſage, which was cancelled in the Lyons edition. Mr. Crenius, who firſt diſcovered it, complains extremely of the fraud. His words are theſe: *Mala fide per Beringos fratres Lugduni anno MDC in 8vo edita ſunt Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ.... Opera; utpote in quâ multa omiſſa ſunt editione, quæ in prioribus erant. Atque ne hoc gratis dixiſſe videar, capias exemplum è tractatu* De Incertitudine & Vanitate Scientiarum atque Artium, *in cujus C. LXIV pag. m.* 189, *de Lenonia ſequentia hæc, quæ ex optima, recognita, plena, & ſcholiis marginariis (retineo vocem in titulo libri poſitam,) illuſtrata editione, ſine loci adjectione, anno MDXXXVI, in 8vo, excuſa, admodum rara, daturus ſum, in Lugdunenſi plane dempta ſunt:* Jam vero etiam lenociniis militant leges atque canones, cum in potentum favorem pro iniquis nuptiis pugnant, & juſta matrimonia dirimunt: ſacerdoteſque ſublatis honeſtis nuptiis turpiter ſcortari compellunt: malueruntque illi legiſlatores ſacerdotes ſuos cum infamia habere concubinas, quam cum honeſta fama uxores, forte quia ex concubinis proventus illis eſt amplior. De quo legimus gloriatum in convivio quendam Epiſcopum, habere ſe undecim millia ſacerdotum concubinariorum, qui in ſingulos annos illi aurium pendant. *Hæc omnia, & alia forte plura, neque enim integrum hactenus contuli, pro more eraſerunt adverſarii, clarum relinquentes documentum illorum quid editionibus tribuendum* (123).

(118) Id. ibid.

(119) Idem Ep. xxx. lib. 5. pag. 909.

(120) Agripp. Epiſt. xix. lib. 5. p. 909.

(121) Compare this with the Porters of the faith, whom the Sieur Pariſot ſpeaks of in his book intitled, *Faith unfolded by Reaſon.* You may find it in the *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Oct. 1685. p. 1140, &c.

(122) Agripp. Epiſt. xix. lib. 5. p. 909, 910.

(123) Thomas Crenius *Animadverſ. Philologic. Hiſt.* part 2. p. 13, 14.

☞AGRIPPA (HEROD) was the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and the Grandſon of Herod the Great. A little before the death of his Grandfather he went from Judea to Rome, where he became acquainted with Druſus Tiberius's ſon, and inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip. He alſo made himſelf very acceptable to Antonia the wife of Druſus Tiberius's brother, and the mother of Germanicus and of Claudius who was afterwards made Emperor. Though Agrippa was of a very generous mind, yet he durſt not diſplay it as long as his mother was alive, for fear of expoſing himſelf to her indignation. But when ſhe was dead he gave a free ſcope to his liberal inclinations, and by his exorbitant expence, and eſpecially by the conſiderable preſents he made to Tiberius's freed-men, whoſe friendſhip he courted, he ran himſelf ſo deeply in debt, that it was out of his power to ſatisfy his creditors. This, together with the death of Druſus

Druſus his good friend, obliged him to quit Rome, and to retire to the Caſtle of Malatha in Idumea, in order to ſpend at that place the remaining part of his unhappy life. However, by the means of his wife, who was his couſin-german [*A*], he received ſome comfort [*B*], being made by Herod the Tetrarch one of the principal Magiſtrates at Tiberias. But Herod having one day reproached him with the favours he had done him, and upbraided him with his poverty, Agrippa was ſo much offended at it, that he went to Flaccus Governor of Syria, with whom he had been acquainted at Rome. Flaccus received him very kindly, as he had before Ariſtobulus his brother; and though Agrippa and Ariſtobulus were at variance, this did not hinder Flaccus from being equally kind to both. But Ariſtobulus left no ſtone unturned till he had inſpired the Governor of Syria with a violent hatred againſt Agrippa [*C*], in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that his brother having loſt Flaccus's friendſhip was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity; he retired to Ptolemais, where, having nothing to live upon, he reſolved to return into Italy, for which journey he was obliged to borrow money [*D*]. Being arrived at Puteoli † he wrote to the Emperor * who was then at Caprea, that he deſired to go and pay his reſpects to him. The Emperor anſwered him immediately in a very gracious manner, and told him that he ſhould be welcome. Thereupon Agrippa went to Tiberius, who received him with all the diſtinguiſhing marks he could wiſh, and made him lodge at his own palace. But the next day the Emperor received a letter from Herennius, who acquainted him, that having preſſed Agrippa to return a ſum of three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver, which he had borrowed from the treaſury for a certain time, which was now elapſed, he ran away. This letter exaſperated Tiberius to ſuch a degree, that he gave ſtrict orders to his guards not to let Agrippa have acceſs to him till he had paid this debt. Agrippa ſoon found means to get the money he wanted, and by paying the debt, he ingratiated himſelf again ſo deeply into Tiberius's favour, that he committed to him the care of Tiberius Nero his grandſon, and ſon of Druſus. But Agrippa being willing to acknowledge the favours he had received from Antonia, neglected the truſt repoſed in him by Tiberius, and employed all his endeavours to render himſelf acceptable to Caius Caligula, Antonia's grandſon; and being one day with him in his chariot, he told him it was time for Tiberius to make room for Caius, who deſerved more than he did to ſway the Imperial Scepter. But this coſt him dear; for his diſcourſe having been reported to the Emperor, Agrippa was caſt into a priſon [*E*], where he ſtaid till the death of Tiberius, when Caligula, being raiſed to the throne, not only ſet him at liberty, but

† Now Puzzuolo in the Kingdom of Naples.

* Tiberius.

[*A*] *Who was his couſin-german.*] Herod had two daughters by Mariamne the daughter of Hircanus, the eldeſt called Salampſo was married to Phaſaël ſon of Phaſaël Herod's elder brother. The younger called Cypros was married to Antipater Herod's nephew by Salomé his ſiſter. Phaſaël had five children by Salampſo, three ſons, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra married to Timius, a Nobleman of Cyprus, by whom ſhe had no children, and Cypros, who was married to Agrippa (1). By which it appears that this King's wife was his couſin-german, ſince ſhe was the granddaughter of Herod by Cypros his daughter, as he was his grandſon by Ariſtobulus his ſon.

(1) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 18. c. 7.

[*B*] *By the means of his wife he received ſome comfort.*] She uſed all her endeavours to diſſuade him from retiring into Idumea. She wrote to Herodias his ſiſter, who was married to Herod the Tetrarch, and entreated her to afford him ſome aſſiſtance. Her requeſt was granted. Herod and Herodias ſent for Agrippa, they gave him a ſum of money, and made him one of the principal Magiſtrates at Tiberias, as we have ſaid.

[*C*] *Ariſtobulus left no ſtone unturned, till he had inſpired the Governor of Syria with a violent hatred againſt Agrippa.*] Agrippa himſelf imprudently furniſhed his brother with an opportunity of doing him that ill ſervice. The occaſion of it was as follows: The people of Damaſcus had ſome diſputes with the inhabitants of Sidon concerning their boundaries; this affair was to be determined by Flaccus. Thoſe of Damaſcus offered a large ſum of money to Agrippa, that he might employ all the credit he had with the Governor, in their favour. Agrippa promiſed he would do what lay in his power to ſerve them. Ariſtobulus having got a hint of this, acquainted Flaccus with it, who inquired into the affair, and finding that he had been well informed, he deſerted Agrippa (2).

(2) Id. ibid. c. 8.

[*D*] *For which journey he was obliged to borrow money.*] He ordered Martias, his freedman, to do all his endeavours in order to get money. Martias went to Protus, who had been manumiſed by Bernice Agrippa's mother, and been by her in her laſt will recommended to Antonia, who for that reaſon took him into her ſervice. Martias offered his bond for the money he intended to borrow for his Maſter. But Protus anſwered that Agrippa was already in his debt; however he took from Martias a bond for twenty thouſand Attick Drachms (3), for which he gave him only ſeventy two thouſand five hundred drachms, keeping back the remaining two thouſand five hundred, notwithſtanding all the endeavours Agrippa could uſe to perſuade him to the contrary (4). Having received this ſum, he went to Anthedon, where meeting with a ſhip, he intended to continue his voyage, when Herennius Capito, who had the management of the treaſury at Jamnia, ſent ſome ſoldiers to him, to oblige him to pay three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver, which had been lent him out of the treaſury when he was at Rome. Agrippa promiſed them that he would ſatisfy them; but as ſoon as it was dark he weighed anchor and ſailed for Alexandria: Being arrived in that city, he deſired Alexander, one of the chief Magiſtrates there, to lend him two hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver; Alexander anſwered he would not lend them to him, but that he would readily truſt Cypros his wife with that money, becauſe he admired her virtue and love for her husband. She accepting the offer, and being willing to be Agrippa's ſurety, Alexander gave him then five Talents (5), and promiſed he would give him the reſt at Puteoli; not thinking it proper to give him all at once, for fear leſt, prodigal as he was, he would ſpend it too ſoon (6).

(3) An Attick Drachm, according to Brerewood, is worth 7 pence halfpeny of our money; ſo that 20000 Drachms make 625 *l.* But according to Dr. Bernard an Attic Drachm is worth 8 pence farthing of our money; ſo that 20000 Attic Drachms will make 687 *l.* 10 *ſh.*

(4) Joſeph. *ubi ſupra.*

(5) A Talent of Gold (Alexandrian money, as we may ſuppoſe is meant here) makes 7200 *l.* If of Silver, it is but a ſixteenth part of that ſum. *See* Prideaux's Preface to his *Connexion*, p. 21.

[*E*] *Agrippa was caſt into a priſon.*] Eutichus one of Agrippa's freedmen, who was driving the chariot, overheard his Maſter's diſcourſe; which he did not publiſh then: But ſome time after this, Agrippa having charged him with a robbery, he run away; and having been taken and carried before Piſo then Prefect of Rome, he examined him; but he inſtead of anſwering to the queſtions, ſaid he had ſomething very material, and which concerned the Emperor's life, to impart to him. He was immediately carried to Caprea,

(6) Joſeph. ibid.

but alſo put the diadem on his head, and made him King or Tetrarch of a great p of Judea. The next year Agrippa obtained leave from Caligula to go to his Kingdom, in order to ſettle there the publick affairs. It was a very ſurpriſing thing to ſee this Prince return with a crown on his head, after all the misfortunes and the extreme miſery that had obliged him to leave his native country. Some could hardly believe what they ſaw, others admired the conſtancy and reſolution with which he purſued his deſigns, and was at laſt arrived at the enjoyment of his wiſhes (*a*). His Kingdom was ſoon after encreaſed through the pride and ambition of Herodias his ſiſter [*F*], who was

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 8.

prea, where Tiberius then was, who without enquiring further into the matter, ordered him to be put in priſon, where he remained there a long while without being heard. Agrippa deſired Antonia, who was very much in favour with Tiberius, to prevail with him to give audience to Eutichus, that he might know of what crime he was accuſed. She did accordingly ſpeak to Tiberius about it, who anſwered, that if Eutichus intended to accuſe his Maſter falſly, he was ſufficiently puniſh'd for it by what he ſuffered in priſon; that Agrippa ſhould take care not to act imprudently in this affair, nor to puſh it on too warmly, leſt the injury he intended to do his freedman ſhould fall upon himſelf. Agrippa inſtead of growing remiſs in the purſuit of this affair, by ſo prudent an anſwer, entreated Antonia more eagerly, to oblige Tiberius to enquire into it. So that one day, as Tiberius was taking the air in his litter, and Caius (7) and Agrippa walked before him, Antonia requeſted him that he would ſend for Eutichus. "I ſwear by the Gods, anſwered Tiberius, "it is againſt my own inclination, and only not to "deny your requeſt, that I will do what you deſire." Thereupon he ſent for Eutichus, who being brought before him, Tiberius asked what he had to ſay againſt the perſon to whom he owed his liberty. "Sir, replied he, one day, as Caius whom I ſee "here, and Agrippa were riding in a chariot, which "I drove ſitting at their feet, Agrippa after ſome "other diſcourſes ſpoke thus to Caius; Shall I never "ſee that day, in which the old man (8) will depart "to the other world, and leave this at your command? "Tiberius his grandſon cannot prevent your coming "to the Empire, for it will be an eaſy matter for "you, to get rid of him. How happy ſhould the "whole earth then be, and what a ſhare would I "have in its happineſs?" Tiberius was ſo much the more inclined to believe this, as he knew that Agrippa, inſtead of applying himſelf to Tiberius Nero his grandſon, had entirely devoted himſelf to Caius. The Emperor without heſitation ſaid to Macro Commander of the Pretorian guards, "Take "this man (pointing to Agrippa) and chain him." Macro could not believe this was meant of Agrippa, ſo that he deferred obeying till he had more particular inſtructions. Tiberius having taken a turn or two more in the hippodromus, ſeeing Agrippa ſtill, ſaid to Macro, "Have I not commanded you "to ſeize that man?" What man, Sir, ſaid Macro? Agrippa, anſwered Tiberius. Agrippa hearing this, entreated him by the memory of his beloved ſon, with whom he had been educated, to pardon him this crime; but all his prayers and entreaties were ineffectual: the ſoldiers carried him to priſon cloathed in his purple garments (9). It happened one day, as Agrippa was with other priſoners before the palace, and being tired leaned againſt a tree, upon which an owl came and reſted. A German, who was amongſt the priſoners, asked one of the ſoldiers that guarded them, who that man was that leaned againſt the tree; and being told that he was one of the moſt conſiderable men among the Jews, he begged leave to ſpeak with him, as tho' he was deſirous to inquire into the laws and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation: his requeſt was granted, and being brought near Agrippa, he ſpoke to him after this manner: "I perceive you are ſadly afflicted at the great and "ſudden change of your condition, and I fear you "will hardly believe, that by the Divine Providence "your deliverance is near at hand. But I ſwear by "the Gods I adore, and by thoſe that are worſhipped in this country, and who have put us both in "theſe chains, that by what I am to tell you I don't "intend to afford you vain hopes, being perſuaded "that when they are fruſtrated they only ſerve to "increaſe our miſery. I will declare to you, tho' "not without danger to myſelf, what the bird "which flew over your head portends to you. In "a little time you will be ſet free, and raiſed to "ſuch an high power and dignity, that thoſe who "now pity your misfortunes, will envy your glory. "You will be happy the remaining part of your "days, and will have children that will inherit "your happineſs. But when you will ſee this bird "appear another time over your head, know that "then you will have but five days to live." This prediction appeared ſo ridiculous to Agrippa, that he then laughed at it as heartily as he was aſtoniſhed when the event had confirmed it. This is what Joſephus tells us (10), without adding the leaſt thing by which it might appear that he doubts of the truth of that ſtory. We leave it to the reader to judge by what kind of proofs ſuch a fact ought to be atteſted, before any man of ſenſe can believe that it was not invented after the event.

(7) Caligula.

(8) Speaking of Tiberius.

(9) Joſeph. ibid.

(10) Ibid.

[*F*] *His kingdom was encreaſed by the pride and ambition of Herodias his ſiſter.*] She could not without envy behold her brother's proſperity by which he was raiſed above her husband. Pride and jealouſy poſſeſſed her, when ſhe conſidered that Agrippa, who had been forced to ſhelter himſelf under her and her husband's protection when he was unable to pay his debts, would now be adorned with honour and glory. She could not bear this change of his condition, eſpecially when ſhe ſaw him walk in his royal robes ſurrounded with a multitude of people. This ſhe repreſented to Herod her husband; "What, "*ſaid ſhe*, ſhall Agrippa, the ſon of a private "man, wear a crown, when you, who are the ſon "of a King, you, whom all your relations deſire "to ſee inveſted with Royalty, reſt contented with "a private life, and don't aſpire at the honour "of ſwaying a Scepter? If till now you could "bear to be in a condition leſs elevated than that of "your father, you ſhould at leaſt at this time begin "to wiſh for a dignity, which you deſerve by your "birth and quality. Don't ſuffer your ſelf to be "inferior to a man whom you have formerly main-"tained. Be not ſo baſe as not to labour in the "midſt of the riches you enjoy, to acquire that "honour which Agrippa obtained, when he was in "the utmoſt want, and deſtitute of every thing. Be "aſhamed to ſtoop before him whom you have ſeen "reduced ſo low, that he could not live without "your aſſiſtance. Let us go to Rome; let us ſpare "no pains nor coſt, ſince there is leſs pleaſure in "keeping one's treaſures, than in ſpending them to "get a Kingdom." Thus ſpoke Herodias. But as Herod loved eaſe and quietneſs, and diſtruſted the court of Rome, he did all that lay in his power to diſſuade his wife from her deſign. But the more he oppoſed her, the more ſhe preſſed him; and teaſed him ſo much that at laſt he conſented to go to Rome. As ſoon as Agrippa had the hint of it, he ſent Fortunatus one of his freedmen to the Emperor with preſents, and letters againſt Herod; he alſo charged this meſſenger to endeavour to have a private audience of the Emperor. Fortunatus arrived at Puteoli as ſoon as Herod. Caligula was then at Baiæ (11), whither Herod and Fortunatus went. When Herod had paid his reſpects to the Emperor, Fortunatus gave him Agrippa's letters, which Caligula read immediately; he found that Herod was accuſed of having conſpired with Sejanus againſt Tiberius, and that he was actually aſſiſting Artabanus King of Parthia againſt the Emperor; and to prove this it was alledged, that he had arms for ſeventy thouſand men in his magazines. The Emperor ſtartled at this accuſation, asked Herod, whether he really had ſuch a vaſt quantity of arms? Herod, who could

(11) A little town in Campania in Italy.

was married to Herod Tetrarch of Galilee (*b*). Agrippa returned ſome time after this to Rome, where he obtained from Caligula that his ſtatue ſhould not be placed in the temple of Jeruſalem [*G*]; but this favour was ſoon revoked again [*H*]. Dion Caſſius ſays (*c*), that Agrippa, together with Antiochus King of Commagena, laboured to inſpire Caligula with tyrannical principles; and indeed it is very probable that he would not have been ſo much in favour with that Emperor, if he had not flattered him, and praiſed, or at leaſt juſtified all his baſe, fooliſh and wicked actions. After Caligula's death Agrippa not only adviſed Claudius to accept of the crown which was offered him by the army (*d*), but was alſo very much inſtrumental in making him Emperor [*I*]. Claudius was not ungrateful of this ſervice; for no ſooner was he ſeated on the

(*b*) Id. ibid. cap. 9.

(*c*) Lib. 59. p. m. 757.

(*d*) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 19. c. 3.

could not deny it, was obliged to confeſs it. The Emperor thinking this circumſtance was ſufficient to prove the conſpiracy, deprived Herod of his Tetrarchy and gave it to Agrippa; he alſo baniſhed the depoſed Tetrarch to Lyons in France, and confiſcated all his money, but knowing that Herodias was Agrippa's ſiſter, he offered her that money, thinking ſhe would not follow her husband, and told her, that he pardoned her for the ſake of her brother, But this generous Lady anſwered; "Sir, it is "worthy of you to offer me this favour, but my "love for my husband does not allow me to accept "it. As I have had a ſhare in his happineſs, it "would not be juſt in me to leave him in his miſ"fortune." Caligula's baſe heart could not bear this generoſity in a woman; he baniſhed Herodias with her husband, and gave all their riches to Agrippa. Thus Herodias was puniſhed for the envy ſhe bore her brother (12). We will ſay by the way, that this Herodias is the perſon, whoſe daughter dancing before Herod pleaſed him ſo much, that he promiſed her upon oath, whatever ſhe could deſire; the young girl adviſed with her mother what ſhe ſhould ask, who bad her ask John the Baptiſt's head in a diſh (13).

(12) Id. ib. c. 9.

(13) Matt. xiv. 6—8. Marc. vi. 22—24.

[*G*] *He obtained from Caligula, that his ſtatue ſhould not be placed in the temple of Jeruſalem.*] The Emperor had given ſtrict orders to Petronius for that purpoſe. Agrippa was then at Rome. It happened one day, that he invited Caligula to a very ſumptuous entertainment. The Emperor ſurpriſed and moved by Agrippa's liberality, who ſpared nothing to pleaſe his Sovereign, told him, "I have had long ago ſeveral "proofs of your love for me. You gave me teſtimonies "of it even with danger to your ſelf during the life of "Tiberius; and I find you ſtill continue in your endea"vours to convince me of your tender affection. I "ſhould be aſhamed to be behind hand with you: "Therefore I will make amends for what I have not "yet done, add new favours to thoſe I have already "beſtowed upon you, and make your future happi"neſs greater ſtill, than that you enjoy at preſent." Caligula having ſaid this, did not queſtion but Agrippa would ask of him ſome large territories, or the revenue of ſome cities. But Agrippa, who had been long before prepared to ask a favour of another kind, took hold of this opportunity to obtain it, and anſwered, that when he applied himſelf to him during the life of Tiberius, it was not out of private intereſt, but only to make himſelf acceptable to him, and that the favours he had already received from him ſurpaſſed all his wiſhes. And though the Emperor could ſtill encreaſe his favours, yet he was thoroughly ſatisfied with what he had done for him. The Emperor, ſurpriſed at his moderation, preſs'd him to ask new favours, being ready to grant whatever he could deſire. "Sir, anſwered Agrippa, ſince "you are ſo kind to me as to think me deſerving of "your favours, I will ask one which does not relate "to the encreaſing of my riches, becauſe by your li"berality towards me, I have no occaſion for it. "The favour I beg of you is ſuch, that it will gain "you a great reputation of piety, and render God "favourable to you in all your deſigns; this favour "will alſo be more advantageous to me, than all "thoſe I have received at your hands; therefore I "earneſtly deſire you would be pleaſed to revoke the "order you have given to Petronius of placing your "ſtatue in the temple of Jeruſalem." Caligula admired Agrippa's generous mind, who preferred the obſervations of the laws of his country, and the worſhip of his God, to the enlarging of his own dominions, and the encreaſe of his riches. He granted his requeſt, and wrote to Petronius, that if his ſtatue was already in the temple he ſhould let it ſtand, but if it was not yet there, he ſhould not force the Jews to receive it (14).

(14) Joſeph. *ubi ſupra*, cap. 11.

This affair is differently related by Philo (15), who tells us, Petronius wrote to the Emperor with regard to the placing his ſtatue in the temple, that if the Jews were provoked, it was to be feared leſt they ſhould take ſome deſperate courſe, and out of revenge ſhould burn all their harveſt which was then almoſt ripe. This exaſperated the Emperor againſt them; Agrippa who knew nothing of the letters which the Emperor had received, went as uſual to pay his court to him. Caligula, looking ſeverely upon him, ſaid, "See what good and honeſt men your citizens are; "they alone refuſe to acknowledge Caius (16) for a "God; it ſeems by their obſtinacy they will run "into a certain deſtruction. I have commanded that "the image of Jupiter (17) be conſecrated in their "temple; and they all ran in crouds together out of "the cities and the country, ſeemingly to pray and "ſupplicate, but really to tread my orders under "their feet." This diſcourſe filled Agrippa with horror, he trembled through all his limbs, and would have fallen down if ſome body had not ſupported him; he was carried home ſenſeleſs; whereupon Caligula ſaid, "If Agrippa my particular friend, "on whom I have beſtowed ſo many favours, is ſo "much addicted to the religious ceremonies of his "country, that a word only ſpoken againſt them "throws him into a ſwoon, what can be expected "from others, who have no particular reaſon to re"nounce or ſlight thoſe ceremonies?" Agrippa having recovered his ſenſes wrote to the Emperor in his own defence, that he could not but take up the cauſe of his countrymen; and concluded his Letter in theſe words: "What would not only "my nation, but the whole world ſay of me? I "muſt either paſs for a traytor againſt my country, or "I muſt loſe your favour and friendſhip; both which "are the greateſt misfortunes that can befall me. "For if I ſtill continue in favour with you, tho' "my country is not ſaved nor the temple undefil"ed, I muſt be a traytor; ſince it is well known that "you conſult your beſt friends in what regards the "affairs of the Empire. And if I am diſagreeable "to your Majeſty, don't put me in chains, as Ti"berius has done, but let me be put immediately "to death, for life is nothing to me, if I have loſt "your favour." This Letter ſoftened the Emperor's anger; who wrote to Petronius, what we have related above.

(15) *In Legatione, ap.* Uſſerium, *Annal.* p. m. 654.

(16) Caligula.

(17) I ſuppoſe he meant himſelf.

[*H*] *This favour was ſoon revoked again.*] Caligula hearing that the Jews threatened to take up arms, and conſidering this audaciouſneſs as inconſiſtent with his authority, he fell in a violent paſſion againſt them, and gave freſh orders to Petronius for putting his ſtatue in the temple; but the veſſel which carried this Letter meeting with contrary winds, Petronius had already had notice of Caligula's death, when the Letter was delivered to him, ſo that he did not think himſelf obliged to obey his commands (18).

(18) Joſephus, *ubi ſupra.*

[*I*] *Agrippa . . . was very much inſtrumental in making him* (*Claudius*) *Emperor.*] Claudius being amongſt the ſoldiers who had choſen him Emperor, and Agrippa being with him exhorting him to accept of the Imperial Dignity, the Senate ſent for Agrippa to have his advice in this conjuncture. He went to them, and ſwore that he was ready to lay down his life to maintain the dignity of the Senate: but he added, that they ought at preſent to conſider more what was expedient and uſeful to them, than

the Imperial throne, but he confirmed Agrippa in the Kingdom which his predeceſſor had given him. He publiſhed for that purpoſe a proclamation or edict, in which, after a great encomium on Agrippa, he added Samaria and Judea to the Provinces which he poſſeſſed already, as belonging to him in juſtice, becauſe they had been enjoyed by Herod his grandfather: Claudius alſo granted him Abila, which had been poſſeſſed by Liſanias, and all the territories of Mount Libanus. The treaty of alliance between Agrippa and the Romans was engraved on copper plates, which were put up in the great market-place at Rome (*e*). Agrippa was ſo much in favour with Claudius, that on his behalf he publiſhed two edicts in favour of the Jews (*f*), of which we ſhall give an account in the remarks [*K*]. Agrippa returned afterwards into his Kingdom, and hung up in the temple of Jeruſalem the gold chain which Caligula had given him in remembrance of his impriſonment, and which was of the ſame weight with that of iron, with which he had been chained. Joſephus's reflexion on this occaſion does not appear well-grounded [*L*]. Agrippa alſo accompliſhed the vows he had made, and had ſacrifices offered to God for him in the temple. He afterwards began to exert ſome acts of Sovereignty; for he deprived Theophilus ſon of Ananas of the High-Prieſthood, and put in his place Simon ſurnamed Canthara, ſon of Boëtus the High-Prieſt, whoſe daughter Herod the Great had married (*g*). Hence it appears that Agrippa followed the example of moſt of the great men, who uſe to give places and preferments to their kinſmen and relations before any other people. But Simon did not enjoy that high poſt a long time; for Agrippa being of opinion that Jonathas deſerved that honour more than him, offered it him again, but he refuſing to accept it [*M*], Mathias his brother was inveſted with it (*h*). Agrippa, in order to diſplay his gratitude to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, who had given him ſeveral teſtimonies of their love and affection, freed them from a tax which every family in the city was obliged to pay. A little while after this ſome young men at Doris were ſo audacious that they placed a ſtatue of the Emperor in a Synagogue of the Jews there; at which Agrippa was ſo exaſperated, that he went immediately to Petronius Governor of Syria to complain of this raſhneſs. His complaint had the effect he deſired upon that Governor, who thereupon wrote to the inhabitants of Doris, repreſenting to them that the will and pleaſure of the Emperor was, that the Jews ſhould enjoy a full liberty with regard to their Religion (*i*) [*N*]. Agrippa undertook to ſtrengthen Jeruſalem with new

(*e*) Id. ibid. c. 4.
(*f*) Id. ibid.
(*g*) Id. ibid. c. 5.
(*h*) Id. ib. c. 6.
(*i*) Id. ibid.

what was agreeable; that if they were reſolved to recover the ſovereign authority, they wanted money, arms and ſoldiers to ſucceed in this undertaking. He was anſwered, that the Senate had money, arms and ſoldiers enough, and that they could arm a vaſt number of ſlaves, who would be made free. "I wiſh, *ſaid Agrippa*, that your deſign may "have the good ſucceſs you expect; but my con-"cern for you obliges me to tell you, that there "is a great difference between that great number "of diſciplined ſoldiers, who ſide with Claudius, "and the new levies you intend to raiſe. Theſe "are incapable of being diſciplined, and ſcarce "know how to manage a ſword. Therefore my "opinion is, that you muſt ſend Deputies to Clau-"dius, and diſſuade him from accepting the Em-"pire, and if you will give me leave, I will go with "your Deputies." This propoſition was accepted; Agrippa went with ſome Senators to Claudius, and ſpeaking to him privately, he diſcovered to him in what conſternation the Senate was, and adviſed him to ſpeak as a Prince who was already poſſeſſed of a crown. Claudius followed his advice, and by this means ſettled himſelf in the Imperial Throne (19).

(19) Id. lib. 19. cap. 3.

[*K*] *Claudius ... publiſhed two Edicts in favour of the Jews, of which we ſhall give an account.*] In the firſt of theſe Edicts the Emperor ſays, "It appears "by ſeveral Records, that the Kings of Egypt have "anciently granted to the Jews at Alexandria the "ſame privileges which the other inhabitants en-"joyed; Auguſtus confirmed to them thoſe privi-"leges, after he had joined the city of Alexandria "to the Roman Empire, and alſo gave them the "liberty of living according to their Laws, and to "follow their own Religion, forbidding all perſons to "moleſt them on that account. But when Caligula "was become ſo bold as to make himſelf worſhipped "like a God, the other inhabitants of Alexandria "took this opportunity to exaſperate the Emperor "againſt the Jews, becauſe they refuſed to adore "him. And as nothing is more unjuſt than to per-"ſecute them on that account, we order and com-"mand that they be maintained in the full enjoy-"ment of all their privileges." In the other Edict the Emperor declares that his two particular friends Agrippa and Herod having deſired him to grant to all the Jews throughout the Empire the ſame privileges he had granted to thoſe of Alexandria, he was willing to comply with their requeſt, not only to pleaſe the two eminent perſons who interceded for them, but alſo becauſe the Jews deſerved that favour by their love and fidelity to the Romans. He adds, that he indulges them in this liberty to oblige them by this proof of his favour not to deſpiſe the Religion of other nations, but to live peaceably in the enjoyment of their own (20).

(20) Id. ibid. cap. 4.

[*L*] *Joſephus's reflexion on this occaſion does not appear well grounded.*] Agrippa's chain, ſays he (21), was hung up in the temple, that every body might ſee in his perſon an inſtance of the inconſtancy of fortune, and learn that when ſhe throws a man down, ſhe can reſtore him, and make him enjoy a greater happineſs, than that which he loſt. Thus far we may approve of Joſephus's reflexion; but we cannot but blame him when he ſuppoſes afterwards, that Agrippa had been impriſoned againſt the reſpect that was owed to his birth, and for a very ſlight reaſon: for if a man be guilty, his quality cannot be an objection againſt his ſuffering for his crime: and it is always a crime, eſpecially in a private perſon as Agrippa was, when he was impriſoned by Tiberius, to ſhew that he deſires his King's or his Sovereign's death.

(21) Ib. cap. 5.

[*M*] *He refuſing to accept it.*] "I am very much ob-"liged to you, *ſaid he* (22), for the honour you de-"ſigned me; but ſince God does not judge me fit "for that holy function (23), it is enough for me "to have enjoyed it once: I could not accept it "again now as innocently, as I might have done the "firſt time. But if your Majeſty will confer that "dignity on a perſon who deſerves it much more "than myſelf, and whoſe piety muſt make him ac-"ceptable to God, I will not ſcruple to propoſe my "brother to you." Agrippa was highly delighted with this modeſt anſwer, and complied with Jonathan's requeſt.

(22) Id. ibid. cap. 6.
(23) The High-Prieſthood.

[*N*] *The will and pleaſure of the Emperor was that the Jews ſhould enjoy a full liberty with regard to their Religion.*] There is in the Letter which Petronius wrote to the Magiſtrates of Doris, a paſſage which is worth notice. "I have heard, *ſays he* (24), that in "defiance

(24) *Apud* Joſeph. ibid. c. 6.

new walls and fortifications, but before the work was compleated, Vibius Marſus then Governor of Syria wrote to the Emperor about it, and repreſented that this would be dangerous in caſe the Jews ſhould happen to revolt, which obliged the Emperor to ſend Agrippa orders to deſiſt, with which he complied (*i*). This Prince, ſays Joſephus (*k*), was naturally ſo generous and benevolent, he had ſo great a love for his ſubjects, that he neglected nothing to make his reign glorious by great and commendable actions; in which he very much differed from Herod his grandfather, who was ill-natured and cruel, and who preferred the Greeks to the Jews: Agrippa on the contrary was civil and obliging to every body, treated his ſubjects as kindly as he did ſtrangers, and took a particular delight in relieving the miſerable and the afflicted. Jeruſalem was the place of his uſual reſidence, and he obſerved ſo ſtrictly the ancient cuſtoms of the Jews, that he let no day paſs without offering ſacrifices to God. We will give in the Remark a particular inſtance of his clemency and mildneſs, and alſo of his anger and reſentment [*O*]. He ſpent great ſums of money in adorning ſeveral cities (*l*). He was ſo much eſteemed by all the Princes his neighbours, and the great men of his time, that being at Tiberias in Galilee, Antiochus King of Commagena, Sampſigeramus King of the Emeſſenians, Cotis King of Leſſer Armenia, Polemus Prince of Pontus, and Herod King of Chalcide Agrippa's brother came to viſit him, he entertained them with great pomp and magnificence, which ſhewed he deſerved to receive ſuch gueſts. When all theſe Kings were together, Marſus Governor of Syria came alſo to viſit Agrippa, who out of reſpect for the Roman Empire went to meet him; but this became the occaſion of the miſunderſtanding that aroſe between them. For all the Kings that came to viſit Agrippa being with him in his Chariot, Marſus thought this great union of ſo many Princes might be of dangerous conſequence to the Empire, he therefore let them know that they ſhould return to their reſpective States; this exaſperated Agrippa againſt him to ſuch a degree, that he could never ſuffer him afterwards (*m*); for which reaſon he often importuned the Emperor to remove Marſus from his employment, which however was not done till after the death of Agrippa (*n*). This Prince being at Ceſarea celebrated there magnificent and ſolemn games to the honour of the Emperor. All the Great Men and the Nobility were preſent at thoſe games. On the ſecond day Agrippa came early in the morning to the Theatre, being dreſſed in a ſumptuous garment made of a ſtuff of which the ground was ſilver, and ſo artfully worked, that when the Sun ſhone upon it, it reflected ſo ſtrong a light, that it was impoſſible to behold the perſon who wore that habit, without veneration and fear. Agrippa appearing thus as it were in a godlike manner, thoſe baſe flatterers, whoſe poiſonous diſcourſes corrupt the hearts of Princes, began to cry, "That till then "they had conſidered their King only as a mortal man, but now they underſtood "that they muſt revere him like a God, and beg of him to be favourable and graci-"ous to them, ſince it appeared that he was not, like other men, of a mortal condition." Agrippa was pleaſed with this impious diſcourſe, which he ought to have ſeverely puniſhed.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. ch. 5.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid. cap. 7.

(*n*) Id. ibid. lib. 20. cap. 2.

"defiance of Claudius's Edict, by which he grants "the Jews a perfect liberty to live according to their "own Laws, ſome men amongſt you have been ſo "bold, as to profane their ſynagogue by placing a "ſtatue of the Emperor in it; and thus have of-"fended equally againſt their Religion, and the Em-"peror's piety, whoſe intention it is that every Dei-"ty be worſhipped in the temple conſecrated to it." We need not make any reflection on that paſſage, every intelligent reader will eaſily underſtand what conſequences may be drawn from it.

[*O*] *A particular inſtance of his clemency and mildneſs, as alſo of his anger and reſentment.*] That of his clemency is as follows: A Doctor of the Law named Simon was ſo daring as to accuſe him publicly at Jeruſalem as being a wicked man, who ought to be forbid the temple, ſince the gates of it ſhould be open only to ſuch perſons as are chaſte and virtuous. The Governor of the city having given notice of this to Agrippa, he gave orders that Simon ſhould be brought before him. When Simon arrived at Ceſarea, Agrippa happened to be at the theatre. He ordered him to ſit down near him, and without any paſſion he ſaid to him, "Pray tell me what are the "vices you accuſe me of?" Simon was ſo aſhamed at this, that not knowing how to anſwer he begged pardon of Agrippa, who pardoned him immediately, telling him at the ſame time that Kings muſt be more inclined to clemency than to ſeverity, and ſent him away having made him ſome valuable preſents (25). If this be an inſtance of Agrippa's clemency, here follows one of his ſeverity. Silas a General of his armies had been a very faithful ſervant to him during all his misfortunes; he had expoſed himſelf to ſeveral perils and undertook the moſt dangerous deſigns for his ſervice; this made him believe that he could take ſome liberty with him, and often remind him of the ſervice he had done in order to engage him to acknowledge them. Agrippa looking upon this as ſo many reproaches, and being tired with it, not only deprived Silas of his poſt, but alſo ſent him to priſon. Some time after this, when his paſſion was cooled, he called to mind the many ſervices which Silas had done him, and ſent for him to be preſent at the entertainment he gave on his birth-day. But Silas who was incapable of diſſembling, and perſuaded that the King had done him wrong, ſaid to ſome of the company, "You ſee what ho-"nour the King confers upon me this day; but it "will not laſt long, he will ſoon deprive me of it, "as he has deprived me of my employment, which "I had deſerved by the many ſervices I have done "him. For can he be ſure that I will ceaſe to ſpeak "freely? As I have nothing upon my conſcience, I "will publicly declare every day, from what dangers "I have delivered him, and what labours I have un-"dergone to ſecure his perſon and encreaſe his "glory; and lo! the chains and darkneſs of a dun-"geon have been the reward of all my labours "and my ſufferings. This injury is too great ever "to be forgotten; I will remember it, not only "all my life time, but even after my death." This faithful tho' imprudent ſervant did not only ſay this to the perſons who were with him at the entertainment, but he alſo deſired them to acquaint the King with it, who finding Silas's folly was not to be cured, ordered him to be put in priſon again (26). The boaſting of the ſervices which one has done, is a frailty indeed, but ſuch a one as we muſt bear with, eſpecially in old people; and to be offended at it, is generally a proof of an ungrateful heart.

(25) Ib. cap. 7.

(26) Ibid.

puniſhed. But lifting up his eyes, he perceived an owl upon a rope over his head; this he thought portended ſome great evil to him, as it had formerly been an omen of his happineſs; and at that very moment he felt in his bowels an inſufferable pain, as though they had been torn to pieces, and turning himſelf to his friends, "Behold the "man, ſays he, whom you would perſuade that he is immortal; he is juſt upon the point "of death, and this unavoidable neceſſity he is under, is a ſtrong and ſudden proof "of the falſhood and vanity of all your flatteries; but I muſt ſubmit to the will of "God. I was too happy; there is no Prince upon earth whoſe happineſs I could "envy." Having ſaid theſe words he felt his pains encreaſe; he was carried into his palace; and a rumour being ſpread abroad that he was at the point of death, all the people appeared in ſackcloth, according to cuſtom, and prayed to God for his recovery. Agrippa ſeeing them proſtrated could not forbear ſhedding tears; and having been in moſt violent agonies during five days, he died at laſt in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign (*o*) A. C. XLIV (*p*). This part of Agrippa's Hiſtory is related in a different manner by St. Luke (*q*), who tells us, that Agrippa being cloathed in his royal robe, and ſeated in his Tribunal he harangued the people; whereupon the people cried out, *This is the voice of a God and not of a man.* But all of a ſudden an Angel of the Lord ſtruck him, becauſe he did not give glory unto God; he was gnawed by worms and gave up the ghoſt. Joſephus obſerves (*r*), that though his revenues were very conſiderable, yet he was ſo generous and lived in ſuch a ſplendid manner, that he was often obliged to borrow money.

(*o*) Id. ibid. lib. 19. cap. 7.
(*p*) Of the vulgar Æra.
(*q*) *Act. Apoſt.* ch. xii. 21--23.
(*r*) *Ubi ſupra.*

☞AGRIPPA II. ſon of the preceding was at Rome when his father died; he was then but ſeventeen years of age. The Emperor Claudius, at whoſe court he was educated, deſigned at firſt to ſend him immediately into Judea, that he might take poſſeſſion of his father's Kingdom; but the Emperor's friends, and his freedmen, who had a great power over him, made him alter his reſolution, by repreſenting to him that all that a man of a conſummate wiſdom and prudence could do was to govern that Kingdom quietly, and to keep it in peace, and that young Agrippa was not yet capable of ſuch a taſk. The Emperor yielded to theſe arguments, and ſent Caſpius Fadus Governor into Judea, which became thus a Province of the Roman Empire (*a*). The Emperor expreſly commanded the new Governor to puniſh ſeverely thoſe of Ceſarea and Sebaſta, who had treated the memory of Agrippa I. with the utmoſt indignity [*A*]. Though Agrippa had no authority, yet he was very much in favour with the Emperor, and knew how to make uſe of it in behalf of the Jews, to whom he did a great ſervice on an important occaſion [*B*]. Herod King of Chalcide and brother of Agrippa I. dying four years (*b*) after his brother, Claudius gave his Kingdom to our Agrippa (*c*). Mr. Le Clerc (*d*) ſuppoſes, that before this time Claudius had granted to Agrippa the ſovereign power over the temple of Jeruſalem, and the right of creating the High-Prieſt; but that learned author is here miſtaken, as we ſhall ſhew in the Remark [*C*]. Agrippa having been King of Chalcide three or four years was

(*a*) Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 5. p. m. 396.
(*b*) Uſher's *An.* p. 658. 662.
(*c*) A. C. 48. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 20. cap. 3.
(*d*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. ad* A. C. 46. p. 361.

[*A*] *Thoſe of Ceſarea and Sebaſta, . . . had treated the memory of Agrippa I. with the utmoſt indignity.*] As ſoon as they heard he was dead, they forgot all the favours he had beſtowed upon them. "Their "abominable ingratitude, *ſays Joſephus* (1), went ſo "far, that they endeavoured to diſgrace him with "ſuch indignities and outrages, as I dare not men"tion. Some were ſo audacious that they took "the pictures of the Princeſſes his daughters, and "carried them into thoſe houſes, where the moſt "profligate and diſſolute aſſemble; and after they "had expoſed thoſe pictures to public view for "ſome time, they put them to the moſt unworthy "and ſhameful uſe. They alſo made public enter"tainments in the open ſtreets, offered ſacrifices to "Caron, and drank one another's health, to ſhew "their joy at the death of Agrippa. This was the "way in which they acknowledged the favours they "had received from Herod the great, Agrippa's "grandfather, who not only had built their cities, "but alſo adorned them with thoſe ſtately temples, "and ſumptuous havens, which rendered them ſo "famous."

(1) *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 19. cap. 7.

[*B*] *He did (the Jews) a great ſervice on an important occaſion.*] The occaſion was this: Fadus Governor of Judea had ſent for the Prieſts and principal inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and commanded them, by the Emperor's order, to depoſit the Pontifical habits, which the High-Prieſts only are allowed to wear, in the fortreſs Antonia, to be there kept by the Romans; and becauſe he was afraid leſt his command ſhould cauſe a revolt, he had brought ſome troops with him to Jeruſalem. The Prieſts durſt not refuſe to obey; but they earneſtly deſired Longinus and Fadus to give them leave to ſend to the Emperor, and not to alter any thing in the uſual practice, till they had his anſwer. Their requeſt was granted on condition that they ſhould give their own children as hoſtages till the Embaſſadors returned, with which the Jews complied. When the Embaſſadors were arrived at Rome, Agrippa prevailed with the Emperor to give them a favourable anſwer. Claudius ſent for them, and told them that he would grant their requeſt, but that they ſhould thank Agrippa for it, becauſe it was for his ſake that he was willing to beſtow that favour upon them. He alſo wrote a Letter to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and people of Jeruſalem, which deſerves to be taken notice of. "Your Deputies, *ſays the Em*"*peror*, have been introduced to me by Agrippa, "who has been educated with me, and for whom "I have a great regard: They have returned me "thanks for the care I take of your nation, and "earneſtly requeſted of me that I would give you "leave to keep the crown and pontifical ornaments "of your High-Prieſt, as Vitellius has done: I have "granted their petition, not only out of piety, but "alſo becauſe I think it is but juſt and reaſonable, that "*every one ſhould have the liberty to follow the Re*"*ligion of his country, &c.* (2)." This is what right reaſon will teach every man, who is not byaſſed by prejudice, education, or intereſt.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. 20. cap. 1.

[*C*] *This learned author is here miſtaken as we ſhall ſhew in the remark.*] Here follow his own words: *Idem Agrippa (Junior) poteſtatem in templum Jeroſolymitanum, & ſacrum ærarium, juſque Pontifices maximos eligendi, cum nullus eſſet Judææ Rex, impetravit & mox amoto Simoni Cantharæ, Joſephum Canei vel Camydis filium ſuffecit.* That is, "As there "was then no King of the Jews the ſame Agrippa (the "Younger) obtained from the Emperor the power "over the temple of Jeruſalem, and over the trea"ſury,

was deprived of that Kingdom by Claudius, who gave him in the place of it, thoſe Provinces, which Philip the ſon of Herod the Great had enjoyed (*e*), beſides the Province of Abila, which belonged to the Tetrarchy of Lyſias (*f*). Agrippa having received theſe favours from the Emperor, thought now of marrying his ſiſters. He gave Druſilla to Aziza King of the Emezenians, who embraced the Jewiſh Religion. Druſilla had been promiſed before to Epiphanes ſon of King Antiochus, who had given his word that he would turn a Jew; but his not keeping his word was the reaſon why that match was broke. Mariamne Agrippa's other ſiſter was married to Archelaus ſon of Chelcias, to whom ſhe had been betrothed by Agrippa her father. Bernice his eldeſt ſiſter had been married to Herod her uncle, and after his death ſhe remained ſome time a widow: but as it was reported that ſhe was too free with her brother, ſhe propoſed to Polemon King of Cilicia to marry her, and to embrace the Jewiſh Religion, being in hopes that this would perſuade the publick that ſhe had been unjuſtly accuſed. Polemon accepted the propoſal becauſe ſhe was exceedingly rich; but they did not live long together, for ſhe left him out of laſciviouſneſs, as it is reported; and he finding ſhe had abandoned him, renounced the Religion he had profeſſed (*g*). Agrippa's other ſiſters were not more virtuous than Bernice [*D*]. After the death of the Emperor Claudius, Nero his ſucceſſor enlarged again Herod's Kingdom by adding four cities with their territories to it, viz. Abila and Juliade in the Province of Perea, and Tarichea and Tiberias in Galilee (*h*). Agrippa, to render more beautiful the palace he had near the temple at Jeruſalem, built an upper room in it, which had a fine proſpect over the whole town, and from which one could view all that was done round about the temple. The principal inhabitants of Jeruſalem were very much offended at it, becauſe by the Jewiſh Law no body is permitted to obſerve what is done in the temple, eſpecially when ſacrifices are offered. Therefore the Jews built a high wall, which entirely hindered the proſpect from Agrippa's palace towards the temple. Agrippa being exaſperated at this, as well as Feſtus Governor of Judea, they commanded the Jews to pull down the wall; but the Jews begged of him that they might ſend Embaſſadors to the Emperor concerning this affair, becauſe, ſaid they, they would chuſe death rather than ſee any part of their temple ruined. Accordingly they ſent ten of the principal inhabitants of Jeruſalem to Nero, together with Iſhmael the High-Prieſt, and Chelcias Keeper of the ſacred treaſure. Nero gave them audience, and the Empreſs Poppea his wife, who was a pious woman, interceding for them, the Emperor not only pardoned them for her ſake what they had done, but alſo permitted that the wall they had built ſhould not be demoliſhed. The ten Embaſſadors returned to Jeruſalem with this agreeable news; but Poppea kept Iſhmael and Chelcias at Rome as hoſtages of the fidelity of the Jews (*i*). The Jews having been treated very hard and cruelly by Feſtus their Governor, reſolved at laſt to take up arms againſt the Romans: Agrippa, who knew the ſad conſequences of ſuch a war, uſed all his endeavours to diſſuade them from it [*E*]. The people anſwered, that it was not againſt the Romans

(*e*) Theſe Provinces were Batanea and Traconite.

(*f*) Joſephus *ubi ſupra*, cap. 5.

(*g*) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 20. c. 5.

(*h*) Joſeph. *de Bell. Judaico.* lib. 2. cap. 22.

(*i*) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 20. c. 7.

" ſury, and the right of chuſing the High-Prieſts:
" and immediately he removed Simon the ſon of
" Canthara, and choſe Joſeph the ſon of Caneus or
" Canys." Thus far Mr. le Clerc, who quotes *Joſephus, Ant. Jud. Lib. xx. Cap.* 1. But there we find it was Herod Prince of Chalcide and brother of Agrippa the Great, who asked and obtained thoſe favours from the Emperor: It appears however that Agrippa had afterwards the power of eſtabliſhing and depoſing the High-Prieſts; for Joſephus tells us (3), that after the death of Feſtus King Agrippa removed Joſeph from the Prieſthood and eſtabliſhed Ananus in his ſtead. The father of this High-prieſt was alſo called Ananus, and was looked upon as one of the moſt happy men in the world; having enjoyed that ſacred honour as long as he pleaſed, and having had five ſons, who enjoyed it after him; which never happened to any body beſides him. The Jewiſh Hiſtorian gives us in the chapter we have quoted ſome other inſtances by which it appears, that Agrippa diſpoſed of the religious offices at Jeruſalem as he pleaſed.

(3) *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 20. cap. 8.

[*D*] *His other ſiſters were not more virtuous than Bernice.*] Druſilla not long after her marriage left her husband. The reaſon for it was as follows: As ſhe was the moſt beautiful woman at that time, Felix Governor of Judea fell paſſionately in love with her. He ſent one Simon a Jew born at Cyprus his particular friend, and very well skilled in the magical arts to Druſilla, and propoſed to her that if ſhe would leave her husband and marry him, he would make her the moſt happy woman in the world. Druſilla, who ſuffered a great deal becauſe her ſiſter Bernice envied her on account of her beauty, was glad that an opportunity was offered her to get rid of theſe vexations. She readily accepted Felix's propoſals, and renounced the Jewiſh Religion to marry him; ſhe had a ſon by him called Agrippa, who periſh'd with his wife in the conflagration occaſioned by mount Veſuvius under the Emperor Titus. Mariamne abandoned Archelaus her husband to marry Demetrius, the moſt noble and the richeſt of all the Jews of Alexandria, where he was one of the chief Magiſtrates, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Agrippinus (4).

(4) Idem, ibid. cap. 5.

[*E*] *Agrippa uſed all his endeavours to diſſuade them from the war.*] He ſpoke to them after this manner: " If I thought that you were all reſolved to
" make war againſt the Romans, I would not have
" took upon me to adviſe you at preſent, ſince when
" a whole people is inclined to take the worſe courſe,
" it is needleſs to propoſe any thing advantageous
" to them: But I am perſuaded that the greateſt
" and moſt reaſonable part of you deſire to maintain
" the public peace. Some indeed are too young ſtill
" to know how terrible and dreadful the evils are,
" which war creates; others are led away by the vain
" hopes of recovering their ancient liberty; and
" ſome there are, who out of covetouſneſs expect to
" find their private advantage in the public calami-
" ties and miſeries of the whole nation. But if you
" will hearken to me, I will propoſe what ſeems
" to me moſt expedient for you, and I will endea-
" vour to prevent the miſchief, which the bad coun-
" ſels of a few ſelf-intereſted men may draw upon
" the whole State." He then repreſents to them, that being under the Government of the Romans, it is in vain for them to talk ſo much of liberty as they uſed to do; liberty was out of the queſtion at that time, ſince the reaſon or pretence of their rebellion

mans nor againſt the Emperor they would make war, but againſt Florus their Governor, whoſe tyranny they could no longer bear. "But do not your actions ſhew, "ſaid Agrippa, that it is againſt the Romans you revolt, ſince you refuſe to pay the "taxes to the Emperor, and ſince you have pulled down the gallery which was be- "tween the temple and the Fort Antonia (*k*)? If then you intend to ſhew that you "do not deſign to revolt, make haſte to pay your taxes, and to rebuild that fort; for "it is to the Emperor that money is due, and the fort belongs, and not to Florus (*l*)." The people ſubmitted to that ſeaſonable advice; and Agrippa thought there was no more reaſon to fear a war; and to ſuppreſs all the remains of rebellion, he endeavoured to perſuade the people to ſubmit to Florus, till the Emperor had ſent another Governor in his ſtead. But this ſo highly exaſperated the people, that they forced him out of the city with the moſt opprobrious language, ſome throwing even ſtones at him. Agrippa ſeeing it was impoſſible to put a ſtop to the rage of theſe ſeditious men, retired into his own Kingdom, complaining bitterly of the ill uſage he had met with from them (*m*). The principal inhabitants of Jeruſalem, after they had done all that lay in their power to ſuppreſs the ſedition, in which they had no hand, ſent ſome perſons of note to Florus and to Agrippa, deſiring them to come to Jeruſalem with ſome troops, that they might reſtore the peace in the city, before the revolt had run a greater length. Florus, who deſired to kindle the fire more and more, gave no anſwer to the deputies; but Agrippa, who was willing to ſave the city, and to maintain to the Jews their temple and country, ſent them three thouſand ſoldiers commanded by Darius under Philip the ſon of Joachim; but this did not quell the revolt, which ended at laſt in the total overthrow of the Jewiſh nation, as may be ſeen in Joſephus (*n*). In the war which the Emperor Veſpaſian carried on againſt the Jews, Agrippa ſent him a ſuccour of two thouſand men (*o*), by which it appears, as well as by what we have ſaid before, that though a Jew by religion, he was yet entirely devoted to the Romans, whoſe aſſiſtance indeed he wanted, to ſecure the peace of his own Kingdom, when the inhabitants of Tiberias and Tarichea had revolted; but they were reduced by the bravery and conduct of Titus Veſpaſian's ſon (*p*). When the city of Gamala was beſieged by the Emperor, Agrippa being come near the walls to exhort the inhabitants to ſurrender, he received a wound in his arm by a ſtone that was thrown at him. This put the Romans in a great paſſion, not only becauſe they had a great eſteem and love for Agrippa, but alſo becauſe they perceived by this, that ſince the Jews did not ſpare a King of their own nation and religion, it was probable they would be much more cruel againſt ſtrangers (*q*). However, Agrippa did not die of the wound he received on this occaſion, ſince he lived to the third year of Trajan, and died at Rome A. C. 100. He was the ſeventh and laſt King of the family of Herod the Great (*r*). It was before him and Bernice his ſiſter that St. Paul pleaded his cauſe [*F*] at Ceſarea (*s*).

(*k*) Where the Pretorian guard uſed to be kept.

(*l*) Joſeph. *de Bell. Jud.* lib. 2. cap. 28.

(*m*) Ibid. c. 29.

(*n*) *De Bell. Jud.* lib. 2. & *ſeq.*

(*o*) Joſeph. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5.

(*p*) Id. ibid. ch. 31, 42.

(*q*) Joſeph. *de Bell. Jud.* lb. 4. cap 2.

(*r*) Clerici *Hiſt. Eccleſ. ad Ann.* ch. C. § 7. pag. 522.

(*s*) Acts xxv, xxvi.

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bellion was not their being ſubject to the Romans, but their being cruelly treated by their Governor. Agrippa then ſhews, that complaints and murmurs are not the right method to pacify exaſperated Governors, but duty and ſubmiſſion; for when they are reproached with little faults they might have committed, it provokes them more and more and obliges them to be more haughty and ſevere. He afterwards tells them that tho' they had never ſo much reaſon to complain againſt their Governor, yet this ſhould not oblige them to carry their reſentment againſt all the Romans, and even againſt the Emperor himſelf; ſince they were not accountable for the conduct of Governors. "Have they commanded them to "oppreſs you, *ſays he*, can they from the Weſt "where they live, ſee what paſſes in the Eaſt, and "is it not very difficult for them to be perfectly "acquainted with what regards us?" But we beg leave to obſerve here, that this is a very bad reaſon. For if the Romans could not govern with juſtice and equity thoſe remote nations, they ſhould not have conquered them;

Pourquoy ——— ———
Ne pouvant nous regir nous avez vous conquis (5)?
That is,
"Why did you conquer thoſe you cannot rule?"

(5) *Fables de la Motte.* l. 3. Fab. xiii.

Agrippa next repreſents to them, that ſince their Governors don't hold their places for life, they may hope for redreſs when a new Governor would be ſent to them; therefore they ſhould ſubmit patiently till ſuch a happy change arrived. He then deſires them to conſider that they wanted every thing neceſſary to carry on a war againſt the Romans, to whom the moſt famous nations had been obliged to ſubmit. He preaches paſſive obedience with all the eloquence imaginable, and does not forget to enforce ſome motives borrowed from Religion. "Conſi- "der, *ſays he*, that tho' you were more powerful "than your enemies, yet you cannot expect ſuc- "ceſs againſt them; for if you obſerve the ſab- "bath religiouſly, you muſt be vanquiſhed on ſuch "a day as your anceſtors were by Pompey, who al- "ways choſe to forward his attacks on a day, when "they durſt not defend themſelves; and if you don't "ſcruple to infringe the law by fighting on a ſab- "bath day, how can you pretend that you take up "arms only to maintain your Laws and your Reli- "gion? And how can you hope for God's favour, "at the ſame time that you highly provoke him, by "voluntarily diſobeying his commandments? A war "muſt not be undertook without the aſſiſtance ei- "ther of God or men; when both are wanting it "is impoſſible not to be reduced to ſlavery." He then repreſents to them the miſerable condition they will be reduced to if they are vanquiſhed by the Romans, who will burn the city to aſhes, and deſtroy the whole nation with the ſword, that they might become an example to deter other nations from reſiſting the Roman power. He finiſhes his diſcourſe by calling upon the Angels of God as witneſſes of his ſincerity, and ſwearing by every thing ſacred, that he did all what lay in his power to ſave the nation; and concludes with theſe words; "If you will "follow my advice, we will all enjoy a perfect "peace; but if you deſign to follow the inconſide- "rate and furious paſſion, which now tranſports you, "I am reſolved not to expoſe myſelf to thoſe dan- "gers, which you may yet eaſily avoid (6)."

(6) Joſeph. *de Bell. Jud.* lib. 2. cap. 18.

[*F*] *It was before Agrippa and Bernice, ... that St. Paul pleaded his cauſe.*] This incident affords me matter for a few obſervations. I. When St. Paul was accuſed before Feſtus, that Governor expected that the Jews would lay to his charge crimes of a very different nature from thoſe they accuſed him of

☞AGUCCHIO (JOHN BAPTISTA) Archbiſhop of Amaſia in Natolia, was born at Bologna the 20th of November 1570. He had the advantage of being educated under the care of Philip Sega his uncle, who was raiſed on account of his diſtinguiſhed merits to the dignity of a Cardinal by Pope Innocent IX. and of Jerom Agucchio his brother, who was made Cardinal by Pope Clement VIII. in the year 1604. Cardinal Sega had a prodigious love and eſteem for him on account of his genius, and the progreſs which he made in polite Literature [*A*]; and he carried him with him to France, when he went thither as Legate from the Pope. Agucchio had ſo great a ſhare in the Cardinal's confidence there, that Lanfranc Margotius his Secretary, being jealous of him, deſired to be diſmiſſed his ſervice, and returned to Rome, where he was afterwards made Cardinal by Paul V. (*a*). After the death of Sega, Agucchio was appointed Secretary to Cardinal Aldobrandini, nephew to Pope Clement VIII, and attended him when he went Legate to Henry IV. of France, of which journey he wrote a very elegant account. After the Cardinal's return he committed the management of his houſe to Agucchio, which province he executed till the death of Pope Clement VIII. and of his brother the Cardinal Agucchio, when his want of health obliged him to retire from the court [*B*]. But Cardinal Aldobrandini brought him again into his former

(*a*) Jon. Nic. *Erythræ. Pinacotheca Tertia*, p. 734. edit. Lipſiæ 1712.

of (7). He thought perhaps that they would charge him with ſedition and murther (8); but when he heard that the queſtion related only to their Religion, and to *Jeſus, which was dead, and Paul affirmed to be living* (9), he ſeemed to deſpiſe that affair, and was willing to finiſh it very ſoon by judging St. Paul at Jeruſalem. It is ſurprizing that Feſtus, and eſpecially Agrippa, ſhou'd appear ſo ignorant of what had happened concerning Chriſt, and the Religion which was eſtabliſhing by his Apoſtles. This is a proof that Chriſtianity had not yet made any conſiderable progreſs; and indeed it was only after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem that the Goſpel was propagated amongſt the Gentiles: Till then the Chriſtians did not ſeparate from the Jews, but kept their feaſts and obſerved the ceremonies of the Law. This may be the reaſon why Feſtus and Agrippa were ſo little acquainted with the Chriſtians. II. The charge laid againſt St. Paul was, That "he taught all men every "where againſt the people, the law, and the temple, "and that he had brought Gentiles into the temple, "and had thus polluted the holy place (10). Now in all likelihood this charge was grounded on the doctrine which St. Paul preached, viz. that thoſe who believed in Chriſt were no more under the law, and conſequently not obliged to practiſe its ceremonies, eſpecially circumciſion. And it muſt be obſerved, that St. Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans and to the Galatians were already written when he appeared before Felix, Feſtus and Agrippa (11); and it is well known how much he labours in theſe Epiſtles to diſſuade the Chriſtians from obſerving the law of Moſes. It is therefore a matter of ſurprize, that St. Paul ſhould not ſay a word concerning that charge, neither in his Speech to the people of Ceſarea (12), nor in that before Ananias the High-Prieſt (13), nor in that before Agrippa; in which one would have expected that he ſhould have laid open the whole doctrine of Chriſtianity, in order to convert the King. But to this it may be anſwered, that in order to convince a Jew of the truth of Chriſtianity, it muſt firſt be proved to him, that Chriſt is really ſent by God; for it would ſhock him, if one ſhould begin by diſſuading him from obſerving the law of Moſes; this would only ſerve to give him an invincible prejudice againſt the Goſpel. III. Agrippa ſaid to St. Paul, *Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian* (14). Now it may be asked what kind of arguments St. Paul employed to perſuade Agrippa of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. Indeed if Agrippa only intended to ridicule St. Paul, there is no room for ſuch a queſtion; but I am much more inclined to think he ſpoke in earneſt (15). Now St. Paul in his Diſcourſe gives firſt an account of himſelf, and of the manner of his converſion; then of his doctrine, of which he ſays only, that *he taught none other things than thoſe which the Prophets and Moſes did ſay ſhould come, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt who ſhould riſe from the dead, and ſhould ſhew light unto the people and to the Gentiles* (16). And for the truth of this he appeals to Agrippa himſelf, and to the knowledge that King had of the ancient Prophets, *which he believed* (17). It does not appear that St. Paul made uſe of any arguments to convince

(7) Acts xxv. 18.
(8) *See* Acts xxi. 38.
(9) Ibid. cap. xxv. 19.
(10) Ibid. xxi. 28.
(11) The Epiſtle to the Romans was written A. C. LVIII, and that to the Galatians about the ſame time, and it was A. C. LX. that St. Paul appeared before Agrippa. See Cleric. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. ad Ann.* C. LVIII. and LX.
(12) Acts xxii.
(13) Ibid. xxiii.
(14) Chap. xxvi. 28.
(15) Mr. Le Clerc does not determine it. *Seu ſerio, ſeu joco*, ſays he, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. ad Ann.* LX. § 5.
(16) Act. xxvi. 22, 23.
(17) Ibid. ver. 26, 27.

Agrippa. How then could he be almoſt perſuaded to become a Chriſtian? If we may be allowed a conjecture, we would ſuppoſe that St. Luke has given us only an abſtract of St. Paul's Diſcourſe, omitting to mention thoſe things, which he had already related before; and it is very probable, that St. Paul gave an account of the Miracles of Chriſt, of thoſe which happened at his Reſurrection, and thoſe performed on the day of Pentecoſt. Nay his anſwer to Feſtus (18) intimates this; *The King knows theſe things*, ſays he,---*for I am perſuaded that none of theſe things are hidden from him. For this thing was not done in a corner.* Now this cannot relate to the latter part of St. Paul's Diſcourſe, where he ſpeaks of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament concerning Chriſt, and can be ſaid only of ſome notorious and public events, ſuch of the miracles which happened at Chriſt's Death and Reſurrection, and thoſe at the time of Pentecoſt. Theſe miracles, we preſume, St. Paul had related, when Agrippa declared himſelf almoſt a Chriſtian. But this is a conjecture, we entirely ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. P.

(18) Verſ. 26.

[*A*] *The progreſs which he made in Polite Literature.*] His application to his ſtudies was very early. He ſpent his firſt years, not in the common diverſions and amuſements of children, but in following the nobler purſuits of real and uſeful knowledge, and laying a juſt foundation, upon which he might build all his future improvements in learning When he had paſſed thro' the lower branches of ſcience, he applied himſelf to Logic, in order to attain a clear and diſtinct manner of thinking and reaſoning upon all ſubjects; and then began the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Civil Law; in which latter Science he took his Degrees But after all he was moſt charmed with Polite Literature, in which a man of true taſte finds ſo much ſatisfaction from the variety of elegant and uſeful knowledge, which it affords him, that it ſcarce ever fails to fix the mind, that has once engaged in it. Agucchio gained an exact and perfect knowledge of the Latin and Italian tongues; and wrote in each of them with the utmoſt beauty and propriety. But the learned reader will not be diſpleaſed to hear Nicius Erythræus in his Ciceronian Latin upon this ſubject. *Nullam ille ætatis ſuæ partem ſtudiorum labori detraxit, ſed unamquamque habuit in illis extenſam. Primum pueriles annos, non ludis, non æqualium ſtudiis, ſed humaniſſimis politiſſimarum artium literis dedit; & quibus cum exceſſit, ad eos magiſtros venit, qui regulam tradunt, qua vera & falſa judicentur, quæque quibus propoſitis, quæque non ſint, conſequentia, videlicet Dialecticam. Qua arte inſtructus Philoſophiæ & Juris Civilis eſt curſum ingreſſus. Quo confecto, eorum, quibus jus eſt juris civilis publicè interpretandi facultatem dares votis omnibus declaratus eſt juris ejuſdem interpres atque magiſter. Sed pulcherrima elegantium literarum ſpecies ac formæ ejus ad ſe animum magis attraxit, atque arctius ſibi conjunxit. In primis exactam atque perfectam utriuſque linguæ notitiam tenuit, Latinæ nimirum & Etruſcæ, & in unaquaque earum ſcripſit elegantiſſimè* (1).

(1) *Pinacoth. Tertia*, p. 734.

[*B*] *His want of health obliged him to retire from*

former employment, in which he continued till the Cardinal's death. After which Gregory XV. obliged him to take upon him the office of his Secretary, which he discharged to univerſal ſatisfaction till the death of that Pope, who had determined to have rewarded his ſervices with a Cardinal's Hat. Urban VIII ſent him in the year 1624 Nuncio to Venice, where he gained a general eſteem, though he maintained the rights of the See of Rome with the utmoſt zeal and vigour. The contagious diſtemper which ravaged Italy in 1630, obliged him to retire to Friuli, where he died in 1632. If he had lived a little longer, he would perhaps have been raiſed to ſome of the higheſt dignities of the church. Nicius Erythræus has given us his character [C]. He wrote ſeveral books [D].

from the court.] He obtained leave for that purpoſe, in order to recover his health, which was very much impaired by the fatigues of journeys, and the variety of buſineſs at court, which he had paſſed thro'. But when his health was reſtored by this eaſe and retirement, he reſolved never to return to court, or immerge in the affairs of it, but to apply himſelf entirely to Religion, (for he was then in Orders) and to the purſuits of Learning. For that purpoſe he procured himſelf the acquaintance of all the learned Men, who were then at Rome, and had frequent aſſemblies of them at his houſe, where they indulged themſelves in a free and entertaining converſation. In this manner he lived with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, till he was again forced into public buſineſs (z).

(z) Ibid.

[C] *Nicius Erythræus has given us his character.*] Agucchio was very famous, *ſays he*, for his excellent talent, at writing Letters; and he underſtood oeconomy extremely well, ſo that he never injured the tenants or ſervants to enrich the Lord, but always treated them in the beſt manner imaginable without the leaſt detriment to the latter. He ſeemed to be a man of ſome ſeverity, but in common converſation with his friends he ſhewed the utmoſt humanity and gaiety of temper. He was almoſt a perfect maſter in every kind of diſcourſe and converſation; and whatever the ſubject was, he talked of it with all the learning and fluency imaginable; whether it was concerning the State of a Commonwealth, the Duty of a Prince, of Nature, the Vices of men, the Paſſions, Appetites, Moderation, Continence, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, Divinity, I mean that part of it, which relates to Morality; for he was never converſant with the ſubtle and abſtruſe part of it. However he had one fault among all his excellencies, which was, that he never ſhewed generoſity enough in aſſiſting his friends. *Magnam in ſcribendis epiſtolis habuit gloriam; œconomus ſummus, ita tamen ut nihil familiaribus, quibus præerat, detraheret, quod dominis adderet, ſed eos ſine dominorum damno largè copioſèque tractabat. Paululum ſeveris moribus videbatur, quamvis in communi amicorum conſuetudine omnem humanitatem amœnitatemque exerceret. Erat in omni genere ſermonis & humanitatis pene perfectus, & de quacunque re, quæ in diſputationem caderet, doctè copioſèque diſſerebat; de repub. de Principis officio, de naturâ, de vitiis hominum, de cupiditatibus, de modo, de continentiâ, de hiſtoriâ, de philoſophiâ, de theologiâ, de eâ, inquam, quæ ad mores pertinet, non autem de eâ, quæ in diſſerendi ſubtilitate verſatur; nam hanc nunquam attigerat. Unum in eo vitium deprehendebatur, quod fidem ac benevolentiam ſuam amicis, ad eos ſublevandos adjuvandoſque non præſtaret.*

[D] *He wrote ſeveral Books.*] *A Treatiſe upon Comets and Meteors, The Life of Cardinal Sega*, and that of Jerom Agucchio his brother, *The Antiquities of the city of Bologna*, an *Hiſtory* in Latin, mentioned by Nicius Erythræus, which he ſays was not then publiſhed, *Advice to the Apoſtolical Nuncio's to be obſerved by them in their management of the affairs of the Popes with Kings and Princes*, and *Diſcourſes concerning the right adminiſtration of a Commonwealth.* Theſe two laſt pieces were not publiſhed, when Erithræus wrote his *Pinacotheca*. T.

☞AGUILLONIUS (FRANCIS) a Jeſuit, was born at Bruſſels in Flanders. He taught Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Doway for ſeveral years, and Divinity at Antwerp, and other Sciences in other Cities. He was Rector of the Jeſuits College at Antwerp. He was very eminent for his knowledge in the Mathematics, and was the firſt who introduced the ſtudy of that Science among the Jeſuits in the Low-Countries. He underſtood ſeveral languages; his judgment was very exact and penetrating, and his learning extenſive. His patience and greatneſs of mind were extremely remarkable [A]. He died at Antwerp the 20th of March 1617, in the fiftieth year of his age. He wrote a book of Optics intitled, *Opticorum Lib. VI. Philoſophicis juxta ac Mathematicis utiles*, printed at Antwerp by Plantin in 1613 in fol. He was employed in finiſhing his *Catoptrics* and *Dioptrics*, when death prevented him (a).

(a) Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societ. Jeſu*, p. 112. edit. Antwerp. 1643. in fol.

[A] *His patience and greatneſs of mind were extremely remarkable.*] Alegambe tells us, that when his brethren of the ſame Order were ſeized with the plague, he ventured, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of ſuch an attempt, to viſit them, and afforded them all the aſſiſtance in his power. He had been afflicted from his youth with a conſtant catarrh and aſthma; and yet he could never be induced to pray for health, reſigning himſelf entirely to Divine Providence; nay he very often deſired that God would add new pains to his former, rather than abate the leaſt of thoſe trials, which he willingly ſuffer'd. Juſt before his death he very frequently repeated theſe words, *Let God's will be done; I ſubmit to it; I am willing to form myſelf abſolutely upon the Divine pleaſure. Fiat voluntas Dei; in eâ conquieſco; ad Dei nutum me penitùs fingere volo.* And when he was afflicted with the moſt exquiſite pains imaginable, he ſaid very calmly; "I have now the torments, which "I often wiſh'd for, and deſired of God:" *Habeo, inquit, cruces, quas ſæpe optavi, atque à Deo poſtulavi* (1). Such a reſignation as this is perhaps the moſt difficult of all virtues; pain is generally of too ſevere and inflexible a nature to be abated by the ordinary force of reaſon; and how many Stoics ſoever there may have been in Theory and Speculation, I queſtion there have been but few, who could maintain their principles, when they were put to the trial. However the reflections on religion, and the opinion of the merit of ſubmitting to pain with due reſignation, and the rewards attending it, will have a much greater effect than all the pompous reaſonings of Philoſophy. T.

(1) *Alegambe*, p. 112.

AGUIRRA. The *Bibliotheca* of Spaniſh writers give us five or ſix authors of this name. The moſt conſiderable of them I think is MICHAEL DE AGUIRRA, a native of Aſpeitia in the dioceſe of Pampeluna, in the Province of Guipuſcoa. He was a Civilian, and being a member of the College of St. Clement at Boulogna, he wrote in favour of the preten-

tenſions

tenſions of the King of Spain, Philip II. to the crown of Portugal [*A*]. He exerciſed the office of Judge in ſeveral courts of the Kingdom of Naples, and afterwards he was choſen a Counſellor in the council of Grenada in Spain. He died in 1588 (*a*). Thoſe who ſhall undertake to continue the work of Don Nicholas Antonio, will have another Aguirra infinitely more famous to give an account of. I mean JOSEPH SAENZ DE AGUIRRA, a Benedictine, one of the moſt learned men of the ſeventeenth Century. He was Cenſor and Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Inquiſition in Spain, chief Interpreter of the Scriptures in the Univerſity of Salamanca; and he had been more than once Abbot of the College of St. Vincent, when he was honoured with a Cardinal's Hat by Pope Innocent XI. in 1686. He had undertaken a very great work (*b*), which he proſecuted with the utmoſt diligence even after he was made a Cardinal. Thoſe who would form a juſt idea of it, ought to read the *Prodromus*, which he publiſhed at Salamanca in 1686 [*B*]; or, if they have not that, the Abſtracts which the Journaliſts give of it [*C*]. It was a long while believed that he was the author of a very learned work againſt the deciſions of the Clergy of France in the year 1682 [*D*]; but at laſt the contrary appeared (*c*). Theſe conjectures were not without probability, conſidering

(*a*) *Ex* Nicol. Antonii *Bib. Script. Hiſpaniæ*, tom. 2. p. 102.

(*b*) An edition of all the councils held in Spain.

(*c*) See the Remark [*D*].

[*A*] *He wrote in favour of the pretenſions of the King of Spain, Philip II, to the Crown of Portugal.*] His Book was printed at Venice in 1581, under the title of *Reſponſum pro ſucceſſione regni Portugalliæ pro Philippo Hiſpaniarum Rege, adverſus Bononienſium, Patavinorum, & Peruſinorum collegia*; That is, "An Anſwer in defence of the ſucceſſion of the "kingdom of Portugal in Favour of Philip King of "Spain, againſt the opinions of the Univerſities of Bononia, Padua, and Perugia. Beſoldus has inſerted this in his *Collection of Councils*.

[*B*] *The* Prodromus, *which he publiſhed at Salamanca in* 1686. The title runs thus: *Notitia Conciliorum, Hiſpaniæ atque novi orbis, Epiſtolarum Decretalium & aliorum Monumentorum ſacræ antiquitatis ad ipſam ſpectantium, magna ex parte hactenus ineditorum, quorum editio paratur Salamanticæ cum Notis & Diſſertationibus, ſub auſpiciis Catholici Monarchæ Caroli II, ſtudio & vigiliis M. Fr. Joſephi Saenz de Aguirre. Salmanticæ, apud Lucam Perez, Univerſitatis Typographum* 1686, *in* 8vo. That is, "An Account of the Councils of Spain and the new "World, and of the Decretal Epiſtles and other "Monuments of ſacred antiquity, relating to this "ſubject, for the moſt part never yet publiſhed; an "edition of which is now preparing at Salamanca "with Notes and Diſſertations, under the auſpicious "protection of his Catholic Majeſty Charles II, and "by the care and ſtudy of Father Joſeph Saenz de "Aguirra. Printed at Salamanca by Lucas Perez, "Printer to the Univerſity, 1686, in 8vo."

We may obſerve that the Cardinal did not follow in every thing the ſcheme, that he laid down in his project, when he came to execute it. Thoſe, who have not the four volumes in folio, which he publiſhed at Rome under the title of *Collectio maxima Conciliorum omnium Hiſpaniæ & novi Orbis &c.* i. e. "A large Collection of all the Councils of "Spain and the new World &c." need only read the Abſtracts, which the Journaliſts of Leipſic give us in their *Acta Eruditorum* in the year 1696.

[*C*] *The Abſtracts which the Journaliſts give of it.*] Thoſe of Leipſic give an account of it in their *Acta Eruditorum* for the month of February 1688. The Abbot de la Roque gave an Extract of it in his Journal of the 13th of January 1687. I am ſurprized that this Journal has not appeared in the editions of Holland. The article, which relates to the work which I ſpeak of, is very curious. There is very good advice ſuggeſted there to the Cardinal de Aguirra, upon his having declared, that he would defend ſeveral of the *Decretals* as genuine, which have been *conſider'd by all learned men as ſpurious*.

[*D*] *He was believed to be the author of a very learned work* (1), *againſt the deciſions of the Clergy of France in the year* 1682.] The title is as follows: *Tractatus de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, continens amplam diſcuſſionem declarationis factæ ab illuſtriſſimis Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis Pariſiis mandato regio congregatis, anno* 1682. *Auctore M. C. S. Theologiæ Doctore, Leodii apud Matthiam Hovium*, 1684, *Superiorum permiſſu*. That is, "A Treatiſe concerning "the Liberties of the Gallican Church, containing "an ample diſcuſſion of the declaration made by "the moſt illuſtrious Archbiſhops and Biſhops aſſembled at Paris by the King's command in the year "1682. Written by M. C. S. Doctor of Divinity. "Printed at Liege by Matthew Hovius, 1684. By "the permiſſion of the Superiors." I have read a Preface of Abbot Faydit (2), in which among other things he gives us expectation of *a Confutation of the principal maxims of a Treatiſe* de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ adverſus quatuor propoſitiones Cleri; i. e. "concerning the Liberties of the Galli-"can Church againſt four propoſitions of the Cler-"gy;" printed at Liege and aſcribed to the Cardinal de Aguirra and to Monſignor Cazzoni. And thus he ſpeaks of it in pag. 184. *The author of a Treatiſe* de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, *or rather the authors of it, for I underſtand that there were ſeveral engaged in compoſing that piece, and that all the Doctors of Rome exhauſted their whole ſtock of learning upon it, tho' it is a very indifferent work; theſe authors, I ſay, maintain, &c.* But let us ſee a little what is ſaid by the author of *a Letter from an Abbé to a Prelate of the Court of Rome concerning the Decree of the Inquiſition of the 7th of December* 1690, *againſt thirty one propoſitions*. "We ourſelves "(3) in our aſſemblies, have not even the liberty of propoſing what we judge uſeful for our cauſe. You know "whoſe fault it is. This is the occaſion, that a book, "which ought to have been vigorouſly confuted by "our Divines, and even to have the Epiſcopal Cen-"ſure fix'd upon it, is diſperſed thro' France with "impunity, while thoſe, who are of the ſame opi-"nions propagate it every where, and in their com-"mendations of it boaſt, that no perſon has yet "dared to reply to it. He nam'd immediately "the Treatiſe *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, in "4to, the author of which is not ſo much unknown, "as ſome imagine. It is a ſhameful thing, continues "he, that the Clergy of France ſuffers without "making any anſwer, that this author, who is a "French Monk, ſhould teach a doctrine, which we "all account as heretical; for he maintains in plain "terms, that we have no divine right for our Epiſ-"copal Juriſdiction." *The Anatomy of the Sentence againſt Father Queſnel* acquaints us (4), that the Book *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ* was compoſed at Rome, at the deſire of the Miniſters of the Holy See, and printed by their order, and under the care of the Inter-Nuncio at Bruſſels, even in Bruſſels itſelf, tho' it was pretended to be done at Liege. But if the Cardinal de Aguirra is not the author of that piece, it is true however that he wrote againſt the Deciſions of the Aſſembly of 1682. The Letter, which I have quoted, aſſures us of this in a manner, which deſerves to be particularly mentioned, that the reader may know what judgment was paſs'd in France concerning the Cardinal's Book. "Our four articles had ſcarce appeared, continues he "(5), when a crowd of writers were alarmed and "begun to oppoſe them; and we could hardly find "one in France, to undertake the defence of them. "I do not mean, that the writings, which were pub-"liſhed againſt them, were any ways formidable. "No, they were moſt of them very weak and "wretchedly performed; yet they did a great "deal of harm in thoſe countries, that were al-"ready diſpoſed to favour the doctrine, which they "defend...

(1) See what is ſaid in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for July 1685, Article 1.

(2) See an extract of a Sermon preached on St. Polycarp's day at St. John's *en greve* at Paris printed at Liege in 1689.

(3) It is a Biſhop who is repreſented as ſpeaking, p. 59.

(4) Pag. 76, 77.

(5) *Lettre d'un Abbé à un Prelat*, p. 55, 56.

conſidering his attachment to the doctrines of the Ultramontanians, and the zeal which he ſhewed to prevent the accommodation between the court of Rome and France, which was notwithſtanding concluded in October 1693. The expence which he was at in printing the two volumes of Don Nicholas Antonio, his old friend, is very commendable. I ſhall ſpeak of it in the Article of ANTONIO.

" defend. . . In ſhort, the noble rewards, with which " the Court of Rome knows how to gratify the zeal " of thoſe, who declare for her, give a value and " luſtre even to thoſe works, which are the leaſt " conſiderable and moſt obſcure. Is it not by this " means that the Cardinal de Aguirra was raiſed to " the ſtation he now enjoys from the condition " of a Spaniſh Monk? Was not the Abbé de St. " Gal named to a Biſhoprick, and even deſign- " ed for a Cardinal's Hat (6), as a reward for " the piece, which he wrote againſt the four Arti- " cles, as well as the Cardinal de Aguirra?" Three years before the Letter, from which I have made this Extract, was printed, there was a public complaint (7), that the Penſioners of the Clergy left the *Tractatus de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ* without any anſwer to it. The *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* tells us (8), that the author of that Treatiſe is a French Prieſt, named Anthony Charlus, a refugee at Rome, on account of the Regale. Perhaps his right name was Charlas; for it is probable he was of the ſame family with a Monk of that name, who was a native of l'Iſle in Jourdain (9), and died in his baniſhment, after having ſuffered many diſgraces on account of the affairs of the Biſhop of Pamiers (10).

(6) He was made a Cardinal in 1696. He was called *Sfondrate*. He died ſome time after.

(7) In the *Sentimens d'Eraſme* publiſhed at Cologne in 1688, p. 155.

(8) For the month of May 1696. p. 426.

(9) In the Dioceſe of Toulouſe.

(10) Francis de Caulet.

☞AGUIRRA (JOSEPH SAENZ DE) Mr. Bayle not having completed this Article, we ſhall endeavour to ſupply his defects. He was born the 24th of March 1630, and took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Univerſity of Salamanca in 1668, and read Lectures in that faculty for many years. He died at Rome the 19th of Auguſt 1699 (*a*). His life was very exemplary; and the dignity which he was raiſed to was ſo far from making any change in his natural ſimplicity, that he ſhewed an inſtance of modeſty, which is very uncommon in this age, by retracting in an expreſs piece the doctrine of probability, which he had before maintained, as ſoon as ever he found that it was inconſiſtent with the purity of the Chriſtian morality. His firſt work was intitled, *Ludi Salmanticenſes ſive Theologia Florulenta* [*A*], printed in the year 1668. In 1671 he publiſhed three volumes in folio upon Philoſophy, and in 1675 a Commentary upon Ariſtotle's ten books of *Ethics*. In 1677 he publiſhed another book intitled, *A Treatiſe upon the Virtues and Vices, or Diſputations upon Ariſtotle's Moral Philoſophy*. In this work he proceeds upon the principles of natural light, but he maintained in it the doctrine of probability, which he afterwards abandoned. He then applied himſelf to the ſtudy of St. Anſelm's works; upon whoſe principles in Divinity he compoſed ſeveral volumes [*B*]. In 1683 he publiſhed a large book againſt the Declaration of the Aſſembly of the French Clergy made in 1682, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power, under the title of, *A Defence of the See of St. Peter* [*C*]. Mr. Du Pin has objected to his *Collection of the Councils of Spain* [*D*]. Aguirra propoſed to have publiſhed ſeveral other works [*E*].

(*a*) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 18. p. 248. edit. Amſterd. 1711.

☞AHAB

[*A*] *Intitled* Ludi Salmanticenses, *ſive* Theologia Florulenta.] Theſe are Diſſertations, which he wrote, according to the cuſtom of the Univerſity of Salamanca, before he received his degree of Doctor of Divinity there. He treats in his Book of good and bad Angels, and has enliven'd his ſubject with a variety of curious Learning. However he has paſt a cenſure upon it in his laſt edition of *the Divinity of St. Anſelm*; which is to this purpoſe; that he had given extravagant commendations to ſome perſons; that he had expreſſed ſome things in a manner, which was not grave and ſerious enough; that he had given too much weight and authority to the opinion of a ſingle Doctor, who was however a man of great piety and learning; and that he had quoted ſeveral ſuppoſititious Hiſtorians under the names of Dexter, Maximus, Luitprand, and Julian de Perez (1).

(1) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *Several Volumes.*] In the year 1679 and the two following he printed at Salamanca his Divinity upon the principles of St. Anſelm, which he afterwards enlarged and publiſhed at Rome in three Volumes in folio in 1690. In 1693 and 1694 he fixed chiefly upon St. Anſelm's *Monologium*, as the moſt conſiderable work, on account of the importance of the ſubject, which contains the whole ſyſtem of doctrines concerning the Nature and Attributes of God. This work treats of two kinds of queſtions. The firſt are thoſe, which are debated in the ſchools by Divines, and in which they maintain different opinions. The others are thoſe points, which are of more importance, and are oppoſed to Atheiſts, Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and Schiſmatics. The Cardinal touches very ſuperficially upon the former in his Commentary; but he examines the latter with the utmoſt accuracy, and confirms what he advances with the authority of Scripture, Councils and Fathers. Beſides the queſtions treated of by St. Anſelm, he propoſes others, which were not introduced into the ſchools till the following ages, but in his examination of them he always quotes ſome paſſage of that Father in order to ſupport the opinion, which he embraces. The firſt volume contains the twenty ſeven firſt chapters of the *Monologium*; and the other volumes contain the commentaries upon the remaining chapters (2).

(2) Du Pin, ibid. p. 249.

[*C*] *A Defence of the See of St. Peter.*] This work was written and printed the ſame year. It was aſſerted by ſome, that this was not compoſed by Aguirra, but by another Doctor of Salamanca; who wrote it at the ſame time, that the Declaration of the French Clergy appeared. But he defended himſelf very vigorouſly againſt that ſuſpicion; and it was this work, which procured him the Cardinal's Hat from Pope Innocent XI, in 1686.

[*D*] *Mr. Du Pin has objected to his* Collection of the Councils of Spain.] Having told us, that Aguirra has inſerted into his *Collection* not only the Acts of the Councils, but likewiſe ſeveral ancient pieces, and added to them a great many Diſſertations of his own; he then complains, that ſeveral of theſe Diſſertations are written in defence of the ſpurious Decretals of the firſt Popes. It is an aſtoniſhing thing, continues Mr. Du Pin, that he ſhould not rectify that error, but ſhould undertake the defence of a cauſe, which will not poſſibly admit of any. But he ſeems to have been a man of much greater application and reading, than clearneſs of judgment and juſt knowledge of criticiſm. Mr. Bayle (3) has obſerved, that he declared in his *Prodromus* his reſolution to maintain the authority of thoſe *Decretals*.

(3) Note [*B*].

[*E*] *Propoſed to have publiſh'd ſeveral other works.*] Particularly a fourth volume of *the Divinity of St. Anſelm*; a ſecond volume of the *Ludi Salmanticenſes*,

☞AHAB the ſon of Omri King of Iſrael, ſucceeded his father A. M. 3086 (a). He ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in impiety and wickedneſs (b). He married Jezebel daughter of Ethbaal King of the Zidonians [A], who induced him to commit idolatry, and worſhip Baal (c). God being provoked by his crimes, ſent Elijah to him, to declare, that the *Land ſhould not be watered with rain or dew for three years*; the Prophet having denounced this judgment, departed, for fear that Ahab or Jezebel ſhould put him to death. This drought had continued three years, when Ahab ſent Obadiah, the Governor of his houſe, to ſeek for ſome water or paſturage, leſt all the cattle ſhould periſh (d). He was met by Elijah, who ordered him to go and tell Ahab that he was there. When Ahab came he reproached the Prophet in very ſtrong terms, who replied with equal ſeverity, and ordered him to ſend for all the people to Mount Carmel, together with *the Prophets of Baal and the Prophets of the Groves* [B]. When they were aſſembled, Elijah cauſed fire to deſcend from heaven, and conſume the ſacrifice. After this he obtained rain from God, and the earth was reſtored to its former fertility. This happened A. M. 3096, before Chriſt 904, and before the Vulgar Æra 908. Six years after this Ben-hadad King of Syria, with thirty two Kings [C], came and beſieged Samaria (e). He ſent Embaſſadors into the city to tell him, that whatever he had which was valuable, and his wives and his children, were his own right [D], which claim Ahab agreed to; but Ben-hadad having ſent again to acquaint him, that he ſhould deliver up the next day whatever he thought proper, whether it belonged to his ſubjects or himſelf, Ahab called the Elders together, who adviſed him not to pay any regard to that demand. The Embaſſadors returned, and informed Ben-hadad of this reſolution, who was highly enraged at it [E]. In this exigence came a Prophet to Ahab to aſſure him, that God would deliver the enemies into his hands, by

(a) *See* Calmet's *Dict. de la Bible*, tom. 1. p. 43. edit. 2d de Geneve 1730.

(b) 1 Kings xvi. 30.

(c) Ibid. 31.

(d) C. xviii. 5.

(e) C. xx. 1.

ſes, ſive Theologia Florulenta; a volume of Letters written to Princes and Men of Learning; two volumes of Miſcellaneous Works; an Apology deſigned to ſhew, that John Gerſon Abbot of the Benedictin Order is the true author of the four books of *the Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, aſcribed to Thomas a Kempis*, and of *St. Anſelm's Prayers with Notes*.

T.

[A] *He married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of the Zidonians.*] This aggravated all the other crimes of Ahab; tho' other Kings before him had married ſtrange women, yet they had obliged them, it is ſaid, to paſs thro' ſome formalities, and to embrace the Jewiſh Religion. But Ahab never laid this obligation upon Jezebel. In ſhort, the event ſhewed, that all the crimes which he had been guilty of were inconſiderable in compariſon of this. She was a woman of a turbulent and bold diſpoſition, and infinitely attached to her idolatrous worſhip (1). Her cruelty was exceſſive and unbounded. Impiety, and every other vice, not only found a protection in her, but even rewards and honours. In ſhort her name became a Proverb, to denote an haughty, impious and cruel woman (2). Grotius compares her to Tullia the wife of Tarquin, Fulvia the wife of Mark Anthony, and Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius. Ethbaal, her father, was King of the Sidonians, or rather the Tyrians; for the Kings of Tyre were probably at that time Lords of all the country of the Sidonians, and even of the city of Sidon. Solomon ſpeaks of the Sidonians as ſubject to the King of Tyre (3). Joſephus (4) ſays, that he was King of the Tyrians and Sidonians; and calls him *Ithobal*; Ἰθοβάλῳ τῷ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων Βασιλέως. This King was not unknown to the Pagan Writers. Menander the Hiſtorian, quoted by Joſephus (5), calls him *Ithobalus* (6); and informs us (7), that under this Prince "there was a prodigi-" ous drought in the country, from the month Hy-" perberetæus to the ſame month the year following; " but upon his humble prayer to God an exceeding " ſtorm of thunder followed." This is probably the ſame with the drought of three years continuance mentioned in Scripture, which happen'd under Ahab, who married Ethbaal's daughter (8).

(1) Joſeph. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 8. c. 13. § 1. pag. 457. edit. Havercamp. 1726.

(2) Rev. ii. 20.

(3) 1 Kings v. 6.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

(5) *Contra Apion.* l. 1. c. 21.

(6) Ἐθθωβάλος.

(7) *Ant.* l. 8. c. 13. §. 2.

(8) Calmet, *Comment. Litt. in locum.*

[B] *The Prophets of Baal and the Prophets of the Groves.*] There were four hundred and fifty of the former, and four hundred of the latter. Theſe Prophets *eat at Jezebel's table*; but Mr. le Clerc is of opinion, that they were maintained by her only in ſuch a time of famine, when the people, whom they uſed before to impoſe upon by their pretences, were incapable thro' their neceſſities of ſupporting them by their contributions. This is a ſtrong proof of Jezebel's zealous attachment to idolatry, that ſhe ſhould maintain ſuch a prodigious number of impoſtors. Selden (9) thought that נביאי האשרה (*Chabie haaſherah*) ſignified perhaps *the Prophets of Aſtarte*; which perhaps is true, tho' it does not follow, that אשרה was the name of the Goddeſs. It was only the Grove, in which ſhe was perhaps worſhipped by thoſe falſe Prophets. The *Prophets of the Grove* did not follow thoſe of Baal to mount Carmel; but the reaſon of it is not mentioned in Scripture.

(9) *De Diis Syris*, Syntagm. II. cap. 2.

[C] *Ben-hadad, King of Syria, with thirty two Kings.*] Joſephus calls him (10) *the Son of Adad* (11), and *Adad*; and the Septuagint *the Son of Ader* (12). Juſtin from Trogus Pompeius calls him (13) *Adores*. He was the ſon of another King of Syria of the ſame name, who made an irruption into the land of Iſrael in the reign of Baaſha King of Iſrael, at the requeſt of Aſa King of Judah (14). The thirty two Kings, who attended Ben-hadad, were little Princes of Syria and Arabia, who either were tributary to the King of Damaſcus, or auxiliaries. In that country moſt of the cities had particular Kings of their own. The Septuagint and Joſephus place the account of this war after the *Hiſtory of Naboth*.

(10) *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 14. § 1.

(11) Ἀδὰδ's *vide.*

(12) *vide* Ἀδὴρ.

(13) L. 36. c. 2.

(14) 1 Kings xv. 18, 19.

[D] *Were his own right.*] He had no other right to them, than what reſulted from his ſuperior force. Ahab in his Anſwer acknowledged himſelf to be the Vaſſal of Ben-hadad; he was willing to pay the tribute, which ſhould be exacted of him; and he readily put himſelf under his protection. In this manner Paulus Æmilius would have perſuaded Perſeus to reſign himſelf and his kingdom into the hands of the Romans; *Ut ſe, ſuaque in fidem & clementiam populi Romani permitteret* (15). But there was a very great difference between the manner, in which Ahab underſtood this, and Ben-hadad's pretenſions. The latter wanted to diſpoſe abſolutely of all the goods, perſons and ſubjects that belonged to the King of Iſrael, as if they were his own, as he declared expreſly in his ſecond Embaſſy to Ahab; whereas Ahab ſubmitted only in hopes of obtaining moderate and eaſy conditions, as being merely obliged to pay tribute, and to procure peace by ſome conſiderable preſent (16).

(15) Liv. l. 44.

(16) Grotius, Le Clerc and Calmet *in locum.*

[E] *Highly enraged at it.*] He expreſſed his reſentments in a very ſtrong hyperbole; *The Gods do ſo unto me and more alſo, if the duſt of Samaria ſhall ſuffice for handfuls for all the people, that follow me* (17). The Vulgate Tranſlation has rendered it to the ſame purpoſe; *Si ſuffecerit pulvis Samariæ pugillis omnis populi, qui ſequitur me.* That is, according to the opinion of ſome interpreters (18), "If "every one of my ſoldiers were to take an hand-"ful of the ground of Samaria, there would not be "any remaining." Or, to repreſent it in a manner ſtill ſtronger (19). "The whole land of the country "would not be ſufficient for my people, if every "one of them were only to take away as much as "would

(17) 1 Kings xxii. 10.

(18) Grot. Jun. Mald. Nat. Mercch.

(19) *See* Munſter. *Quidam in Vatab. Chald. Interpr.*

by means of *the young men of the Princes of the Provinces* [F]. Theſe young men, with the army that followed them, put the Syrians to flight; but Ben-hadad eſcaped on horſeback. The Prophet came again to Ahab to acquaint him, that Ben-hadad would return the year following, who accordingly came to Aphek [G]. The army of the Iſraelites was vaſtly inferior to that of the Syrians, but a Prophet from God aſſured the former of the victory; agreeably to which prediction the latter were abſolutely routed and deſtroyed. Ben-hadad having recourſe to Ahab's clemency, obtained an alliance

" would ſtick to his ſhoes." Or perhaps it may be underſtood in this manner. " I will deſtroy Sa-" maria ſo effectually, that I will not leave an hand-" ful of earth in it." To which ſenſe we may apply that paſſage of Ezekiel (20), where the Prophet threatens Tyre with total deſtruction; *I will alſo ſcrape her duſt from her, and make her like the top of a rock.* But Joſephus has given us a different repreſentation of the ſenſe of theſe words of Ben-hadad; aad tells us, that he threatned, that he could eaſily raiſe terraſſes higher than the walls of Samaria, tho' his ſoldiers ſhould but take every one of them an handful of earth; Ἀπειλῶν ὑψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν οἷς καταφρονεῖ χῶμα τοῦτοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατίαν κατὰ θράκα γῆν λαμβάνουσαν. The Septuagint have given a very extraordinary turn to this paſſage: Εἰ ἐκποιήσει ὀχὸς Σαμαρείας ταῖς ἀλώπεξι, πάσῃ τῷ λαῷ, τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐμοῦ. That is, " The duſt of Samaria ſhall not ſuffice " for the foxes, and all my people, and my foot-ſol-" diers." Which intimates, that the country was not capable of containing his whole army; and if they were to encamp in Samaria, there would not be room even for a fox. The Hebrew word שׁעל, may ſignify a *fox*, or an *hand*, or *handful* (21).

(20) C. xxvi. 4.

(21) *See* Calmet.

[F] *The young men of the Princes of the provinces.*] The Vulgate Tranſlation has render'd it, *Per pediſſequos Principum provinciarum*; that is, " The footmen " of the Princes of the Provinces;" and Mr. le Clerc in his Verſion, *Per famulos Præfectorum provinciarum*; that is, " The ſervants of the Governors of " the provinces." And in the margin of our Engliſh Tranſlation the word *Young-men* is tranſlated *Servants*. The Hebrew Original is equivocal; and may ſignify either the *Sons* or *Servants of the Princes of the provinces*. Commentators are divided upon that point. Joſephus calls them the *Sons of the Governors*, tho' falſely, as Mr le Clerc is of opinion. Others likewiſe ſuppoſe them to have been the Sons of the chief Officers of the King; while many repreſent them as ſervants or footmen to them. However it is certain they were a body of men without any conſiderable ſtrength or experience, and conſequently very little qualified to execute what was expected from them upon that occaſion (22).

(22) Idem.

[G] *Who accordingly came to Aphek.*] He was induced to undertake this expedition by the perſuaſion of his ſervants, who told him, that becauſe the Gods of the Iſraelites were *Gods of the Hills*, they had gained the advantage in the former battle; but if he ſhould engage them in the plain, he would undoubtedly prove the Conqueror. We have an inſtance here of the readineſs of mankind to caſt the blame of their ill ſucceſs upon every thing but their own miſconduct. Fortune is charged immediately with their miſcarriages. Ben-hadad's flatterers would not venture to tell him the true cauſe of his misfortune. His pride, injuſtice, and ambition would not have ſuffered him to hear a diſagreeable truth. And therefore his Courtiers being poſſeſſed with a notion, that the world was divided between different Deities, ſome of whom preſided over one place, and others over another, they perſuaded him, the God of the Jews exerciſed his power chiefly in the hills; but if they could be drawn into the plains, their ſupport from their tutelary Deity would immediately fail. That, which might confirm the Syrians in this abſurd opinion, that the God of Iſrael was *God of the Hills*, was very probably, becauſe his temple, and the moſt ancient and conſiderable of his altars, were placed upon hills. He had given the Law from mount Sinai, and publiſhed it in the Land of Promiſe upon Gerizim and Ebal; the miracle, which had happened not long before upon mount Carmel, was known over the whole country; and in ſhort, the victory over the Syrians at Samaria, which was ſituated upon a mountain, ſeemed to give them ſome plauſible pretence for this opinion. The Heathens acknowledge particular Gods for every people, country, and city. The mountains, woods, ſprings, ſeas and rivers had their Deities; the ſea Neptune, the ſky Jupiter, the ſubterraneous regions Pluto, and the fire Vulcan (23). The Greeks and Romans had the *Orcades* or *Mountain-Nymphs*,

(23) Idem.

Fauno ſque, Satyro ſque, & Monticolas Silvanas (24).

(24) Ovid.

That is,

" And Fauns, and Satyrs, and the various train
" Of mountain loving Silvans."

They thought, that theſe Nymphs and Pan, whom they ſtyled ὀρειβάτης, or *Mountain Walker*, uſed to throw a panic terror into the minds of whole armies: Such was the dread of the Syrians in the former battle, when a prodigious number was put to flight by ſo inconſiderable a body of men. Hence we have accounts of ſeveral nations who worſhiped Mountains; which is not to be underſtood of the groſs and viſible matter of the Mountains, but of the Deity who was thought to inhabit them. Maximus Tyrius in his thirty eighth *Diſſertation* tells us, that Atlas was a temple and ſtatue to the people who lived round about it. *Now* Atlas, ſays, *is a Mountain, &c.* Τοῖς Ἀνθρώποις τούτοις ἱερὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὁ Ἄτλας ὄρος, &c. This intimates, that it was a ſtatue and temple of the Deity which was ſuppoſed to dwell there. He obſerves a little after, that it was a Temple and a God, and an Oath, and a Statue to the Libyans: Λιβύων τοῦτο καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ Θεὸς καὶ ὅρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα. He tells us likewiſe, that the mountain Olympus in the country of the Lycians caſt out fire, not like Ætna, but in a gentle manner; and this fire was to thoſe people a Temple and a Statue. It appears from hence, that they imagine that ſome God reſided in the Mountain, as the Sicilians and Greeks thought that Vulcan dwelt in Ætna. They likewiſe dedicated a Cave to him, which he was ſuppoſed particularly to honour with his preſence, and which Gratius (25) calls *Vulcano condicta domus*, and addreſſes himſelf to that Deity in this manner:

(25) *Cynegetic* ver. 433.

Te primum, Vulcane, loci, pacemque precamur,
Incola ſancte, tuam; des ipſis ultima rebus
Auxilia, &c.

That is,

" Thee, Vulcan, firſt, thou dread inhabitant
" Of that moſt ſolemn place, and thy aſſiſtance
" I now invoke to favour my attempts.

Maximus Tyrius adds the Cappadocians to the other nations, who worſhiped Mountains; and Strabo (26) obſerves the ſame of that people. There was alſo a Mountain in Syria called *the Face of God*, Θεοῦ πρόσωπον. But if we come nearer, as Mr. Le Clerc obſerves, to the country and people, who are mentioned in this Hiſtory, we ſhall find that Mount Carmel was eſteemed a God. Tacitus tells us (27), that Carmel, which is the name of the Mountain and Deity, lies between Judea and Syria: nor did the Jews, according to the tradition of their anceſtors, erect any Statue or Temple to the God, but only an Altar, and appointed a proper worſhip to be paid to him. Veſpaſian ſacrificed there, as we find in Suetonius (28); ſo it is evident the Syrians thought that the Gods, who were worſhiped at Samaria, defended their Mountain. *But let us fight againſt them in the plain, and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger than they.* They were for combating not only with their enemies, but even with the Gods themſelves, as Mr. Le Clerc remarks; for the Gods of every nation and city were ſuppoſed to fight for them; ſo that there was no leſs contention between the Deities than between mortals. This is a point well

(26) L. 7. pag. 298. edit. Paris.

(27) L. 2. cap. 78. *apud* Le Clerc *in locum.*

(28) C. 5. *apud eund.*

alliance with him, which provoked God very highly againſt Ahab (f) [H]. This happened A. M. 3104. The year following Ahab being deſirous of purchaſing a vineyard that belonged to Naboth a Jezreelite, for a garden of herbs, and his offer being rejected [I], was extremely uneaſy at the diſappointment. Jezebel diſcovering the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, ſent letters ſealed with the King's ſeal to the Elders of Jezreel, accuſing

(f) Ibid. 35 & ſeq.

well known ever ſince the time of Homer. Virgil has a paſſage to the ſame purpoſe (29), in his Deſcription of the Sea-fight at Actium.

(29) Æneid. viii. ver. 698, & ſeq. apud Le Clerc.

Omnigenumque Deûm monſtra & latratur Anubis
Contrà Neptunum & Venerem, contraque Minervam
Tela tenent; ſævit medio in certamine Mavors,
Cælatus ferro, triſteſque ex æthere Diræ,
Et ſciſſâ gaudens vadit Diſcordia pallâ,
Quam cum ſanguineo ſequitur Bellona flagello.
Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Deſuper; omnis eo terrore Ægyptus & Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi.

That is,

" Her country Gods the monſtĕrs of the ſky
" Great Neptune, Pallas, and Love's Queen deſie,
" The dog Anubis barks, but barks in vain,
" Nor longer dares oppoſe the Ætherial train.
" Mars in the middle of the ſhining ſhield
" Is graved, and ſtrides along the liquid field.
" The *Diræ* ſowſe from heav'n, with ſwift deſcent,
" And Diſcord, dy'd in blood, with garments rent,
" Divides the preaſe; her ſteps Bellona treads,
" And ſhakes her iron rod above their heads.
" This ſees Apollo, from his Actian height,
" Pours down his arrows: at whoſe winged flight
" The trembling Indians and Egyptians yield:
" And ſoft Sabæans quit the watry field. *Dryden.*

[H] *Provoked God very highly againſt Ahab.*] There is ſomething very remarkable in the manner in which God diſcovered to him his anger on that account. The Scripture tells us, that *one of the ſons of the Prophets commanded his neighbour in the word of the Lord to ſmite him*; which he refuſing to do, the former aſſured him, that a lion ſhould kill him as ſoon as he went away; and this came to paſs. But the Prophet met with another man, who ſmote him in ſuch a manner, that he was wounded. Upon this he diſguiſed himſelf, with aſhes upon his face, and cried out to the King, as he paſſed by, that a man having committed a priſoner to his cuſtody in the midſt of the battel; on condition that if he let him eſcape, he ſhould forfeit his life or pay a talent of ſilver, while he was employed, the other eſcaped. The King hearing this told him, that his own judgment ſhould ſtand good againſt him. The Prophet immediately diſcovered himſelf to the King, and told him, that ſince he had ſuffered a man, whom God had deſigned for deſtruction, to eſcape, his life and his people ſhould atone for it. It is objected to this Hiſtory, that it ſeems a little cruel, that a man ſhould be puniſhed with a violent death for refuſing to ſtrike the Prophet. In anſwer to this it may be ſaid, that the word, which our Engliſh Tranſlators have render'd *ſlay*, [*a lion ſhall ſlay thee*,] is the ſame in the Original with that, which they have tranſlated juſt before *ſmite*, [*ſmite me, I pray thee*]; and it ſignifies to *wound* as well as to *kill*. The Vulgate and Mr. le Clerc render it *percutiet*, [*percutiet te leo*]. But the latter obſerves, that tho' it ſhould ſignify here to *kill*, yet this puniſhment will not appear to be diſproportionate to the offence, if we conſider that it was a Prophet or one of the ſons of the Prophets who commanded him in the name of the Lord to ſmite him. For tho' it ſeems contrary to humanity and to the laws to wound another perſon, yet he might have underſtood from his being commanded to do this by a Prophet, that God would diſpenſe with thoſe laws upon ſome particular account, and therefore that he might juſtly obey it. For if a Prophet refuſed to obſerve the demands of another Prophet, who elſe could be expected to do it? And if this diſobedience ſhould generally have prevailed among the people, the Jewiſh Religion would have been entirely deſtroyed. Joſephus (30) and other writers (31) tell us, that the Prophet who commanded the other to ſmite him, was Micaiah, who is mentioned afterwards. The wounding of the Prophet was a ſign of what was to happen to Ahab. This is one of thoſe prophetic actions, which expreſs a particular deſign, without the help of words (32). This Prophet concealed himſelf at firſt, that Ahab might anſwer with more freedom; for his deſign was to draw Ahab's condemnation from his own mouth. For that purpoſe he invented a kind of parable, as Nathan did in the caſe of David; and to give the greater probability to it, he procured himſelf to be wounded, and transferred the whole affair to himſelf. But it will be ſaid perhaps, Was Ahab's ſelf-condemnation of ſuch importance, that the Prophet ſhould invent ſuch a method, and even have himſelf wounded, to prevent the King from ſuſpecting him? In anſwer to this it may be urged, that with regard to Ahab indeed it was not neceſſary; but it was of great ſervice with reſpect to the people of Iſrael, that they ſhould know, that God had juſt reaſon for puniſhing Ahab, and that all alliances with the idolatrous Nations, who were perpetual enemies to the Jews, were abſolutely unlawful. Mr. le Clerc obſerves, that from this Hiſtory it appears, that all fictions are not to be condemn'd, but thoſe only, which are uſeleſs or injurious, either at the time when they are publiſhed, or afterwards. This ſtory was invented by the Prophet with all the marks of probability; for he ſhewed his wounds, as if they had been given him by the perſon, who had committed the priſoner to his cuſtody. *Ex hac etiam hiſtoria liquere poteſt non omnes fictiones eſſe damnandas, ſed eas tantum, quæ ſunt aut inutiles, aut noxiæ, vel quo tempore proferuntur, vel poſtea. Eſt enim hæc hiſtoria ficta à Prophetâ, & ita ficta, ut nihil ſimilius vero fingi poſſet; cum vulneratum ſeſe oſtenderet, quaſi ab eo, qui captivum fidei ejus commiſerat.* With regard to God's anger againſt Ahab for ſparing Ben-hadad, whom he declares *he had appointed for utter deſtruction*; it is not certain whether the Prophet, who promiſed the victory to him, had commanded him to cut off the Syrians entirely; but ſince they were not of the number of thoſe people, whom God had devoted to abſolute ruin and extermination, it ſeems very reaſonable, that Ahab ſhould have received ſome particular command in that caſe, which perhaps he did. However, as Mr. Le Clerc obſerves, if he had no particular command, he might eaſily have collected from the opinion of that age, and the cuſtom of the Jewiſh Kings, what he ought to have done with regard to an haughty, ambitious and cruel King, and one who was an idolater and contemner of the true God. Ahab's conduct therefore, tho' it ſeemed to carry the appearance of an act of clemency, yet was not really ſo, ſince no mercy is to be ſhewn towards the common plunderers of mankind; who if they are releaſed, become more injurious, as was really the caſe of Ben-hadad. God had given Ahab the victory, and delivered a wicked King into his hands, that he might puniſh him, and not that he might treat him in ſo courteous a manner. Beſides it does not appear, that Ahab was in other reſpects a man of the leaſt humanity; for he ſuffered a great number of Prophets to be put to death by his wife Jezebel. And therefore it is probable, that he had ſome particular reaſon for ſparing Ben-hadad, which was leſs agreeable to the Law of Moſes, and might ariſe from ſome propenſion in him towards idolatry. The judicious Commentator abovementioned obſerves, that if we had a full account of this affair, we might collect a great many things for the clearing of theſe points, which now appear obſcure to us, from the circumſtances, which are omitted in ſuch a ſhort and compendious account. *Si plenam haberemus harum rerum hiſtoriam, ex circumſtantiis, in compendiariâ narratione omiſſis, multa colligere poſſemus, quæ nunc nos fugiunt.* This remark may juſtly be applied to many other paſſages of Scripture, where the difficulty of accounting for them ariſes undoubtedly from our not being acquainted with all the circumſtances of the affair.

(30) Ant. l. 8.
(31) *See* Sanct. & Cornel. and Calmet.
(32) Calmet and Grotius.

[I] *His offer being rejected.*] Naboth had a great averſion to the ſelling of his vineyard. *The Lord forbid it me, that I ſhould give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee.* There was an expreſs Law of Moſes, that *the land ſhould not be ſold for ever* (33).

(33) Levit. xxv. 23.

accuſing Naboth of blaſpheming againſt God and the King, and commanding them to put him to death. Theſe orders being executed, Ahab took poſſeſſion of his vineyard. But as he returned from Jezreel to Samaria, Elijah met him and aſſured him from God, that he would inflict him and his family with all imaginable evils, and that he and his wife Jezebel ſhould both die a violent death, attended with all the circumſtances of miſery and infamy. Ahab, ſhocked at this declaration, began to ſhew ſome ſigns of repentance [*K*]; upon which God told the Prophet, that he would not inflict the evils which he had threatened in his time, but in his ſon's (*g*). Two years after Jehoſhaphat King of Judah was ſollicited by Ahab to join with him againſt Ben-hadad King of Syria, to which he conſented, but deſired that God might be conſulted upon that affair. The four hundred Prophets who were aſſembled by Ahab [*L*], promiſed ſucceſs; but Jehoſhaphat importuning him to conſult a Prophet of the Lord, he ſubmitted with great reluctance to ſend for Micaiah the ſon of Imlah [*M*], who at firſt told him that he ſhould proſper; but being conjured by him to declare the truth, he aſſured him, that *he ſaw all Iſrael ſcattered upon the hills, as ſheep that have not a ſhepherd*; and that God had permitted a lying ſpirit to enter into Baal's Prophets [*N*]. Ahab

(g) C. 21.

This Law was ſtill ſubſiſting in Iſrael, notwithſtanding the general depravation of that time. There were always ſome perſons of good characters, ſuch as Naboth, who obſerved exactly the Laws of their Nation. He was not in neceſſity, which was the only caſe, in which the Law permitted the ſale of an inheritance. *If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath ſold away ſome of his poſſeſſions, &c.* (34). Naboth foreſaw, that if his vineyard was once ſold to the King, and turned into a garden, he ſhould never recover it again, not even at the Jubilee, which was not very exactly obſerved in ſo diſorderly a reign as that of Ahab. St. Ambroſe (35) highly extolls Naboth's zealous regard to the laws of his country and the honour of his fathers. He imagined, that he ſhould caſt a blemiſh upon his own memory and violate the reſpect due to his anceſtors, if he ſhould alienate the inheritance, which he received from them. He thought, that it was by no means proper for a man to heſitate, whether he ſhould regard his character or his intereſt; and therefore he choſe to expoſe his life with honour, than purſue his advantage with ſhame: *Maluit periculum cum honeſtate, quam utilitatem cum opprobrio* (36).

(34) Ver. 25.

(35) L. 3. *Officior.*

(36) *See* Calmet *in locum.*

[*K*] *Began to ſhew ſome ſigns of repentance.*] There is a queſtion among Commentators, whether Ahab's repentance was ſincere. Father Calmet has repreſented the arguments, which are urged on both ſides, in a very clear manner. It is certain from the 29th verſe, that God being touched with his humiliation of himſelf, revoked, at leaſt in part, the ſentence pronounced againſt him, and reſolved not to inflict the puniſhment of his crime upon him, but upon his ſon and his deſcendents. However this does not prevent ſeveral eminent Writers (37) from conſidering his repentance as inſincere. They ſuppoſe, that the fear of puniſhment made Ahab aſſume the outward appearances of a penitent; and tho' God can immediately ſee through all ſuch diſguiſes, yet to ſhew his regard for true repentance, he was even willing in ſome meaſure to reward the appearance of it. Beſides Ahab did not ſhew the reality of his repentance by the proper fruits; he did not deſtroy the idols, renounce his ſuperſtitions, reſtrain Jezebel, reſtore Naboth's vineyard, and by his future good conduct remove the ſhocking imputation of *having ſold himſelf to work evil.* But Grotius, Le Clerc, and Calmet, allow that his repentance was ſincere for the time, but very imperfect and tranſient; however it procured him an exemption from part of the puniſhment denounced againſt him. And this appears to have been the ſentiment of Tertullian (38), and St. Chryſoſtom (39).

(37) St. Gregor. Homil. x. in Ezechiel. Lyran. Cajetan. Hugo Cardinal. Theodoret. and Procop.

(29) Lib. 4. *adverſus Marcionem.* c. 10.

(39) *Epiſt. ad* Theodor. Lapſ.

[*L*] *The four hundred Prophets who were aſſembled by Ahab.*] Mr. le Clerc tells us, that theſe profeſſed themſelves to be Prophets of the true God; *Qui ſe veri Dei Prophetas profitebantur.* From whence, ſays he, it appears, that Elijah was miſtaken, when he ſaid, that he was the only Prophet left alive; for it is not probable, that ſuch a great number ſhouldhave riſen ſince that time, but they might conceal themſelves for fear of Jezebel. But Grotius is of opinion, that they were idolaters, who propheſied in the name of the God of the Amorites: *Idolatras, qui nomine Dei Amorræorum vaticinabantur.* And this he confirms from Jehoſhaphat's calling for a *Prophet of the Lord* in oppoſition to them. Father Calmet obſerves, that they were probably the *Prophets of the Groves*, who did not go with thoſe of Baal and Mount Carmel (40).

(40) 1 Kings xviii. 19 and 22.

[*M*] *He ſubmitted with great reluctance to ſend for Micaiah the ſon of Imlah.*] He had a particular reſentment againſt Micaiah, becauſe he never propheſied good things concerning him. This was extremely abſurd in him, for the Prophet only foretels what God has reſolved, whether it be good or evil. But Tyrants are generally of ſuch a temper, that they are averſe to the hearing of the truth, unleſs it agrees with their intereſts or pleaſures. *Sed eo ingenio ſunt Tyranni, qui verum audire non poſſunt, niſi cum eorum utilitatibus congruat* (41). Thus Agamemnon upbraids Calchas in Homer (42).

(41) Le Clerc, *Comment. in* 1 *Regum*, cap. 22. ver. 8.

Μάντι κακῶν, ὐ πώποτ' ἐμοὶ τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας.

That is,

" Prophet of evil things, thy envious tongue,
" Ne'er gave to me a kind propitious anſwer.

(42) Iliad. l. 1. ver. 106.

It was the cuſtom among thoſe people, who undertook no public enterprize without conſulting the Soothſayers, for the Kings to have a ſet of falſe Prophets ready, who uſed by their orders to declare ſucceſs upon their undertakings, in order to poſſeſs their army with greater courage and reſolution. Of this kind were the Aruſpices and Augurs of the Greeks and Romans; whoſe anſwers either ſtruck terror upon the common people, or elſe filled them with hopes. Qu. Curtius has a fine paſſage to this purpoſe (43): *Nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam ſuperſtitio; alioquin impotens, ſæva, mutabilis; ubi vanâ religione capta eſt, melius Vatibus, quam Ducibus, ſuis paret.* That is, " There is nothing " that governs the multitude ſo effectually as ſuper- " ſtition; tho' in other reſpects the people are of " a very unmanagable, cruel, and variable diſpoſition, " yet when they are poſſeſſed by a falſe Religion, " they much more readily obey their Prophets and " Soothſayers, than their Generals." This Hiſtorian gives an inſtance of this immediately after.

(43) L. 4. c. 10. *apud* Le Clerc *ubi ſupra.*

[*N*] *That God had permitted a lying ſpirit to enter into Baal's Prophets.*] Mr. Le Clerc tells us, that to prevent the ill conſequences that might be drawn from this prophecy, we muſt firſt premiſe this conſideration, that this account of Micaiah is not to be taken in the ſtrict and literal ſenſe, but only that it was a ſymbolical viſion, in which he was ſhewn how it came to paſs that ſo many Prophets propheſied falſely, becauſe they were actuated, not by a ſpirit of truth, but of ſervile flattery. And therefore the circumſtances of this viſion are no more to be urged than thoſe of a parable, which the ſpeaker's deſign is only to be conſidered as ſuch. This opinion may be ſupported by two reaſons: the firſt is, becauſe God is deſcribed here as governing and regulating the affairs of the Jews, not as he really did, but in ſuch a manner as was obvious to the common people, and agreeable to the cuſtom of Kings. For God being ſeated upon his throne, conſulted the good and bad Angels who ſtood round him, concerning the method by which Ahab might be induced to go to Ramoth-Gilead. Various expedients were propoſed, but rejected by

Ahab enraged at this freedom of his, ordered him to be confined and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, till himſelf ſhould return in peace. The two Kings went to Ramoth Gilead, and Ahab adviſed Jehoſhaphat to appear in his uſual robes, but diſguiſed himſelf, becauſe he knew that the King of Syria had given an expreſs command to his ſoldiers to fight only againſt the King of Iſrael; ſo that Jehoſhaphat being in the royal robes, was attacked by the Syrians till they diſcovered their miſtake. But a man having drawn a bow at a venture wounded Ahab, who died in the evening, and was carried to Samaria, where he was buried. His chariot and armour were waſhed in the pool of Samaria, and the dogs licked up his blood, agreeably to the prediction of the Prophet (*k*). This happened in the year of the world 3107, before Chriſt 893, and before the vulgar Æra 897.

(*k*) C. 22.

God, till a lying ſpirit offered his aſſiſtance, which was embraced, becauſe it was the moſt adapted to bring about that deſign. No perſon who has juſt notions of Providence can imagine that God governs the world in this manner. The other reaſon why it may be concluded that this was only a ſymbolical viſion of the event, may be taken from the thing itſelf. For the veracity and holineſs of God would not permit him to ſend a lying ſpirit into the Prophets, which they could not poſſibly avoid; for then it would follow that he was the author of error, and the men themſelves would not be in the leaſt criminal or blameable. If thoſe Prophets could not diſtinguiſh between the inſpiration of the Devil and that of God, it was by no means their fault. Add to this, that if ſuch things ever happened that the Prophets of the true God, when they ſpoke ſincerely, and thought themſelves to be inſpired by him, were notwithſtanding deceived by an evil ſpirit, this muſt inevitably weaken the credit and authority of prophecy, both in the minds of the Prophets, who could not diſtinguiſh the true inſpiration from the falſe, and with the people, when they ſaw that the true Prophets, as well as the pretended, ſometimes foretold things which proved falſe, and imagined themſelves to be inſpired, when in reality they were not. Whoever, ſays Mr. Le Clerc, conſiders theſe things and others, which might be urged, will undoubtedly conclude, that this viſion is not to be eſteemed as an account of what was really tranſacted in heaven. *Qui hæc aliaque quæ omittimus, apud ſe expendent, facilè, niſi fallor, intelligent hanc viſionem pro re verò apud Deum geſta non eſſe habendam.* Father Calmet inclines to the ſame opinion with Mr. Le Clerc; and obſerves, that God adapts himſelf to our capacities, and very often to our prejudices in his revelations to mankind. The Jews conceived God in heaven, as a King in his kingdom; the good and evil ſpirits were conſidered as the inſtruments to execute his deſigns; the one ſtanding on the right hand, and the other on the left. And ſince the Princes of this world very ſeldom do any thing of conſequence without the advice of the chief officers, ſo God is repreſented as deliberating concerning the caſe of Ahab. This without doubt, ſays that learned Commentator, ought not to be taken in a literal ſenſe. We know that God has no occaſion for any foreign advice or aſſiſtance to execute his purpoſes. *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor?* (44) We know likewiſe that the evil Angels do not appear before God, and ſtand at the left hand of his throne in heaven. The Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament inform us, that they *fell down from heaven, and are kept in chains of darkneſs* (45). However Job (46) repreſents them as appearing in the preſence of God, as Micaiah has done; which ſhews us, that this manner of thinking prevailed not only among the Jews, but even among other nations, which were not ſunk into idolatry. With regard to the Lying-Spirit's entring into the Prophets, Mr. Le Clerc is of opinion, that theſe four hundred Prophets were *Prophets of the Lord*, or at leaſt Diſciples of the true Prophets, but that they were not inſpired then, becauſe they came with a deſign to flatter Ahab. This diſpoſition of theirs to declare a falſity to that King, rendering them unworthy of any Divine Afflatus, God permitted an evil ſpirit to impoſe upon them, though they might eaſily have diſtinguiſhed his ſuggeſtions from thoſe of God: ſo that they were guilty of two crimes; firſt by inclining to ſuch a baſe inſtance of flattery, and then by raſhly believing the ſuggeſtion of an evil ſpirit. We may obſerve likewiſe, that the words do not ſignify an abſolute command or approbation, but only a permiſſion, by which is ſignified that God did not hinder the evil ſpirit from deceiving the Prophets; and ſuch a direction and management of the circumſtances as was free from any mixture of guilt, and yet had a tendency to promote the end, which God deſigned. Thus Chriſt ſays to Judas (47), *That thou doeſt, do quickly*, which is far from a proof that he commanded or approved of his crime. So likewiſe God ſays to Iſaiah (48); *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes*; which was only a prediction of what was to come to paſs. The paſſage which our Engliſh Tranſlators have rendered, *The Lord hath put a Lying-Spirit in the mouth of all theſe thy Prophets*, is tranſlated by Mr. Le Clerc thus (49): *Nunc autem Jehova* PASSUS EST *eſſe Spiritum Mendacii in ore iſtorum omnium Prophetarum.* i. e. "God PERMITTED a Lying-Spirit to be in the mouth "of all theſe Prophets;" and he has proved by ſeveral paſſages of Scripture, as particularly Geneſis xx. 6. Exod. xii. 23. and Pſal. xvi. 10 that the Hebrew word נתן *Nathan*, very often ſignifies to *permit* or *ſuffer*. Rabbi Solomon ſays, that this Lying-Spirit was the ſpirit of Naboth, who came to take his revenge of Ahab (50).

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(44) Rom. xi. 34.

(45) Iſ. xl. 12. Luke x. 18. Rev. xii. 9. Epiſt. of Jude ver. 6.

(46) C. i. 6, 9, 12.

(47) John xiii. 27.

(48) Ch. vi. 10.

(49) 1 Kings xxii. 25.

(50) *See* Grotius and Calmet *in locum.*

AJAX the ſon of Oileus, was one of the principal Generals that went to the ſiege of Troy. As he was the ſon of a Prince whoſe dominions were very conſiderable and extenſive in the country of the Locrians, he very eaſily fitted out forty ſhips for that famous expedition (*a*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral encounters; and it is ſaid, that there are three verſes in the 2d book of the *Iliad*, which are not Homer's, becauſe they give the ſuperiority to Ajax the ſon of Telamon over this Ajax (*b*), which is not conſiſtent with what Homer ſays of them in another place (*c*). It is certain that our Ajax may be compared to any other Prince in the Grecian army (*d*), with regard to courage, reſolution and ſwiftneſs [*A*]. As for judgment and conduct, he had no great

(*a*) Hom. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 41. *in Deſcript.*

(*b*) Scholiaſt. *Hom. in Iliad.* lib. 2. ver. 35. *in Deſcript.*

(*c*) Hom. Iliad. lib. 13. ver. 701.

(*d*) Philoſ. *in Heroic.*

[*A*] *Swiftneſs.*] Homer generally gives him the epithet of ταχὺς, *ſwift* (1). The three hands which others give him, ſignify only the activity in battle. *A multis Hiſtoricis Græcis tertiam manum dicitur poſt tergum habuiſſe, quod ideo eſt fictum, quia ſic celeriter utebatur in prælio manibus, ut tertiam habere putaretur* (2). Several Commentators underſtand theſe words of Horace, *& celerem ſequi Ajacem* (3), i. e. "and Ajax ſwift to purſue," of this Ajax. Mr. Hofman admits this explication, and confirms it by theſe words of Homer Οἰλῆος ταχὺς υἱός, i. e. "the ſwift ſon of Oileus." I could not imagine what he meant, by confirming by thoſe Greek words what the compiler of his Dictionary had ſaid concerning the Swiftneſs of Ajax: *Quod autem ſupra, Ajacem pedibus velocem fuiſſe ſcribit hujuſce Dictionarii compilator, Homerum habet authorem.* It appeared ſtrange and incomprehenſible to me, that

(1) See the laſt verſes of the 14th book of the *Iliad.*

(2) Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 1, ver. 1.

(3) Horat. Od. xv. l. 1. ver. 19.

great pretenſions to thoſe talents. The Poets repreſent him ſo fearleſs and intrepid, that they ſay, even when the Gods fell upon him with all their thunder and ſtorms, they could not conquer his reſolution and boldneſs; ſo that it was much eaſier for them to deſtroy, than to humble him [*B*]. The action which expoſed him to this reſentment of the Gods was infamous and brutal to the laſt degree. He had raviſhed Caſſandra the daughter of Priam, even in the Temple of Minerva, where ſhe thought to find a ſanctuary. The Greeks themſelves were ſhocked at ſo profane an outrage, and Ulyſſes was of opinion that he ought to be ſtoned to death (*e*). It appears from ſeveral paſſages in the Antients, that Ajax denied the fact, and offered to clear himſelf of it by oath (*f*). He confeſſed indeed, that he took that Lady from the Temple of Minerva, and that he forced her from the ſtatue of that Goddeſs which ſhe had embraced (*g*), but he profeſſed that he did not raviſh her, and that it was Agamemnon who raiſed that falſe report, in order to keep Caſſandra, whom he had ſeized, in his own hands, and whom Ajax reclaimed, as having firſt taken her priſoner. We ſhall ſee in the Remarks how Minerva revenged herſelf for that injury [*C*]. The body of Ajax was thrown by the waves of the Sea upon the Iſland of Delos, where Thetis buried it [*D*]. Some

(*e*) Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 347.

(*f*) Id. ibid. p. 343.

(*g*) Philoſt. *in Heroicis.*

that Mr. Hofman ſhould ſpeak of the compiler of his Dictionary as an author diſtinct from himſelf; but at laſt I found the ſolution of this riddle. Mr. Hofman had taken word for word from Mr. Lloyd's Dictionary what I have quoted. In Lloyd the thing has no difficulty, becauſe that author has given his Dictionary only as a ſupplement and correction of that of another writer. There is a vaſt number of obſcurities in Books, which proceed from the ſame cauſe as this of Mr. Hofman. They never take care to alter what ſhould be alter'd, when they abridge, or copy any paſſage of another author (4).

(4) See the Remark (*g*) of the Article ACHILLEA towards the end.

[*B*] *It was eaſier to deſtroy, than to humble him.*] Minerva had tried almoſt every method to puniſh him; ſhe had raiſed a furious ſtorm; he ſaw his ſhip periſh; notwithſtanding which he ſaved himſelf upon a rock.

Καὶ νύ κεν ἔκφυγε κῆρα, Ϲ ἐχθόμενός περ Ἀθήνῃ
Εἰ μὴ ὑπερφίαλον ἔπος ἔκβαλε, Ϲ μέγ' ἀάσθη (5).

(5) Hom. Odyſſ. lib. iv. ver. 502.

" Impious he roar'd defiance to the Gods:
" To his own proweſs all the glory gave.
Pope.

In this dreadful exigence he inſulted the Gods with an horrible blaſphemy, *In ſpite of the Gods*, ſays he, *I will eſcape.*

Φῆ ῥ' ἀέκητι Θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης (6).

(6) Id. ibid. ver. 504.

" The pow'r defrauding who vouchſaf'd to ſave.
Pope.

Neptune, enraged at this inſolence, ſtruck the rock in two with his trident, ſo that the part upon which Ajax ſtood fell into the ſea. Thus Homer tells us in the 4th Book of his *Odyſſey*. Quintus Calaber gives a more particular and minute account of it; nay he is ſo prolix, that this paſſage alone would ſhew, that he was no great maſter of Poetry. However he tells us, that Minerva not contented with the thunderbolts which Jupiter gave her, deſired Neptune likewiſe to lend her his ſtorms. The tempeſt was the moſt dreadful that can be imagined: Minerva hurled down her thunder every moment; ſhe ſet Ajax's ſhip on fire, and deſtroyed it immediately. This furious man notwithſtanding ſaved himſelf in the midſt of the tumultuous waves, and upon a rock, where he inſulted the Gods.

Φῆ δὲ Ϲ εἰ μάλα πάντες Ὀλύμπιοι εἰς ἓν ἵκοιτο
Χωόμενοι, Ϲ πᾶσαν ἀναῤῥήσωσι θάλασσαν
Ἐκφυγέειν (7).

(7) Quint. Calaber. lib. 15. ver. 564.

" He boaſts,
" Tho' all the Gods ſhall raiſe the ſtormy main,
" And rage tremendous, they ſhall rage in vain:
" His ſingle power ſhall guard him from the force
" Of their united efforts.

In ſhort, there was no deſtroying him, but by overwhelming him with a mountain, as Enceladus was before. Seneca, in his *Tragedy of Agamemnon*, agrees in this account: read the firſt Scene of the third Act, where you will ſee the deſcription of a reſiſtance, fierceneſs and reſolution puſh'd to the greateſt extremity. *Le Feſtin de Pierre* * affords us nothing comparable to it. Our modern Poets would not be ſuffered to carry their fictions ſo far as this upon the ſtage. Thus we have one Latin, and two Greek Poets, who aſcribe the death of Ajax to Neptune; but Virgil and Hyginus (8) give the glory of it to Minerva.

(8) Hygin. cap. 116.

Pallaſne exurere claſſem
Argivûm, atque ipſos potuit ſubmergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam & furias Ajacis Oïlei?
Ipſa Jovis rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem
Diſjecitque rates, evertitque æquora ventis.
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto (9).

(9) Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 39.

" Cou'd angry Pallas with revengeful ſpleen
" The Grecian Navy burn, and drown the men?
" She for the fault of one offending foe,
" The bolts of Jove himſelf preſum'd to throw:
" With whirlwind from beneath ſhe toſs'd the ſhip
" And bare expoſed the boſom of the deep:
" Then as an eagle gripes the trembling game,
" The wretch yet hiſſing with his father's flame,
" She ſtrongly ſeiz'd, and with a burning wound,
" Transfix'd and naked, on a rock ſhe bound.
Dryden.

[*C*] *How Minerva revenged herſelf for that injury.*] See the preceding remark. I ſhall only add here, that the tempeſt, which ſhe raiſed, deſtroyed a great number of ſhips near the rocks of Caphareus, not far from the iſland of Eubœa, now call'd Negrepont. One cannot without the higheſt imprudence, and proceeding upon a falſe principle, condemn the Greek Poets, who repreſent this Goddeſs as puniſhing a whole Nation for the crime of a particular perſon,

Unius ob noxam & furias Ajacis Oïlei;

" For the fault of one offending foe.
Dryden.

Or, as another Poet expreſſes it

Quicquid Oïlides commiſerat, omnibus unus
Peccavit Danais, omnibus ira nocens (10).

(10) Sabin. *in Epiſt. Ulyſſ.*

The ſenſe is the ſame as in the verſe quoted from Virgil.

Such an objection would prove too much, and might be retorted againſt the *Hiſtory of David.* It is true, not only in profane, but alſo in the ſacred Writers, that,

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi (11).

(11) Horat. Ep. 2. lib. 1. ver. 14.

" The people ſuffers when the Prince offends.
Creech.

[*D*] *The iſland of Delos, where Thetis buried it.*] Lycophron acquaints us with this particular (12), ſince the Commentators have diſcovered his meaning from the midſt of his enigmatical expreſſions. See what Canterus and Meurſius ſay upon this head; but we muſt not truſt them abſolutely, for they are miſtaken in a paſſage of Pauſanias, which they quote to confirm their conjectures. Pauſanias does not ſpeak at all of the tomb of the ſon of Oileus (13); but only of that of Ajax the ſon of Telamon. The criticiſm of Meurſius upon the Greek of Pauſanias

(12) Lycophron ver. 400.

(13) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 34.

* One of Molier's Comedies.

Some authors have reported, that he eſcaped the ſtorm, and returned home again in ſafety [E]. The Locrians had a ſingular veneration for his memory (b). We ſhall give an account in the Article of Caſſandra how they were obliged to expiate his crime. He made a ſerpent fifteen foot long ſo gentle and familiar to him, that it followed him about like a dog, and eat at his table (i).

(b) See the Remark [D] of the Article ACHILLEA.
(i) Philoſt. *in Heroicis.*

is by no means juſt; he thinks, that inſtead of τὴν ἔσοδον πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα ἐ καλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, it ſhould be read τὴν ἔσοδον πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα οἱ καλεπὴν ποιῆσαι. According to this correction, the Myſian, who ſpoke to Pauſanias, would have ſaid, that *the ſea rendered the acceſs of that tomb very difficult*; whereas on the contrary he told Pauſanias, that the ſea had occaſion'd them to ſee how large one of the bones of Ajax was. We muſt therefore underſtand it thus, that the ſea having waſh'd away the earth, had render'd that place more eaſy of acceſs, and leſs ſteep, than before, &c.

[E] *Some authors have reported, that he eſcaped the ſtorm, and returned home again in ſafety.*] Mr. Lloyd quotes theſe words out of *Timæus Locrus, Hiſt. Lib.* 2. Μετὰ τῆς Τροΐας ἅλωσιν πολλοὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν περὶ τὰς Γηρέας ναυηγησάντων ἀπῴθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σὺν Αἴαντι μόλις ἐς λοκρίδα διεσάθησαν. That is, "After the deſtruction of Troy a great number of the "Locrians were ſhipwreck'd and periſhed upon the "Girean rocks (14); the reſt ſaved themſelves with "Ajax with great difficulty, and returned to their "own country." It is probable, that inſtead of Timæus Locrus, he ſhould have quoted Timæus Tauromenita.

(14) Rocks in the Ægean Sea. *See* Philoſtratus's Paintings.

(a) See in the Remark [A] of the Article TELAMON the genealogy of Ajax, both on the father's and mother's ſide.
(b) His father was King of that Iſland. He gave 12 ſhips to Ajax. *Hom. Iliad* lib. 2.
(c) Sophocl. *in Ajace.* Quint. Calaber lib. 5.

AJAX the ſon of Telamon (a), was, next to Achilles, the moſt valiant General among the Greeks [A] at the ſiege of Troy. He commanded the troops of Salamis (b), and performed a great many noble actions, which we have an account of in the *Iliad*, in *Dictys Cretenſis*, *Quintus Calaber*, and in the 13th book of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, in the ſpeech that he made upon the diſpute concerning the arms of Achilles. He loſt his cauſe, for they were adjudged to Ulyſſes his rival. He was ſo enraged at this, that he immediately became mad (c). He ruſhed furiouſly upon a flock of ſheep, and made great ſlaughter amongſt them, imagining all the while that he was killing thoſe who had offended him, by conteſting the arms of Achilles with him, or aſſigning them to another perſon; but perceiving afterwards that he had only killed the cattle, he became much more furious upon it, and ſtab'd himſelf. It is ſaid, that his madneſs was of great advantage to the beſiegers [B]. He loſt his cauſe, as ſome tell us, not by the votes of the Greek Princes, but by the deciſion of the Trojans, who were aſked, which of them had done their city moſt damage, Ajax or Ulyſſes (d). The foundation of this opinion is expreſly contained in the eleventh book of the *Odyſſey*. Ajax reſembled Achilles in ſeveral points; he was paſſionate and impatient of contradiction as he was (e), and invulnerable in every part of his body, except one [C]. Whoever

(d) Euſtathius and Scholiaſtes *in Odyſſ.* lib. 11. Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. *in Equit.*
(e) Plutarch. Sympoſiac. lib. 1. *ſub finem*, p. 629. Cicero *de Officiis* lib. 1. cap. 31.

[A] *He was next to Achilles the moſt valiant General among the Greeks.*] It is upon the teſtimony of ſeveral Poets that I make this reſtriction.

(1) Homer. *Il.* lib. 2. ver. 768.

Ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
Ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν. (ὃ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν) (1).

That is,

" Ajax in arms the firſt renown acquir'd,
" While ſtern Achilles in his wrath retir'd
" His was the ſtrength that mortal might exceeds.
Pope.

(2) Pindora Nem. 7.
(3) Sophocles *in Ajace.*
(4) Horat. Sat 3. lib. 2. ver. 193.

Pindar calls Ajax Κρατίστου, Ἀχιλεος ἄτερ, μάχα (2); i. e. "the moſt valiant in battle except Achilles." Sophocles ſays the ſame (3); and Horace likewiſe, *Ajax Heros ab Achille ſecundus* (4); i. e. "Ajax, "an Hero next in valour to Achilles." Plutarch relates, as a tradition, which admitted no diſpute, that Ajax was the moſt beautiful and valiant, and of the largeſt ſtature amongſt all the Greeks, next to Achilles (5). Theſe compliments are founded upon the following lines of Homer:

(5) Plutarch. *Sympoſiac.* l. 9. Quæſt. 5. p. 740. A.
(6) Homer. *Od.* lib. 11. ver. 549; ſee likewiſe ver. 468.

Αἴαντ' ὀς πάρι μὲν εἶδος πάρι δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα (6).

That is,

" With him the ſtrength of war the ſoldiers pride,
" Our ſecond hope to great Achilles dy'd.
Pope.

Plutarch upon this forms an objection againſt Plato, who feigned, that the ſoul of Ajax was but the twentieth, that was enrolled. Τί οὖν (εἶπεν) ὁ δευτεραῖα μὲν ὁ Αἴας καλλὺς καὶ μεγέθυς & ἀνδρείας ἀεὶ φέρεται μετ' ἀμύμονα πηλείωνα? i. e. "What, (*ſays he*) was not "Ajax always eſteemed next to Achilles in beauty, "ſtature, and valour?" Moreri quotes this paſſage but very erroneouſly; his words are theſe: *Plutarch obſerves in his* Sympoſiacs *or* Table-Queſtions, *upon what account Plato gave to Ajax's ſoul but the* 22*d place after Achilles; tho' he was the firſt in beauty, ſtrength and courage; and he ſhews, that the Philoſopher plaid upon the different ſignification of names.*

[B] *His madneſs was of great advantage to the beſiegers.*] It would be unreaſonable however to conclude, that true courage has need of ſuch an aid. The advantages that may ſometimes attend a vice, do not alter the nature of the vice. I refer you to this fine paſſage of Cicero. *Non deſiderat fortitudo advocatam iracundiam: ſatis eſt inſtructa, parata, armata per ſeſe. Nam iſto modo quidem licet dicere utilem vinolentiam ad fortitudinem, utilem etiam dementiam, quod & inſani & ebrii multa faciunt ſæpe vehementius.*

Semper Ajax fortis, fortiſſimus tamen in furore.
Nam facinus fecit maximum, quum Danais inclinantibus
Summam rem perfecit manu, prælium quum reſtituit inſaniens,
Dicamus igitur utilem inſaniam (7).

That is,

" True fortitude has no need of calling anger to its
" aſſiſtance; it is ſufficiently inſtructed, prepared,
" and armed of itſelf. For in that way of reaſoning
" you might ſay, that drunkenneſs and even mad-
" neſs were of uſe to fortitude, becauſe men who
" are mad or drunk, do very often things with an
" uncommon ſpirit and vigour.

(7) Cicero *Tuſcul.* lib. 4. cap. 22, & *ſeq.*

" *Ajax was always valiant, always bold;*
" *But valiant moſt, when madneſs ſeiz'd his brain;*
" *For then while all the Greeks retir'd in fear,*
" *He ſingly ſtood the ſhock, renew'd the battle,*
" *And gain'd the field triumphant: --- Thus ev'n*
" *madneſs*
" *Is ſometimes uſeful.*"

[C] *He was invulnerable in every part of his body, except one.*] This was the occaſion of that uncommon particular. Hercules, ſeeing Telamon uneaſy for not having children, prayed to Jupiter to give him

Whoever underſtands the leaſt of the antient mythology knows, that the cauſes and circumſtances of his death are told in ſo various a manner, that one deſtroys the other [D]. One of the characters of Ajax was Impiety and Irreligion [E]; not that he denied the Gods a very extenſive power; but he imagined, that as the greateſt cowards might conquer by their aſſiſtance and interpoſition, there was no glory in conquering in ſuch a manner. He would not owe his victory to any thing but his own perſonal courage. It is feign'd, that his ſoul having the liberty of chooſing a body (f) to return into the world with, preferred that of a lion before that of a man, ſuch

(f) Plato *de Repub.* lib. 10. pag. 765.

him a ſon, who ſhould have a skin as hard as that of the Nemean lion, and as much courage likewiſe (8). He ſaw an eagle, as ſoon as he had finiſh'd his prayer, and taking this for a good omen, he promiſed Telamon ſuch a ſon as he had prayed for, and ordered him to give the infant the name of Ajax, from the eagle (9), who had given the lucky preſage. He came again to ſee Telamon, after the birth of Ajax, and taking the child quite naked, he covered him with the skin of the Nemean lion; from thence the body of Ajax became invulnerable, except in that part, which was under the hole in the skin, where Hercules hung his quiver (10). It is not agreed where the part was, that remained untouched; ſome place it under the arm-pit (11), others under the neck (12), others under the ſide (13), others under the breaſt. Tzetzes upon Lycophron is of the laſt opinion; and Ovid ſeems to be of the ſame in the 13th book of the *Metamorphoſis*, v. 39.

(8) Pindar *Iſthmit* Ode 6. Apollodor. lib. 3.

(9) The Greeks call an Eagle Αἰετός.

(10) Suidas in Ἀσφαδάσω. Scholiaſt. Sophoc. *in Ajacem.* Scholiaſt. Homer. *in Iliad.* lib. 23. and Tzetzes *in Lycophron.*

(11) Suidas in Ἀσφαδάσω.

(12) Tzetzes; likewiſe the Scholiaſt. Hom. *in Iliad.* l. 23.

(13) Scholiaſt. Sophoc. *in Ajace.*

Dixit, & in pectus tum denique vulnera paſſum,
Qua potuit ferro lethalem condidit enſem.

That is,

" He ſaid, and with ſo good a will to die,
" Did to his breaſt the fatal point apply
" It found his heart ———.

[D] *The cauſes and circumſtances of his death are told in ſo various a manner, that one deſtroys the other.*] For there are ſome authors, who tell us, that he killed himſelf in the fit of madneſs, which ſeized him after he had loſt the cauſe concerning the arms of Achilles. Others ſay, that he had no conteſt with Ulyſſes about theſe arms, but about the Palladium, which was taken at the ſacking of Troy. Theſe two accounts are inconſiſtent, ſince Achilles's arms were adjudged to Ulyſſes before the taking of Troy, and Ajax fell into his madneſs immediately after the cauſe was determined againſt him. However Dictys Cretenſis relates, that Ulyſſes carried the Palladium from Ajax by the judgment of the Chiefs, and that Ajax, tranſported with rage, threatned to kill thoſe, who had done him this injuſtice; but that the next day he was found dead in his tent, run thro' the body with a ſword (14). Ulyſſes being ſuſpected of this murder, and perceiving the general murmurs of the army, embarked immediately, and ſet ſail with all poſſible expedition. Suidas (15) and Cedrenus acknowledge that Ajax and Ulyſſes diſputed the Palladium; but not that the Judges declared in favour either of the one or the other. They tell us, that they parted, before any thing was determined; and that the night following Ajax was found dead. There are ſome, who write, that his engagement with Paris was fatal to himſelf as well as his enemy; he received a wound, of which he died (16), and he killed Paris at the ſame time (17). Others ſay, that the Trojans being advertized by an Oracle, that iron would have no effect upon his body, and that the only way to kill him was by ſmothering him with dirt, took that method to diſpatch him (18).

(14) Dict. Cretenſ. lib. 5.

(15) Suidas *in voce* παλλάδιον.

(16) Dares Phrygius, and Scholiaſt. Sophoc. *in Argument. Ajac.*

(17) Dares Phrygius.

(18) *Apud* Scholiaſt. Sophoc. ib.

[E] *One of his characters was impiety and irreligion.*] When he was going to the army, his father recommended to him always to join the aſſiſtance of God to his own perſonal courage and valour. Ajax replied, that even cowards themſelves were very often victorious by ſuch an aid as that; but for his part, he ſhould have no regard to it, and that he was aſſured he ſhould be able to conquer without it.

Τέκνον, δορὶ
Βάλλε κραΐειν μὲν, σὺν Θεῷ δ' ἀεὶ κρατεῖν.
Ὁ δ' ὀψικόμπως καὐφρόνως ἠμείψατο,
Πάτερ, Θεοῖς μὲν κἂν ὁ μηδὲν ὢν ὁμοῦ
Κράτος κατθήσαιτ'. Ἐγὼ δ' ἄνευ σέθεν
Κείνων, πέποιθα τοῦτ' ἐπισπάσειν κλέος (19).

(19) Sophoc. *in Ajace.* p. 80, 81.

That is,

" My ſon, ſays he,
" Be brave, but let thy valour reſt alone
" On God's aſſiſtance; for the conqueſt's his.
" Ajax reply'd with folly and preſumption;
" Even cowards conquer with the aid of God;
" I'll ſeize the glory with my valiant arm,
" Nor wait ſubmiſſive for the aid of heaven.

We find another paſſage very like this in the ſame author;

Εἰ δὲ τὶς Θεῶν βλάπτοι, φύγοιτ' ἂν κἀκ τοῦ κρείσσονα (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 51.

That is,

" When God reſiſts, even cowards ſcape the force
" Of mighty Heroes, and elude the chace.

Minerva once interpoſing to adviſe him, he anſwer'd with indignation; *Do not you trouble yourſelf about my conduct; I ſhall give a good account of that; you have nothing to do but to keep your favour and aſſiſtance for the other Greeks* (21). Another time ſhe offered to guide his chariot in the battle; but he would not ſuffer her (22). Nay he even defaced the owl, which was engraven in his ſhield (23). He was jealous, it ſeems, leſt that figure ſhould be conſidered as an act of reverence to Minerva, and a mark of his diſtruſt in his own native vigour and abilities. It will be but juſt however to acquaint the reader here, that he is not repreſented ſo irreligious in Homer; for tho' he does not pray to Jupiter himſelf, when he prepares to engage the valiant Hector, yet he deſires others at leaſt to pray for him, either with a low voice, leſt the Trojans ſhould hear him, or louder, if they pleaſed; *For*, ſays he, *I fear no perſon in the world* (24). However he cannot upon this account be recommended as a pattern of devotion, as he is in the Commentary upon Alciat's Emblems: *Recte Ajax apud Homerum, qui Deos invocat, ſeſe ad arma componens; neque enim putat ſibi felicius rei bene gerendæ auſpicium capere poſſe, quam ab invocatione numinis* (25). " Ajax, ſays that " writer, acts very juſtly in Homer, praying to " the Gods, when he is preparing himſelf for the " combat; for he conſidered that there is no better " way of beginning any affair, than with an invoca- " tion of the Deity." This is a falſe repreſentation of the fact; the paſſage in the 17th book of the *Iliad*, ver. 645, is nothing to the purpoſe. He is not willing that the Trojans ſhould hear the prayers for the ſucceſs of his arms. This may be explained two ways. He was fearful perhaps leſt the Trojans ſhould conſider that invocation of God as a mark of diffidence in his valour; or rather, he was apprehenſive, leſt the Trojans, perceiving the prayers of the Greeks for him, ſhould do ſo likewiſe, and even more ardently for their Hector. The former of theſe two explications makes him guilty of a vanity very injurious to the reverence due to the Gods; the latter ſhews a ſtrong perſuaſion in him of their power and adminiſtration. But to what purpoſe is this, ſince he conſents that they ſhould pray aloud; ſince he conſents, I ſay, through the confidence that he had in his own force and addreſs; in ſhort, becauſe he feared nothing, and did not the leaſt regard whether the Trojans prayed againſt him or not? Is this ſuch an example of devotion as ought to be propoſed by the Commentator upon Alciat? A Gentleman was ſaying the other day, that the Catholick Princes did wrong to put into the Gazettes the pilgrimages to Loretto, the offerings, vows, prayers of forty hours, which they appointed, in order to procure a ſucceſsful campaign; for, as ſoon as the enemy knew this, they would appoint the ſame things among

(21) Ibid. p. 81.

(22) Scholiaſt. Sophoclis.

(23) Idem.

(24) Hom. *Iliad.* lib. 7. ver. 194.

(25) *Comment. in Emblem.* 127. Alciati, p. 547.

ſuch an indignation had he conceived againſt mankind for the injuſtice done him in the diſpute concerning the arms of Achilles. We ſhall give ſome account in another place (g) of his poſterity, from whence ſprung the family of Miltiades. The Poets give to Ajax the ſame commendation that the holy Scripture gives to King Saul with regard to his ſtature (b). He has been the ſubject of ſeveral Tragedies, as well Greek as Latin (i). The famous Comedian Æſop refuſed to act that part (k). The Greeks paid great honours to this valiant Captain after his death (l). They erected a noble monument to him upon the Promontory of Rheteum [F]. There are ſeveral wonderful ſtories told concerning this tomb [G]. The error, which Ronſard imagined he had fallen into concerning Ajax [H], was corrected in a new edition of his book.

(g) In the Article of TECMESSA.
(b) See the Remark [G].
(i) Auguſtus began a Tragedy upon this ſubject. *See* Sueton. in his Life, cap. 85.
(k) Cicero *de Officiis* lib. 1. cap. 31.
(l) Quint. Calaber, lib. 5. Dictys Cretenſis, lib. 5.

among themſelves, and promiſe ſtill greater gifts to the Saints of both Sexes. It was ſaid in anſwer to this, that this procedure ſhewed the honeſty of thoſe Princes, who were not willing to ſurprize the determinations of heaven; they would not, like Ajax, prevent the adverſe party from knowing their petitions, and cut them off from the means of providing againſt them; for that would have been to have engaged the judgment of heaven, without giving the opportunity of hearing both ſides.

[F] *The Greeks erected a noble monument to him upon the promontory of Rhete.*] This was one of thoſe, which Alexander deſired to ſee and honour (26). We have ſhewn in another place (27), that there is no reaſon for accuſing Pliny, that he miſtook the true ſituation of this tomb. But if it be certain, that the Greeks erected this monument, what does Horace mean, when he cenſures Agamemnon for having left Ajax unburied?

(26) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.
(27) In the Remark [K] of the Article ACHILLES.

Cur Ajax heros ab Achille ſecundus
Putreſcit, totus ſervatis clarus Achivis,
Gaudeat ut populus Priami, Priamuſque inhumato,
Per quem tot juvenes patrio caruere ſepulchro (28)?

That is,

" Then why does Ajax, he the ſtout the brave,
" And who ſo oft the Grecian ſhips did ſave,
" Achilles ſecond rot without a grave?
" That joyful Troy and Priam laugh to ſee,
" That he, by whom their youth, that mighty he
" Is now denied himſelf a grave by thee. Creech.

(28) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 193.

In anſwer to this I obſerve, that the Poet only makes uſe here of one of the incidents in the Tragedy of Ajax; it is that, where Sophocles feigns, that Agamemnon would not conſent, that Ajax ſhould receive the honours of a funeral. At laſt he ſubmitted to the ſtrong importunity of Teucer. Obſerve, that ſome authors tell us, that his body was not burnt, but others aſſert the contrary. Dictys Cretenſis and Quintus Calaber are of the latter opinion; but Philoſtratus is of the former. He tells us, that Chalcas declared, that Religion would not permit thoſe to be burnt, who had killed themſelves (29). You may ſee in the ſame Philoſtratus how the Athenians diſtinguiſhed themſelves in honouring of this Hero. Pauſanias tells us, that one of their tribes bore the name of Ajax (30); and that the honours, which they decreed both to him and to his ſon Euryſaces, were ſtill ſubſiſting (31). The people of Salamis built a temple to him (32). The whole country of Greece invoked him a little before the battle of Salamis (33), and dedicated to him, as part of the firſt-fruits due to the Gods, one of the Ships, which they had taken from the Perſians in that memorable battle (34).

(29) Philoſtrat. *in Heroicis.*
(30) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33. Plut. *Sympoſ.* lib. 1. Quæſt. 10. pag. 628. Herod. l. 5. c. 66.
(31) Pauſan. ib. p. 83.
(32) Id. ibid.
(33) Herod. l. 8. cap. 64.
(34) Id. ibid. cap. 121.

[G] *There are ſeveral wonderful ſtories told concerning this tomb.*] Ulyſſes being ſhipwreck'd upon the coaſt of Sicily, loſt amongſt other things the arms of Achilles. The ſhield was thrown up by the waves near the tomb of Ajax, and was placed upon it; but the next day it was ſtruck with thunder. Theſe things are related by Ptolomy the ſon of Hepheſtion (35). Pauſanias ſays in general, that the tempeſt caſt up the arms of Achilles upon the tomb of Ajax, after the ſhipwreck of Ulyſſes (36). This ſtory was too fine, and afforded too many moral reflections, not to be taken notice of by the Poets. See in the *Anthologia* what the Greeks have ſung upon this ſubject (37). Alciat has taken one of his Emblems from it (38). With reſpect to the prodigies and wonders, which made Ajax talk'd of after his death. See *Pauſanias* in the 34th page of his 1ſt book. I ſhall cloſe this article, with obſerving, that when the waves had half opened the tomb of Ajax, people were curious to look into it, and they ſaw a knee-bone, which was as large as one of the diſcus or quoits, which they uſed anciently to play with in their public games (39). The man, who told this to Pauſanias (40), intimated to him, that he might judge by that how large the ſtature of Ajax was. Homer gives him a very noble one.

(35) *Apud* Photium, p. 484.
(36) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 34.
(37) Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 22. *initio.*
(38) In the 28th.
(39) Pauſan. l. 1, p. 34.
(40) See in the Remark [D] of the preceding Article ſome errors with regard to this paſſage of Pauſanias.

Αἶαν᾽ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε
Ἔξοχος Ἀργείων καφαλὴν ἠδ᾽ ἰυρέας ὤμους (41).

That is,

" Broad is his breaſt, his ſhoulders larger ſpread,
" Tho' great, Atrides overtops his head. Pope.

(41) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 3. ver. 226.

[H] *Ronſard imagined he had fallen into an error concerning Ajax.*] He had placed Ajax amongſt thoſe heroes who took Troy; but he altered this in the ſecond edition of his *Franciade*, being advertiſed by Florens Chriſtianus, that Ajax killed himſelf before the taking of that city (42). It is probable he knew not, that according to ſome authors, this great General did not die till after the deſtruction of Troy; for if he had known that he would have told Florens Chriſtianus, that he was well enough acquainted with what Homer, Sophocles, Ovid, and other writers had related, but that he knew likewiſe what others had writ, and that he choſe rather to conform himſelf to Dictys Cretenſis than to Homer; and thus he would not have been obliged to confeſs an error; a confeſſion very diſagreeable to a Poet, and even to other authors.

AJAX the ſon of Teucer, built a temple to Jupiter in Olbus, a city of Cilicia. The Prieſt of that Temple was Lord of the Country, which was called Trachiotis. Several Tyrants endeavoured to ſeize that country, and to keep it to themſelves, ſo that it became a Theatre of war and contention. After the expulſion of theſe Tyrants, it was called the country of Teucer, and the Prieſthood. Theſe are the names which it had in the time of Strabo, who adds, that the greateſt part of the Prieſts had born the name either of Teucer or Ajax; and that Aba, daughter of Zenophanes, one of the Tyrants, being married into this family, made herſelf miſtreſs of this country, after her father had governed it under the title of Protector. She was confirmed in the poſſeſſion by Mark Anthony and Cleopatra to whom ſhe had paid her court with great addreſs. After her death the country returned to thoſe who were its lawful poſſeſſors. This is all that Strabo gives us an account of (a). We ſhall ſhew from thence that the Supplement of Moreri is full of errors in this Article [A]. The

(a) L. 14. p. m. 462.

[A] *The Supplement of Moreri is full of errors in this article.*] Having conſidered with myſelf, I find the ſhorteſt way is to tranſcribe the whole article of the *Supplement*; which is thus: *Ajax, the ſon of Teucer, King*

The Remark which I ſhall add to it will prove this ſufficiently.

King of Salamis in the Iſle of Cyprus, having ſucceeded his father, dedicated a temple to Jupiter in the city of Olbus. He maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom againſt ſeveral Princes, who would have made themſelves maſters of it, and left it to his deſcendants, who almoſt all of them bore the name of Ajax or of Teucer, Strabo, l. 14. I obſerve upon this, I. That the reader would be induced to believe from this account, that the city of Olbus was in the Iſle of Cyprus. II. That it is not true that Strabo tells us Ajax ſucceeded his father in the Kingdom of Salamis. The indefatigable Meurſius, who has accurately collected all the names of thoſe who reigned in Cyprus, has not found one of that of Ajax (1). III. That it is falſe, that ſeveral Princes attempted to diſpoſſeſs Ajax of the Kingdom of Salamis. Their efforts were directed againſt Trachiotidis, the patrimony or church lands of Jupiter Olbus in Cilicia; and Strabo does not tell us that they endeavoured to drive out Ajax, or that Ajax ever was poſſeſſed of it. A perſon may build a temple without being Prieſt of it, and without enjoying the eſtate annexed to it. IV. That ſuppoſing Ajax had been at the ſame time Prince and Prieſt of Trachiotidis, yet it would be falſe that he kept the poſſeſſion of it, and left it to his deſcendants. It appears evidently from the account of Strabo, that the ſeries of his lawful ſucceſſors was ſometimes interrupted.

(1) See his Treatiſe *de Cypro*, l. 2. cap. 7, *&* *ſeq.*

AJAX, an Eccleſiaſtic famous for his piety and virtue under the reign of Theodoſius. He had a brother named Zeno, who was remarkable for his merit as well as himſelf. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon that account at firſt not in the deſert, but in the city of Gaza, and afterwards entered upon a monaſtic life. They received very often hard uſage, becauſe they maintained couragiouſly the true faith againſt the Pagans. Ajax had married a very beautiful Lady, but it is ſaid he never knew her but three times, from which commerce he had three ſons; after this he ſeparated from her with reſpect to the conjugal embrace, and governed the church of Betolium with great wiſdom. He brought up two of his ſons to the ſtudy of Divinity and Celibacy, and married the third (*a*).

(*a*) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 28.

☞AIDAN, a famous Scottiſh Biſhop of the ſeventh Century, was employed by Oſwald King of Northumberland for the converſion of the Engliſh [*A*] (*a*). Aidan, at his coming to Oſwald's court, deſired that the Biſhop's See might be removed from York and fixed in Holy-Iſland, which was granted him immediately; and every thing that he ſuggeſted was readily complied with, the King thinking himſelf obliged to be governed by his directions in whatever related to religion. Nay his regard for Chriſtianity was ſo eminent, that Aidan not having a perfect knowledge in the Engliſh tongue, the King was his interpreter, and explained his diſcourſes to his Nobility and Retinue, for as he had lived a long time in Scotland during his baniſhment, he was a perfect maſter of that tongue (*b*). Aidan being thus ſucceſsful in his employment, ſeveral of his countrymen came in to his aſſiſtance, and preached with great application over all Oſwald's dominions. By this means Chriſtianity made a very conſiderable progreſs; there was a prodigious concourſe of people to hear their diſcourſes; and churches were built in ſeveral places; lands were granted by the King for the ſupport of monaſteries, and a great many of the Engliſh put themſelves under the diſcipline of thoſe religious ſocieties. This manner of living was probably recommended to them by the Scottiſh Miſſionaries, who were moſt of them Monks, and particularly Aidan himſelf, who was of that order, and belonged to the monaſtery of Hii or Jona, which had a juriſdiction over the reſt belonging to the Scots and Picts. Aidan's behaviour in this employment was very pious and exemplary [*B*], and had a great influence upon King

(*a*) Beda, *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Gentis Anglor.* l. 3. c. 3.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. *See* Collier's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*, Vol. 1. Book 2. Cent. 7. p. 37. edit. 1708.

[*A*] *Employed by Oſwald King of Northumberland for the converſion of the Engliſh.*] This Prince being a man of great piety, and zealouſly attached to the belief of the Chriſtian Religion, was reſolved to uſe all poſſible methods to reduce his ſubjects from their paganiſm and idolatry. To this purpoſe he ſent to Scotland, whither he had been formerly baniſhed, to deſire that ſome man of character and learning might come and inſtruct his ſubjects. The Scotiſh Clergy diſpatched a miſſionary immediately; but he being a man of a rough and ſevere temper proved diſagreeable to the Engliſh, and made no manner of impreſſion upon them. And thus finding himſelf unſucceſsful he returned home, and gave an account of his miſſion in a Synod, and told his countrymen, that the Engliſh were an untractable and barbarous people, and therefore it was impoſſible to do them any ſervice. The Synod being ſhocked at this account, began to conſider whether any farther expedient could be tried. Upon this Aidan, who was preſent at the Synod, addreſſed himſelf to the Prieſt who came back from England, and told him, that the method he had taken was not the moſt proper which could be fixed upon; that he had been a little too rigid to his audience, and not accommodated himſelf ſufficiently to their weakneſs and prejudices; that he had not followed the Apoſtle's advice by *feeding them with milk* at firſt, and propoſing to them eaſy and obvious truths, till they were by degrees enabled to advance to the more perfect and ſublime precepts of God. This diſcourſe of his turned the eyes of every one who was preſent upon him, and they came to this unanimous concluſion, that he deſerved the honour of the Epiſcopal character, and that none was better qualified than he for the inſtruction of unbelievers, *Since he was endued with the talent of diſcretion, which is the mother of virtues.* Upon this he was immediately conſecrated, and ſent upon the employment. *Tunc ait Aidanus, (nam & ipſe concilio intererat) ad eum, de quo agebatur, ſacerdotem; Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior juſto indoctis auditoribus fuiſti, & non eis juxta Apoſtolicam diſciplinam primò lac doctrinæ mollioris porrexiſti, donec paulatim enutriti verbo Dei ad capienda perfectiora, & ad facienda ſublimiora Dei præcepta ſufficerent. Quo audito omnium, qui conſedebant ad ipſum ora & oculi converſi diligenter quid diſceret diſcutiebant, & ipſum eſſe dignum epiſcopatu, ipſum ad erudiendos incredulos & indoctos mitti debere decernunt. Qui gratia diſcretionis, quæ virtutum mater eſt, ante omnia probatur imbutus, ſicque illum ordinantes ad prædicandum miſerunt* (1).

(1) Beda, l. 3. c. 5.

[*B*] *Aidan's behaviour in this employment was very pious and exemplary.*] He recommended his doctrine by his example, and lived up to the rules, which he propoſed to others. He regarded no ſecular intereſt, and was perfectly indifferent to the common gratification of this life. Whatever the King or any Perſons of fortune preſented him with, he generally gave away to the poor. He travelled every

King Oſwald, who was an excellent Prince [C]. We may obſerve that this King and he were both of the Scottiſh or Britiſh church, and died under that diſtinction [D]. After that Prince was killed in battle, Aidan gained the eſteem of Oſwin the ſon of Oſric of the family of King Edwin, who governed in the diviſion of Deiri, but was at laſt treacherouſly killed in the ninth year of his reign, Anno 651 by King Oſwi, who ſucceeded his brother Oſwald (c). Bede gives a noble character of this King Oſwin, and relates (c) Idem, ibid. c. 14.

every where on foot, unleſs he was obliged by any particular neceſſity to make uſe of an horſe. Whoever he met with, whether rich or poor, he uſed to apply himſelf to them. If they were Pagans, he inſtructed them in the principles of Chriſtianity, and attempted their converſion. If they were Chriſtians, he confirmed them in their faith, and preſſed them to ſhew the reality of it by their charity and good works. He was ſo zealous in Religion, that whoever travelled with him, whether Clergy-men or Laymen, were obliged to ſpend a conſiderable part of their time in reading the Scriptures, or learning of Pſalms by heart. *Cujus doctrinam id maximè commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter quam vivebat cum ſuis ipſe docebat. Nihil enim hujus mundi quærere, nil amare curabat. Cuncta quæ ſibi à regibus vel divitibus hujus ſæculi, donabantur, mox pauperibus, qui occurrerent, erogare gaudebat. Diſcurrere per cuncta & urbana & ruſtica loca non equorum dorſo, ſed pedum inceſſu vectus, niſi ſi major forte neceſſitas compuliſſet, ſolebat. Quatenus ubicunque aliquos vel divites vel pauperes incedens aſpexiſſet, confeſtim ad hos diverteni, vel ad fidei ſacramentum, ſi infideles eſſent, invitaret, vel ſi fideles, in ipſa eos fide confortaret, atque ad eleemoſynas bonorumque operum executionem & verbis excitaret & factis. In tantum autem vita illius à noſtri temporis ſegnitiâ diſtabat, ut omnes, qui cum eo incedebant, ſive adtonſi ſive laici meditari deberent, id eſt, aut legendis ſcripturis, aut pſalmis diſcendis operam dare. Hoc erat quotidianum opus illius, & omnium, qui cum eo erant fratrum ubicunque locorum deveniſſent* (2). We may obſerve here, that it appears from this paſſage, that the Romiſh Religion was not yet carried to that prodigious exceſs, as it was in the following ages. Men were not then precluded a juſt examination into the nature and grounds of their Religion; the Bible was not eſteemed a dangerous book, or kept under reſtraint, or granted only with faculties and diſpenſations. The Saxon Homilies exhort the people with great earneſtneſs "To the frequent peruſal of the Scriptures, "and inforce this advice from the great benefit of "that exerciſe viz.; that the mind was refined, and "the paſſions purged thereby; that this was the "way to revive their attention to their moſt im-"portant intereſt, and make the apprehenſions of "a future judgment have a due impreſſion upon "them; that as a blind man often ſtumbles in his "motion, ſo thoſe who are unacquainted with the "Word of God, are apt to make falſe ſteps, and "miſcarry (3)." But to reſume Aidan's character; if he happened (which was very ſeldom) to eat with the King, he uſed to carry one or two of his Clergy with him; where after having taken a very moderate repaſt, he withdrew with his company, that they might loſe no time for reading or praying. He had one remarkable quality among the reſt, and that was, never to ſpare a great man upon account of his wealth or quality, but always to reprove with freedom, when occaſion required; neither was it his cuſtom to preſent the rich with any thing, except entertainment, when they came to his houſe. Whatever gifts he received, he beſtowed them either in charity or for the redemption of ſlaves and captives. Nay ſome of thoſe, whom he redeemed, he took under his care and inſtruction, and even raiſed them to the Prieſthood. *Et ſi forte eveniſſet* (*quod tamen rara evenit*) *ut ad Regis convivium vocaretur, intrabat cum uno Clerico aut duobus, & ubi paululum refici-ebatur, accelerabat ocyus ad legendum cum ſuis, ſive ad orandum egredivit. . . . Nunquam divitibus honoris ſive timoris gratia, ſi qua deliquiſſent, reticebat, ſed aſperâ illos invectione corrigebat. Nullam potentibus ſæculi pecuniam, exceptâ ſolummodo eſcâ, ſi quos hoſpitio ſuſcepiſſet, unquam dare ſolebat. Sed ea potius, quæ ſibi à divitibus donaria pecuniarum largiebantur, vel in uſus pauperum* (*ut diximus*) *diſpergebat, vel ad redemptionem eorum, qui injuſtè fuerunt venditi, diſpenſabat. Denique multos, quos precio dato redemerat, redemptos poſtmodum ſuos diſcipulos fecit, atque ad ſacerdotalem uſque gradum erudiendo atque inſtituendo provexit* (4).

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) *Notæ* Wheloc. *ad* cap. 5 l. 3. Bedæ. *See* Collier, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 7. p. 88.

(4) Bed. *ubi ſupra.*

[C] *Who was an excellent Prince.*] This King ſucceeded his brother Eanfrid, who had been routed and deſtroyed by Caedwalla, King of the Britons. The latter marched with a very numerous army againſt Oſwald, but was defeated and ſlain at a place called Deniſes-Burn, or the River of Dennis (5). . . Oſwald before the battle begun, was remarkably devout, obliging all the army to fall upon their knees, and pray to God for the ſucceſs of their arms. He likewiſe erected a croſs with his own hands; but without any application to it, or to any of the Saints, as we find from Bede (6); tho' it appears that a ſuperſtitious reverence for it began to prevail then, and this Hiſtorian mentions a miracle, which he ſays was performed by the wood of that croſs. Oſwald's dominions were much larger than any of his predeceſſors; he reigned over the whole iſland, and had the Britons, Picts, Scots, and Engliſh, within his juriſdiction. However we are not to ſuppoſe him ſole Monarch of Great Britain, but only that he received ſome kind of homage or acknowledgment from the other Princes. All this advantage and diſtinction of grandeur did not give him the leaſt tincture of pride, or make him neglectful of the loweſt of his ſubjects. We have a remarkable ſtory of him, that one Eaſter-day, when he and Biſhop Aidan were at dinner together, there was a fine ſilver diſh of meat curiouſly dreſs'd ſet upon the table. They were juſt going to beg a bleſſing, when the King's Almoner came in, and acquainted him, that there were a great many poor people in the ſtreets, who deſired ſome relief from the King. Upon this he immediately ordered the meat ſerv'd up to be given to the poor, and the ſilver diſh to be cut in ſmall pieces, and diſtributed among them. Bede tells us, that Aidan was ſo highly pleaſed with this act of charity, that he took the King by the hand, and ſaid to him, *May this hand of yours never periſh*; which happened accordingly; for when the King was killed, and his hand and arm were cut off from his body, they remained uncorrupt, and were enchac'd in ſilver, and kept in St. Peter's church in the city of Bebba *. The Hiſtorian obſerves further, that by Oſwald's prudent conduct, the provinces of the Deiri and Bernicii, laid down their ancient animoſities, and were incorporated as it were into one body (7).

(5) Idem, l. 3. c. 1.

(6) L. 3. c. 2.

* Now called *Bamborrow* in Northumberland.

(7) Id. l. 3. c. 6.

[D] *Were both of the Scottiſh or Britiſh church, and died under that diſtinction.*] They kept Eaſter differently from the Roman cuſtom, and therefore lived independent of that See; becauſe conformity in that point was inſiſted on by Auguſtin the Monk as a condition of communion, without which the Britiſh, and conſequently thoſe of their opinion were not to be received (8). We may obſerve therefore from Bede's giving ſo great a character of Oſwald and Aidan, notwithſtanding they were not conformable to the Church of Rome, and refuſed to come under the Pope's Patriarchate, or ſubmit to his regulations; that this Hiſtorian, tho' he lived in that Church, did not believe the Pope to be a neceſſary center of communion, or that the reſt of Chriſtendom were indiſpenſably obliged to be ſubject to his orders and authority. Had this been his belief, as Mr. Collier remarks (9), he would never have raiſed Oſwald and Aidan to ſo great a degree of Saintſhip; nor have told us what numbers of converts they made, and how Chriſtianity flouriſhed under them. He would not have recorded their miracles, nor inſiſted ſo much upon the cures which were wrought by the touch of their relicks. Nothing can be more evident, than that, as he thought them eminent for their holineſs upon earth, ſo he made

(8) Id. l. 2. c. 2.

(9) *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* ver. 1. l. 2. c. 7. p. 91.

relates a remarkable ſtory concerning him and Aidan [*E*]. The Biſhop ſurvived that Prince but twelve days, and died the laſt of Auguſt 651 (*d*). Bede mentions ſeveral miracles performed by our Biſhop; but what credit is to be paid to them, conſidering the ſuperſtition and credulity of that age, muſt be left to the judicious reader to determine.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

not the leaſt queſtion of their being proportionably rewarded in heaven. And thus even in Bede's opinion, a man might live independently of the Pope, and not obſerve the cuſtoms and diſcipline of the Romiſh church, and yet be miraculouſly favoured by God, and eminently happy in the other world.

[*E*] *Bede gives a noble character of this King Oſwin, and relates a remarkable ſtory concerning him and Aidan.*] He tells us, that Oſwin was a man of a very graceful perſon, and of an admirable diſpoſition. He was remarkably obliging and condeſcending in his behaviour, and both the rich and poor had a large ſhare in his bounty. As he was thus eminent for the advantages of his perſon and mind, he was univerſally beloved and admired; ſo that Men of the firſt Quality came from all parts of the iſland to his court, and offer'd their ſervice. Among his other excellent qualities, his humility was particularly extraordinary, as appears from the following inſtance. He gave a fine horſe to Aidan the Biſhop; who, tho' he uſed commonly to walk on foot, yet wanted the convenience of an horſe upon ſome occaſions. The Biſhop a little after happening to meet with a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, diſmounted immediately, and gave him the horſe with all the rich hangings and furniture; for the Biſhop was ſo compaſſionate, that he could not bear the ſight of a poor man without relieving him. The King being informed of this, when the Biſhop came the next time to dine with him, he addreſſed him in this manner: "My Lord Biſhop (10), what "induced you to give away my horſe, which you "ſhould have kept for your ſelf, to a beggar? If "there was a neceſſity of ſetting him on horſeback, "could you not have furniſh'd him with one of "leſs price? or if he wanted any other relief, you "might have ſupplied him in another way, and not "have parted ſo eaſily with the preſent which I made "you." The Biſhop replied; "Your Majeſty ſeems "not fully to have conſidered this affair; for o-"therwiſe I know you'll grant that a *Son of God* is "to be preferred to the ſon of a Mare." Upon this they went in immediately to dinner. Not long after the King came from hunting, and ſtood by the fire to warm himſelf with his ſervants, and recollecting of a ſudden what the Biſhop had ſaid to him, he took off his ſword, and gave it to his ſervant, and went immediately to the Biſhop, throwing himſelf down at his feet, and deſiring him not to be diſpleas'd at what he had ſaid about the horſe; aſſuring him likewiſe, that he never would ſpeak of it again, or venture to cenſure his charity, or preſcribe the proportion of it. The Biſhop being diſturbed to ſee the King in this poſture, took him up immediately, promiſed him to forgive it entirely, if the King would reſume his former mirth. And now the Biſhop grew melancholly in his turn, and wept extremely; and being ask'd the reaſon by one of his Prieſts in the Scotch language, which was not underſtood by the King and his Attendants, he replied, that he foreſaw Oſwin's life would be very ſhort, "In my life, *ſays he*, I "never ſaw ſuch an humble Prince before. His "temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us; "for this Nation does not deſerve the bleſſing of "ſuch a Governor." Aidan proved a true Prophet, for the King was killed ſoon after; and Aidan himſelf died about twelve days after, and as Bede expreſſes it (11), received the eternal rewards of his pious labours in heaven. *Quem dum presbyter ſuus linguâ patriâ, quam rex & domeſtici ejus non noverant, quare lacrymaretur interrogâſſet. Scio, inquit, quod non multo tempore victurus eſt rex: Nunquam enim vidi antehac humilem regem. Unde animadverto citius illum ex hac vitâ rapiendum. Non enim digna eſt hæc gens talem habere rectorem. Nec multo poſt dira antiſtitis præſagia triſti regis funere, de quo ſupra diximus, impleta ſunt. Sed & ipſe antiſtes Aidan non plus quam duodecimo poſt occiſionem regis, quem amabat, die, id eſt, pridie Kalendarum Septembrium de ſeculo ſublatus, perpetua laborum ſuorum a Domino præmia recepit.* T.

(10) *Domine Antiſtes.*

(11) L. 3. c. 14.

☞AIDAN King of Scotland lived in the latter end of the ſixth Century and in the beginning of the ſeventh (*a*). He was the ſon of Conran or Goram, who having been murthered by Donald, Aidan was obliged to fly into Ireland with his mother, to eſcape the ſnares of Eugenius III. who had been raiſed to the throne (*b*). Afterwards under the reign of Conwall [*A*] Cholumbus (*c*), a famous Abbot, who was alſo gone into Ireland, returned into Scotland and brought Aidan with him by the King's command, that he might be reſtored to his father's Kingdom; they were ſcarce landed but they heard that Conwall was dead, and that Kinnatill his brother had been elected in his room by the common ſuffrage of the people. It was to be feared this new King would not be pleaſed with Aidan's return; however Cholumbus ſtill thought fit to purſue his journey with the young Prince, and againſt every body's expectation he was very kindly received by the King, who alſo very affectionately embraced Aidan, and told him that he would ſoon be raiſed to the throne, and that a Prince would deſcend from him, who in future times would deliver the Scots from many hardſhips [*B*]. Kinnatill owned on his death-bed that he then deſigned to abdicate the ſovereign power, and to reſtore the Kingdom to Aidan, but he was prevented by ſickneſs; for on the twentieth day of his reign he was ſeized with a violent quinſey, which obliged him to keep his room; he then left the government of the Kingdom to Aidan; and his ſickneſs being afterwards attended with a high fever he died, having reigned but fourteen months; before his death he ſurrendered the crown to Aidan by Cholumbus's advice, who after Kinnatill's death crowned the new King A. C. 570 (*d*), and made at the ſame time a fine

(*a*) Buchan. *Rer. Scotic.* lib. 5. p. 159. and Calviſius, *ad ann.* 570, and 604.

(*b*) A. C. 536. Boët. *Hiſt. Scot.* lib. 9. fol. 162 *verſo*, and 163.

(*c*) The Latin writers of our antient Hiſtory call him *Columba*, and the French writers *Columban*; it is from him the Iſland Cholmkill, or Cholemkill takes its name, he having eſtabliſhed a monaſtery there.

(*d*) Buchan ibid. Calviſ. ibid.

[*A*] *Under the reign of Conwall.*] By the Genealogy of Fergusius II (1), it appears that Eugenius III, Conwall, and Kinnatill, who reigned ſucceſſively in Scotland, were firſt-couſins to Aidan; for their father Congall was the brother of Conrad who ſucceeded him, and who was Aidan's father.

(1) *Ap.* Leſlæum, *de Morib. & Reb. Geſt. Scotor.* p. 130.

[*B*] *A Prince would deſcend from him, who would deliver the Scotch from many hardſhips.*] This Prince was Eugenius IV (2), Aidan's ſon, who indeed did not ſucceed his father immediately, for Kenneth Keir Conwall's ſon was elected after Aidan's death; but this King dying within four months (3) after his election, Eugenius ſucceeded him. It is ſaid that Kenneth himſelf before he died delivered the kingdom to Eugenius, by the conſent of the Nobles. Boetius, who relates this, tells us further, that Aidan having asked Cholumbus which of his children would reign over Scotland, the holy man, being divinely inſpired, and knowing that Aidan's other ſons would be killed in battle, pointed out Eugenius to him (4).

(2) He is alſo by ſome authors called Brudus.

(3) Others ſay, within twelve-months. Buchan. *Rer. Scot.* lib. 5. p. 160.

(4) Boetius *Scot. Hiſt.* lib. 9. fol. 171. *verſo.*

fine ſpeech to him and to the people [C], which being finiſhed the people took the oath of obedience to the King. The firſt memorable action Aidan did after his coronation, was to repreſs the audaciouſneſs of ſome robbers, who ravaged the county of Galloway. He eſtabliſhed afterwards three annual meetings of the chiefs of the nation, who were to aſſemble in the counties of Galloway, Lockquabyr (e) and Caithneſs, to conſult together about the affairs of ſtate, and to adminiſter juſtice among private men. Theſe meetings were not unlike what we now call the *Aſſizes* (f). Cholumbus was deſired to be preſent at theſe meetings, that he might take care of the affairs of Religion. The whole nation was ſo much the more inclined to obey their pious King, that Cholumbus had told them, this would be highly pleaſing to God. Thus juſtice and equity flouriſhed for ſome time in Scotland under Aidan's government. But this happineſs did not laſt long, for a quarrel ariſing among ſome young Noblemen who were hunting, they committed an horrid murther. The King ſent ſome of his officers to take the murtherers, but they not thinking it ſafe to ſtay in the King's dominions fled to Brudeus King of the Picts. Aidan ſent Embaſſadors to him to demand the criminals, as was uſual in ſuch caſes: But Brudeus out of an unſeaſonable and too great compaſſion for the young Noblemen protracted the affair, and endeavoured to juſtify, or at leaſt to extenuate their crime; this at laſt became the occaſion of the war which broke out between the Scots and the Picts: for Aidan being exaſperated at Brudeus's conduct, who eagerly entreated him to pardon the criminals, and had refuſed to deliver them to his Embaſſadors, ordered his ſubjects to plunder the county of Angus (g), where they killed a great number of people, and came back with a very great booty. The Picts highly offended at this made repriſals, and fell upon the county of Galloway, where they were not behind hand with the Scots. The quarrel came at laſt to an open war; an army was raiſed on both ſides, and the Picts and Scots came to a battel near the county of Galloway; after a great ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory at laſt declared in favour of the Scots. But the joy they could receive from this victory was not to be compared to their grief, when they knew that Arthur the King's eldeſt ſon who commanded the army had been killed. Cholumbus hearing of this war came to Aidan, and reproved him ſeverely for what he had done; he told him, that he began to forget the laws of God, ſince for a very ſlight cauſe, for an injury for which he could eaſily get ſatisfaction, he had entered into a cruel war againſt a nation allied to the Scots; a war, in which ſo many innocent perſons were killed, and many more utterly ruined. He repreſented alſo to him, that unleſs he did immediately repair the injury he had done, he would infallibly draw upon himſelf and his whole family the vengeance of heaven. Aidan terrified at theſe threatnings, and not knowing how to excuſe his conduct, entreated the holy man to tell him in what manner he could atone for his crime. But the man of God would give him no anſwer, and was going away from him; the King endeavoured to detain him, and begged of him not to abandon and leave, without comfort or advice, a man whom he had himſelf raiſed to the throne by God's authority; he confeſſed himſelf guilty, but proteſted at the ſame time that he repented, and promiſed, with ſighs and tears, he would undergo any penance to expiate his crime. The King's ſubmiſſions and penitent heart at laſt moved Cholumbus's compaſſion, and prevailed with him to endeavour to reſtore the peace between the Scots and the Picts. He went to Brudeus King of the latter, and by his prudence concluded or renewed a ſtrict alliance between the two nations. But a new war was kindled again in a little time between them; for Edelfred King of the Northumbrians, who hated the Scots mortally, perſuaded Brudeus to attack them again under pretence that by his laſt treaty with the Scots the latter had not ſufficiently made amends for the injuries they had done the Picts. Edelfred alſo promiſed them, that he would aſſiſt them with all his forces, becauſe he knew that the Scots were always highly incenſed againſt the Saxons. Aidan finding the united forces of the Picts and Saxons would be too hard a match for him, entered into an alliance with the Britons, in which it was ſtipulated, that whenever either of the two nations ſhould be invaded by the Picts and the Saxons, the other ſhould come to its aſſiſtance. The Saxons having heard of this alliance immediately attacked the Britons in order to draw the Scots out of their own country. Aidan (b) came directly with an army to aſſiſt them. Cenlin (i) King of the Weſt-Saxons was then in alliance with Edelfred, and intended to join him with a powerful army, but before he could perform that deſign, the Scots and Britons engaged his army and routed it, having killed a vaſt number of men, amongſt whom was Cuthwin Cenlin's ſon. Aidan would not permit his ſoldiers to purſue the enemy, becauſe Edelfred was near; and indeed he ſhewed his prudence in this, for he was ſoon after obliged to

(e) Or Loquabrea.

(f) Leſlæus, *de Moribus, & Reb. Geſtis Scotor.* p. 150.

(g) Called *Horeſtia* by Boëtius, fol. 168. *verſo.*

(b) Bede calls him *Aidanis* or *Aidanides*, *ap.* Boetium *ubi ſupra*, fol. 161.

(i) Rapin calls him *Ceolin*, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom. 1. liv. 2.

[C] *Cholumbus made a fine ſpeech to him* (*Aidan*) *and to the people.*] He firſt exhorts the Nation to ſubmit to the King, whom under God's Providence they had themſelves elected. He then indirectly tells the King what was his duty, viz. to adminiſter juſtice equally to all his ſubjects, to maintain the public tranquillity, as much as lay in his power; to inſult or provoke none of his neighbours, nor to ſuffer any to injure him unpuniſhed. He afterwards ſhews, how the practice of piety and all Chriſtian virtues both of the King and of his ſubjects will draw upon them the bleſſings of the Almighty; and threatens them with the greateſt miſeries, if they forſake the true Religion, and give themſelves up to wickedneſs; and concludes his diſcourſe with entreating them not to provoke the anger of heaven againſt them by growing proud and inſolent in the enjoyment of their happineſs and proſperity (5).

(5) Boetius, ibid. fol. 167 *verſo*, and 168.

to fight againſt the united forces of Edelfred and Brudeus, whom Cenlin alſo joined with the remains of his army. In this battle the Scots and Britons were routed, and Aidan would have been killed, if Dongar his third ſon had not expoſed himſelf to the blow which was aimed againſt the King; the young Prince loſt his life in this pious and generous action (*k*). Rapin gives us a different account of this, as we ſhall ſee in the Remark [*D*]. Aidan ſoon retrieved the affairs of his Kingdom, by a great victory he gained over the Saxons and the Picts, the circumſtances of which deſerve to be known [*E*]. It is reported that the whole event of this battle had been revealed by God to Cholumbus, when he prayed for the King and for his people in the monaſtery of Cholumbkill, of which he was Abbot, and that the very moment the Saxons were put to flight, the holy man openly told his brethren that Aidan was conqueror, and that the Saxons were vanquiſhed (*l*). About eleven years after this victory the Saxons and Picts ravaging that part of Scotland, that bordered upon their reſpective countries, the Britons and Scots agreed to join their forces againſt the common enemy. Aidan, though very much advanced in years, took the field firſt, and having in vain expected the Britons, he plundered the Saxons country. Edelfred taking hold of this opportunity fell upon the Scots when they were diſperſed, and killed a great number of them, though this victory coſt him dear enough; for his brother Theobald was killed in the engagement and ſome regiments (*m*) were entirely defeated. Aidan took this loſs ſo much to heart, as well as the death of Cholumbus, which happened about the ſame time (*n*), that he died ſoon after, viz. in the year of Chriſt 606, having reigned twenty ſeven years, according to Boetius (*o*); but Buchanan ſays (*p*) he reigned thirty four years, and died A. D. 604 (*q*). Eugenius his ſon reigned in Scotland after him, though not immediately, as we have ſaid in the Remark [*B*].

(*k*) Boet. and Buchan. *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Boet. ibid.

(*m*) Cohortes.

(*n*) Buchan. *ubi ſupra*, p. 159.

(*o*) Boet. fol. 171.
(*p*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*q*) Boetius places the beginning of his reign A. D. 579; but Buchan. places it A. D. 570. in which he is followed by Calviſius.

[*D*] *Rapin gives us a different account of this.*] He tells us (6), that the Britons having been formerly obliged to invite the Saxons into their country to aſſiſt them againſt the Scots, they were now under a preſſing neceſſity to implore the help of the Scots againſt the Saxons, and unanimouſly reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to Aidan King of Scotland, that they might engage him to undertake their defence. They repreſented to him, "that their deſtruction would "infallibly be attended with his own ruin. That the "Saxons had no other view, than to invade the "whole iſland, a great part of which they were al-"ready maſters of. That if once they conquered the "meridional part of it (7), poſſeſſed by the Britons, "the Scots could not expect to enjoy peaceably the "Northern parts, ſince in all likelihood they would "not be treated better than the Picts, who had al-"ready loſt a great deal of their country. They ad-"ded, that the Chief of the Saxons was an active "and ambitious Prince, capable of forming ſuch "projects, that all his neighbours ought to dread "the conſequences of them, if they did not take "care to oppoſe his progreſs in time." The King of Scotland, ſays Rapin, yielded to theſe ſtrong arguments, and met the Britons with a great army to attack the enemy together. Ceolin having notice of his approach, made all the haſte he could to meet him with whatever troops he could aſſemble. But the other Saxon Princes not being very forward to aſſiſt him, his forces were very unequal to thoſe of the Britons and Scots; however he engaged in battle againſt them with great courage, but having diſputed the victory for ſome time, he was at laſt overpowered by the number of his enemies; his army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped being killed. This victory heightened the Britons courage to ſuch a degree, that they already began to think of driving the Saxons entirely out of their country: but they were not in a condition to execute this project. For the Saxon Princes being ſatisfied with ſeeing Ceolin humbled, did not think it for their advantage, to ſuffer the Britons and Scots to reap any benefit from the victory they had gained; and by the powerful and ſpeedy ſuccours they ſent to Ceolin, they ſoon enabled him to form a much greater army, than that he had before; as ſoon as he had drawn his forces together, he went in queſt of the enemy, and in a ſecond battle repaired his former loſs by a compleat victory. Aidan after this defeat retired into his own country. Thus far Rapin. It is eaſy to ſee how much this account differs from that we have given in the text of this article from Boëtius and Buchanan. Rapin does not ſay a word here of Edelfred, of whom he begins to ſpeak only under the year 586 (8), (where he calls him *Adelfred*,) and he places the battle we have mentioned between the years 578 and 584. We don't know how to make him agree with Boëtius and Buchanan. Such a difference between famous Hiſtorians cannot but introduce ſcepticiſm into Hiſtory. Rapin alſo tells us in a note (9), that ſome ſay Aidan was killed in the battle, and he quotes Buchanan L. v. who is ſo far from ſaying this, that he exactly agrees with Boëtius's account of Aidan.

(6) *Hiſt. d'Ang.* tom. 1. liv. 1. p. 135.

(7) England.

(8) Pag. 135, 136.

(9) Pag. 136.

[*E*] *A victory . . . the circumſtances of which deſerve to be known.*] Edelfred, the next year after the victory he gained over the Scots and Britons, entered with the Picts into Galloway, thinking to make it an eaſy prey, becauſe of the conſternation which the laſt defeat muſt have occaſioned amongſt the people: But Aidan coming upon him unexpectedly drove the plunderers into their camp; and the following night joined the Britons in the narrow valley in Annandale. Edelfred having ſhut up the avenues of that valley with his army, thought the enemy could not eſcape. But Aidan having fortified his camp as tho' he intended to ſtay there, retired with the Britons and Scots at low water, paſſing thro' ſuch places as he knew were fordable, and entered into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, laying waſte all the country, through which they paſſed. This unexpected retreat forced Edelfred and Brudeus to return into Northumberland in queſt of the enemy; they marched day and night, till at laſt they met them, when a terrible battle enſued; the Britons and Scots at laſt gained the victory, retook the ſpoils which the enemy had taken out of the county of Galloway, and returned it to the owners. Aidan had four Generals in his army beſides himſelf; viz. Conſtantius and Alencrine both Britons, and Calan and Modoc two noble Scots (10). Boëtius ſays, that Cholumbus died the next year after this victory, and that Aidan ſoon followed him; but Buchanan places Aidan's death about eleven years after it (11).

(10) Boet. and Buchan. *ubi ſupra.*

(11) See the text of this Article, P. marg. quot. (*f*).

AIGUILLON, a little city in Guienne, upon the confluence of the *Lot* and *Garonne* four leagues below Agen [*A*], was erected into a Duchy and Peerdom in favour of the Duke

[*A*] *Below Agen.*] If I had a mind to ſhew between what cities Aiguillon is ſituated, I ſhould not pitch upon Agen and Nerac, as Moreri has done, for theſe three places form a triangle; but I ſhould have taken Agen and Tonneins, the one above, the other below Aiguillon, upon the Garonne. The error, which I object againſt here, is the more conſiderable, as it leads the reader to imagine that Nerac lies upon the ſame river.

Duke of Maienne in the year 1599. The patent was verified in parliament the year following (*a*); but the poſterity of that Duke faiſing, it was again erected under the reign of Lewis XIII. in 1638 by a patent, which was verified the ſame year (*b*). Cardinal Richelieu did it in favour of Madam de Combalet his niece, who was afterwards ſo well known by the name of the Ducheſs of Aiguillon. We ſhall ſpeak of her in her proper place (*c*). She left this Duchy by her will to Mary Magdalen Tereſa de Vignerod her niece, ſiſter to the Duke of Richelieu (*d*). There is nothing more extraordinary in Hiſtory, than the reſiſtance which the city of Aiguillon [*B*] made in 1346 againſt the Duke of Normandy, who was afterwards King John. One would be aſhamed to read it now; and our ſoldiers cannot but be extremely ſurprized to find the art of war ſo miſerably defective at that time, in compariſon of what it is at preſent. If the Duke of Normandy, the eldeſt ſon of the King of France, had taken Aiguillon after fourteen months ſiege, he would then have merited a noble triumph upon that account; and yet in our age, ſo inconſiderable a city as that was then, would ſcarce have done any honour to an ordinary Colonel, though he ſhould take it at the firſt attack. The Romans made juſt ſuch a reflection, when they compared the firſt wars of their city [*C*] with the conqueſts they gained a long time after. Mezerai is very inaccurate in his account of the ſubject which I am ſpeaking of (*e*). Aiguillon had not entirely the ſame advantage againſt the Engliſh as againſt the Duke of Normandy; for when they beſieged it in 1430 they did not take the caſtle, but only the city, which they plundered (*f*).

(*a*) The ſecond of March.
(*b*) The 19th of May.
(*c*) In the Article of VIGNEROD (MARY DE).
(*d*) See *L'Etat de la France*, tom. 2. p. 88 and 89. edit. 1680.
(*e*) See the Remark [*B*].
(*f*) Darnalt. *Antiquitez d'Agen*, p. 100.

[*B*] *Nothing is more extraordinary . . . than the reſiſtance of Aiguillon.*] Papyrius Maſſon ſays, that this ſiege laſted fourteen months. *Acilionem* (1) *urbem iritâ Joannis poſtea Regis Francorum, & tunc Ducis Normanniæ, quatuordecim menſium obſidione memorabilem* (2). The vaſt army of the Duke of Normandy was no leſs conſiderable than the length of the ſiege. *This Duke came to Tolouſe in the beginning of January with an hundred thouſand men that bore arms. All this formidable army did nothing for three months but take a few poor villages about Agen, and after that the city of Angoulême; from thence they went to Tonneins, and then began the ſiege of Aiguillon . . . which was ſtrong and well fortified for that age* (3). The manner of their attack is another circumſtance, that deſerves to be remarked. *In all that age* (4), *there was no ſiege more conſiderable both for the attack and defence than that of this city. It received three aſſaults every day for a week together; after that they made uſe of their artillery and engines both by land and ſea* (5). The following Extract contains both theſe paſſages of Mezerai. I have taken it from Catel. *Froiſſard*, ſays he, *in his 121ſt chapter of his firſt volume writes, that while the Duke of Normandy with an hundred thouſand French was beſieging the city of Aiguillon then held by the Engliſh, he ſent to Tolouſe for eight of the largeſt engines, which were in that city; and when the inhabitants of Aiguillon were upon the point of being attacked, it was agreed by the French Lords, that thoſe of Tolouſe, Carcaſſonne, and Beaucaire ſhould attack them in the morning till noon, and thoſe of Rouergue, Cahors, and Agenois from noon till the evening* (6).

Mezerai's telling us, that the three aſſaults a day laſted but one week, is a thing, that no ways anſwers the attention, which he had raiſed in his reader; for what a ſmall matter is one week in fourteen months? There is no doubt therefore, that he has ſuppreſſed the juſt account of thoſe aſſaults. Beſides he has committed an error in Chronology. According to him, the Duke of Normandy arrived at Toulouſe in the month of January 1346; he ſpent three months in taking a few inconſiderable towns; after that he took Angoulême; and then returning towards the Garonne, he took Tonneins, beſieged Aiguillon, and raiſed the ſiege of it, on account of the battle at Creci. That battle was fought the 26th of April 1346. It is not only impoſſible, according to Mezerai's account, that the ſiege of Aiguillon ſhould have laſted fourteen months, but likewiſe that, conſidering the cuſtom of that time, this ſiege could have been very long; and it is very wrong to ſay that *the Duke of Normandy was obſtinate in it* (7). The arrival of that Prince at Tolouſe muſt be placed in the year 1345.

[*C*] *When they compared the firſt wars of their city &c.*] Thus ſpeaks Florus in his florid ſtyle, and full of exclamations. *Sora* (*quis credat*) *& Algidum terrori fuerunt: Satricum atque Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis & Bovillis, pudet, ſed triumphavimus. Tibur nunc ſuburbanum, & æſtivæ Præneſte deliciæ, nuncupatis in capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Fæſulæ, quod Carræ nuper; idem nemus Arcinum, quod Hercynius ſaltus; Fregellæ, quod Geſeriacum; Tiberis, quod Euphrates. Coriolus quoque* (*proh pudor,*) *victus adeo gloriæ fuit, ut captum oppidum Caius Marcius Coriolanus quaſi Numantiam aut Africam nomen induerit* (8). i. e. "Sora, (who would believe it,) and Algidum were a terror to the Romans; Satricum and Corniculum were provinces then. We triumph'd, (tho' it was no very illuſtrious triumph,) over the Veruli and Bovilli. Tibur, which is a ſuburb to the city, and Preneſte, which is our ſummer-retirement, had then prayers and vows put up in the capitol for the conqueſt of them. Fæſulæ was then what Carræ was lately; the Aricinian grove what the Hircynian foreſt now; Fregellæ, what Geſoriacum; the Tiber what the Euphrates. The taking of Coriolus (how inconſiderable an action?) was ſo great an honour then, that Caius Marcius aſſumed the name of Coriolanus, with as much ſatisfaction, as if he had conquered Numantia or Africa." But whatever diſgrace it was for the French not to have been able to take Aiguillon with ſo prodigious an army, and commanded by the King's eldeſt ſon, yet it was a great honour to the Engliſh, to have defended it for ſo long a time.

(1) Baudrand calls it *Aguillonium*.
(2) Pap. Maſſo, *Deſcript. Flumin. Galliæ.*
(3) Mezerai, *Abreg. Chron.* in the year 1346, tom. 3. p. 24. Holland edit. 1673.
(4) It was the 14th Century.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Catel. *Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire du Languedoc*, p. 563.
(7) Mezerai, *Abrege Chronol.* tom. 3. p. 24.
(8) Florus, cap. 11. lib. 1.

☞AILBERT [*A*] a Frenchman who lived in the ſeventh Century. He went into Ireland to ſtudy Divinity, and ſtaid a good while in that country (*a*). On his return he paſſed through England, and being at Wincheſter, Cenwald King of Weſſex propoſed to him to ſtay in his dominions, and to inſtruct his ſubjects in the Chriſtian Religion. Ailbert accepted this office, and having been conſecrated a Biſhop, he went to reſide at Dorcheſter: but as he could not learn perfectly the Engliſh tongue, the King who underſtood no other language, grew weary of him, and thought it neceſſary to have

(*a*) *Act. Pontif. Cantuar. Auctor.* Gervaſio. *in Hiſt. Anglic. Script. decem*, tom. 2. Col. 1635. ed. a Rog. Twiſden, Lond. 1652.

[*A*] AILBERT.] Rapin calls him *Agilbert*, and ſo he is called by Gervaſius and Richard Middleton, Gilbert by Thomas Stubbs; theſe authors ſpeak of him and only by the way. But John Bromton, who gives the largeſt account of him, calls him *Ailbert*, and ſo does Henry of Huntendon (1), and we thought it proper to follow their example.

(1) See *Hiſt. Angl. Scrip.* x. Coll. 293, 756, 1635, 1690. and *Hiſt. Angl. Script. poſt Bedam*, p. 331.

have another Biſhop, who being a native of the country, could ſucceed better in the inſtruction of the people. He choſe therefore one Wine or Wina, who had ſtudied in France, but was born in England. Cenwald divided the Biſhoprick between Ailbert and Wina, leaving the former at Dorcheſter, and fixing the latter at Wincheſter, where the court was kept. Ailbert was highly offended at this, which had been done without his knowledge or advice; and what grieved him more was, his being left in a country-town, whilſt the new Biſhop reſided at court: This obliged him to leave England and retire into France, where he was ſoon made Biſhop of Paris (*b*). The King having afterwards deprived Wina of his Biſhoprick, ſent again for Ailbert, but he not caring to leave his Biſhoprick ſent Leutherius or Eleutherus his nephew in his ſtead, who was made Biſhop of the whole Kingdom of Weſſex, and governed his Biſhoprick alone for a long time (*c*). Ailbert came again into England in the year 664, and aſſiſted at the council which was held in the monaſtery of Whitby or Stranelagh, to determine the controverſy concerning the time at which Eaſter was to be celebrated (*d*). We will give an account of what paſſed in that council in the Remarks [*B*]. I cannot find when nor where Ailbert died.

(*b*) Henr. Huntendon. *Hiſt.* l. 3. *In Rer. Angl. Script. poſt Bedam, edit. ab* Hen. Savile, An. 1601. p. 331. Joh. Bromton, *ap.* Rog. Twiſden, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 1. Col. 736. Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 1. l. 3. p. 255.

(*c*) Joh. Bromton, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Rapin ibid.

[*B*] *An account of what paſſed in that Council.*] That the reader may not be at a loſs where to find an account of theſe diſputes concerning Eaſter, we'll give here a ſhort hiſtory of them. Theſe diſputes began in the Eaſt about the ſecond Century. The Churches in Aſia celebrated Eaſter on the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the Law of Moſes, whatever day of the week it was, and ended the faſt on that day. But the Weſtern Churches uſed to faſt to the day of Chriſt's Reſurrection, that is, to the Sunday following. Several councils were held on that ſubject in the Eaſt as well as in the Weſt, but neither party would yield to the other, each maintaining they had tradition on their ſide, which indeed was probable. Thoſe of the Eaſt ſaid the cuſtom they obſerved had been eſtabliſhed by St. John; and thoſe of the Weſt maintained they followed St. Peter's and St. Paul's appointment. Suppoſing the truth of theſe traditions, it was eaſy to conclude from them, that this was a point entirely indifferent, ſince the Apoſtles themſelves did not agree about it. And indeed notwithſtanding this difference the two parties did not divide, but communicated with one another, till Pope Victor I. excommunicated the *Quarto-Decimans* (2). This boldneſs of the Pope occaſioned a great ſcandal in the Church; and Irenæus Biſhop of Lyons, tho' he was of his opinion, could not forbear to reproach him with having broken thro' the laws of charity, for an affair ſo little important. He quoted to him the examples of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, and Theleſphorus, who notwithſtanding this difference communicated with the Churches of Aſia; and told him he would have acted much more like a Chriſtian, if he had imitated Anicetus, who with his own hand gave the Communion to Polycarpus, tho' he thought differently from him on this ſubject. Victor's haughtineſs was ſo far from drawing the Churches of Aſia into his opinion, that it made them ſtick more obſtinately to their own: and they did not think themſelves obliged to ſubmit to the Biſhop of Rome, ſince he could give no proofs of what he pretended with regard to St. Peter and St. Paul; tho' they would have been themſelves at a loſs to ſhew that their practice had been eſtabliſhed by St. John. For, as Socrates obſerves (3), "neither our Saviour nor "his Apoſtles have given any commandment to "this purpoſe; for their deſign was not to make "laws concerning feaſts or holy-days; but to in"force the practice of virtue and piety. It ſeems "probable to me, that as ſeveral other things have "been inſenſibly introduced, ſo it is with regard to "the celebration of Eaſter; it was eſtabliſhed by "cuſtom, and not by any command of the Apoſtles... "The Quarto-decimans maintain, that their practice "has been eſtabliſhed by St. John. The Romans and "thoſe of the Weſtern Churches pretend they re"ceived their cuſtom from St. Peter and St. Paul, "but as neither of them alledge any ancient teſti"mony of what they maintain, I think we may infer "from thence, that Eaſter is obſerved in every coun"try according to the practice that was introduced "at the beginning." All men of ſenſe look'd upon controverſy as of very little importance, yet to avoid non-conformity even in the leaſt things, it was decreed in the Council of Arles in the year 314, that all the Churches ſhould celebrate Eaſter on the ſame day, viz. on the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon of March, when that Moon ſhould happen after the vernal Equinox. This decree was confirmed by the Council of Nice in the year 325, and the Emperor Conſtantine ſent his orders into all the provinces of the Empire, to obſerve that decree, and ſaid in the Letter he wrote for that purpoſe, the ground of this decree was, that the Quarto-decimans were but few, and that their practice reſembled too much that of the Jews. For that ſame reaſon it was alſo ordered by the Council, that Eaſter ſhould be celebrated on the next Sunday after the full Moon of March. According to this decree all the Churches celebrated Eaſter on a Sunday. But there remained ſtill a doubt, which having not been determined occaſioned ſome diverſity in the celebration of Eaſter. For when the fourteenth day of the Moon happened to fall on a Sunday, the Churches of the Eaſt celebrated Eaſter on that day, and conſequently at the ſame time with the Jews; but the Church of Rome put off Eaſter to the Sunday following.

(2) Thus they called thoſe that celebrated Eaſter the fourteenth day of the Moon.

(3) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 292, 293. ed. Reading, Lond. 1720.

Now King Oſwy having been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion by Scots Monks, and the Queen by a Prieſt who followed the Roman practice, it happened ſometimes, that the King celebrated Eaſter, when the Queen was ſtill in Lent. Oſwy earneſtly deſired, that the day for celebrating Eaſter might be ſo fixed, that every body could keep it at the ſame time. It was for this reaſon he had called together the Council of Withby. The Fathers of the Council were divided, ſome favouring the Scots, and others the Romaniſt. Each party did his utmoſt to ſecure as many votes as he could. But it appears that the Roman party was much more active and buſy, than that of the Scots; the former found out ſome pretence to invite Ailbert then Biſhop of Paris to the Council, who came with one of his Prieſts called Agathon, and was at the head of the Romaniſts. The other party was headed by the King himſelf, and by Colman Biſhop of the Northumbrians, and was ſupported by all the Scots Prieſts and Monks, and by all thoſe who had been ordained in Scotland. The Council being aſſembled, the King repreſented to them, how deſirous he was that all his ſubjects ſhould celebrate Eaſter on the ſame day; he then deſired Colman to explain the reaſons, on which the practice of the Scots was grounded. Colman ſaid it had always been the practice of Scotland; that Columbus, Aidan, and Finan never departed from it, and that if theſe authorities were not ſufficient, he could quote that of St. John the beloved Apoſtle of Chriſt. When he had enlarged on that ſubject, Ailbert was asked to confute what had been alledged, but he begged to be excuſed, becauſe he could not ſpeak Engliſh well enough, and deſired that Wilfrid, a Prieſt who lived with the Romaniſts, might be heard. Wilfrid, who had probably been well inſtructed by Ailbert beforehand, anſwered Colman with much warmth and paſſion; he explained in what manner Eaſter day had been fixed by the Romans, and ſaid, that all the Churches in the world followed their example, adding that the Scots, Picts, and Britons were the only nations, who perſiſted in their folly and obſtinacy. Colman anſwered him, that in ſaying this he reflected on the

AILLI (*a*) (PETER D') Biſhop of Cambray (*b*), and Cardinal, was born at Compiegne in Picardy [*A*] in the year 1350. His family was very obſcure. Some writers tell us, that he was Under-porter of the College of Navarre (*c*), but they are miſtaken. He did not enter that College till about the year 1372. He was received as a penſioner amongſt the ſtudents in Divinity. He was then Procurator of the French nation in the Univerſity of Paris, and capable of raiſing himſelf a conſiderable character as an author, as appears from his *Treatiſes of Logic* [*B*], according to the hypotheſes of the *Nominals*, and from his *Diſcourſes upon the Nature of the Soul and upon that of Meteors*. He ſhewed ſo much penetration and genius in thoſe writings, that in them he laid the foundation of that vaſt reputation to which he afterwards raiſed himſelf. He ſucceeded likewiſe extremely well in his explication of Peter Lombard in the year 1375. This application of his to ſcholaſtic learning did not hinder him from becoming an excellent Preacher. He received his Doctor's degree in 1380, and a Canonſhip at Noion. He was recalled to Paris four years after to take upon him the charge of Grand Maſter of the College of Navarre. He had a prodigious number of ſcholars then under him, and particularly John Gerſon and Nicholas de Clemangis. He pleaded with ſuch force in 1387 before the Pope (*d*), againſt a Dominican (*e*), who had appealed from the ſentence pronounced againſt him by the faculty of Divinity at Paris, that he got the ſentence confirmed. He wrote likewiſe a piece againſt that Dominican. This raiſed him to ſuch a height of reputation, that in the year 1389 he was made Confeſſor and Almoner to Charles VI [*C*], and Chancellor of the Univerſity. Five years after this he had the firſt dignity in the ſacred chapel at Paris conferred upon him, that is, the office of Treaſurer. Such a variety of employments did not however prevent him from ſeeking out the moſt effectual means of putting an end to the ſchiſm, which divided the Church of Rome. He went with the King's commiſſion to the Antipope Benedict XIII. in 1394, and gave ſo advantageous a character of him at his return, that it was reſolved in the King's council to acknowledge him as the lawful Pope. He obtained the Biſhoprick of Puy in Vellai (*f*) about the end of the year 1395, and that of Cambray

(*a*) In Latin *Petrus de Alliaco*, or *ab Alliaco*, or *ab Alyaco*, or *Alliacenſis*, or *Aliacus*, or *Ailliacus*, &c.

(*b*) Thevet and Voſſius *de Hiſt. Lat.* p. 548; *de Sc. Math.* pag. 182, 228, make him Archbiſhop of that city.

(*c*) See Remark [*A*].

(*d*) This was the Antipope Clement VII, who ſat at Avignon.

(*e*) He was an Arragonois named John de Monteſon, who denied the immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

(*f*) According to Moreri he was Biſhop of Bellai; but that is a miſtake.

memory of St. John, who would never have eſtabliſhed a cuſtom, which it was a folly to obſerve. Wilfrid finding, that he might have ſcandalized the Aſſembly, undertook to excuſe St. John, by ſaying that he was obliged to keep ſomething of Judaiſm in order not to give offence to the Jews of Aſia, in the like manner as St. Paul had been obliged to circumciſe Timothy. He then aſſerted that the Church of Rome exactly conformed to the eſtabliſhment of St. Peter and St. Paul. He would certainly have been at a loſs to prove that aſſertion; but as Colman and the Scots probably were not very learned, and only intended to keep to their own cuſtoms without pretending to draw the Romans into their opinion, they ſtill urged St. John and Columbus's authority. But Wilfrid, after he had excuſed St. John, as we have ſaid, asked Colman in a triumphing manner, whether he would compare Columbus with St. Peter, the Prince of the Apoſtles, and to whom Chriſt had ſaid, *Thou art Peter, and upon that ſtone I will eſtabliſh my Church*. We are not told what Colman anſwered; for it muſt be obſerved that all the account we have of what paſſed in this Council, is given us by the partizans of Rome. King Oſwy ſeemed at laſt to be perſuaded, that St. Peter had received from Jeſus Chriſt ſome privileges beyond what was granted to the other Apoſtles; for he declared at laſt in favour of the cuſtom which that Apoſtle was ſaid to have eſtabliſhed at Rome, and preferred it to that of St. John. It is ſaid that he yielded to this, becauſe he was afraid, leſt St. Peter, who has the keys of heaven, ſhould ſhut him out of it, if he perſiſted obſtinately to oppoſe, what that Apoſtle had eſtabliſhed. No ſooner had the King declared for Rome, but the majority followed his example, ſo that Colman and his followers loſt their cauſe (4).

(4) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom. 1. l. 3. p. 242, &c.

[*A*] *He was born at Compiegne in Picardy.*] This appears from the public Regiſters of the church of Cambray (1). We may therefore place among the errors, which Thevet has committed, what he ſays concerning the country of Peter d'Ailli. *He was a native*, ſays he (2), *of Germany, and born in a very obſcure village call'd Ailli: and from thence, on account of the meanneſs of his parents, he took his name. He was ſo poor that to ſupport himſelf in the purſuit of his ſtudies, he was obliged to ſerve as an under-porter in the college of Navarre.* Volaterranus had before publiſhed, that he was a German (3).

(1) *Apud* Launoium, *Hiſt. Coll. Nav.* p. 137.

(2) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 7. p. 86. of the edit. in 12°.

(3) Geſneri *Biblioth.* fol. 543 *verſo.*

[*B*] *His Treatiſes of Logic.*] He underſtood it perfectly well; and it was owing to this, that he gained ſuch a force and skill of argumentation, with which he eſtabliſhed his own opinions, and refuted thoſe of others. The famous Weſſelus of Groningen ſpeaks in this manner of him: *Quis unquam ad illum apicem Theologiæ, quo Petrus de Alliaco conſcendit, abſque definitionibus, diviſionibus, argumentationibus, inſtantiis logicalibus, perveniret? In diſputationibus dico, ubi diſcuſſione diſertâ opus eſt. Quomodo Petrus Joannem de Monteſono in Rota de errore quatuordecim illarum concluſionum concuſſiſſet, niſi diſtinctione multiplici, aut elenchi ignorantia antecedente vel conſequente deluſum docuiſſet? Opus igitur Theologicis Logicam inferre. Et Gerſon ipſe, quo tandem tantus ipſe Theologus, niſi per accuratiſſimam illam ſuam Magiſtri Petri Logicam evaſit* (4)? i. e. "Who can "ever attain to that prodigious knowledge of Divi- "nity, which Petrus ab Alliaco arrived at, without "a skill in definitions, diviſions, arguments, and "logical rules? In diſputations, I ſay, wherein "there is a neceſſity of a plain and open diſcuſſion "of the point. How could he convict John de Mon- "teſon of fourteen errors in the *Rota* at Rome, "but by a variety of diſtinctions; and by ſhewing "how he was miſled by an antecedent or conſe- "quent *Ignorantia Elenchi*, or miſtaking of the "true ſtate of the queſtion? There is a neceſſity there- "fore of applying Logic to Divinity. And with "reſpect to Gerſon himſelf, how did he become ſo "great a Divine, but by means of the accurate Lo- "gic of his Maſter Peter ab Alliaco?" It is to be obſerved that Mr. de Launoi believed that theſe words in the paſſage quoted above, *Rota de errore &c.* were the title of a book writ by Peter d'Ailli; but I think that by *Rota*, we are rather to underſtand the place, where the Pope heard the Diſputants. However it is certain, that it was Logic, which occaſioned principally that compliment paid to Peter d'Ailli; *Aquila Franciæ, atque aberrantium à veritate malleus indefeſſus* (5); "the Eagle of France, "and the indefatigable confounder of thoſe, who "depart from truth."

(4) Wiſſelus *de Poteſtate Papæ*, cap. 9. *apud* Launcium, *Hiſt. Navar.* p. 469.

(5) Launoius, ib. p. 134, 476.

[*C*] *Almoner to Charles VI.*] See *du Poyrat*, p. 345, *of the Antiquities of the King's Chapel.* He obſerves there, that *Peter d'Ailli never had the office of Grand Almoner of France, nor of Grand Almoner to the King, which were then unknown, and never inſtituted till the reigns of Charles VIII, and Francis I, whatever is alledged by the author of* GALLIA CHRISTIANA *, *in which particular the writer of* the Continuation of the Annals of Baronius *is likewiſe deceived.*

* Claudius Robertus, *in Gallia Chriſtiana*, fol. 68.

Cambray in the beginning of the year following. He was very much eſteemed by Benedict IX, and he employed his intereſt with him to get a Profeſſor of Divinity eſtabliſhed in all the Epiſcopal Churches of the Kingdom. He preached at Genoa in 1405 upon the Myſtery of the Trinity, before Pope Benedict XIII, and perſuaded that Pope to order the celebration of the Feaſt of the Trinity in all churches. He raiſed a great admiration of his learning and wiſdom in the council of Piſa in 1409. He maintained at Paris in all the Aſſemblies, where they deliberated upon proper remedies for terminating the ſchiſm, that the only effectual method was to call a general council. Two years after this he was made a Cardinal (*g*); he went into Germany in the year 1414, in the character of the Pope's Legate. He preſided in the third Seſſion of the Council of Conſtance. He wrote ſeveral Treatiſes during that Council: one, *de emendendâ Eccleſiâ*, i. e. "of reforming the Church"; another, *de duodecim Honoribus beati Joſephi*, i. e. "of the twelve Honours of bleſſed Joſeph;" another, *de Modo & Formâ eligendi Papæ*, i. e. "of the Manner and Form of chooſing a Pope;" and no perſon had a greater ſhare than he in the affairs of that great Aſſembly which was held for three years. He died in 1425 [*D*], and was buried in his own Cathedral of Cambray. He did great ſervices to the College of Navarre [*E*], and ordered by his will large ſums of money to be given to ſeveral Churches for Maſſes to be ſaid for the repoſe of his ſoul (*h*). Mr. de Launoi, from whom I have taken all theſe particulars, has not forgotten to obſerve, that his Doctrine concerning the Eccleſiaſtical power is to be conſidered as a blemiſh in a beautiful body. He would have this imputed to the unhappineſs of that age (*i*); but I am ſurpriſed that he forgot another weakneſs of this Doctor with regard to judiciary Aſtrology [*F*]. However, our Peter d'Ailli, who ſubjected even

(g) Moreri ſays, it was at Piſa; but he is miſtaken.

(h) *Hiſtor. Regii Navarræ Gymnaſii*, by Mr. de Launoi, p. 467, *& ſeq.*

(i) *Dictata ejuſmodi danda injuriæ temporis ſunt, nævus in candidiſſimo pectore*, Launoius, ibid. p. 480.

[*D*] *He died in the year* 1425.] It is ſurprizing, that a man of his rank and diſtinction ſhould die, without our knowing for certain where, or in what year his death happened. Some ſay, that he died in Germany in 1416. Others, that he died at Avignon, the 8th of Auguſt 1425, while he was the Pope's Legate in France (6). Others ſay indeed, that he died at Avignon, but they place his death in 1426 (7). Mr. de Launoi thinks proper to fix it in the year 1425 in the 479th page of his book; but in p. 129 he tells us that he died while he was Legate of the Holy See in Germany 1423; *Anno poſtquam vaſtatum eſt à Burgundionibus quinto*; i. e. five years "after it was plundered by the Burgundians." Now in p. 126 of the ſame book he places that ravage of theirs under the year 1418. The Regiſters of the Church of Cambray inform us, that he died the 9th of October 1425, while he was Legate of the Holy See in lower Germany; and that in the month of July following his body was carried to Cambray, where it was interred under the great altar (8). The difference between 1416 and 1426 happened thro' an error of the preſs; the figure 1 being put thro' negligence inſtead of 2, was the occaſion of the two different opinions.

(6) Labbe, *de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 179.

(7) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 548. Bellarmin. *de Script Eccleſ.* p. 384. fixes upon the ſame year, but does not mention any city.

(8) *Apud* Launoium, *Hiſt. Gymn. Nav.* p. 137.

[*E*] *He did great ſervices to the College of Navarre.*] He has been called the ſecond Founder of it (9). He built the houſe for the Divines, but not the library. Spondanus who aſſures us of this, is miſtaken. It was the work of Charles VIII. *Spondanus in Annalibus Eccleſiaſticis prodidit ab eo extructam eſſe Bibliothecam. Sed aberrat; id eſt opus Caroli octavi Regis cujus et nomen* Μονόγραμμοι *in Bibliothecæ vitro centies depingitur, & ſtatua in occidentali turbinati parietis cono erecta conſpicitur* (10). i. e. "Spondanus in his *Eccleſiaſtical Annals* ſays, "that the Library was built by him; but he is miſ-"taken in that particular; for it is the work of "King Charles VIII, whoſe name is painted a hun-"dred times in the glaſs, and his ſtatue erected on "the Weſt-end of the wall." It is true, Peter d'Ailli ordered that part of the eſtate, which he left to this college, ſhould be ſpent in purchaſing books, and that he very often gave books to it (11). I cannot tell, whether he gave his own Library, as Aubertus Miræus tells us. *Alliacus*, ſays he (12), *anno* 1425 *Avenione moriens Bibliothecam ſuam legavit Navarræo Pariſiis Collegio, quam ibi magna cum voluptate aliquando vidimus.* i. e. "Alliacus, who "died in the year 1425 at Avignon, left his Libra-"ry by will to the College of Navarre at Paris, "which I have ſeen there ſometimes with a great deal "of pleaſure." I cannot find, that Mr. de Launoi ſays any thing of this; his ſilence alone is ſufficient to confute what this Flemiſh Writer ſays upon that ſubject.

(9) Ibid. p. 134, 475.

(10) Ibid. pag. 475.

(11) Ibid. p. 134, 135.

(12) Miræus *in Auctario de Script. Eccleſ.* cap. 454. p. 265.

[*F*] *His weakneſs with regard to judiciary Aſtrology* (13).] Bellarmin has not forgot this blemiſh upon his character. *Unum eſt*, ſays he (14), *in quo reprehenditur hic auctor, quod videlicet cenſiſſe videatur Chriſti nativitatem prænoſci potuiſſe ex genethliacis obſervationibus, atque ad hoc adduxerit apparitionem ſtellæ, quæ apparuit Magis.* i. e. "There "is one thing, for which this author is blamed, and "that is, that he imagined our Saviour's Nativity "might have been known before by aſtrological cal-"culations; and for this purpoſe he urged the appear-"ance of the Star, which guided the Magi mentioned "in the New Teſtament." Others obſerve, that Peter d'Ailli in his book *De Concordia Hiſtoriæ & Aſtrologiæ divinitricis*, i. e. "Of the Agreement between "Hiſtory and Judiciary Aſtrology," aſſerted, that Noah's Flood, the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt, and other miracles of that kind, and all ſorts of prodigies, might have been foretold by means of Aſtrology (15); and that *he referred the riſe, changes, and declenſions of Commonwealths and Religions to the conjunctions of the high Planets* (16). Bodin adds, that *Joannes Picus, Prince of Mirandola, took the hypotheſes of Peter d'Arliac* (α) (17) *for certain, without enquiring further into the truth of them; tho' of the* 36 *grand conjunctions, which that Cardinal obſerved from the* 115*th year after the Creation of the World to the* 1385*th year of Jeſus Chriſt, there are not ſix true* (18). This paſſage of Bodin has been thus changed in the Latin Edition: *Mirum mihi viſum eſt quamobrem J. Picus Mirandolæ Princeps illius hominis errores ſane pudendos in cœleſtium orbium doctrina pro certis & compertis demonſtrationibus habuerit; cum enim poſt orbem conditum anno centeſimo decimo quinto uſque ad annum Chriſti* 1385, *triginta ſex Jovis & Saturni concurſus tradiderit, vix tamen ullus eo quo decit loco ac tempore deſcribitur.* i. e. "It is ſur-"prizing to me that J. Picus, Prince of Mirandola "ſhould receive that man's flagrant errors in Aſtrology "as certain and inconteſtable demonſtrations; ſince of "36 conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, which he has "given from the 115th year of the Creation of the "World to the year of Chriſt 1385, there is ſcarce "one deſcribed in its proper place and time." The ſame Bodin attacks the very foundation of theſe hypotheſes: *The Cardinal d'Arliac*, ſays he (19), *begins with the grand conjunctions at the time of the Creation of the World, ſuppoſing, according to his computation, that there are* 7158 *years; which is following the error of Alphonſus, who is condemned by all the Jews, and at preſent by the general conſent of all the Churches..... And it is an intolerable error to ſuppoſe a grand conjunction of three great Planets in the year* 320 *of the Creation, and to lay it down as a truth that there are at preſent* 7118 *years, that is* 1200 *years before the world was created.* This method of attacking Peter d'Ailli will not be deciſive at preſent, ſince a great number of learn-

(13) *See* Remark [*K*] towards the end.

(14) Bellarmin. *de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 384. He refers us to Sixtus Senenſ. *Biblioth. Sanctæ Annot.* xv. and lxxxi. and lib. 6. *Annot.* x.

(15) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 215.

(16) Bodin *de la Republiq.* liv. 4. p. 548 of the firſt edition.

(17) He names him ſo.

(18) Bodin *de la Republiq.* liv. 4. p. 543.

(19) Pag. 549.

even crowns and ſcepters to the Eccleſiaſtical power, who enlarged the number of feſtivals, who founded ſo many Maſſes for the repoſe of his ſoul, who condemned John Hus to death [G], notwithſtanding all this appears in the *Catalogue of the Witneſſes of Truth* [H], as a forerunner of Luther and Calvin. The Carteſians conſider him alſo as a forerunner

ed Men prefer the calculation of the Greek Bible with regard to the duration of the world, to that of the Hebrew text. Voſſius had more reaſon to fall upon him on the account of the origin of the hereſy of Arius, than that of the age of the world. The words of Voſſius are as follows; in which we ſhall ſee that our Aſtrologer placed the beginning of that hereſy ſeven hundred years after Chriſt; which is a monſtrous error. *Valde etiam futile eſt fundamentum, quod arti iſti ponit. Ait ab initio mundi uſque ad diluvium fluxiſſe annos* 2042 (20), *à diluvio ad natalem Chriſti* 3102. *His ita conſtitutis, totus eſt in eo ut oſtendat quandocunque mirandum aliquid contigit in terris etiam illuſtrem aliquam ſtellarum conjunctionem apparuiſſe in cœlis. Atqui falſiſſimum eſt quod ſibi ſumit de anno vel diluvii vel natalis Domini; nec levis eſt error ſed ſpiſſiſſimus; in priori quidem numero annorum pene ſexcentorum, in altero autem paulò pauciorum* (21). *Quid mirum? Omnino Cameracenſis fuit Chronologiæ imperitiſſimus, ut vel arguit quod Arrianam hæreſin cœpiſſe dicat anno Chriſt ſeptingenteſimo, quam veriſimilius tum pene extinctam dixiſſet. Ortum verò conſtat ferè initio ſæculi quarti* (22). i. e. "But the foundation, upon which he builds his art, is very weak. He ſays, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 2042 years, from the flood to the birth of Chriſt 3102 years. Having laid down this, he proceeds to ſhew, that whenever any wonderful thing happened on the earth, there was ſome remarkable conjunction of the Stars in heaven. But there is a very flagrant error both in the year of the Flood, and that of our Saviour's Birth; in the former there is a miſtake of 600 years, and in the latter of ſomething leſs. But this is not ſtrange in him, ſince he appears extremely ignorant of Chronology, as is evident from his placing the riſe of the Arian Hereſy in the year of Chriſt 700, whereas he ſhould rather have ſaid that it was then almoſt extinct. For it is very certain that it began about the beginning of the fourth Century." If Thevet wrote with any judgment, would he have ſpoken thus of Peter d'Ailli? "I deſire, that thoſe who are curious in Aſtrology, would carefully read his books; they will not loſe their labour; for beſides the ſingular obſervations, which I have mentioned (23), they will find an expreſs charge drawn up againſt thoſe, who under pretence of true Aſtrology, take a pleaſure in being bewitched and infatuated by the ſpurious Aſtrology, and introduce an idolatrous reverence for the Stars, which is abſolutely abominable (24)." This pretended idolatry was no more to be apprehended in the time of Thevet, than the worſhip of the earth; ſo that, if the books of Peter d'Ailli were of no other uſe than to convert this kind of idolaters, they would be of little importance. But ſince on the other hand they were formed to ſupport the reputation of Aſtrology by extolling the virtues, which that author aſcribes to the conjunctions of the Planets, of which Thevet makes no manner of mention, the reading of them was infinitely more prejudicial, than uſeful.

(20) Voſſius would have ſaid 2242.

(21) Voſſius, according to his Syſtem, ſhould have found here an error of above 600 years.

(22) Voſſius *de Scient. Mathemat.* p. 215.

(23) He had mentioned only the reduction of all the Parallels of Ptolomy to twelve.

(24) Thevet, *Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 7. p. 89.

§ (*a*). De Alliaco is the common Latin name of Peter d'Ailli *Alliacus*; and thence it is, that Bodin has formed *Arliac* by changing the firſt of the two *ll* into an *r*, as in *Varlet*, *Merlin*, *Merluſine*, which are formed from *Vallet*, *Mellin*, *Melluſine*. CRIT. REM.

[G] *Who condemned John Hus to death.*] He did not do this without firſt exhorting him to ſubmit, and declaring to him that this was the beſt way he could take. *Examinatis dictis teſtium, & recitatis articulis erroneis in patrum confeſſu, Cardinalis Cameracenſis, Judex cauſæ deputatus à concilio, dixit ad Joannem Huſs; "En viæ duæ propoſitæ ſunt "tibi, ut ex his eligas unam; aut te offeras omnino "totum in poteſtatem & gratiam concilii ejuſque de- "cretis ſuper hac re acquieſcas; ita namque fiet ut "concilium ob honorem Domini noſtri Regis Romano- "rum nunc præſentis, at fratris ejus Bohemiæ Re- "gis clementer acturum ſit tecum; aut ſi ex dictis "articulis quoſdam tenere ac defendere intendas, & "deſideres aliam audientiam, concedetur tibi qui- "dem; ſed tunc ſcias hic eſſe magnos & illuminatos "viros, qui fortiſſima habent adverſus articulos tuos "fundamenta, & verendum eſt ne inde gravioribus "involvaris erroribus. Id conſulendo dixerim tibi, "non ut judex* (25)." i. e. The witneſſes having been examined, and the heretical articles read in the aſſembly of the Fathers, the Cardinal of Cambray, being appointed Judge of this cauſe by the Council, ſpoke thus to John Huſs; "You ſee there "are two ways propoſed to you, that you may "chooſe one of them; either to ſubmit yourſelf "entirely to the will and mercy of the Council, "and conſent to its decrees upon this matter; for "then the Council will deal gently with you out of "regard to our Lord the King of the Romans now "preſent, and to his brother the King of Bohemia; or if you intend to maintain and defend "any of theſe articles, and deſire another hearing "for that purpoſe, it will be granted you indeed; "but know then, that here are great and learned men, who have the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt your articles; and it is to be feared, that "by your defence you may be involved in greater "errors. I ſpeak this as a friend, and not as a "judge." Mr. de Launoi having related this, adds, that this heretic choſe rather to maintain obſtinately his opinions, and to be burnt for them, than to follow the wholeſome counſel of Cardinal d'Ailli. *Verum litigioſus homo dogmata ſua nimis pertinaciter propugnare maluit & comburi, quam uſque adeò ſalubre Cardinalis Alliaci conſilium ſequi.*

(25) Launoi, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navar.* p. 474, from the relation of a certain Huſſite in Bzovius *ad ann.* 1415, num. 47.

[H] *He* appears in the Catalogue of the Witneſſes of Truth.*] "By order of the Council of the French "Church, he was commiſſioned to declare to the "two Popes, who contended for the Papacy, that "they ſhould immediately reſign their pretenſions "to it. In anſwer to this it was ſaid, that the "Popes of Rome are exempt from all imputations "of ſchiſm; but that they were the French Prelates, "who out of levity of mind had fallen into ſchiſm. "Upon this occaſion he was ſent again, according "to the advice of the Council held at Paris, with "the Sieur John Maingre, Marſhal de Boucicaud, "who fell very ſeverely upon the Antipope at Avignon, as likewiſe did Cardinal d'Ailli (26). It "is this, that ſeems to have occaſioned Henry Pantaleon to place him in the Catalogue of thoſe, "who in that age exclaimed both in perſon and by "their writings againſt the ambition of the Popes, "the corruption of the Church, and the ſchiſms and "diviſions, which roſe then every where; and the "ſame author tells us, that he wrote a book entitled, "*Of the Reformation of the Church*, which however does not appear in the Catalogue of his writings, which are very numerous, both in Divinity "and Mathematics (27)." Nothing is more certain, than what Pantaleon aſſures us concerning this book of Peter d'Ailli. With reſpect to *the Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth*, compiled by Flacius Illyricus, we find in that work Peter d'Ailli condemning the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation (28), and giving the Council of Conſtance a ſcheme a Reformation, according to which the Court of Rome would have been deprived of ſo many methods, by which they amaſs riches; the Prieſts would have been obliged to live regularly, and to execute their functions well; the pomp of ceremonies, unneceſſary feſtivals, the abuſe of faſting, and the canonizing of Saints, would have been aboliſhed; and the number of Monks, images, and churches, diminiſhed (29). We may certainly believe, that all the writings of our author were not adapted to pleaſe the Court of Rome, ſince there are three or four inſerted in the Appendix to *the Faſciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum* (30). Orthuinus Gratius had before inſerted in that *Faſciculus* the Treatiſe

* Dailly.

(26) See what du Pleſſis Mornai quotes from Froiſſard upon this ſubject, in his *Myſtery of Iniquity*, p. 486, &c. of the Saumur edition in 1611. in folio.

(27) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 7. p. 88.

(28) See the *Diſſertation of Mr. Allix before the* Determinatio, Fr. Joannis Pariſienſis, printed at London in 1686, in 8vo p. 71, 72.

(29) *See* du Pleſſis *Myſtery of Iniquity*, p. 523.

(30) Printed at London in 1690.

ner of their ſect with regard to the queſtion concerning *Accidents* [*I*]. He had been expelled his Epiſcopal Church, if we believe Eraſmus, who adds, that this baniſhment procured him a Cardinal's Hat (*k*). He wrote a great many books [*K*], ſome of which have never yet been printed [*L*]. He likewiſe wrote Verſes in his mother tongue [*M*]. Conſult the Authors quoted by Moreri, and inſtead of Friſſart, to whom he refers, read Froiſſard.

(*k*) *Petrum Aliacenſem Cameracenſis Civitas Epiſcopum ejecit; Roma ex exule fecit Cardinalem. Eraſm. de ratione conſcrib. Epiſtol. Epiſt. conſolat.*

of this Cardinal *De Emendatione Eccleſiæ*," i. e. "Of reforming the Church." What I have ſaid concerning the leſſening the number of Monks, does not agree with what was told to Thevet, that he wrote a book entitled *The Buckler of Poverty*, in which he makes an apology for the Mendicant Friars (31).

(31) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* p. 90.

[*I*] *The Carteſians conſider him alſo as a fore-runner of their ſect with regard to the Queſtion of Accidents.*] A Profeſſor of Louvain one of the moſt reſolute oppoſers of Des Cartes, *became one of his moſt zealous followers, after he had found in the moſt approved authors of the Church his opinion concerning Tranſubſtantiation, which was almoſt the only point, that was an obſtacle to him. Some time after this he inſerted in his Theſes of Divinity an extract from a book, which Cardinal d'Ailli, Biſhop of Cambray, wrote upon the Maſter of Sentences, in order to ſhew, that the Cardinal held the ſame opinion as Des Cartes, touching the Accidents of the Euchariſt, and reconciled it with the definition of the general Council of Conſtance* (32).

(32) Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. 4. p. 522.

[*K*] *He wrote a great many books.*] His *Commentaries upon the Maſter of Sentences*, and *the four Treatiſes*, which are inſerted in the Appendix to the *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum*, were printed at Straſbourg in 1490. There was likewiſe publiſhed at the ſame place, and at the ſame time a volume of his *Tracts* and *Sermons*. Part of theſe Tracts was reprinted at Doway in 1634 under the direction of Leander de St. Martin, Profeſſor of Hebrew at Doway. Thevet aſſures us, that *there is a book of Peter d'Ailli, printed in the year* 1410, *the twelfth of Auguſt, at the firſt riſe of Printing in France, in which there is a great number of mathematical figures* (33). This is impoſſible; for Printing was not invented till about the year 1440. He might have ſaid, that there was printed at Louvain in 1487 the *Sacramentale* of this author, and at Paris in 1488 (34) his *Quæſtiones in ſphæram mundi Joannis de Sacroboſco cum Commentariis Petri Cirveli Daronenſis Hiſpani*. His *Diſcourſes upon Meteors* were printed at Straſbourg in 1504, and at Vienna in Auſtria in 1509. His *Life of Pope Celeſtin V*, was printed at Paris in 1539 (35), and is inſerted in the *Lives of the Saints* compiled by Surius. The title of that book affords ſome difficulty, becauſe it gives our author the character of *Confeſſor to Charles V*; but it is much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that by a miſtake Charles V was put inſtead of Charles VI, than to ſay, that there was another Peter d'Ailli. Poſſevin, who imagined this, is much miſtaken. I can find no ſubject, that this Cardinal was ſo fond of, as Aſtrology; for, beſides the ſcheme for correcting the *Calendar* which he preſented to the Council of Conſtance, he wrote the following books: *Tractatus de vero Cyclo Lunari: Vigintilogium de Concordantiâ aſtronomicæ veritatis cum Theologiâ: Tractatus de Concordia aſtronomicæ veritatis & narrationis hiſtoricæ* (36): *Tractatus elucidarius aſtronomicæ concordiæ cum theologia & cum hiſtorica narratione: Apologetica defenſio aſtronomicæ veritatis* (37): *Alia ſecunda apologetica defenſio ejuſdem* (38): *Tractatus de concordia diſcordantium aſtronomorum*. The Sieur du Peyrat aſſures us (39), that Bodin in his Preface to his *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, mentions a book compoſed by Cardinal d'Ailli, wherein he aſſerts, that *there is not one concluſive demonſtration in Ariſtotle, except that, by which he proves there is but one God*. There are two ſmall objections againſt this; for Bodin does not ſay, as du Peyrat inſinuates, that Peter d'Ailli wrote a particular Treatiſe upon that ſubject; and he tells us, that this author obſerved in *Ariſtotle* ſome other demonſtrations, tho' but a few (40).

(33) Thevet, *Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 7. p. 89.

(34) According to Geſner, *Biblioth.* fol. 547 *verſo*, it was in the year 1468.

(35) All this is taken from Mr. de Launoi, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navar.* p. 476, *& ſeq.* or from Father Labbe *de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 180.

(36) He wrote it at Baſil in 1418.

(37) He wrote this at Cologne in Sept. 1418.

(38) Written at Cologne in Oct. 1418.

(39) In his *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi de France*, p. 345.

[*L*] *Some of which have never yet been printed.*] They are in the Library of the college of Navarre (41). Mr. de Launoi gives a Catalogue of them. Some of them contain anſwers to ſeveral curious queſtions; as for inſtance, *Utrum eſſe tria ſuppoſita unius naturæ ſit perfectio*; that is, "Whether "three perſons ſubſiſting in one nature, be a "perfection:" *Utrum libertas creaturæ rationalis ante & poſt lapſum intrinſicè ſit æqualis*; that is, "Whether the liberty of a rational creature be- "fore and ſince the fall is intrinſically equal:" *Utrum creaturæ rationalis conſcientia erronea ejus actum excuſare poſſit*; i. e. "Whether an erroneous "conſcience of a rational creature can excuſe its "act." This laſt queſtion put me in mind of ſeveral writings, which appeared in Holland ſome time ſince upon the Rights of an erroneous conſcience. It was proved in ſo demonſtrative a manner, that every action done contrary to the light of conſcience, is eſſentially evil, and that ſuch an action ought abſolutely and indiſpenſably to be avoided, that thoſe, who oppoſed this doctrine, hurried themſelves into this ſhocking poſition, *that we ought not always to act according to the conviction of conſcience*; from whence it follows, that we do ſometimes a good action by acting againſt our conſcience. This is a monſtrous doctrine, which deſtroys the foundation of all morality; and in compariſon of this the moſt extravagant notion of the Jeſuits about probability is innocent and modeſt. But what is moſt extraordinary in this affair, is, that they are a ſet of fanatics and enthuſiaſts, who have run themſelves upon this precipice; people, who above all others have the moſt intereſt in maintaining the ſovereign rights of conſcience.

(40) Bodin, *Preface de la Demonomanie*, p. 14.

(41) There is ſome part of them at Cambridge in Emmanuel College. Oudin, *Supplem. de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 690.

[*M*] *He wrote Verſes in his mother-tongue.*] I quote my author in the margin, who aſſures us, that *Peter d'Ailli wrote a great many French Verſes in that ſort of number, which was uſed at that time; they were tranſlated into Latin Verſe by Nicholas de Clemangis. I have ſeen ſome of them*, ſays he (42), *printed above a hundred years ago.* He adds, that *the ſame author wrote in French a book intitled, The ſeven Degrees of the Scale of Penitence figured and ſhewn upon the ſeven penitential Pſalms, printed at Paris.* I apprehend that La Croix du Maine is miſtaken with reſpect to the laſt piece; for Mr. de Launoi obſerves expreſly, that Anthony Belard tranſlated into French a Latin Treatiſe of Peter d'Ailli, upon *the ſeven Penitential Pſalms*; and that Dennis de Harſi printed that Tranſlation at Lyons in 1544 in 16mo (43).

(42) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Franc.* p. 381.

(43) Launoi, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarræ*, pag. 479.

The following is a Supplement to this: "The "French Verſes of Peter d'Ailli, which la Croix du "Maine ſpeaks of, are but thirty two in number, "and contain a ſhort Deſcription of the life of a ty- "rant. Nicholas de Clemangis made a Paraphraſe "upon them in Latin Hexameters, printed with the "French Original of Peter d'Ailli at the end of a "book intitled *The Contempt of the Court*, tranſlat- "ed from the Spaniſh of Guevara, into French, Ita- "lian, and High-Dutch, printed at Geneva in 16mo, "by John de Tournes, in 1605. *The Paraphraſe "of Clemangis* is likewiſe printed at the end of his "*Epiſtles*, p. 355 of the Leyden Edition. As for "the Tranſlation of Anthony Belard, we are told "by Anthony du Verdier, p. 51 of his *Bibliotheque*, "that it was printed in 1542, by Denys de Harſi, "in 16mo, at Lyons (44).

(44) Mr. de la Monnoie's MS. Remarks.

☞AILLI (PETER D'). We ſhall add ſome circumſtances relating to this great man, omitted or not known to Mr. Bayle. Mr. Lenfant informs us (*a*), that his father was a butcher (*ex patre Lanione*) (*b*); which is ſo far from any reflection upon the Cardinal, that it is the greateſt compliment to his merit, which raiſed him above all the

(*a*) *Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance*, tom. 1. l. 1. p. 54. edit. Amſterdam. 1727.

(*b*) This is affirmed by Leonard Pipart Advocate at Cambray, who ſaw at Compiegne the Epitaph of the Cardinal's father.

the diſadvantages, that his low circumſtances at firſt laid him under. Some writers indeed have ſaid, that he was of the noble and ancient family of the Ailli's in Picardy; but this is a miſtake, as the Count d'Ailli aſſured one of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain at Cambray (*c*). He was made Archbiſhop of Cambray in 1391. In 1411 John XXIII made him a Cardinal Prieſt of the title of St. Chryſogonus. The ſame Pope ſent him Legate into Germany, and particularly Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Saltzbourg, and Prague, and the Dioceſe of Cambray, which belonged then to the Province of Rheims. During his Legateſhip he wrote ſeveral works, as well as at the Council of Conſtance, where he acted with the utmoſt zeal for the reformation of the church. He died in the year 1419 or 1420, and not in 1425 or 1426, as Onuphrius, Ciaconius and Bellarmin have aſſerted (*d*). Mr. Bayle is miſtaken in ſaying, that it was in 1425. Mr. de Launoi obſerves (*e*), that there was about the ſame time in the Univerſity of Paris another Peter d'Ailli; but it is not known whether he was related to the former. He aſſerted in the Council of Conſtance, that ſeveral general councils had erred, not only in point of fact, but even in right, and what is ſtill more, in faith (*f*). His Sermon before that Council concerning the duty of the Emperor, the Pope, and other members of the Council in the affair of the union and reformation of the Church, is very remarkable [*A*]. He expreſly maintained, that a general Council was ſuperior to a Pope [*B*]. He endeavoured to confound

(*c*) *See* Lenfant, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navar.* tom. 1. p. 99, 100. and Von der Hardt *Vit. Petr. de Alliac.* tom. 1. p. 450. quoted by Mr. Lenfant.

(*f*) Lenfant, vol. 1. p. 72.

[*A*] *His Sermon before that Council . . . is very remarkable.*] His Text from St. Luke (1), *And there ſhall be ſigns in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars.* He told the Council, that the Pope is the *Sun*, the Emperor the *Moon*, becauſe he preſides over the night, that is, in temporal affairs, and the *Stars* the different orders of Eccleſiaſtics. With regard to the *Signs* or *Wonders* he found them in the Council, which he conſidered as the *Heaven*, in which were the Sun, Moon and Stars, and which ought to preſent the world with the agreeable proſpect of the reformation and union of the church. *Quæ ſint iſta ſigna cæleſtia, quæ verba prædicta nobis futura prænunciant. Pro quo penſandum nobis eſt, quod in Cælo ſpiritualiter intellecto, hoc eſt in hoc ſacro generali Concilio, quo univerſalis repræſentatur Eccleſia, in Sole, Lunâ, & Stellis apparere incipiunt ſigna multa, ſigna magna, ſigna utique cæleſtia, ſua multitudine ſtupenda, ſua magnitudine miranda, ſuâ novitate jucunda, quæ plurimis retroactis temporibus fuerunt abſcondita, fueruntque triſtia ſigna illis omnino contraria* (2). He then proceeds to affirm, that there can be no reformation of the church without an union, nor any union without a reformation of it. And ing repreſented what qualifications were neceſſary to a Pope in order to be the *Sun* of the Church, he aſſerts, that a Pope without them is not a Pope, but a mere phantom and idol of one. " If, for inſtance, " ſays he, a Pope enters unlawfully into the Church " through a criminal ambition; if his morals are vi- " cious and ſcandalous; if he governs in too neg- " ligent or tyrannical a manner, he can never poſſi- " bly be conſidered as the Sun of the Church. I " wiſh, continues he, the holy Trinity would break " to pieces thoſe three *Statues*, which have raiſed " themſelves in the Church. I have ſaid long ago, " that however adorable a Trinity of Perſons may be " in the Godhead, a Trinity of Popes is equally abo- " minable." His manner of explaining the Emperor's duty with regard to the affairs of the Council, is as follows. " The Emperor, ſays he, is come here, not " to preſide over us, but to be uſeful to us; not to " determine authoritatively concerning Eccleſiaſtical " and ſpiritual affairs, but to ſupport by his power " whatever ſhall be reſolved by the Council; not " that he would interpoſe in forming decrees or con- " firming them, but rather in obſerving them religi- " ouſly himſelf, and repreſſing and ſubduing the " rebellious and diſobedient with the temporal ſword. " He reduces to three heads, all that was neceſſary " for the Council to deliberate upon; that is, the re- " formation of the church, the union, and the " good government of it, and ſome proper precauti- " ons to prevent ſchiſms and other diſorders. As he " is of opinion, that nothing but a general Council " can reduce the church to ſuch a ſtate, he concludes, " that it is a pernicious error of the flatterers of the " Pope, when they have the confidence to detract ſo " far from the authority of the Council, as to ſay, " that the Pope is not obliged to follow their reſolu- " tions, and that his judgment is to be followed, tho' " it be contrary to that of the Council. This opi- " nion, ſays he, is founded upon nothing but ſome " decretals (3), which are miſunderſtood, and ſome " poſitive laws, which have been introduced in op- " poſition to the law of Nature and of God, and to " the prejudice of the Church (4).

(1) Ch. xxi. ver. 25.

(2) Von der Hardt, tom. 1. p. 437. *apud* Lenfant, *ubi ſupra* l. 1. p. 77, 78.

(3) Von der Hardt, tom. 1. p. 449, 450.

(4) *See* Lenfant, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *That a general Council was ſuperior to a Pope.*] In the ſixth Seſſion of the Council of Conſtance there was a diſpute whether Wickliff's doctrine ſhould be condemned in the Pope's name, or only in that of the Council, without mentioning the Pope. Ailli maintained the latter opinion, becauſe the Council was above the Pope, who only made a part of the Council; nay, he carried this ſuperiority of the Council ſo far, that he affirmed they had a right of depoſing him. The Divines, who were of the contrary ſentiments, informed John XXIII of this; upon which Ailli wrote to him, that he would juſtify his conduct and opinion to the Cardinals and Divines aſſembled in council. This he did in a Memorial, inſerted in the Treatiſe which he wrote at Conſtance, concerning *the Authority of the Council over the Pope*; and he ſupports his opinion by theſe reaſons (5), " 1. Becauſe ſeveral decrees of Councils, " and even thoſe of divers Popes, are expreſſed in " this manner, *The Council ordains or decrees*; as " for inſtance the Council of Jeruſalem, which ſpeaks " in the name of the whole aſſembly, and not of St. " Peter in particular. 2. That Pope Gregory having " ſaid that he revered the four general Councils as " the four Goſpels, for this reaſon, becauſe they " were eſtabliſhed by univerſal conſent, it follows " evidently enough from thence, that it belongs to " general Councils to determine upon matters of " faith. 3. That the authority of the Council over " the Pope takes place, eſpecially in thoſe caſes, " where the point is to judge between Popes, who " are competitors, as it happened in the Schiſm be- " tween Symmachus and Laurentius, when the Bi- " ſhops, who were called together by Theodoric, " ſpoke in the name of the Council, and not of the " Pope. 4. That it is an error, and even, according " to ſome, an hereſy to maintain, as ſeveral perſons " do, that the Council has no authority of itſelf, but " only from the Pope, who is the head; becauſe it " would follow from thence that the Council of Piſa " had no authority, as it was not called by any Pope, " and conſequently John XXIII was not lawfully " elected, ſince he ſucceeded Alexander V. who was " choſen by that Council. 5. That the ſame Coun- " cil was ſuperior to the Pope, becauſe they depoſed " two Popes, and that every other general Council " may do the ſame. 6. That ſince the Council with " the Pope, when he is preſent, conſtitutes but one " and the ſame myſtical body, of which the Pope is " the head, it cannot poſſibly be ſaid, that one ſingle " member ſhould have more authority than the " whole body. 7. That we may conclude in ſhort " from hence how falſe that opinion of ſome Law- " yers is, who pretend, that *none but the Pope has* " *a right of determining in the Council; that the* " *Council has no right but to adviſe; that the Pope* " *has a liberty of rejecting the advice and conſultation* " *of*

(5) Von der Hardt. tom. 5. p. 60. and Oper. Gerſon. part II. p. 950. *apud* Lenfant, l. 2. p. 189.

found John Hus in a diſpute concerning *Tranſubſtantiation* by a very peculiar ſubtlety from Metaphyſics [C]. He wrote a little before the Council was called, *A Treatiſe concerning the Neceſſity of a Reformation of the Church, with reſpect to the Head and Members of it* [D]. He declared his opinion, that it was neceſſary to leſſen the number of Monaſteries

" *the Council, whereas his deciſion muſt always be* " *followed, though it be contrary to the judgment of* " *the Council.* To ſhew the falſity of this opinion, " the Cardinal aſſerts, that the univerſal Church, and " conſequently the Council which repreſents it, has " received from Jeſus Chriſt, and not from the Pope, " the privilege of infallibility in point of faith, a " privilege which the Pope does not enjoy, becauſe " he is liable to error.

[C] *A very peculiar ſubtlety from Metaphyſics.*] Hus was charged with maintaining, that *the material bread continued in the Sacrament after conſecration and the pronunciation of the words.* He anſwered this article by appealing to God, that he had never advanced or believed that propoſition. He only acknowledged, that the Archbiſhop of Prague having forbid him to uſe the word *Bread*, he could not comply with his injunction, becauſe in the ſixth chapter of St. John's Goſpel Chriſt is called ſeveral times *the Bread of Angels, which came down from heaven* (6), *to give life to the world*; but that he had never ſpoken of *material bread.* Cardinal d'Ailli holding a paper in his hand, which he ſaid he had received the day before, asked him whether he believed the *Univerſale à parte rei*; which is a mere ſubtlety of Metaphyſics, and is generally exploded now by the beſt Philoſophers as a diſpute about words only. Hus declaring that he believed it, becauſe it was the doctrine of St. Anſelm, and ſome other Doctors, the Cardinal preſſed him with a Dilemma, in order to ſhew, that he muſt either renounce the *Univerſale à parte rei*, or elſe believe, that the material bread continues after conſecration. Hus extricated himſelf out of this difficulty, by ſaying, that *Tranſubſtantiation was a miracle* (7), which could never be drawn into a conſequence with regard to natural things; juſt in the ſame manner as ſome of the beſt Philoſophers of the preſent age act, when they are urged with conſequences drawn from their own principles againſt the real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation. In ſhort, Ailli's objection affected Hus no more than it did all the Scotiſts, who believed the *Univerſale à parte rei*; and it muſt be owned, that this conduct of the Cardinal in this point was a piece of art unworthy of his character, ſince inſtead of being ſatisfied with Hus's expreſs declaration, he endeavoured to extort hereſy from him by the ſubtleties of the ſchools (8).

(6) He means *the Bread of Heaven, and the Bread of Life.* See his Treatiſe *Of the Body of Chriſt*, fol. 163.

(7) *Definit quidem eſſe in hoc ſingulari pane materiali, ſtante tali Tranſubſtantiatione, cum ille tunc mutatur, vel tranſit in corpus Chriſti, vel tranſubſtantiatur, ſed nihilominus in aliis ſingularibus ſubjectatur.* Oper. Hus. fol. 12. 2.

(8) Lenfant, tom. 1. lib. 3. pag. 309, 310.

[D] *A Treatiſe concerning the Neceſſity of a Reformation of the Church, with reſpect to the Head and Members of it.*] This Treatiſe was firſt publiſhed from a manuſcript at Vienna by Dr. Von der Hardt, who divided it into thirty chapters. The firſt chapter contains a general repreſentation of the corruption of the Church, and a confutation of the pretended infallibility of the Pope. " We are not to imagine, " *ſays Ailli*, that St. Peter by receiving the Keys " of the Church became exempt from the poſſibi- " lity of ſinning, ſince the whole time that he " continued upon earth, it was in his power to *err* " and *ſin*, according to the uſe, that he made of " his liberty. It is a miſtake to ſay, that when a " man is choſen Pope, he becomes a *Saint* upon " that very account, as the Canoniſts ſay, who pre- " tend that the Papal See finds the Pope a Saint, or " makes him ſo. We read that there have been " Popes who were heretics, necromancers, covetous, " proud, or criminal in other reſpects; ſo that it is a " great Paradox to ſay, that their election to the See " confers ſanctity upon them." In the ſecond chapter he ſhews, that in order to reſtore peace to the church, it was neceſſary to oblige the three competitors to agree, that he, who ſhould be choſen afterwards, ought to be a man of prudence and underſtanding, and of an exemplary life, and capable of executing that function. That ſuch a choice might be well managed, he was of the ſame opinion with Gerſon, that the whole affair was not to be committed to the Cardinals alone, but that the ableſt Prelates ſhould be joined with them; becauſe if the Cardinals had the election entirely in their power, they would certainly chooſe one of themſelves to the great ſcandal of the Church. *I wiſh*, ſays he, at the end of this chapter, *that I could but ſee the three Popes, who are competitors, in their pontifical habits, acting each of them like Popes, and officiating pontifically at the ſame time! I am very certain that they would be ſo confounded to ſee themſelves altogether in this ſtation, that they would not heſitate a moment about reuniting the Church under one ſingle Head.* The third chapter is againſt reſervations, and other ſimoniacal practices. He affirms, that the Church had been about 800 years without the leaſt mention of reſervations. In the fourth chapter he declares, that the Pope ſhould be obliged to obey the Decrees of the Council; otherwiſe the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be authorized to pay no longer any regard to him, and to reject his Bulls. In the fifth chapter he ſays, that the Pope ought not to be allowed to give the management of the patrimony of the Church of Rome to his nephews or relations, but to thoſe Cardinals, whoſe prudence and honeſty are well known, and who ſhould be choſen by the conſent of their whole College. He maintains in the ſixth chapter, that if this patrimony is well adminiſtred, it will be ſufficient to maintain the Pope in a very noble manner, without any occaſion for his reſerving the eccleſiaſtical benefices, to the prejudice of the Churches, and the Paſtors of them. In the ſame chapter he likewiſe repreſents very ſtrongly, that it is a great abuſe to give archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, and abbeys in *commendam* to Cardinals, becauſe they commit them to the care of Mercenaries, who neglect the flock. *Is it neceſſary*, ſays he, *that Cardinals ſhould live in ſo much pomp and ſplendor*, and that a man, who was ſeen yeſterday walking in the ſtreets attended only with one Clergyman, as ſoon as ever he is made Cardinal, (FORTUNA ANNUENTE, i. e. " BY THE " FAVOUR OF FORTUNE,)" *ſhould take up ſo much room, that the world is ſcarce capable of holding him, and ſhould be followed by as great a train, as if he was at the head of an army, juſt ready to join battle.* In this manner the Cardinal ſpeaks of his brethren. The other chapters are employed in the firſt place againſt the reſervations, the original of which he aſcribes to Boniface VIII, John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, and his Succeſſor; next, againſt ſimony, and the incapacity and unworthineſs of thoſe, who are raiſed to places in the church; and then againſt titular Biſhops, and thoſe, who do not take Orders; which abuſes were very frequent in Germany. He propoſes in the thirteenth chapter an aſſociation between the Emperor and the Pope, by which they engage to aſſiſt each other with their forces and authority, in order to recover the eſtates which have been wreſted both from the Empire and the Church in Italy and other Countries. In the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters he ſpeaks firſt of engaging the Turkiſh and Pagan Princes, who are converted to Chriſtianity, to ſwear ſolemnly to the Pope and the Emperor, that they will not make any treaty with Infidels and Schiſmatics; next he propoſes to mark out *a general paſſage* (9), *in order to go and conquer the Holy Land*, as it was executed under Pope Urban II, and the Emperor Henry V, at the time of a ſchiſm, and to raiſe for that purpoſe tenths throughout all Chriſtendom for the ſpace of three years. He pretends, that ſuch an expedition would extremely promote the union, becauſe it would purge Chriſtianity of a great number of bad ſubjects, who diſturb and divide it. *It is much better*, ſays he, *to raiſe the tenths for a pious undertaking, than to grant them, as the Popes do, to Chriſtian Princes, in order that they might make war upon each other.* We have two remarks of Ailli in the ſeventh and ninth chapters, which deſerve to be taken notice of; the firſt is, that the Popes by their reſervations had alienated ſeveral kingdoms from the Church of Rome, as Sicily, Bohemia, Hungary, England, Sweden, and Denmark; becauſe ſince the time of Boniface IX, the Clergy never

(9) *Paſſagium generale.*

Monaſteries and Monks [*E*], and to ſuffer people to work upon Feſtivals after ſervice was over [*F*]. He ſhewed himſelf favourable to the Jews [*G*].

never went out of thoſe kingdoms to the Court of Rome, in order to procure benefices. The other remark is, that as it was the ſimony of John XXIII, which had raiſed John Hus, and occaſioned all the troubles in Bohemia, there was no manner of hopes of appeaſing theſe diſorders, but by the reformation of the Court of Rome (10).

(10) Lenfant, tom. 2. l. 7. p. 295, *& ſeq.*

[*E*] *Neceſſary to leſſen the number of Monaſteries and Monks.*] He objected particularly againſt the Mendicant-Friars, who were very numerous and chargeable to the Public, and injurious to the real objects of charity; and he thought it extremely proper to prevent ſuch a great variety of orders, which muſt inevitably give occaſion to diſtinctions of vanity and pride and contention amongſt them. His words are as follow: *Videtur mihi quod tanta religioſorum numeroſitas & varietas non expediat, quæ inducit ad varietatem morum, & quandoque ad contrarietatem & repugnantiam obſervationum, & ſæpe ad ſingularitatem & ad ſuperbiam & vanam extollentiam unius ſtatus ſuper alium. Et maximè videtur neceſſarium, ut diminuerentur Ordines Mendicantium, quia tot ſunt & in numero conventuum & in numero ſuppoſitorum, ut eorum ſtatus ſit oneroſus hominibus, damnoſus leproſis, hoſpitalibus ac aliis verè pauperibus, quibus convenit jus & verus titulus mendicandi, ipſis quoque curatis parochialibus, & ſi benè conſideretur, etiam præjudicialis omnibus eccleſiæ ſtatibus* (11).

(11) Alliac. *ap.* Gerſon. tom. 2. p. 911.

[*F*] *To work upon feſtivals after the ſervice was over.*] The great number of holy-days was complained of at that time. Ailli expreſſed himſelf very ſtrongly upon this ſubject in his *Treatiſe of Reformation*, as well as upon the prodigious number of images and paintings in the churches. "Except on "Sundays and the great Feaſts of the Church, the "people ſhould be permitted to work on Feſtivals, "when the offices of the Church are over, as well "on account of the debauchery and exceſs, in "which the greateſt part of them ſpend thoſe days, "as from regard to the working people, who have "occaſion for their whole time, in order to maintain "themſelves (12)."

(12) Ibid. p. 91. and Lenfant, tom. 2. l. 7. pag. 357.

[*G*] *Favourable to the Jews.*] The Jews had been all along expoſed to the utmoſt ſeverities and perſecutions; they were baniſhed from England in 1291 (13) from France in 1295, and from ſeveral parts of Germany in 1298. Innocent III, and Clement V, iſſued out Bulls, in order to diſcover thoſe Jews, who had exerciſed uſury, and to oblige them to refund the intereſt of the money, which they had lent to the Chriſtians. In ſhort they were very often maſſacred upon the pretence of crucifying Chriſtian children, and ſtealing and tearing to pieces the hoſt. But Ailli and Henry of Heſſe, a famous Doctor, who was contemporary with him, expreſſed themſelves in favour of the Jews; the former in his *Treatiſe of Reformation*, and the latter in his *Counſel of Peace* (14). Ailli declares, that the Jews, who were converted, ought to be left in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, leſt being preſſed by poverty they ſhould turn apoſtates, and accuſe the Chriſtians of impiety. *Item ut Judæorum converſorum bona non rapiant, ſed ad vitæ neceſſitatem eis poſſidere permittant, ne egeſtate compulſi apoſtatent, & Chriſtianos impietatis arguant* (15). However the regulation of the College of Reformation at Conſtance was not extended very far with regard to the Jews. It was only determined, that when a Jew was inclined to become a convert, he ſhould be obliged to give up but half his goods as well moveable as immoveable, by way of reſtitution for his uſury among Chriſtians, and that the other half ſhould be left him by way of Alms, for the ſupport of himſelf and his family. The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to ſee ſo equitable a Decree of that Council in the original Latin. *Quia, ut expertum, quam plurimi Judæi utriuſque ſexus homines, per uſuram acquiſita reſtituere metuentes, ad Chriſtianiſmum ſuſcipiendum aliàs ſatis inclinati, ſeorſim abierunt, in ſuâ perfidiâ tanquam deſperati remanentes. Ideo hæc Synodus ſacroſancta decernit & ordinat, quod Judæus ad fidem Catholicam venire volens, non niſi in quantum medietas ejus ſubſtantiæ, tam in mobilibus quàm immobilibus ſe extendit, eis à quibus uſuras, ſi ſuperſint, recepit, alioquin hæredibus ſecundùm proportionem uſurarum receptarum, reſtituere teneatur; reliquâ medietate ſibi & ſuis liberis abſque mendicitate educandis in modum eleemoſynæ miſericorditer derelicta* (16).

(13) Cave, *Hiſt. Litt.* p. 667. ed. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(14) *Apud* Gerſon. tom. 2. pag. 838.

(15) Alliac. *apud* Gerſon. tom. 2. p. 915.

(16) *See* Lenfant, tom. 2. l. 7. p. 361, 562.

T.

☞AILRED, ÆLRED, EALRED, or ETHELRED, a Monk of the Ciſtercian Order, was Abbot of Riveſby in Lincolnſhire (*a*). He flouriſhed about the year 1150. He was educated in Scotland with Henry the ſon of David King of Scots; after which he returned to England, where he retired to the Monaſtery abovementioned, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the extraordinary ſanctity of his life, and the extent of his learning, for he was a maſter of every branch of Literature. His merit alone raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot of that Convent, where he wrote ſeveral pieces [*A*]. He was highly eſteemed

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Litt. Sæc.* xii. p. 585. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] *Hiſtoria de Vita & Miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confeſſoris*; That is, "The Hiſtory of the Life and Miracles of St. Ed"ward the King and Confeſſor;" printed among the Engliſh writers publiſhed by Twiſden at London 1652 (1). *The Life of St. Edward the King* dedicated to Laurence Abbot of Weſtminſter, and written in Elegiac Verſe, is extant in Manuſcript in Genvil and Caius College at Cambridge (2). *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, i. e. "The Genealogy of the Kings "of England," printed in Twiſden's Collection (3). *De Bello Standardii tempore Stephani Regis, anno* 1138 (4). i. e. "Of the Standard War in the time "of King Stephen in the year 1138." *Hiſtoria de Sanctimoniali de Watthun* (5). i. e. "The Hiſtory "of the Nun of Watthun." *Sermones de tempore & Sanctis.* i. e. "Sermons upon Time and the "Saints." *In Iſaiam Prophetam Sermones XXXI.* i. e. "Thirty one Sermons upon the Prophet Iſaiah." *Speculum Charitatis Libris III. cum Compendio ejuſdem.* i. e. "The Mirror of Charity in three Books, "with an Abridgment of it." *Tractatus de puero Jeſu duodecenni in illud Luc. II,* cum factus eſſet Jeſus &c. i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the child "Jeſus when he was twelve years old, upon that "paſſage of St. Luke ii. *when he was twelve years "old, &c.*" publiſhed by David Camerarius (6). *De Spirituali Amicitia Lib. III.* i. e. "Of Spiritual Friend"ſhip, in three Books." Theſe five laſt pieces were publiſhed by Richard Gibbons a Jeſuit at Doway 1631, and in the *Bibliotheca Ciſtercienſis* (7), and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (8). *Regula ad Incluſas ſeu Moniales*; i. e. "Rules for the Nuns", falſely aſcribed to St. Auſtin, but printed in Ailred's name in *Holſtenius's Collection of Rules* (9). *Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiphaniæ, & Sermones XI de Oneribus Eſaiæ*; i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the "Sunday before the Octaves of Epiphany, and ele"ven Sermons upon Iſaiah's Burdens," printed among St. Bernard's works. The reader will find in Bale and Pits an account of his other works, which are not now extant, or were never publiſhed; and a very exact catalogue of thoſe writings of his, which are ſtill in Manuſcript, with the Libraries where they are to be found, in Oudin (10). His *Speculum Charitatis*, is an excellent work, and full of noble maxims concerning the love of God, and other Chriſtian virtues; and his Treatiſe *De Spirituali Amicitia* is written in the manner of a Dialogue, wherein he endeavours to ſhew, that there can be no true and ſolid friendſhip, but between Chriſtians and Men of Virtue.

(1) Pag. 369.

(2) *Claſs B. Codice* 52.

(3) P. 347.

(4) Ibid. p. 337.

(5) Ibid. p. 415.

(6) *De Sectorum Fortitudine*, l. 3. c. 41. *Pariſ.* 1631.

(7) Tom. 5. p. 16.

(8) Tom. 23. p. 1.

(9) Part 3. pag. 109.

(10) *Ubi ſupra*, Col. 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492.

T.

esteemed during the reigns of King Stephen and Henry II; and he was canonized on account of the miracles which he is said to have performed after his death. Leland, who gives this account of him (*b*), supposes that he was born in Scotland, and afterwards came into England; but Dr. Cave is of opinion that he was born in England, and educated in Scotland, where he refused a Bishoprick that was offered him, and returned to England. This point is accurately discussed in Dempster (*c*). He died the 12th of January 1166 (*d*). He applied himself to a devotional kind of writing, and endeavoured to imitate St. Bernard in his manner.

(*b*) In a Manuscript life of him quoted by Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. & Scriptis Eccles.* tom. 2. Sæc. 12. Col. 1487. edit. Lipsiæ 1722.

(*c*) *In Apparatu ad Historiam Scoticam, in Menologio die 5 Jan. & in Hist. Eccles.* l. 5. c. 457.

(*d*) Cave and Oudin, *ubi supra.*

AIMON Prince of the Ardennes, was the father, it is said (*a*), of the four Heroes, which our old Romances speak so magnificently of. They are generally called the *Four Sons of Aimon.* They had but one horse among them all, which was named Bayard. I should not have mentioned a thing, which is considered only as an idle tale, but for the sake of observing, that these grotesque stories of our old Romance-writers, and their Tales of Knights-Errant, have broken in even upon our religion itself. The superstition of the people have brought them into their devotion; and if any one had at first told these impertinent writers, *Hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala* (*b*): i. e. "These trifles will involve us in serious consequences," he would have proved a true Prophet. The *History of Luxembourgh*, written by John Bartols, Abbot of Epternach, acquaints us, that Renaud, the eldest of these four brothers, suffered martyrdom for the name of Jesus Christ, and was canonized, and that the church observes his feast; and that he had churches dedicated to him, and particularly that of St. Renaud in the territories of Cologne, to which is joined a Convent of Nuns. There is likewise at Cologne a church of the same Saint, near that of St. Maurice, and in it the picture of the four brothers upon the wall. They are all seated upon the same horse, and the eldest of them Renaud had a Diadem [*α*] round his head, as a mark of his being a Saint. It is pretended, that after he had been a great soldier under Charlemagne, he became a Monk at Cologne (*c*), and died a Martyr; and that upon the account of the miracles, which he did after his death, he had a church dedicated to him (*d*).

(*a*) Johan. Bertols *Hist. Luxemb. in Descript. Oppidi Cbimiacbi.*

(*b*) Horat. *de Arte Poet.*

(*c*) Ferrarius *in in Catal. Sanctor. ad 7 Januar.*

(*d*) *See* Voetii *Disput. Theolog.* tom. 3. p. 508.

(*α*) The common word is *Aureole*, a *Glory*, from the Latin *Aureola*, used in that signification, but ironically, by the University of Cracow, in the following passage, published in pag. 585 of the 1st Tome (2d edit. Amster. 1726) *of the History of the Council of Constance*, by Mr. Lenfant. *Si fines inclyti Regni Poloniæ tanquam Vulpeculæ ..... subintrare satagerent* (Hussitæ) *non ignius apud nos ac apud vos facibus flammeis vestiti, pro suis dogmatibus* ignitas *exciperent* aureolas. i. e. "If these Hussites, like "Foxes, should attempt to steal into our famous "Kingdom of Poland, we would as carefully seek "them out, as you have done, and commit them to "the flames; so that for their heretical opinions "they should infallibly receive *Crowns of Fire.*" See Menage in the word *Aureole* in his *Dict. Etym.* CRIT. REM.

☞ AIRAY (HENRY) an eminent Calvinistical Divine of the Church of England, was born in Westmoreland, and educated in Grammar learning by the care of Bernard Gilpin, who was called *The Northern Apostle.* He was sent by him in 1579, when he was about nineteen years of age, to St. Edmund's Hall in Oxford, where he was supported by Gilpin's generosity, who likewise left him a legacy in his last will, dated 27th October 1582. Soon after he was translated to Queen's College, where he passed through the lower offices of *pauper puer serviens* (*a*), and Tabarder (*b*), till he took the degree of Master of Arts and was made Fellow in 1586. About the same time he entered into holy orders, and became a frequent and zealous preacher in the University, particularly in the church of *St. Peter in the East* joining to Queen's College. In 1594 he took the degree of Batchelor of Divinity, and was elected four years after Provost of his College. In 1600 he commenced Doctor of Divinity, and six years after was made Vice-Chancellor of the University. In this office he shewed himself a zealous maintainer of the Calvinistical opinions, which were the current doctrines of the Church of England at that time. He was highly esteemed by those of his own sentiments [*A*]. He wrote several works [*B*], and died in Queen's College the tenth of October 1616, being fifty seven years of age, and was buried in the inner chapel of that College. He had two monuments with inscriptions erected to his memory (*c*). There was likewise another

(*a*) That is, a *poor serving child*, who waits on the Fellows in the Common Hall at meals, and in their chambers, and does other servile work in the College.

(*b*) *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius*, called so because they wore formerly Coats or upper Gowns, very like those of Heralds.

(*c*) Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 1. Col. 408, 409. 2d edit. 1721.

[*A*] *He was highly esteemed by those of his own sentiments.*] They said, that notwithstanding his resolutions to continue in obscurity, and his inclination to a retired and private life, his integrity, learning, and indefatigable pains in the discharge of his ministerial functions were so eminent, that he could not conceal himself from the eye of the world, but was soon brought out of his retirement to the most considerable offices of the university. His care and dexterity in the government of his college were likewise very remarkable; and many persons of distinguished merit in Church and State were formed under his discipline.

[*B*] *He wrote several works.*] They were all printed after his death; and are as follows: *Lectures upon the whole Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians.* London 1618, 4to. These Lectures were preached in the Church of St. Peter in the East in Oxon, and published after his death by Christopher Potter Fellow of Queen's College. *The just and necessary Apology touching his suit in law for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordshire.* London 1621, 8vo, published by Potter. *A Treatise against bowing at the Name of Jesus.* Mr. Wood does not mention when it was printed. This point of bowing at the name of Jesus was much controverted between the old Puritans and some members of the Church of England; and divers pieces were written on both sides. Tho. Beacon, an old Calvinist, had long before wrote upon that subject; and Dr. William Whitaker, and Dr. Andrew Willet, two famous Divines, who were contemporaries with our author, published Tracts to the same purpose.

another author of the ſame name, Chriſtopher Airy, born at Clifton in Weſtmorland, who became a ſtudent in Queen's College in Michaelmas Term 1621, and at laſt Fellow and Maſter of Arts. He took the degrees of Batchelor of Divinity in 1642, and was made Vicar of Milford in Hampſhire. He died the 18th of October 1670, being ſixty nine years of age, and was buried in the Chancel of the Church of Milford. He wrote beſides other things not mentioned by Mr. Wood a piece intitled, *Faſciculus præceptorum Logicalium in gratiam Juventutis Academiæ compoſitus*; i. e. "A Collection of "of the Rules of Logic for the Uſe of the Students of the Univerſity." Oxon. 1660, 2d ed. 8vo (*d*). We ſhall give his Epitaph below [*C*].

(*d*) Wood, Vol. 2. Col. 470.

[*C*] *We ſhall give his Epitaph below.*] *Memoriæ ſacrum Chriſtophori Airay S. T. Bac. olim Colle. Reg. Oxon. Socii, & hujus Eccleſiæ Vicarii vigilantiſſimi, Viri ſummæ integritatis, judicii acerrimi, & ingenii literarum omnium capacis; qui difficillimo ſeculo inter æſtuantes rerum fluctus clavum rectum tenuit. Mortalitatem tandem exuit* 18 *Oct. annos natus* 69, *&c.* That is, "Sacred to the memory of Chriſtopher Airay Batchelor of Divinity, formerly Fellow of "Queen's College, and the very vigilant Vicar of this "Church; a Man of the moſt exemplary integrity, "and penetrating judgment, and of a genius capable "of all kinds of learning; who in the moſt difficult times, amidſt all the ſtorms, which agitated "the kingdom, ſtill kept himſelf firm and reſolved "in the right courſe. He put off mortality the 18th "of October, being 69 years of age, &c." T.

☞AISTULPHUS the twenty ſecond King of the Lombards (*a*), ſucceeded his brother Rachid, who had retired into a Monaſtery, A. D. 750 (*b*). The Emperors of Conſtantinople had then already loſt whatever they poſſeſſed in Italy except the Exarchate of Ravenna; Rome with its Duchy, including part of Tuſcany and Campania, revolting in the year 726, became a free State under the Government of the Senate of the City. At that time the Lombards alſo being zealous for the worſhip of Images, and pretending to favour the cauſe of the Pope, invaded the Cities of the Exarchate, and at length A. D. 752, Aiſtulphus, King of Lombardy, took the city of Ravenna and put an end to the Exarchate (*c*). The Popes were not pleaſed to ſee that country in the hands of Lombards, they thought it would have been much better if they had been themſelves poſſeſſed of it; and as long as it belonged to the Emperors they were in hopes of getting it, becauſe the Emperors reſiding at Conſtantinople could not eaſily defend thoſe countries they ſtill poſſeſſed in Italy. Therefore Pope Stephen III. knowing better how to deal with the Greek Emperor, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſays (*d*), than with the Lombards, went to Aiſtulphus and intreated him to return the Exarchate to the Emperor [*A*]. But this not ſucceeding he went into France*, and perſuaded King Pipin to take the Exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and give it to St. Peter (*e*). At that time Aiſtulphus endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of Rome; he had already put the city and the country round about it under contribution, requiring a piece of gold from every perſon at Rome (*f*): Pipin firſt ſent Embaſſadors to Aiſtulphus, demanding of him not to commit any hoſtilities in the territories of Rome, and to reſtore the cities he had taken, which the Pope claimed as belonging to St. Peter's Patrimony. Aiſtulphus received the Embaſſadors very honourably, but yet he refuſed to comply with their requeſt, and in his turn ſent an Embaſſador to Pipin, no doubt, in order to repreſent his own right to the Provinces which the Pope claimed [*B*]. The King of France finding that Aiſtulphus would not hearken to his Embaſſadors, entered the next year into Italy, and advanced as far as Maurienne (*g*). As ſoon as Aiſtulphus was acquainted with it he came with all his forces againſt the French, but

(*a*) *Excerpta Chron. Sancti Vincentii De Vulturno, apud* Du Cheſne, *Hiſt. Franc. Scriptor.* tom. 3. p. 693.

(*b*) Petav. *Rat. Temp.* tom. 1. l. 8. cap. 7. pag. 334.

(*c*) Paul. Diac. *Hiſt. Longobar.* l. 6. *apud* Du Cheſne, ibid. tom. 2. pag. 205. Sigon. *de Regn. Ital. ad ann.* 726, 752. *ap.* Newton, *Obſervat. upon the Prophec. of Daniel*, p. 78.

(*d*) Ibid.

* A. C. 753.

(*e*) Newton, ib.

(*f*) *Excerpta Chron. St. Vincent. apud* Du Cheſne, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 3. p. 693.

(*g*) A County in Savoy.

[*A*] *Stephen III knowing better how to treat with the Greek Emperor than with the Lombards, went to Aiſtulphus and entreated him to return the Exarchate to the Emperor.*] The cunning Pope, who wanted to encreaſe his power, knew very well that the Emperor being far off, and moreover encompaſſed with enemies on every ſide, could not eaſily maintain his dominions in Italy. Whereas the King of Lombardy being next at hand was in a condition to keep all the conqueſts he could make, and was too hard a match for the Popes. Stephen under pretence of maintaining the Emperor's cauſe, pleaded his own; he was perſuaded, that if once the Exarchate was out of the hands of the Lombards, it would be an eaſy matter for him to become maſter of it. Aiſtulphus was wiſe enough to know that the Popes were already too powerful, and that their tyranny would become inſufferable, if the temporal ſword was added to the ſpiritual, of which he knew how to make uſe with pride and inſolence. But Pipin's ſtupidity is ſurprizing; he knew how powerful the Popes were already, tho' they had not yet any temporal dominions, ſince it was to Pope Zechary he owed the Crown; and how uncontroulable muſt their authority be if they became temporal Princes, yet Pipin, by an untimely gratitude laboured to forge chains, by which he himſelf might be enſlaved. It is to him the Popes are indebted for their dower, which in a little time they improved to ſuch a degree, that they really reigned over all the ſovereign Princes of Europe.

[*B*] *Aiſtulphus ſent an Embaſſador to Pipin, in order to repreſent his own right &c.*] This Embaſſador was Carloman Pipin's own brother, a Benedictine Monk. He had orders to anſwer the arguments, which the Pope's Embaſſadors might alledge, and to oppoſe all their efforts. But his endeavours were all in vain; for the King having detected Aiſtulphus's craft, was the more confirmed in his reſolution to ſupport the cauſe of God's Church and of the Pope. It is worth while to ſee in what manner the author, who tells us this circumſtance, expreſſes himſelf. *Nefandiſſimus Aiſtulphus*, ſays he (1), *Carolomannum fratrem benigniſſimi Pipini Regis in Monaſterio beati Benedicti, in quo devotè per evolutum temporis ſpacium monachicè degebat, diabolicis eum ſuaſionibus ſuadens, Franciæ provinciam ad objiciendum atque averſandum cauſæ redemptionis ſanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ, & Reipublicæ Romanorum, direxit. Dumque illuc conjunxiſſet, nitebatur omninò, & vehementius decertabat. Sanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ cauſas ſubvertere juxta quod à præfato nec dicendo Aiſtulfo Tyranno fuerat directus. Sed propitiante Domino minimè valuit ſui germani Chriſtianiſſimi Pipini Regis Francorum in hoc firmiſſimum cor inclinare. Potius autem compertâ nequiſſimi Aiſtulfi verſutiâ, totâ ſe virtute idem excellentiſſimus Pipinus*

(1) Anaſtaſius, *Bibliotb. in Vit. Stephani III. ap.* Du Cheſne, tom. 2. p. 210.

but his army was routed and himſelf obliged to fly to Pavia, the capital city of his Kingdom. Pipin purſued him cloſely, and pitched his camp very near Pavia, having firſt burnt and laid waſte all the country through which he paſt. Aiſtulphus finding himſelf very much ſtraitened began to propoſe articles of peace; he promiſed never to moleſt the Pope again, to reſtore him whatever belonged to the Church, and never to recede from the allegiance he owed to the King of France. Pipin, who as my Author ſays (*b*), was a very compaſſionate Prince, accepted Aiſtulphus's propoſals, who ſwore to the promiſes he made, and gave moreover hoſtages to aſcertain the performance of them. Pipin having ſent the Pope with great ſolemnity to Rome, returned into France with a large booty. Aiſtulphus ſoon forgot all his promiſes, which in all likelihood he made only with an intention to break them on the firſt opportunity; for the next year, to revenge himſelf on the Pope, he beſieged the city of Rome [*C*]. The Pope immediately ſent Letters to Pipin [*D*], wherein he told him, that if he came not ſpeedily againſt the Lombards, he would excommunicate him, and deprive him of eternal life, according to the power, which was given him; *Pro data ſibi potentia alienandum ſore* (*Regem*) *a Regno Dei & vitâ æternâ.* Pipin fearing a revolt of his ſubjects, and being indebted to the Church of Rome, came ſpeedily with an army into Italy, raiſed the ſiege of Rome, beſieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to ſurrender the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the region of Pentapolis [*E*] to the Pope for a perpetual poſſeſſion [*F*] (*i*); and he ſent Fulrad one of his Counſellors an Abbot and Prieſt to receive all the Cities from Aiſtulphus, to take hoſtages out of every one of them (*k*), who were delivered into the hands of the Pope, who thus became Lord of Ravenna and the Exarchate, a few cities excepted; and the keys were ſent to Rome and laid upon the confeſſion of St. Peter, that is upon his tomb at the high altar, *in ſignum veri & perpetui dominii, ſed pietate Regis gratuita.* That is, "As a token of a real and perpetual dominion, but freely granted by the King's piety," as the inſcription of a coin of Pipin has it. This was in the year of Chriſt 755 (*l*). Aiſtulphus intended to take thoſe

(*b*) Frederici *Scholaſtici Chron. apud* Du Cheſne, tom. 1. p. 774.

(*i*) Newton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79.

(*k*) Anaſtaſius, *Bibliotb. ap.* Du Cheſne, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 2. pag. 212.

(*l*) Newton, *ubi ſupra.*

Pipinus Francorum Rex profeſſus eſt decertare pro causâ ſanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ, ſicut pridem jam fato beatiſſimo ſpoponderat Pontifici. That is, "The abominable Aiſtulphus has ſent Carloman the moſt gracious King Pipin's brother into France, who has lived for ſome time very devoutly, and as a Monk in the convent of the Benedictines, perſuading him with diabolical reaſons to object againſt and oppoſe the cauſe of the reſtauration of God's holy Church and of the Roman Commonwealth. When he was come he endeavoured and ſtrove with all his might to overthrow the cauſe of the holy Church, according to the direction he had received from the aforeſaid, and not to be named Tyrant Aiſtulphus. But thank God he has not been able to bend that way the moſt firm and unſhaken heart of his brother the moſt Chriſtian Pipin King of the Franks. For having found out the artifice of the moſt wicked Aiſtulphus the ſaid moſt excellent Pipin King of the Franks has declared that he would fight with all his power for the cauſe of God's holy Church, as he had promiſed it to the aforeſaid moſt bleſſed Pontiff." We have tranſlated this paſſage as literally as we could, to give thoſe of our readers, who don't underſtand Latin, a notion of the ſtyle and manner of writing of the monaſtic authors.

[*C*] *He beſieged the city of Rome.*] He had raiſed for that purpoſe a very powerful army, and having ſurrounded the city, he aſſaulted it every day during three months: He alſo deſtroyed by fire and ſword the country round about, and did all that lay in his power to take the city. He alſo dug up the holy remains of the Saints, and carried them away to the great damage of his ſoul, *Corpora Sanctorum effodiens eorum ſacra Myſteria ad magnum animæ ſuæ detrimentum abſtulit* (2). He alſo took again the fort or town of Narni (3), which he had before ſurrendred by Pipin's Embaſſadors, and which of right belonged to St. Peter (4).

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 211.

(3) Situated in Umbria, and now belonging to the ſtate of the Church, or the Pope.

(4) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *The Pope ſent Letters to Pipin.*] This is what Sir Iſaac Newton tells us (5) from Sigonius, but another author tells us that he went by ſea into France (6). It may be that the Pope wrote to Pipin before he went to meet him, or perhaps the author quoted in the margin (6), has blended together Aiſtulphus's two wars againſt the Pope. For theſe are his words; *Aiſtulfus Longobardorum Rex Ravennam cepit, Romamque obſedit menſibus tribus; quâ ex causâ Pontifex in Franciam ad excellentiſſimum Regem Pipinum ire compulſus eſt.* That is, "Aiſtulphus King of the "Lombards took Ravenna and beſieged Rome, for "which reaſon the Pope was obliged to go into "France to the moſt excellent King Pipin." It appears by theſe words, that this author thought the ſiege of Rome immediately followed the taking of Ravenna, whereas there are ſeveral years between theſe two events (7).

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

(6) Leo Marſicanus, *Chron. Monaſt. Caſſinenſis, ap. eund.* tom. 3. p. 645.

[*E*] *The Exarchate of Ravenna, and the Region of Pentapolis.*] Aiſtulphus was obliged to ſurrender the following cities and towns, viz. Ravenna, Rimini, Peſaro, Conca (8), Ceſena, Sinigaglia, Fotli, Forlimpopoli, Monfeltro, with the city of Narni (9), and ſeveral other places, which are now ſcarce known, but which were at that time very conſiderable.

(7) *Rheginon's Chron. apud* Piſtorium, *Rer. Germ. Script. edit.* 3ª *a Bureb. Gotbelf. Struvio An.* 1726. tom. 1. part 1. p. 32, 33.

(8) A town which it is thought has been waſhed away by the ſea.

(9) Anaſtaſius, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212.

[*F*] *To the Pope for a perpetual poſſeſſion.*] The Author of a book intituled, *The Right of the Emperor over the State of the Church*, "Les droits de l'Empereur ſur l'etat Eccleſiaſtique", tranſlated out of Italian into French, and printed in the year 1713 at Utrecht, maintains, that, Pipin did not return the Exarchate to the Pope who had no right to it, but *Reipublicæ Romanæ*, to the Roman Commonwealth: That afterwards indeed he gave or at leaſt boaſted he had given it to the Pope, but that this gift was unlawful and void (10). That book was dedicated to the Emperor, and written at the time that he and the Pope were at variance concerning the Duchy of Commachio. We muſt obſerve here, that Anaſtaſius, when he ſpeaks of the Exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis, expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to ſhew that they belonged to the Roman Commonwealth, *Jura Reipublicæ*, indeed he does almoſt always join the Church to the State, *Sanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ ac Reipublicæ Jura.* And when Conſtantine Copronyme ſent Embaſſadors to Pipin, to claim for himſelf the City and Exarchate of Ravenna, together with the other cities and territories, which Aiſtulphus had took, Pipin anſwered that theſe cities and territories could by no means be alienated from the power of St. Peter, or from the right of the Roman Church, or of the Biſhop of the Apoſtolick See. *Nulla penitus Ratione eaſdem Civitates a poteſtate beati Petri & jure Eccleſiæ Romanæ vel Pontificis Apoſtolicæ ſedis quoquo modo alienari* (11). Here indeed the Pope is joined with St. Peter and the Church, but in ſeveral other places no mention is made of the Pope, but only of St. Peter and the Roman Commonwealth. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that the Pope at firſt claimed thoſe Cities, not for himſelf but for the Emperor Conſtantine, which ſhews that he had no right to poſſeſs them; and how could violence and conqueſt give King Pipin any right to diſpoſe of them?

(10) *See* Les Droits de l'Emp. &c. p. 32, 43.

(11) Anaſtaſius, *ubi ſupra.*

thoſe cities again by main force, but he was prevented by death, being killed by a fall from his horſe as he was hunting, A. D. 756 (*m*). The monaſtick writers give him the moſt opprobrious language, and ſpeak of him in the moſt outragious manner; but as they don't relate any particular action that might be the ground of the ill character they give him, we may ſuppoſe that they blackened his reputation only becauſe he oppoſed the ambition and covetouſneſs of the Pope; this was ſufficient to gain him the character of the worſt of tyrants.

(*m*) Anaſtaſ. *ubi ſupra*. Sigebert. Gemblacenſ. *ad ann.* 756. *apud* Piſtor. *ubi ſupra*, tom. 1. Part 2. p. 775.

AITZEMA (LEO D') a Gentleman of Friſeland, born at Doccum in the year 1600, was Counſellor to the Hans-Towns, and their Reſident at the Hague. He compiled an *Hiſtory of the United Provinces*, which has ſold very well, and is of great uſe to thoſe who are employed in political affairs; for we have in that work word for word treaties of peace, inſtructions and memoirs of Ambaſſadors, letters and anſwers of Princes, capitulations of Cities, and other publick acts in their original language, and then tranſlated into Dutch, in which language the hiſtory itſelf is written. There have been two editions of it [*A*]. Though it is moſt conſiderable on account of the authentic pieces, which the Author has collected with a great deal of patience and application, yet I ſhould not venture to paſs ſuch a judgment upon the reſt as Mr. de Wicquefort has done [*B*]. I have heard that this Hiſtorian ſpeaks in a very free and unprejudiced manner concerning the diſputes relating to religion. Mr. Arnaud cites him for a circumſtance, which is not very advantageous to the character of the Proteſtants (*a*). Valerius Andreas mentions one Leo Aetſma, a Friſelander, who publiſhed his Juvenile Latin Poems at Franeker in the year 1617 (*b*). There are ſome of opinion, that this Poet is the ſame with the Hiſtorian, whom we are ſpeaking of in this Article (*c*). Leo d'Aitzema died at the Hague the 23d of February 1669, after he had been about forty years Reſident for the Hans-Towns, which place was procured him by Foppius d'Aitzema his uncle, Reſident for Holland at Hambourg [*C*]. Our Leo was a man of great probity, good-nature and affability, charitable to the poor, and very well verſed in politics. He ſpoke divers languages, the High Dutch, French, Italian and Engliſh. His father was Secretary to the Admiralty in Friſeland (*d*). It will not be improper to obſerve, that there has been publiſhed a continuation of Aitzema in three volumes in folio; the firſt extends from 1669 to 1679; the ſecond from 1679 to 1687; and the third from 1687 to 1692 (*e*). A Miniſter named Aitzema, has writ a piece in Dutch concerning the Sibylls.

(*a*) See *l'Apologie pour les Catholiques*, Part 2. p. 267.

(*b*) Valerius Andr. *Bib. Belgica*, p. 623.

(*c*) Konig, *Bibliotb.* p. 19.

(*d*) The Admiralty reſided then at Doccum, but at preſent at Harlingen.

(*e*) Theſe volumes are printed at Amſterdam, the firſt in 1685, the ſecond in 1688, and the third in 1698.

[*A*] *There have been two editions of his Hiſtory.*] The firſt contains fifteen volumes in 4°, which were printed one after another; the firſt in 1657, and the laſt in 1671. The firſt begins with the ceſſation of the truce, which was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces by the mediation of Henry the Great, and extends from the year 1621 to the year 1625. The laſt contains the Hiſtory of the year 1668. The ſecond edition is in ſeven volumes in folio, which were printed in 1669 and 1671. The laſt volume contains a general table of the other ſix, with *an Account of the Peace of Munſter*, and a Treatiſe entitled, *Le Lion retabli*, or *The Lion reſtored*, which contains an account of affairs in the United Provinces in 1650, and 1651, with regard to ſeveral important offices, which were then filled up. This Treatiſe was publiſhed before in the year 1652, in 4to. *The Account of the Peace of Munſter* was publiſhed in Latin in 1654.

[*B*] *As Mr. de Wicquefort has done.*] It is Aitzema, whom he ſpeaks of in the following words. "*The Hiſtory, or Account of Affairs of State and War*, "which was written in Holland in fourteen or fifteen volumes, contains ſeveral Treaties, Reſolutions, and other authentic pieces; ſo that it may "ſerve as a treaſury for thoſe, who have not acceſs "to the *Records of State*; but what the author gives "us of his own, is not worth a Gazette, in what"ever light you conſider it. He has no manner of "ſtyle; his language is abſolutely barbarous; and "the compoſition of his work is a mere chaos. He "has this in common with the greateſt part of thoſe, "who attempt to write Hiſtory without any proper "authority or permiſſion, and generally without "judgment or veracity (1)." We muſt confeſs this judgment is very ſevere and offenſive to a great many perſons.

(1) Wicquefort. *de l'Ambaſſadeur*, tom. 1. p. 172. See likewiſe p. 446.

[*C*] *Foppius d'Aitzema his uncle, Reſident for Holland at Hambourg.*] I find a paſſage relating to him in one of the volumes of Puffendorf, I obſerve there, that in 1636 this Foppius, then Envoy from the United Provinces to the Emperor, affirmed at Ratisbon, Salvius had written that the Swedes were willing to begin to negotiate a peace at the Court of Vienna; and that Salvius denied this (2). However Foppius was very earneſt to negotiate a peace; but the Swede did not think him proper for ſuch a work; and it was thought ridiculous, that he ſhould intermeddle in ſo great a deſign, when it was evident, that ſince he was gone over to the Romiſh Communion, he took every method imaginable to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the Emperor. *Nec Aitzema idoneus tantæ rei autor habebatur, omnibus, qui hominem nôrant, irridentibus, quod iſte heicſe ingerere non dubitaret; quem præſertim poſt ſuſcepta ſacra Romana gratiæ Cæſaris omnibus modis adrepere conſtabat* (3).

(2) Puffendorf, *de Rebus Suecicis*, lib. 9. p. 296. num. 53. *ad ann.* 1637.

(3) Idem, ibid.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of Paris in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Chalons in Champagne [*A*]. He was named *Sans-Malice*, that is, *without Malice*; but according to the cuſtom of that age he changed his name to that of *Akakia* [*B*], which ſignifies in Greek the ſame as *Sans-Malice* in French.

[*A*] *He was born at Châlons in Champagne.*] Moreri, not underſtanding the meaning of *Catanenſis*, imagined ſeriouſly that Akakia was a Catalan. *He was of Catalonia*, ſays he; and to compleat his blunder, he refers us to Quenſtedt, who tells us poſitively, that *this Phyſician was of Châlons, a city, whoſe Biſhop calls himſelf a Count and Peer of France* (1).

(1) Quenſtedt *de Patriis Viror. Erud.* p. 51.

[*B*] *He was named* Sans-malice; *but he changed his name to that of* Akakia.] This is teſtified by René Moreau in his *Life of Sylvius*, and by Gabriel Naudè in his *Judgment upon Auguſtin Niphus* (2). See likewiſe *la Mothe le Vayer* p. 277 of the xiith tome of his works; and Mr. Menage in his *Origines de la Langue Françoiſe* (3). Father Labbe is of opinion, that

(2) Fol. 3.

(3) Pag. 4. of the Paris edition in 1694 in folio.

French. He tranſmitted this name down to his deſcendants, who bear it to this day. He made a very conſiderable progreſs at Paris under Profeſſor Peter Briſſot (a), and he learned from him the greateſt part of what he afterwards publiſhed upon Galen [C]. He was made Doctor of the Faculty of Phyſick at Paris in 1526. Francis I, one of whoſe chief Phyſicians he was, had a great eſteem for him. I cannot tell in what year he was made Profeſſor of Phyſick, but he was ſo, when Geſner publiſhed his *Bibliotheca*, that is, in 1545. He died in 1551. His arms were Gules with a Croſſet d'or and four Cubes of the ſame, and this Motto; *Quæcunque ferat fortuna, ferenda eſt*; that is, "We muſt bear whatever fortune brings." He married Mary Chauveau widow of Silvain de Monthelon, by whom he had one ſon, who was Profeſſor of Phyſick, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Almoſt all his deſcendants have followed the ſame courſe of life; but there was one who applied himſelf to ſomething elſe than Phyſick [D]. Thoſe who have placed the death of our Martin Akakia in 1605, are ſtrangely miſtaken [E]. Marot ſpeaks of him with commendation; what he ſays is quoted by Mr. Menage (b).

(a) Moreau *in Vitâ Briſſoti.*

(b) Menage, *Orig. de la Langue Franҫiſe*, p. 4.

that *this is only* ex poſt facto, *or a pretty alluſion, or rather a nick-name, which was given him, and which afterwards became the common name of the family* (4). He founds this opinion upon two reaſons; the firſt is, that Ἀκακία ſignifies not *a man, who is free from all malice, but a freedom from malice in the abſtract.* The ſecond is, that *this Phyſician of Francis I would have written it* ACACIA, *or* ACAKIA, if he had aſſumed a name derived from the Greek. To confirm the former reaſon, he adds, that *this Phyſician, if he had been before called* Sans-malice, *would with greater propriety have quitted the feminine* Ἀκακία, *and taken up a more maſculine name, and one nearer to* Ἀκάκιος, *Acacius, words, which were very common amongſt the Greeks and Latins. Who could forbear laughing at his ſimplicity, who, when his family-name was* BALD, *or* VIRTUOUS, *ſhould turn it into Greek, and call himſelf* Ἀλωπικία *or* Ἀρετή? Theſe arguments are very weak. As for the ſecond, it muſt be confeſſed, that in propriety he ſhould have written either Acacia, or Akakia, but I am of opinion, that this ingenious Phyſician ſigned his name in the latter way. With regard to the other reaſon, it is plain, that Father ſays nothing of any importance; for the maſculine name Ἀκάκιος does not anſwer ſo properly as the feminine Ἀκακία to the French word *Sans-malice*. The compariſon of *Bald* and *Virtuous* is nothing to the purpoſe, ſince it is certain, that *Sans-malice* has not the nature of a noun adjective; and that if a man, who had the name of *Avec-peleure*, (*with Baldneſs*,) had a mind to turn it into Greek, he ought to take that of *Synalopecia* rather than that of *Synalopecius*.

(4) Labbe *Etymologies des mots Françoiſ*, p. 10.

[C] *What he publiſhed upon Galen.*] He publiſhed in 1538 a Latin Tranſlation of two books of Galen *De Ratione Curandi*, i. e. "Of the Method of curing," and illuſtrated it with a *Commentary* (5). After this, he tranſlated the *Ars medica, quæ & ars parva* of the ſame Galen. This work was printed at Lyons in 1548. He is likewiſe the author of a book printed at Paris in 1555, entitled, *Synopſis eorum, quæ quinque prioribus libris Galeni de facultatibus ſimplicium medicamentorum continentur.*

(5) Geſner *in Biblioth.* fol. 500.

[D] *One of his deſcendants applied himſelf to ſomething elſe than Phyſick.*] A Letter of Guy Patin dated the 22d of July 1664, contains theſe words. "The King has ſent to the *Baſtile* the brother of Mr. "Akakia, our Collegue, for writing ſomething that diſ- "pleaſed the Prince (of Condé.) He was employed ſome "time ago, in the affair of the marriage of the Duke "of Enguien, and was Secretary to the Embaſſy "in Poland." Every body is acquainted with the complaints, which a friend of the houſe of Auſtria, diſguiſed under the name of *Staniſlaus Lyſimachus*, a Poliſh Knight, publiſhed in 1683 againſt the correſpondence which was carried on between France and Count Tekeli, by means of Akakia and du Vernai-Boucauld. I have read in a paper entitled, *The Journal of Amſterdam* (6), that this Akakia had a great ſhare in the intrigues, which were concerted, in order to tranſfer the Crown of Poland upon the Duke of Longueville, by depoſing of King Michael. We are aſſured in that *Journal*, that the Emperor had complained to the King of France, and named *amongſt others Mr. Akakia, as one of the chief Managers of that affair, that Mr. Akakia was committed to the Baſtile, but that he there applied himſelf with more vigour to the intrigues, which he had begun, and had more leiſure to carry on his correſpondences; in ſhort, that his letters and negotiations took the ſame courſe as before, notwithſtanding his impriſonment: and that the affair was ſo far advanced, that nothing but the death of the Duke of Longueville* (7) *hindered the execution of it.* The medals were already ſtruck. This ſecond impriſonment of Mr. Akakia laſted but five or ſix months, if we may believe a perſon, whom I enquired of ſince my reading that *Journal*. He told me beſides, that Mr. Akakia was ſo pleaſed with being choſen to go and foment the troubles of Hungary, that tho' he was then ſick, he ſoon recovered well enough to enter upon his journey. As he did not care to venture thro' Germany, he went to England, where he embark'd for Sweden, and from thence proceeded by ſea to Riga, and ſo to Poland, where he died. He was a perſon of great intrigue, and was active in concluding the peace of Oliva.

(6) It was publiſhed in Sept. 1693.

(7) He was killed in paſſing the Rhine the 12th of June 1672.

[E] *Thoſe who have plac'd his death in* 1605, *are ſtrangely miſtaken.*] The author of the *Diarium Biographicum* (8) has fallen into this error; for he writes thus under that year: *Martinus Akakia, Gallus* CATALAUNENSIS, *Medicinæ Doctor & Profeſſor Lutetiæ Paris.* i. e. "Martin Akakia, a Frenchman of Cha- "lons, Doctor and Profeſſor of Phyſic at Paris." Then he gives the titles of ſeveral of the books, of which Akakia of Chalons is really the author. If they had known that Briſſot, whoſe Scholar our Akakia was, was not in France after the year 1519, they would not have extended the Life of his Scholar to the year 1605; or elſe they ſhould have ſaid ſomething of the prodigious age, which he muſt then have reached to. What probably led the author of the *Diarium* into this error, was this, that in the year 1605 there died a Phyſician, whoſe name was Akakia. He was grandſon of this Scholar of Briſſot. Guy Patin ſpeaks thus with his uſual cynical freedom: *Two Doctors of our Faculty concerned themſelves in an Apology for Theodore Mayerne Turquet, namely, Seguin our elder, who has always ſupported the Quacks, and Akakia his brother-in-law, who died in* 1605 *of the pox, which he brought from Italy, when he attended Count de Bethune, Ambaſſador at Rome* (9). If our Martin Akakia could get ſuch a diſeaſe at the time of this Embaſſy, he muſt have been without diſpute the oldeſt debauchee in Europe.

(8) Henningus Witte, Profeſſor at Riga in Livonia.

(9) Patin. Lett. 8. of the 1ſt edit.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) a Pariſian, ſon to the former, was admitted Doctor of Phyſick of the Faculty of Paris in 1572. Triſtan de Roſtaing, Knight of the King's Order *, and Amiot Biſhop of Auxerre, were his patrons [A], and procured him from Charles IX

* St. Lewis.

[A] *Triſtan de Roſtaing and Amiot were his Patrons.*] I can give no proof of this more to the purpoſe, than the following paſſage, which I have taken from a Panegyric to Henry the Third: *Vix dum* (it is Martin Akakia, who ſpeaks) *igitur in publica profeſſione, quâ nos Carolus Rex Chriſtianiſſimus Triſtando*

IX in the year 1574 the place of firſt Reader, and Regius Profeſſor in Chirurgery. Four years after this, he was made ſecond Phyſician to Henry III (*a*). But as he was always careful to bring the moſt elaborate Lectures into the Royal Schools, and this took up a great deal of his time, he was apprehenſive that the viſiting of the ſick, and the attendance which he was obliged to pay at court, would be too fatiguing a taſk for him; ſo that in order to eaſe himſelf of this exceſſive burthen, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, with the King's permiſſion, to John Martin, a perſon very capable of that function, as his writings teſtify [*B*]. But this Gentleman having conſidered that it would be incompatible with his other affairs, if he ſhould do juſtice to it, returned it to Martin Akakia. He ſoon diſpoſed of it again to his ſon-in-law Peter Seguin, and died immediately after in 1588, about forty nine years of age. He left two ſons, whom I am going to ſpeak of, and one daughter, who was married to Peter Seguin, one of the moſt learned Phyſicians of the Faculty of Paris, and who exerciſed the profeſſion of his father-in-law in the Royal College from the year 1588 to 1599. The Treatiſe *de Morbis Muliebribus*, and the *Conſilia Medica* of our Martin, are ſcarce known to any perſon, but under the falſe ſuppoſition that they came from the ſame hand as the Treatiſes of Martin Akakia of Chalons. I have not ſeen any Bibliographer, who has diſtinguiſhed the writings of the father from thoſe of the ſon. They aſcribe both the one and the other to Martin Akakia *Catalaunenſis*. I ſhould have been deceived in this point as well as Moreri, if I had not had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of ſome friends [*C*]. The two books *de Morbis Muliebribus* were inſerted in the collection, which a Phyſician, named Iſrael Spachius, publiſhed at Straſbourg in 1597, of divers Treatiſes upon the Diſeaſes of Women. And with regard to the *Conſilia Medica*, we have them in a collection of pieces of the ſame kind, which Scholzius publiſhed at Francfort in 1598. It is very probable that Iſrael Spachius believed, that the two books *de Morbis Muliebribus* were the work of the Scholar of Briſſot. It was he, without doubt, who gave the title, *Martini Akakiæ, Medici Regii, & in Univerſitate Pariſienſi Profeſſoris Medicinæ Doctiſſimi, &c.* The work had never been printed; it was handed about in manuſcript. Spachius knew in general, that Martin Akakia wrote it, and he imagined, that this Akakia was the ſame, whoſe works were already publiſhed; upon which account he gave him the title of *Akakia* of *Chalons*, and not that of *Regius Profeſſor*, which the Author would have given himſelf if he had publiſhed his book.

(*a*) See the Remark [*A*].

Triſtando Roſtagnite Equite Torquato fortiſſimo, & Jacobo Amyato Altiſſiodorenſium Epiſcopo de nobis referentibus, cohoneſtaverat, quadriennium compleveramus, cum tu nos inter tuos medicos allegiſti & conſcripſiſti. i. e. "I had ſcarce continued four years in the "public Profeſſorſhip, which the Moſt Chriſtian "King Charles honoured me with, at the recommendation of Triſtan de Roſtaing, a moſt valiant "Knight, and James Amyot Biſhop of Auxerre, "when you did me the honour to chooſe me for "one of your Phyſicians." This Panegyric was printed at Paris in 1578 with the following title; *Martini Akakiæ, Regii & Medici & Profeſſoris, ob ſuam in ordinem Medicorum cooptationem Panegyricus Henrico Valeſio Regi Chriſtianiſſimo dictus.*

[*B*] *The Writings of J. Martin ſhew his capacity.*] René Moreau publiſhed two pieces of this author; *Prælectiones in Librum Hippocratis Coi de Morbis internis*, at Paris in 1637; *Prælectiones in Librum Hippocratis Coi de Aere, Aquis, & Locis*, at Paris in 1646. He has given the Elogium of the author before the former. And to the latter are prefixed ſeveral Latin Verſes of Anthony Mornac in praiſe of the ſame Martin, who was one of the Commiſſioners at the famous conference held between du Perron and du Pleſſis.

[*C*] *I had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of ſome friends.*] Monſieur Drelincourt the Profeſſor was ſo good as to acquaint me, that Martin Akakia, author of the Treatiſe *de Morbis Muliebribus*, quotes not only Fernelius and Amatus Luſitanus, but likewiſe the work of Scaliger againſt Cardan, and the *Coſmocritice* of Cornelius Gemma. Fernelius dedicates his books to Henry II, who came to the Crown but in the year 1547. Amatus Luſitanus wrote his *II Century* (1) at Rome in 1551 (2); whither he was ſent for by Pope Julius III. Scaliger's Book againſt Cardan was not printed till 1557. That of Cornelius Gemma was written on occaſion of the Star in 1572, and not printed till 1575. It follows then, that this Martin Akakia muſt have been living in 1575. The Remarks of Mr. Drelincourt abovementioned prove this to demonſtration. Now as I had read, that Martin Akakia was Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic from the year 1577, and that Peter Seguin was put into his place the 20th of September 1594 (3), I deſired to know what William Du Val ſays upon this in his *Catalogue of the Profeſſors of the Royal College*. This I knew at laſt by means of Mr. Pinſſon des Riolles (4), who took the pains in the moſt obliging manner imaginable to ſend me ſeveral particulars relating to the Akakia's. He acquainted me amongſt other things, I, That Martin Akakia of Châlons, Phyſician to Francis I, died in 1551. From this fact and the remarks of Mr. Drelincourt, it follows neceſſarily, that the author of the book *De Morbis Muliebribus* is not Martin Akakia Catalaunenſis. II, That it is true indeed, that Peter Seguin had the place of the King's Reader in Chirurgery by the reſignation of Martin Akakia his father-in law, from the year 1588; but that he had occaſion to take out a new Patent in 1594. The reaſon was this: During the civil wars the number of the Royal Readers encreaſed more than the foundation admitted; for ſeveral perſons had clandeſtinely procured that office for themſelves. Henry IV expelled part of theſe Readers in 1594, and gave new Patents to thoſe, whom he retained. Peter Seguin was of that number. It was upon this account, that this promotion was fixed in the year 1594 by the author of the *Antiquitez de Paris*; but if that author had been exact, he would not have ſatisfied himſelf with ſaying, that Peter Seguin ſucceeded Martin Akakia in his place the 20th of September 1594. He would have been cautious, leſt his readers might have imagined, that Martin Akakia died that year, and that Peter Seguin was then firſt choſen Regius Profeſſor. Now whoever ſays, thus would give us two egregious falſities.

(3) du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, p. 568.

(4) Advocate of the Parliament of Paris.

(1) It is this which Akakia quotes, though without ſpecifying it particularly; but what he quotes is in the Centur. ii Curatione xxxix. p. 187.

(2) He ſays ſo himſelf, p. 236.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) ſon to the latter, was admitted Doctor of Phyſick at Paris, the firſt year of his being a Licentiate, in 1598. He became Regius Profeſſor of Chirurgery the year after, upon the reſignation of Peter Seguin his brother-in-law (*a*). He took a journey to Rome; and died of ſickneſs at Paris, without leaving any iſſue,

(*a*) He reſigned his place, having been made the Royal Lecturer in Phyſic the tenth of Sept. 1599, by the reſignation of Joan Duret.

iſſue, in 1605. He was interred with his father at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. His brother John Akakia, promoted to the degree of Doctor of Phyſick at Paris the firſt year of his being a Licentiate 1612, was Phyſician to Lewis XIII, and died in Savoy in 1620. He left ſeveral children [*A*].

[*A*] *John Akakia left ſeveral children.*] I. Martin Akakia, Royal Profeſſor in Chirurgery (1), which place he reſigned in favour of Mathurin Denyan, and died ſome time after, in 1677, leaving behind him a ſon, who was Clerk to the Controller General of the Finances, and a daughter married to Mr. le Vayer de Boutigni, Counſellor of the Parliament of Paris. II. Roger Akakia, who was the man of intrigue, mentioned above in the remark [*D*] of the firſt Akakia. III. Charles Akakia, a very pious Clergyman, attached to the Society of Port-Royal. IV. Simon Akakia, call'd du Pleſſis, Agent for the Ladies of Port-Royal. V. N. Akakia known by the name of Mr. du Lac. He takes care of the late Mr. du Saci's writings upon the Scripture. There were likewiſe other children of John Akakia beſides theſe five.

(1) He was already ſo, when William du Val publiſhed his Catalogue in 1644.

AKIBA, a famous Rabbin, flouriſhed a little after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus. He was a Jew only by the mother's ſide; and it is pretended that his father was deſcended from Sifera, General of the army of Jabin King of Tyre. Akiba lived in the country till the fortieth year of his age, where he had no very honourable employment, for he kept the flocks of Calba Schwa, a rich citizen of Jeruſalem. At laſt he began to ſtudy, at the deſire of his maſter's daughter, who promiſed to marry him, if he ſhould make any conſiderable progreſs in the ſciences. He applied himſelf ſo vigorouſly to his ſtudies during the four and twenty years, which he paſſed in the Academies, that afterwards he was attended by a prodigious number of ſcholars, as one of the greateſt maſters in Iſrael. He had twenty four thouſand ſcholars. He declared himſelf for the impoſtor Bar-cochebas (*a*), and aſſerted, that it was of him that we muſt underſtand the words of Balaam, *A Star ſhall riſe out of Jacob*, and that in him they had the true Meſſiah (*b*). He was not contented with doing for him what Samuel did for the two firſt Kings of the Jews, that is, anointing him (*c*): he was reſolved to proceed further, and take upon himſelf the office of Maſter of the Horſe (*d*) to him. The troops which the Emperor Hadrian ſent againſt the Jews, who under the conduct of this falſe Meſſiah had committed horrid maſſacres, exterminated this faction. Akiba was taken and put to death with great cruelty (*e*). They tore his fleſh with iron-combs, in ſuch a manner as to protract the torment, and at laſt he was burnt to death with a ſlow fire (*f*). He lived a hundred and twenty years, and was buried with his wife in a cave upon a mountain not far from Tiberias. His twenty four thouſand ſcholars were buried round about him upon the ſame mountain (*g*). I relate theſe things, without pretending that they all ought to be believed. It is imagined, that he invented a ſuppoſititious work under the name of the Patriarch Abraham [*A*]. Some charge him with a more heinous impoſture than this, which is, that he altered the Hebrew text of the Bible [*B*], in order to anſwer an objection of the Chriſtians [*C*]. The

(*a*) This word ſignifies in Hebrew, *a ſon of the Star.*

(*b*) *See* Joh. a Lent *Schediaſma Hiſtorico Philologicum de Judæorum Pſeudo Meſſiis*, p. 9.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 9 and 15.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 14. *ex Tractatu Talmudico Eruſ.* fol. 21.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 15, *ex Tractatu Talmudico* BERACHOS, fol. 61.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 15. *ex Auctore Libelli* DE CIPPIS, *ab* HOTTINGERO *editi, & Latine tranſlati.*

[*A*] *It is imagined, that he invented a ſuppoſititious work under the name of the Patriarch Abraham.*] This book is intitled *Sepher Jezirah*, that is, *the Book of the Creation.* See the remark [*E*] of the article ABRAHAM, and add to it the following Supplement. Lambecius was miſtaken in ſaying, that this *Book of the Creation* was printed at Mantua firſt (1); for the edition of Mantua in 4to, with the Commentary of Abraham Ben-Dier, and that of ſeveral other Rabbins, whoſe names we have mentioned in pag. 536 of *the Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, was preceded by the Paris Edition in 1552, in 8vo. The ſame book was printed at Baſil in folio in 1587, with ſeveral others of the ſame ſtamp. It is of great authority with the Cabaliſts; they performed wonders with it, as they pretend (2).

(1) Lambecii *Hiſt. Literariæ Prodrom.* p. 53. *apud* Placcium *de Pſeudonymis.* p. 134.

(2) Placcius, ib.

[*B*] *He is accuſed of having altered the Hebrew Text of the Bible.*] This alteration relates to the age of the Patriarchs, when their children were born. Every one knows, that in that year they are repreſented as much older by the verſion of the Septuagint, than in the Hebrew text. Adam, for inſtance, if we follow the Hebrew text, was an hundred and thirty years old, when his wife bore Seth; but according to the Septuagint, he was then in his two hundred and thirtieth year. The majority of Divines prefer the Hebrew text to the Greek. Thoſe, who are of a different opinion, are but few in number; but to atone for that, they are generally the moſt finiſh'd Scholars. Father Dom Paul Pezron, a Monk of the ſtrict Order of the Ciſtertians, and Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, is among this minority. He tells us, amongſt other things, that the Jews altered the Hebrew Text during the interval between the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus, and the twelfth year of the Emperor Hadrian (3). He proves this from the verſion of Aquila, publiſh'd in the ſame year of that Emperor, which is very conformable to the preſent Hebrew Text. Now as this Aquila, by abandoning Chriſtianity for Judaiſm, placed himſelf under the diſcipline of Akiba, it appears very probable to Father Pezron, that we muſt impute this alteration of the Scripture to that Rabbin. It is certain, that Akiba *was then in great eſteem amongſt the Jews, eſpecially thoſe of Paleſtine; for he was about forty years Maſter of the College, which they had at Jabné, or Tiberias, near the lake of Gennezareth* (4)... *He had a great number of Scholars, and was conſidered as the moſt learned man among the Jews; and had ſo much authority and influence over them, that it was he, who declared Bar-chochebas to be the Meſſiah* (5).

(3) Pezron *de l'Antiquité de Tems*, ch. xvi. p. 289 *edit. de Paris* in 1687 in 4to.

(4) Ibid. p. 290.

(5) Ibid p. 291.

[*C*] *In order to anſwer an objection of the Chriſtians.*] "The Chriſtians never diſputed againſt the "Jews with more force, than at that time, *ſays the "ſame author* (6); and they never attacked them "with greater advantage. For they had nothing to "do, but to ſhew them on the one hand the Goſ"pels, and on the other the ruins of Jeruſalem, "which were before their eyes, in order to con"vince them that Jeſus Chriſt, who had ſo clearly "foretold that deſtruction, was the Prophet pro"mis'd by Moſes.... But they preſſed them very "ſtrongly with their own traditions, which intimat"ed, that the Meſſiah would manifeſt himſelf after "the courſe of about ſix thouſand years, by ſhew"ing them, that this number of years was accom"pliſhed. This confounded them ſtrangely; and "this is without doubt the reaſon, why it is ſaid in "the *Talmud*, that Akiba and Samſai reckoned the "years, (7), from whence ſuch ſtrong arguments "were drawn againſt them." It is certain, that the Jews might anſwer the objection concerning the ſix thouſand years, if the Bible was then as it is now; for it is plain, that it does not give this number of years from Adam to Jeſus Chriſt.

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Talmud in Tractatu de Synedrio*

The Jews give him great elogiums [*D*], and conſider him as one who had taught them all the unwritten Law [*E*]. The remark, which we ſhall make below, will contain ſome particulars of his life. If we are to judge of his Lectures upon other ſubjects by his precepts relating to the Houſe of Office [*F*], we muſt undoubtedly think them very ridiculous.

(8) *See* Jo. a Lent *di Pſeudo-Meſſiis* p. 9.
(9) Zachatus *in Juchaſin*, p. 66. *apud* Lent, pag. 19.
(10) Konig. *Biblioth.* p. 19.
(11) Intitled, *Defenſe de l'Antiquite des Tems*,
(12) Pag. 61.
(13) P. 63. *ex Tzemach David*, p. 99.
(14) The Jews pretend that Rabbi Juda, who compiled it, was born the ſame day that Akiba died. *R. Juda princeps natus eſt illo die, quo obiit R. Akiba, de quo aiunt, Sol exortus eſt & Sol occidit.* *See* Pezron *Defenſe &c.* p. 76.
(15) Nerva permitted the Jews to chooſe a Patriarch of their nation.
(16) *Ex Hieronymo in* cap. 8. Iſaiæ.

[*D*] *The Jews give him great Elogiums.*] They call him *Sethumtaah* (8), that is, *Authentic*. It would require a whole volume, ſays one of them (9), to ſpeak fully of his merit. His name, ſays another, has diffuſed itſelf over the world, and from his mouth we have received all the oral Law: *Hujus nomen*, (inquit autor libri Zemach David) *exiit ab uno extremo mundi uſque ad aliud, atque totam legem oralem ex ejus ore accepimus* (10).

[*E*] *And they conſider him as one, who has taught them all the unwritten Law.*] See the paſſage, which I quoted above, and the book, which Father Pezron publiſhed at Paris in 1691 (11). We find there (12), that Rabbi Akiba, the ſon of Joſeph, was the firſt compiler of the *Deuteroſes*, or *Jewiſh Traditions*; and the Head of the *Traditionaries*; that he collected the Traditions, which Hillel, Simeon, and other ancient Doctors invented; that he added others of his own invention; that they were all together received the end of the fifth Century, when they added others, of which the *Talmûd* is compoſed, that Akiba (13) made uſe of Rabbi Meir, the moſt famous of all his Scolars, *to digeſt in writing part of thoſe Traditions, of which the Miſna was afterwards compoſed* (14); that he was Aſſeſſor to the Patriarch (15), and the Maſter of Aquila and Rabbi Joſe, who was the author of the great *Chronicle of the Jews* (16); that he became the Head of the Jewiſh Schools the ſame year that Joſeph finiſhed his *Antiquities*; that he kept that poſt forty years; that he is frequently quoted in the *Pirke-Eliezer*; and that he wiſhed eternal damnation to all thoſe, who ſhould read the Writings of the Chriſtians.

[*F*] *His precepti relating to the houſe of office.*] The Jewiſh Nation has been given up to ſuch a ſpirit of childiſh and chimerical obſervances, that even their greateſt Doctors have extended their ritual to the machinal actions, as particularly of going to ſtool. Unhappy for them, who know not where the Eaſt is; for the four cardinal points of the Horizon are not all equally favourable. I can give an account in Latin only of the reſt of their ridiculous ſuperſtitions. *Dixit R. Akiba, ingreſſus ſum aliquando poſt Rabbi Joſuam in ſedis ſecretæ locum, & tria ab eo didici. Didici* 1, *quod non verſus Orientem, & Occidentem, ſed verſus Septentrionem & Auſtrum, convertere nos debeamus. Didici* 2, *quod non in pedes erectum, ſed jam conſidentem ſe retegere liceat. Didici* 3, *quod podex non dextrâ ſed ſiniſtrâ manu abſtergendus ſit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Haſas; uſque adeo verè perfricuiſti frontem erga Magiſtrum tuum, ut cacantem obſervares? Reſpondit ille, Legis hæc arcana ſunt, ad quæ diſcenda id neceſſario mihi agendum fuit* (17)? This is a wonderful Doctor, who can even upon the cloſe-ſtool explain the myſteries of the Law without ſpeaking a word.

(17) *Ex Baraïtha in Maſſech. Berachos*, fol. 62, *apud* Lent, p. 101

ALABASTER (WILLIAM) an Engliſh Divine, was born at Hadley in the county of Suffolk. He was one of the Doctors of Trinity College in Cambridge; and he attended the Earl of Eſſex as his Chaplain in the expedition to Cadiz in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is ſaid, that his firſt reſolutions of changing his religion were occaſioned by his ſeeing the pomp of the Churches of the Roman Communion, and the reſpect with which the Prieſts ſeemed to be treated amongſt them; and appearing thus to waver in his mind, he ſoon found perſons who took advantage of this diſpoſition of his, and of the complaints which he made of not being advanced according to his deſerts in England, in ſuch a manner, that he did not ſcruple to go over to the Popiſh religion, as ſoon as he found that there was no ground to hope for greater encouragement in his own country. However that matter is, he joined himſelf to the Romiſh Communion, but was diſappointed in his expectations. He was ſoon diſpleaſed at this; he could not reconcile himſelf to the diſcipline of that church, which made no conſideration of the degrees which he had taken before. It is probable too that he could not approve of the worſhip of creatures, which Proteſtants are uſed to look upon with horror. Upon this he returned to England, in order to reſume his former Religion. He obtained a Prebend in the Cathedral of St. Paul, and after that the Rectory of Therfield in Hertfordſhire. He was well ſkilled in the Hebrew tongue; but he gave a wrong turn to his genius by ſtudying the *Cabala*, with which he was ſtrangely infatuated. He gave a proof of this in a Sermon which he preached upon taking his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. He took for his text the beginning of the firſt book of Chronicles, Adam, Seth, Enos; and having touched upon the literal ſenſe, he turned immediately to the myſtical, aſſerting, that *Adam* ſignified Misfortune and Miſery, and ſo of the reſt (*a*). His method of explaining the Scripture was by no means agreeable to the taſte of the Roman Catholics [*A*]. I ſhall give an account

(*a*) Fuller's *Worthies of England.*

[*A*] *His method of explaining the Scripture was by no means agreeable to the Roman Catholics.*] Francis Garaſſe, a Jeſuit, having given an account of a very ſtrange opinion of Iſiodorus of Peluſium (1), goes on thus: "The expoſition of Alabaſter is ſtill more remote from common ſenſe; for he proceeds entirely upon the Rabbinical Fancies, which are pleaſant indeed, if they were as well founded, as they are ſubtilly invented. He ſays in his *Apparatus*, *ch. ix.* that Jonas and our Saviour continued exactly three days and three nights, the one in the bowels of the earth, and the other in the whale's belly in the manner following. *Jonas*, ſays he, *was carried to the center of the world, as he relates of himſelf, Ad extrema montium deſcendi, terræ vectæ circumdederunt me*, i. e. I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the bars of the earth encompaſſed me. *Now as he was in that place, he had day and night at the ſame time; for if we regard our Hemiſpere, he had the day in his face, and the night at his back; and the next morning, the reverſe of this. So that tho' he continued but a day and a half, he continued three whole days, ſince we muſt double the ſpace of time, becauſe he had at once what we have ſucceſſively. Thus our Saviour being in the bowels of the earth, had like Jonas day and night all at once, ſince his ſoul went down to the center of the earth, that it might have day on one ſide, and night on the other; and by this means he compleated the term of his continuance without violating the ſtrictneſs of truth, ſo impatient was he not to leave his Diſciples comfortleſs.*" I ſay, "that this invention does an injury to the holy Scripture, as it is ſo forced and ſophiſtical, and ſo exactly

(1) You will find it at the end of this Remark.

account in the Remarks of what they thought of it, and how he managed the objection which is urged concerning the three days and three nights which Jesus Christ was to continue in the bowels of the earth, as Jonas did in the whale's belly (*b*). I must not omit to mention that his verses were greatly esteemed. He wrote a Latin Tragedy, intitled *Roxana*, which when it was acted in a College at Cambridge, was attended with a very remarkable accident (*c*). There was a Lady who was so terrified at the last word of the Tragedy, *Sequar*, *Sequar*, which was pronounced with a very shocking tone, that she lost her senses all her life-time after. Alabaster was living in 1630. His *Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi* was printed at Antwerp in 1607. As for his *Spiraculum tubarum, seu fons Spiritualium Expositionum ex æquivocis Pentaglotti* (*d*) *significationibus*, and his *Ecce Sponsus venit, seu tuba pulchritudinis, hoc est demonstratio quod non sit illicitum nec impossibile computare durationem mundi & tempus secundi adventus Christi*, they are printed at London (*e*). We may judge from these titles what the taste and genius of the author was; but we shall judge better from the words of Andrew Rivet, which I shall quote [*B*]. I must not forget to mention his *Lexicon Hebraicum* in folio. I have not spoken of the *Motives of his Conversion*, which he published after he had embraced the Catholic Religion. We know well enough, that it is the general custom of those who change their religion. That custom was even more in vogue

(*b*) See Remark [*A*].

(*c*) Fuller's *Worthies*.

(*d*) It is thus in the *Catalogue of Oxford*. It should have been *Pentateuchi*.

(*e*) See the *Catalogue of the Library at Oxford*.

" resembles the chimera's of the Rabbins. And " therefore this book of Alabaster was justly con- " demned at Rome. But he was so great an idolizer " of his own inventions, that he did even worse " than Heliodorus, since he quitted his Religion, " that he might not be obliged to quit his danger- " ous and extravagant notions, with which he pro- " faned the Scripture (2)." Let us add the judgment of a Jesuit of the Low-Countries to this of the French Jesuit. Bonfrerius having condemned those, who after the manner of the Cabala find every thing in every passage of Scripture, goes on thus: *Quod nuper fecit insulsè nimis irreligiosè Gulielmus Alabaster, qui in illo suo* Apparatu *ex inanibus hujusmodi fundamentis, ne dicam quisquiliis, conatus est nobis suam mysticam theologiam, & (ita ipse vocat) interiorem Scripturæ sensum ad medullam (re ipsa aliud nihil quàm deliramenta & somnia) exprimere. Quâ ex re malè audiit, & Romæ censoriam Ecclesiæ virgulam merito expertus est. Quis enim ferat quempiam in re tam seriâ, Scripturæ, inquam, interpretatione, pro probatis mercibus vendere, quæ ipse parùm sano cerebro delirârit* (3)? i. e. " This, *says he*, has been " lately done by William Alabaster very absurdly and " irreligiously, who in his *Apparatus* has endeavour- " ed from these chimerical grounds, or rather trifles " to raise a scheme of mystical Divinity, or (as he " calls it) the internal sense of the Scripture, which " in reality is nothing else than his own whims and " dreams. Upon which account he has been gene- " rally condemned, and deservedly suffered at Rome " the censure of the Church. For who could bear, " that a man in so serious a subject as the interpre- " tation of the holy Scripture, should obtrude his " own chimerical imaginations and reveries for " sound doctrine?" He gives us then some instances of his extravagant explications.

(2) Garasse, *Doctrine curieuse*, printed at Paris, by Chapelet in 1623 in 4to, p. 593, 594.

(3) Bonfrerius in his *Prolegomena* to his *Commentary upon the Pentateuch*, printed in 1625 in fol.

We shall see presently a Protestant, who reproaches the Roman Catholics with having tolerated the visionary schemes of Alabaster.

I have been advertised by an ingenious Gentleman, that readers do not approve, that one should tell them in general, that such and such a person advanced a chimerical opinion. This raises their curiosity; they would have it satisfied upon the spot, and sometimes even without being obliged to the trouble of consulting another book, which they have in their study. This Gentleman therefore thinks, that I should either have said nothing of Isidorus of Pelusium, or having observed in general, that his opinion was extravagant, given an account of it, because the book of *Garasse* in particular is to be found in few private Libraries. I have made use of this advice; I know the reasonableness of it by experience; and for that reason, upon several other occasions I have chose rather to add a Supplement to my Commentaries, than to raise the curiosity of the reader in vain. Isidorus of Pelusium, in order to make out the compleat number, supposes that the darkness at the Passion of our Saviour ought to be taken for one night, and the return of the light till sun-set for one day. Read what follows: " I answer, that it is " true, that this passage (4) has given a great deal of " trouble, in order to reconcile it with the truth of the " History; and this was one of the chief arguments, " by which Julian the Apostate endeavoured to o- " verthrow the credit of the Gospel; but it is not " so desperate, but that we may give a true and na- " tural explication of it, without having recourse to " fancy and invention, as several authors have done, " as we have shewn above concerning the hour of the " Resurrection. St. Isidore of Pelusium in his first " book of Epistles, Ep. cxiv, gives a new explicati- " on in these words: *Sic habeto, sextâ horâ Paras- " ceves in crucem actus est Dominus, ab hac horâ us- " que ad nonam tenebræ extiterunt; has tu noctem " intellige: Rursus horâ nonâ lux, hæc tu pro die " habe; nox rursum Paraseeves; tum dies Sabbathi, " tum nox Sabbathi Domini diei.* According to this " explication, it is true that Jesus Christ continued " three days and three nights in the bowels of the " earth; but these are days and nights reduced to a " very short measure (5)."

(4) That of the xiith chap. of St. Matth. where it is said, that Christ was to remain *in the bowels of the earth three days and three nights.*

(5) Garasse, *Doctrine curieuse*, p. 592, 593.

[*B*] *We shall judge what the taste and genius of this author was from the words of Andrew Rivet, which I shall quote.*] *Anno* 1607, says he (6), *quidam Pontificius Anglus, Guilielmus Alabastrus, edidit Antwerpiæ librum, cui titulum fecit:* Apparatus in Revelationem Christi, *in quo profitetur se* novam & admirabilem rationem *afferre* investigandi prophetiarum mysteria ex Scripturâ se ipsam interpretante. *Ibi novam Cabbalam instituit, ex qua quidlibet ex quolibet educit, & mutatis vel inversis aut separatis & disjunctis Ebræorum vocabulorum literis aut syllabis, vel etiam in iisdem variorum numerorum ratione excogitata, novis etiam significationibus contra grammaticæ rationem assignatis, diversis nominibus aut verbis omnia pervertit, & ipsi adeo commentum placet, ut quamvis sæpè excipiat se nolle præjudicare Latinæ versioni, cum tamen videat ex eâ nullis fidiculis sensum, quem sibi proponit, posse erui, non veretur dicere, p.* 61, Deum, Christi & Religionis Christianæ mysteria per illam verborum formam in Ebræo legis codice expressisse, quæ sensum carnalem & à divina mente alienum lectori prima fronte offerret, atque ita voluisse, ut in Ecclesia Christiana nulla passim legeretur versio, quam quæ secundùm Ebræorum verborum corticem conciperetur, ut hoc modo sapientia divina non esset cuivis obvia prophano. *Sed postea idem, per totum illud opus ita sapientiam illam divinam ex Scripturæ, si Deo placet, penetralibus hausit, ut ne ulli quidem hactenus ex patribus sanctissimis, vel unius loci talis interpretatio in mentem unquam venerit, ne ipsis quidem omniscits Pontificibus.* i. e. " In the year " 1607 an English Papist, one William Alabaster, " published at Antwerp a book intitled, *An Appa- " ratus upon the Revelation of Christ*, in which he " professes to discover *a new and admirable method of " unravelling the mysteries of the Prophecies by ex- " plaining the Scripture by itself.* He there at- " tempts a new *Cabala*, by which he deduces any " thing from every thing, and by changing, or in- " verting, or separating and disjoining the letters or " syllables of the Hebrew, or by inventing a new " method of numbers in them, and giving a sense " contrary to the rules of Grammar, by different " names

(6) Riveti *Isagoge ad Scripturam Sacram*, cap. 15. *Operum* tom. 2. p. 917.

vogue at that time than now. The public had not then ſo many occaſions of being tired with ſuch kind of writings. That of Alabaſter was anſwered by Roger Fenton (*f*).

(*f*) His anſwer is intitled, *An Anſwer to W. Alabaſter's Motives*, London 1599, in 4to.

" names and words he perverts the whole Scrip-
" ture. And he is ſo fond of this invention, that
" tho' he frequently profeſſes, that he does not de-
" ſign to prejudice the Latin Tranſlation, yet when
" he ſees, that his own ſenſe cannot be extorted
" from it by any means, he is not afraid to ſay in
" plain words, p. 61, that *God has expreſſed the my-*
" *ſteries of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion in the*
" *Hebrew Text under ſuch a form of expreſſion, as*
" *offers to the reader at firſt ſight a carnal ſenſe, and*
" *ſuch as is foreign to the divine mind; and that God*
" *would have it thus, that no Tranſlation ſhould be read*
" *in the Chriſtian Church, but what was formed up-*
" *on the letter of the Hebrew Text, that by this*
" *means divine knowledge might not be obvious to*
" *every profane perſon.* But afterwards the ſame
" author thro' his whole work endeavours to give
" ſuch a ſcheme of this divine knowledge from the
" internal ſenſe of the Scripture, as he pretends,
" that neither the holy Fathers, nor even the Papiſts
" themſelves, who know every thing, ever thought
" of ſuch an explanation of any paſſage in the Bi-
" ble." Mr. Rivet having given two inſtances of the extravagance of this writer (7), proceeds thus: *Alia hujus farinæ multa p. 57 & ſeqq. afferuntur à nugatore blaſphemo, quibus ſyllabas unius nominis & verbi ſeorſim accipiens, & à ſua radice divellens, omnia ſurſum deorſum vertit. Et tamen in regno Pontificio toleratur hæc novitas, ubi ſimplex ſcripturæ ex ipſa ſcriptura interpretatio hæreſeos inſimulatur. Sed de his hactenus. Videant Pontificii an ſuo Alabaſtro non debeant nigrum præfigere theta: nos hominis inſolentiſſimam audaciam deteſtamur, etſi eum Jeſuita Poſſevinus ſuis Catholicis Scriptoribus inſeruerit, App. Sacr. Tomo primo.* i. e. " There are a great many
" things of this kind ſaid by this blaſphemous trifler
" p. 57, &c. where by ſeparating and disjoining the
" ſyllables of a name or word, he throws every
" thing into confuſion. And yet this innovation
" and abſurdity are tolerated in a Popiſh country,
" where the ſimple interpretation of Scripture from
" itſelf is repreſented as heretick. But ſo much for
" this. Let the Papiſts ſee, whether they ought
" not to ſtigmatize this author of theirs; we Pro-
" teſtants deteſt his intolerable boldneſs, tho' the Je-
" ſuit Poſſevin ranks him among the Catholic Wri-
" ters, Tom. 1. of his *Appar. Sacr.*" We may obſerve I, that the work, from which this is taken, was publiſhed firſt in 1626, and that the edition in folio, which I have made uſe of, printed in 1652, was reviſed, corrected, and enlarged by the author: II, That the book of Alabaſter was condemned at Rome the 30th of January 1610, and that the author returned to the Church of England long before the firſt edition of Mr. Rivet's book. See what the congregation of the *Index Expurgatorius* ſays; I quote their own words, becauſe it might poſſibly be inferred from thence, that the *Apparatus* of Alabaſter was reprinted at Rome with alterations and corrections: *Apparatus in Revelationem Jeſu Chriſti, auctore Gulielmo Alabaſtro Anglo, Antverpiæ 1607: Et Antitheſis Benedicti à Benedictis Veneti, contra Gulielmum Witackerum, niſi fuerint* EX CORRECTIS AB AUCTORIBUS ET ROMÆ IMPRESSIS, *cum approbatione P. Mag. Sacri Palatii.* But perhaps they meant only, that in caſe theſe authors ſhould correct their works, and get them printed at Rome, with the approbation of the Maſter of the ſacred palace, then it might be permitted to read that new edition. I believe this is the true meaning. Samuel Andreas, a German Divine, has written a book (8) againſt the *Cabala* of Henry More (9), wherein he gives ſeveral inſtances of Alabaſter's Chimera's (10).

(7) One is upon the 9th verſe of the 37th chapter of Geneſis; the other upon the 8th verſe of the 22d of the ſame book.

(8) See the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*, printed at Rome under Alexander VII. p. 206.

(9) It is intitled, *Examen Cabbalæ Henr. Mori.*

(10) Andr. *Examen Cabb. Mori*, p. 55.

☞ALAIN CHARTIER or CHARRETIER, Secretary to Charles VII King of France, was famous for ſeveral works, which he wrote both in proſe and verſe [*A*]. He was born in the year 1386 (*a*). His moſt conſiderable performance was his *Chronicle of King Charles VII*, which contains an ample account of the reign of that Prince, who upon his coming to the crown found his Kingdom involved in the moſt dreadful confuſion, which he afterwards entirely ſettled by his admirable conduct. Bernard de Girard (*b*) in the Preface to his *Hiſtory of France* ſtiles him an *excellent Hiſtorian, who has given an account of all the affairs, particulars, ceremonies, ſpeeches, anſwers and circumſtances at which he was preſent himſelf, or had information of.* We have a remarkable ſtory of him told by Giles Corrozet (*c*) [*B*]. Paſquier

(*a*) Eſtienne Paſquier *Recherches de la France*, l. 5. c. 18. p. 609. edit. *de Paris* 1611.

(*b*) Quoted by Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Biblioth.* p. 17. edit. Lyon 1585.

(*c*) *See* Du Verdier, ibid.

[*A*] *Several works which he wrote both in proſe and verſe.*] We have of him in proſe *Le Curial*; *Le Quadrilogue*; *La Genealogie des Roys de France, deſpuis S. Louys, & l'extinction du faux Droict pretendu ſur le Royaume de France par les Anglois.* i. e. " The Genealogy of the Kings of France from St.
" Lewis's time, and the Extinction of the falſe claim
" to the kingdom of France pretended to by the
" Engliſh; *Demandes & Reſponſes d'Amours*; i. e.
" Queſtions and Anſwers of Love:" In verſe we have theſe; *Libelle de Paix*; *Le Breviaire des Nobles*; *La Dame ſans Mercy, complainte envoyée aux Dames par les purſuivans*; *Le Livre des quatre temps*; *L'Hoſpital d'Amours, Regret d'un Amoureux, Balades, le Debat du gras & du maigre*; *Morale de Raiſon, Entendement & de l'Acteur.* Theſe pieces were printed in a volume in 8vo at Paris by Galiot du Prè in the year 1529. His *Chroniques du Roy Charles VII, contenans les Faicts & Geſtes du dit Sieur, lequel trouva ſon Royaume en grand Trouble, & neantmoins le laiſſa paiſible*, was printed at Paris in folio by Francis Regnard in 1528. This chronicle begins with the year 1402.

[*B*] *We have a remarkable ſtory of him told by Giles Corrozet.*] This author, in his *Collection of divers memorable expreſſions of noble and illuſtrious perſons in Chriſtendom*, tells us, that Margaret daughter to the King of Scotland, and wife to the Dauphin, who was afterwards King Lewis XI, paſſing once thro' an hall, where Alain Chartier, who was Secretary to Charles VIII, and a man of great learning, a famous Poet and Orator, and eminent for his politeneſs in the French language, lay aſleep upon a bench; ſhe went, and kiſſed his mouth before all the Company, which attended her. Some of them telling her, that it was ſtrange ſhe ſhould be induc'd to kiſs a man, who had ſo few charms in his perſon; ſhe replied, *I did not kiſs the man, but that mouth, from whence proceeded ſo many excellent ſayings, ſo many wiſe diſcourſes, and ſo many elegant expreſſions.* This ſhews, that this Princeſs was of opinion, that the accompliſhments of the mind are infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the body; a maxim, which it would be of great advantage to the Ladies, if they would regulate themſelves upon. For if Adam himſelf in *Milton* obſerved, that Eve was even before the fall,

In outward ſhew
Elaborate, of inward leſs exact (1);

(1) *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book 8.

How much *leſs exact* muſt her daughters be now, who labour under ſo many diſadvantages from a defective education, and imbibe ſuch prejudices, as make them leſs amiable, even when they have all the charms of youth and beauty about them; but neceſſarily reduce them to contempt, when age has once blaſted their external ornament and perfection? Mr. Fontenelle among his *Dialogues of the Dead* has a very agreeable one upon the incident abovementioned, between the Princeſs Margaret and Plato.

Paſquier has given a noble character of him [C].

(2) *Ubi ſupra.*

[C] *Paſquier has given a noble character of him.*] He tells us (2), that he was a great Poet, and a greater Orator, as appears from his *Curial* and *Quadrilogue*, which works are ſufficient to immortalize his memory; and that he was raiſed to be the King's Secretary by the intereſt of ſeveral great Men, who valued him for his eloquence. And he compares him to Seneca on account of the infinite number of beautiful ſentences, which are interſperſ'd every where in his writings, many of which are quoted by Paſquier in the chapter abovementioned. T.

ALAIS, a city of France in the Sevennes and Dioceſe of Nimes, about five leagues from Uſes (*a*), is the capital of an antient Lordſhip, which was erected into a County, and poſſeſſed by Charles de Valois Duke of Angoulême, natural ſon of Charles IX. It was under the name of the Count d'Alais, that Lewis Emanuel de Valois (*b*), Colonel General of the Light Horſe of France, and Governor of Provence, ſon to this Duke of Angoulême, and father of Frances Mary de Valois, wife of Lewis of Lorrain Duke de Joyeuſe, was ſo long known. By this marriage the county of Alais fell to the Houſe of Lorrain ſettled in France; for from the marriage of the Duke de Joyeuſe with Frances Mary de Valois came Lewis Joſeph de Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, who died at Paris of the Small Pox the 30th of July 1671, in the twenty firſt year of his age (*c*).

(*a*) *Ex* Baudrandi *Lexico Geograph.*

(*b*) It is he whom Gaſſendi ſpeaks ſo often of, and wrote ſo many letters to, *Ludovico Valeſio.*

(*c*) Father Anſelme, *Genealogie de la Maiſon de France.* p. 175, 176.

The city of Alais is become Epiſcopal ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantes [A]. Some are of opinion, that it is the Aleſia deſcribed by Julius Cæſar in the ſeventh book of his Commentaries. Mr. de Mandajors, who is Mayor of it, has wrote a Diſſertation upon that ſubject. See the *Journal des Savans* of the ninth of May 1695, p. 321 of the Holland edition.

[A] *The city of Alais is become Epiſcopal ſince the revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1).] It is not without cauſe that I mark this period; for it is certain, that the ſuppreſſion of this Edict gave occaſion to the erecting of this new biſhoprick. This country was filled with Proteſtants, who were obliged by the Dragoon Miſſionaries to ſign a Popiſh Formulary. It was thought proper therefore, that they ſhould not be at ſuch a diſtance from their Biſhop, as they muſt have been, if they had been under the dioceſe of Nimes. This new Epiſcopal church *is compoſed of two collegiate churches, that of Pſalmodi, and that of the town of Alez, and has twenty three Canons and twelve Prebendaries. Its firſt Biſhop, Francis Chevalier de Saulx, Abbot of Pſalmodi, and Doctor of Sorbonne, was conſecrated by Cardinal de Bonzi, Archbiſhop of Narbonne, in the church of the Nuns of the Viſitation of Montpelier, the 29th of Auguſt* 1694. *He is ſprung from one of the moſt ancient and noble families of Poitou* (2). See the Letter, which Mr. Pontier wrote to him, and which he publiſhed at Paris in 1695. The *Journal des Savans* mentions it (3).

(1) In the year 1685.

(2) *Journal des Savans* of the 9th of May 1695, p. 322 of the Holland edition.

(3) Ibid. p. 321.

ALALCOMENIUM a little city in Bœotia. It was called ſo, either on account of Alalcomeneus the foſter-father of Minerva, according to ſome writers (*a*), or of Alalcomenia one of the daughters of Ogyges, who nurſed Minerva [A], according to others (*b*). This Goddeſs was born here (*c*), and had a temple and image of ivory, extremely reverenced by the people (*d*). This reverence paid to her was the cauſe, as Strabo relates, that Alalcomenium, though very eaſy to be taken, was never plundered; and that no perſon ever attempted to uſe violence againſt it (*e*). But Pauſanias aſſures us, that the image of Minerva was carried away by Sylla, and afterwards the temple began to be diſregarded. He adds, that in his time the walls were cleft by a large ivy-tree's thruſting its branches between the ſtones. Among the Epithets of Minerva, that of *Alalcomenian*, Ἀλαλκομενηΐς, which Homer gives her, is not the leaſt remarkable (*f*). Plutarch tells us, that Ulyſſes being born at Alalcomenium, gave the ſame name to a city of Ithaca, in order to preſerve the memory of the place where he was born (*g*). Stephanus Byzantinus ſays nothing of this, when he ſpeaks of Alalcomenium, and he calls a city of Ithaca Alalcomenium. What Moreri ſays, that Alalcomenium was remarkable for the tomb of Tireſias, and that according to Plutarch it had afterwards the name of Ithaca, is falſe (*h*). Mr. Hofman has committed ſtill more errors [B].

(*a*) Steph. Byzant. *voce* Ἀλαλκομένιον. Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 308.

(*b*) Pauſan. l. 9. p. 308, according to the interpretation of Scaliger in Euſeb. num. 229.

(*c*) Strabo, lib. 9. p. 285.

(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 308.

(*e*) Ἀπόρθητος αἰεὶ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις... τὴν δὲ θεὸν σεβόμενοι πάντες ἀπείχοντο πάσης βίας. *Nunquam vaſtata eſt ob reverentiam Deæ, omnibus omnem vim abſtinentibus.* Strabo lib. 9. p. 285.

(*f*) Homer. Il. Δ, ver. 8. Stat. Theb. lib. 7. ver. 330.

(*g*) Plutarch. *Quæſtion. Græc.* p. 301.

(*h*) See the Article TIRESIAS.

[A] *Alalcomenia .... nurſed Minerva.*] Scaliger pretends, I, that Pauſanias acknowledges, that ſeveral writers have aſcribed the education of Minerva to Alalcomenia, daughter of Ogyges; but this is rather conjecturing what it is imagined Pauſanias ſhould or would have ſaid, than keeping to the letter of his text, as thoſe muſt confeſs, who examine the original: II, That Stephanus of Byzantium mentions this daughter of Ogyges (1); but this is not to be found in the place, where that author ſpeaks of the city Alalcomenium.

[B] *Mr. Hofman has committed ſtill more errors.*] He ſays, I, that Alalcomenium was a city of Bœotia, which took its name from Alalcomenæum of the Bœotians, *denominata à Bœotorum Alalcomenæo.* It is plain, that he takes this laſt word, after Mr. Lloyd, not for the name of a *man* but of a *city* (2). Mr. Lloyd has ſome reaſon for this; for here is what he ſays: *Alalcomenæ, urbs Ithacæ, denominata à Bœotorum Alalcomenæo, ut Plut. in Hellen. refert, pag.* 337, *Edit. Steph. afferens ſimul cauſam nominis:* i. e. "Alalcomenæ, a city of Ithaca, call'd ſo from "Alalcomenium of the Bœotians, as Plutarch tells "us in *Hellen.* p. 537. of Stephens's Edition, and "gives us the reaſon of that name." All this is true; but as Mr. Hofman has put inſtead of theſe words of Mr. Lloyd, *Urbs Ithacæ*, "a city of "Ithaca," *Urbs Bœotiæ*, "a city of Bœotia," and has kept what follows without any alteration, he has fallen into a double error; on the one hand he aſſures us, that a city of Bœotia took its name from itſelf, and on the other, that it is Plutarch, who ſays this. II, He falſely imputes to Plutarch, that he aſſerts in page 537, that the tomb of Tireſias and the temple of Minerva made this city of Bœotia famous, from whence the Poet calls that Goddeſs Ἀλαλκομενὶς Ἀθήνη.

(1) Scaliger *in Euſeb.* num. 229. p. 21.

(2) This city is ſometimes expreſſed in the neuter gender. Ἀλαλκομένιον, and ſometimes in the feminine in the ſingular number Ἀλαλκομενία, and at other times in the plural Ἀλαλκομεναὶ. *See* Berkelius *upon* Stephen Byzant. p. 89. He forgot to mention that Plutarch. *Quæſt. Græc.* p. 301, calls it Ἀλαλκομένιον.

ALAMANDUS (LEWIS) in French Aleman, Archbiſhop of Arles, and Cardinal of St. Cecilia, was one of the greateſt men of the fifteenth Century. Thoſe who write of the affairs in which he was engaged, generally call him the Cardinal of Arles. He was not a Burgundian, as ſome tell us, though he was almoſt one, for the country of Bugei gave him birth. This appears from Guichenon in his Hiſtory of Breſſe as Moreri has obſerved. To avoid a repetition of what he has ſaid, I ſhall confine my ſelf to other particulars relating to him. The Cardinal of Arles preſided in the council of Baſil, which depoſed Eugenius IV, and elected the Antipope Felix V (*a*). He is much commended by Æneas Sylvius, as a man extremely well formed for preſiding in ſuch aſſemblies, firm and vigorous, illuſtrious by his virtue, learned, and of an admirable memory in recapitulating all that the Orators and Diſputants had ſaid (*b*). One day, when he harangued againſt the ſuperiority of the Pope over the council, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch an eminent manner, that ſeveral perſons went to kiſs him, while others preſſed even to kiſs his robe. They extolled to the ſkies his abilities and genius, which had raiſed him, though a Frenchman, to a ſuperiority over the Italians, notwithſtanding all their natural ſubtlety and fineſſe (*c*). He knew very well how to employ all the engines of devotion to his own advantage; for one day of the Seſſion, he ordered the Prieſts to bring into the council all the reliques which could be found at Baſil, and to lay them in the place of the abſent Biſhops. This produced ſuch an effect, that when they came, according to cuſtom, to invoke the Holy Ghoſt, every one was diſſolved into tears. He drew tears likewiſe from the aſſiſtants, when he officiated at Maſs another day of the Seſſion, and with his bald head all bare diſtributed the Communion to thoſe who offered themſelves, gave them the Pax to kiſs, and exhorted them to communicate worthily (*d*). He was inflexible to every thing, while the plague raged in the city; the death of part of his domeſtics, and the prayers of others, could not prevail with him to leave it; he choſe rather to ſave the council at the peril of his life by his preſence, than to ſave his life at the peril of the council by his abſence (*e*). He was extremely laborious, and ſo temperate, that there were ſome of the Conclaviſts, who could not bear that the example of this Cardinal ſhould be urged to them, when their expences were retrenched. The anſwer of a Polander upon this occaſion deſerves to be mentioned [*A*]. There is no need of aſking, whether Pope Eugenius thundered againſt the preſident of a council, which depoſed him. He deprived him of all his dignities, and treated him as a ſon of iniquity [*B*]. However, notwithſtanding this Lewis Alamandus died in the odour of ſanctity [*C*], and performed ſo many miracles

(*a*) He was Duke of Savoy, and named Amadeus.

(*b*) Æneas Sylvius *de Geſtis Baſilenſis Concilii*, lib. 1.

(*c*) *Prudentiam ejus magnopere commendabant, qui licet origine eſſet Gallicus, Italos tamen hac die, ſummâ hominis aſtutiâ ſuperaſſet.* Æneas Silvius *de Geſtis Concilii Baſil.* lib. 1.

(*d*) Idem, lib. 2.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. I ſhall give his own Latin words in the Remark [*A*].

'Αλάμ. Mr. Lloyd aſcribes all theſe particulars to Plutarch, except that relatiag to the tomb of Tireſias. III, Mr. Hofman gives us as another diſtinct city, that, which he calls *Alalcomenium, op. Bœotiæ, ad lacum Copaidem inter Haliartum & Coronæam, templo Minervæ clarum.* i. e. "Alalcomenium, a town "of Bœotia, upon the lake Copais, between Haliar- "tus and Coronæa, famous for the temple of Mi- "nerva." This is multiplying of beings without any neceſſity. I believe, that none of the authors quoted by Moreri give any account, that Prince Alalcomenius placed in the city of that name the ſtatue of Venus.

[*A*] *The anſwer ... of a Polander deſerves to be mentioned.*] "What a compariſon is that! ſaid he, "when they propoſed to him the example of Lewis "Alamandus. You ſpeak to me of a Frenchman, "who is extremely temperate, and has no belly, or "to ſpeak more properly, who is not a man. I can "ſee thro' the curtain, which ſeparates us, all that "he does; I never ſaw him either eat or drink; he "ſleeps neither night nor day; he is perpetually "reading, or buſy; he thinks of nothing leſs than "his belly; he is no man for me; I have nothing in "my conſtitution, that is common with perſons of his "character." *Quos inter* (theſe are the words of Æneas Silvius upon the ſubject of diminiſhing the ordinary proviſion of thoſe, who belonged to the Conclave,) *Cracovienſis Archidiaconus diminutionem* (cibariorum) *tulit. Cui cum aves & arietinæ carnes afferrentur, ſubſtractæ aviculæ ſunt, orante in porta famulo, ut quod plus eſſet, id Domino dimitteretur; ſperabat namque ex ariete partem, ex avibus autem non ſperabat: Dominus tamen aviculum præoptaſſet. Ideoque cum ſpolium ſenſit, utique conqueſtus eſt publiceque teſtatus, nunquam ſe diem, poſtquam ſacerdos fuit, tuliſſe pejorem. At cum rogaretur ne admirationem haberet, quoniam id obtigiſſet Cardinali* (Aretalenſi,) "*Proh! inquit, Cardinalem mihi æquiparas, "hominem Gallicum, parcum, eventrem, aut, ut ve- "rius loquar, non hominem. Ego apud eum meo in- "fortunio ſum locatus; omnia, quæ facit, perillu- "ſtris mihi cortina indicat, nec adhuc bibere eum, aut co- "medere vidi; &, quod mihi moleſtius eſt, inſomnes noc- "tes inſomneſque dies ducit, (quanquam nulla eſt apud "nos dies,) aut legit ſemper, aut negotiatur. Nulla ei "minor quam ventris eſt cura: mihi nihil cum eo "commune eſt* (1)." Such is the condition of thoſe, who in the greateſt affairs are capable of ſurmounting the moſt invincible obſtacles. This requires perſons, who are patient of labour, diſengaged from the pleaſures of ſenſe, and intrepid in their conduct. I ſhall give in Latin the teſtimony of Lewis Alamandus's firmneſs againſt the fear of the plague. *Neque illum preces, neque domeſticorum funera, flectere potuerunt, volentem potius cum vitæ periculo ſalvare Concilium, quàm cum periculo Concilii ſalvare vitam; ſciebat enim, quoniam ſe recedente pauci remanſiſſent, facileque committi fraus in ejus abſentia potuiſſet* (2).

(1) Æneas Silvius *de Geſtis Baſilenſis Concilii*, lib. 2.

(2) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *He was treated as a ſon of hell.*] In a Bull dated at Florence in the year 1442, he is called *iniquitatis filius, rebellionum & facinorum multorum reus*, i. e. "a ſon of iniquity, and guilty of rebellion "and many other crimes;" and it is ſaid there, that the Councils of Ferrara and Florence had condemn'd and deprived him of all his dignities, *à Ferrarienſi & Florentino Conciliis damnatum & univerſis dignitatibus privatum fuiſſe* (3).

(3) *See* Launoi- um Epiſt. xi. Part. 1. num. 45. p. 80.

[*C*] *However notwithſtanding this he died in the Odour of Sanctity.*] This inſtance, and that of Peter of Luxemburg, beatified by the ſame Bull of Clement VII (4), very much embarraſs the controvertiſts of the Romiſh party; for in ſhort, if, according to their pretences, every man, who is not united to the Pope, is out of the Pale of the Church, how is it poſſible, that he ſhall not only be ſaved in the two obediences, but even merit the honour of a Saint? The beſt anſwer that can be given to this, is to ſay, that the power of diſtinguiſhing between a true Pope and a falſe one being above the ability of particular perſons, and a mere queſtion of fact, the error is invincible, and conſequently ought not to be any prejudice to thoſe, who were ſincere with regard

(4) *See* Claude, *Defenſe de la Reformation*, 3d Part towards the end.

miracles after his death, that at the requeſt of the Canons and Celeſtin-Monks of Avignon, and the ſollicitation of the Cardinal of Clermont, Legate *a latere* of Clement VII, he was beatified by that Pope in the year 1527 (*f*). Oderic Reynaldus pretends, that he repented of every thing that he had done in the council of Baſil; but there is no proof of this repentance (*g*), and nothing can be urged to contradict this matter of fact, that a year before his death (*h*), he was one of thoſe who, at the council of Lauſanne, ſpoke of the council of Baſil, as a ſacred aſſembly (*i*). He died at the age of ſixty years (*k*), on the ſixteenth of September 1450 (*l*). Some ſay it was in Savoy at the Abby of Hautecombe, where the Monks built a chapel to him, and invoked him at the celebration of the Maſs (*m*). Others ſay that he died at Salon (*n*). His body lies at Arles: the Bull of Clement VII permits the removal of it from the moiſt places under ground to any other convenient part of the ſame church. I find ſome writers who aſſure us after Jacobus Philippus Bergamenſis (*o*), that Lewis Alamandus publiſhed ſeveral little Tracts worthy of himſelf; but I find none who give us the titles of theſe Tracts, nor mention the Library where they are.

The Janſeniſts, who have criticiſed upon Oderic Raynaldus, on the affair of the pretended repentance of our Lewis Alamandus, have expoſed themſelves to ſome cenſure [*D*].

(*f*) See the Bull in Laun. Epiſt. xi. part 1. p. 79, 80. edit. Cantan. 1689, in fol.
(*g*) Launoius, ibid. p. 81.
(*h*) It was in the year 1449.
(*i*) *Sacri Baſilenſis Concilii.* Diploma Concilii Lauſanenſis, *apud* Raynaldi *Annal. Eccleſiaſt. ad annum* 1449.
(*k*) *See the* Bull of Clement VII, in Laun. Epiſt. p. 79, 80.
(*l*) From his Epitaph.
(*m*) Petrus Monodus *in Amedeo Pacifico*, cap. 86 (it ſhould be 79) *apud* Laun. Epiſt. p. 81.
(*n*) Moreri.
(*o*) Jacobus Philippus Bergam. *Chronic.* lib. 15.

to the queſtion of right. But how ſhall they anſwer to the replies and to the conſequences, which may be drawn from this notion, and which may be applied in favour of other errors.

[*D*] *The Janſeniſts, who have criticized upon Raynaldus . . . have expoſed themſelves to ſome Cenſure.*] They alledge firſt the reproach, which this continuer of Baronius caſts upon the memory of the Cardinal of Arles, and then obſerve, that *he has been obliged to confeſs in two ſeveral places, under the year* 1426, *num.* 26, *and the year* 1450, *num.* 20. *that God gave teſtimony to the ſanctity of this Cardinal by miracles ſo viſible and ſo well atteſted, that Clement VII placed him in the number of the beatified* . . . (5). *The manner in which that author extricates himſelf from this Dilemma,* ſay they, *is very ſhocking,* "and can "only be founded upon a very pernicious maxim, "which is this, that men guilty of public crimes "may become Saints, and be acknowledged as ſuch "by the Church, without having given any marks "of repentance, and tho' every thing on the contrary ſhews, that they perſiſted in their crimes. "For if the Cardinal of Arles was guilty of any "crime, and ought to be eſteemed a very ill man "for what he did in the Council of Baſil, never any man was more obſtinate in his crimes "than he; for when the Fathers of the Council "of Baſil, in which he preſided, reunited themſelves to Nicholas V, this was not in any way of "acknowledgment that they had done amiſs in reſiſting or depoſing Eugenius, or electing Amadeus; but on the contrary it was a proteſtation, "that they had done nothing but for the good of "the Church, and that they did not unite themſelves to Nicholas V, but only in chooſing him "again after the voluntary reſignation of Felix. "And that this union was made without any obligation upon them, to diſavow any thing, which "they had done; but on the contrary it was Nicholas V, who confirmed what had been done at "Baſil. So that if all, that the Cardinal of Arles "did in that Council was criminal, never any man "ſhewed more obſtinacy in his crime than he. It "follows from hence, that if this did not prevent "his being a Saint, we muſt allow, that perſiſting "even in the greateſt crimes does not hinder a "perſon's becoming a Saint; which is a very ſhocking thought. And yet it is a neceſſary reſult "from what Raynaldus ſays under the year 1450, n. "20. *Hoc anno,* ſays he, *Ludovicum Alamandum Archiepiſcopum Aretalenſem . . . vita ceſſiſſe tradunt, atque miraculis poſt mortem coruſcaſſe affirmant, eumque Clemens VII veluti beatum coli permiſit, exarato diplomate Pontificio* 9 *Apr. ann.* 1527. *Itaque adoranda eſt divina miſeritordia, quæ exiguo temporis fluxu Ludovicum ipſum nefandi & perniciоſiſſimi ſchiſmatis auctorem, propagatorem hæreſeos, qui ex erronea conſtientia innumera in Dei Eccleſiam mala invexerat, ac tot annorum curſu in pertinaciâ obfirmatus profanaverat ſacramenta, pœnitentem ac reverſum in gremium Eccleſiæ ad ſanctitatis culmen brevi evexit.* If this "author had been contented to ſay, that the great "zeal, which this holy perſon was inſpired with "for the reformation of the Church, had carried "him to ſome actions which were too violent, tho' "he did them upon a good motive, this might have "been ſuffered, and would not have been ſo con"trary to the teſtimonies, which God gave of his "ſanctity. But to repreſent him as a wicked per"ſon, an heretic, and an obſtinate ſchiſmatic, who "prophaned the Sacraments by an infinite number "of ſacrilegious actions; and yet to tell us, that "in a year or two he became a Saint worthy of be"ing canonized, without having given any proof "of his repentance of thoſe crimes imputed to "him; this is a very ſtrange idea of ſanctity, or "more properly a conviction, that they had rather "join wickedneſs and holineſs together, than con"feſs that a Pope may err, in declaring a man to be "impious, when even God himſelf has declared him "a Saint. But the Bull of Clement VII for the "beatification of this holy man, given us by Ciaconius, is ſufficient to confound this writer, ſince "the Pope gives him this teſtimony, not that he "repented of the great crimes which he committed, but that he rendred to God his ſoul very "pure and undefiled after he had lived ſixty years."

Theſe Gentlemen very juſtly cenſure Raynaldus with regard to the confidence, with which he aſſerts, that Alamandus repented, and they refute his pretences in a demonſtrative manner. But they do him injuſtice to accuſe him of that ſhocking opinion, which they aggravate with ſo much pomp. It is by no means true, that he joins holineſs and impenitency together; he ſuppoſes on the contrary that the Cardinal repented; and in this caſe he acknowledges the adorable mercy of God.

As for the reſt, if I ſhould obſerve here, that Mr. Claude has reproached the Janſeniſts with having blown hot and cold with regard to Oderic Raynaldus (6); it is only to ſhew, that I am not the only perſon who imputes theſe remarks to them.

(5) *Remarques ſur le xvii Tome des Annales Eccleſiaſtiques*, pag. 213. Theſe *Remarques* are printed with the *Recueil de diverſes pieces pour la Defenſe des Cenſures de la Faculte de Theologie de Paris, contre un Bref & une Bulle d'Alexandre VII.* I make uſe of the Geneva edition (in the title it is, *a Munſter chez* Barnard Raesfeld) in 1667 in 8vo.

(6) Claude, *Preface de la Reponſe à la Perpetuité de la Foi defendue*, pag. xxviii, xxix.

☞ALAMANNI (NICHOLAS) a learned man of the ſeventeenth Century, was born of Greek parents, and educated in the Greek College founded by Pope Gregory XIII, where he made a prodigious progreſs in learning, and became eminent for the ſtrength of his genius, and the integrity of his manners. He afterwards entered into holy orders [*A*]; and his fortune being very inconſiderable, he employed himſelf in teaching

[*A*] *Entered into holy orders.*] Erythræus tells us, that he probably had a deſign at firſt to go and ſettle in Greece, which induced him to apply to a Greek Biſhop, who ordained him a Sub-Deacon. But having afterwards

teaching the Greek language to ſeveral men of diſtinguiſhed rank, and gained the friendſhip of Scipio Cobellutius, who was at that time Secretary of the brieſs to Pope Paul V, and had a ſtrong deſire to be inſtructed in the Greek learning. This opened a way for him to obtain the poſt of Secretary to Cardinal Borgheſe [*B*]. He was afterwards made Keeper of the Vatican Library [*C*], and publiſhed the Hiſtory of Procopius, and a Deſcription of St. John de Lateran. He died of a diſtemper contracted by his cloſe attendance at the erecting of the great altar of the Church of St. Peter at Rome (*a*) [*D*].

(*a*) Jan. Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacotheca* I. pag. 125, &c. edit. Lipſiæ, 1712.

afterwards greater expectations of advantage in the Romiſh church, he changed his mind, and received the other ſacred orders from the hands of the Biſhops of that church. *Dedit etiam cum aliis ſociis de more militiæ Eccleſiaſticæ nomen; & quoniam fortaſſe habebat in animo in Græciam navigare, ibique vitæ ſuæ domicilium conſtituere, a Græco Epiſcopo in ſubdiaconorum ordinem ac numerum adſcribi voluit: ſed poſteaquam a Latinis oris opulentior illi ſpes effulgere viſa eſt, ad id, unde ſecundus rebus ſuis ſtatus oſtendebatur, vela dedit, & ad Latinorum caſtra tranſiit; ab eiſque reliquis ſacris ordinibus initiatus eſt.* It appears from this paſſage that the proſpect of intereſt was Alamanni's inducement to join himſelf to the church of Rome, and determined all the controverſies between the Greeks and Latins in favour of the latter. It is a little ſtrange that Erythræus, a zealous Roman Catholic, ſhould mention this circumſtance in his Elogium upon our Author, ſince it does no very great honour to the character of the latter, or to the Romiſh church, whoſe emoluments ſeem to have been the ſtrongeſt argument in its favour.

[*B*] *To obtain the poſt of Secretary to Cardinal Borgheſe.*] This Cardinal wanting a perſon to aſſiſt him in writing his Latin Letters, Scipio Cobellutius was deſired by Cardinal Lanfranc Margotius to enquire for a Man of Letters, who was fit for that employment. He neglecting ſeveral of his friends, who were extremely well qualified for that province, pitched upon Alamanni; who having never applied the learning which he had acquired in the ſchools, to buſineſs, proved very inſufficient for that poſt; for he was prodigiouſly defective in the ſtyle and ſentiments of his Letters, and did not at all maintain the dignity of the perſon, in whoſe name he wrote, nor the reſpect due to thoſe, to whom the Letters were addreſſed; and Cardinal Margotius was frequently heard to complain, that he uſed to mix Greek words in his Latin Letters, than which nothing could poſſibly be more abſurd. *Qui quoniam, quod in ſcholis didicerat, nunquam ad uſum contulerat, neque in verborum ac ſententiarum gravitate in ſcribendo, neque ejus, qui ſcribebat, neque eorum, ad quos ſcribebatur, honoris ac dignitatis gradum conſervabat, minus ad id munus idoneus habebatur; ac ſæpè auditus eſt queri Lanfrancus, quod ille, in epiſtolis, Latinis verbis Græca miſceret, quo nihil fieri potuit ineptius.* This defect in Men of Learning is very common, and has been taken notice of by the ingenious author of ſeveral Letters upon Education, publiſhed in the *Spectator*, particularly that in the fifth volume N°. 353. He tells us that the want of the method which he propoſes for the education of youth "is very viſible in many learned perſons, who while "they are admiring the ſtyle of Demoſthenes or "Cicero, want Phraſes to expreſs themſelves on the "moſt common occaſions. I have ſeen a Letter "from one of theſe Latin Orators, which would "have been deſervedly laugh'd at by a common At"torney." The ſcheme, which he propoſes, is, that every Schoolmaſter ſhould inſtruct his Scholars in the writing of Letters in their native language. "To this end, *ſays he*, inſtead of perplexing them "with Latin Epiſtles, Themes, and Verſes, there "might be a punctual correſpondence eſtabliſhed be"tween two boys, who might act in any imagi"nary parts of buſineſs, or be allowed ſometimes to "give a range to their own fancies, and communi"cate to each other whatever trifles they thought "fit, provided neither of them ever failed at the "appointed time to anſwer his correſpondent's Let"ter." Theſe directions are very judicious; and we may obſerve in general, that where the knowledge of the world, of men and of books are joined together, they form a compleat character. Cicero and Pliny the younger, two of the greateſt Men in antiquity, ſhew in their Epiſtles the Philoſopher and the Man of buſineſs at the ſame time, and diſplay an eaſy unaffected eloquence, which is ſuitable to every ſubject, which they write upon. With regard to the objection againſt Alamanni's intermixing Greek with Latin in his Letters, this has been a very common defect among Men of Learning, eſpecially at the firſt reviving of Literature. Henry Stephens takes notice of this (1), and obſerves that Pliny as well as Cicero never introduce any Greek words, unleſs they are extremely proper and expreſſive; whereas, ſays he, many perſons now crowd their writings, and eſpecially their Letters, with Greek words and phraſes, not becauſe they are more proper than the Latin, but becauſe they underſtand them themſelves, and therefore are willing, that other people ſhould ſee, that they are Maſters of ſome Greek; and if they knew more of that language, their Letters would undoubtedly be quite full of it. *Cæterum hoc quoque in iis obſervandum eſt, qui linguam Græcam callent, quam aptas voces Græcas, & quam non temerè ſuis Latinis Epiſtolis Plinius immiſceat. Quam cautionem Ciceronem etiam adhibuiſſe videmus; quum hodiè contra plerique in ſua ſcripta ſuaſque præſertim epiſtolas vocabula Græca infarciant, non quod aptiora ſint Latinis, ſed quod ea quum nôrint, etiam nôſſe ſciri velint; quod ſi multa nôſſent, totas illis epiſtolas refarcirent.*

(1) *Præfat. in Plinii Epiſt.* p. 36. edit. Jacobi Stœr, 1620.

[*C*] *Keeper of the Vatican Library.*] There being a vacancy, upon the death of Balthaſar Anſideus, who had enjoyed that place, and Cardinal Borgheſe having ſuch a prodigious intereſt at Rome, that no perſon was raiſed to any conſiderable poſt who was not of his family; Alamanni was conſidered as the fitteſt man for that place, on account of his exact knowledge of the Greek and Roman Learning; and accordingly it was given him, and he executed it with great application and applauſe (2).

(2) Jan. Nic. Erythr. *ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *Contracted by his cloſe attendance at the erecting of the great altar in the church of St. Peter at Rome.*] This altar being deſigned to be adorned with great braſs pillars, and the weight of it conſequently very great, it was neceſſary to dig the foundations very deep; and therefore Alamanni was appointed to take care, that no perſon ſhould carry away any of the earth, which had been ſprinkled with the blood, and mingled with the bones of ſo many Martyrs. But he having attended more ſtrictly upon this charge, than his health permitted, and continued whole days together without ſtirring from thence, was at laſt ſtruck all over by the ſteams or vapours, which aroſe from the earth when it was broken up; this threw him into a diſtemper, of which he died in a little time. But let us hear Nicius Erythræus in his florid and pompous Latin. *Cum enim ejus templi ara maxima, æneis columnis, ingenti magnitudine ſummoque artificio elaboratis, ad umbellam eidem impoſitam ſuſtinendam exornanda eſſet, quo paria tanto oneri fundamenta jacerentur neceſſe fuerat, altè circa aram terram effodere; cui operi ille cuſtos eſt additus, ut videlicet daret operam, ne quis ſacrilegus, vel quiſquam alius nimis curiosè religioſus, quidquam ex illâ humo, tot Martyrum cruore imbuta, ſacriſque eorundem oſſibus admiſta ſurriperet: ſed cum illi muneri diligentius quàm ejus ſalutis ratio pateretur incumberet, neque totos dies ſe loco moveret, accidit ut vaporibus qui ex commotâ illâ humo exhalabant, toto corpore conceptis, læthalem in tabem incurreret, ex eaque brevi moreretur.* T.

(*a*) In Italian LUIGI.

☞ALAMANNI (LEWIS) (*a*) was born at Florence the 28th of Oct. 1495. His father Peter Alamanni and his mother Genevieva Paganelli were both of noble and illuſtrious

illuſtrious families, and of the party of the Paleſchi, who favoured the Medici againſt the Poppolani or aſſertors of Liberty (*b*). He ſtudied in his own country perhaps under James Diacceto, as ſome authors have aſſerted, who yet are probably miſtaken [*A*]. The friendſhip in which he engaged with Buondelmonte and Diacceto became at laſt fatal to him; for he entered (*c*) with them into a conſpiracy againſt Julius de Medici [*B*], but the plot being diſcovered, he was obliged to fly out of his native country; he and Buondelmonte went by different roads to Venice, where Charles Capello a Senator received them in his palace. But Julius de Medici having been choſen Pope the next year under the name of Clement VII, they did not think themſelves ſafe at Venice, and reſolved to retire into France; but paſſing through Breſcia they were there arreſted and put in priſon; for what reaſon is unknown, perhaps it was at the Pope's inſtigation. As ſoon as Capello heard it, he uſed all his intereſt ſo ſucceſsfully in their favour, that they were ſet at liberty. It was perhaps for this ſervice that Capello, being ſome years after Embaſſador at Florence, was very honourably received by the Lords of that city. Alamanni to evade the Pope's reſentment wandered from one place to another, living ſometimes in France, ſometimes at Genoa, waiting for a happy change that might reſtore him to his native country. This change happened in the year 1527, when Charles the Fifth's army having taken Rome, the Pope retired to the Caſtle of St. Angelo, where he was in a manner kept a priſoner. The Florentines who ſided with the people took hold of this opportunity to reſtore the publick liberty; they drove the Medici out of the city, and called back all thoſe that had been baniſhed, and among them Alamanni and Buondelmonte. But the Emperor's army being very ſucceſsful in Italy, Nicholas Capponi, who had been choſen one of the chief Magiſtrates at Florence (*d*), began to fear ſome new misfortunes, therefore he deſired to enter into an agreement with the Emperor. Several perſons were of his opinion; and having aſſembled the council of the city, Alamanni made a long diſcourſe to ſupport Capponi's opinion. But the credit of thoſe on the other ſide of the queſtion prevailed, and Alamanni became ſuſpicious to the abettors of liberty; for which reaſon he appeared ſeldom at Florence, and lived generally at Genoa. The Commonwealth of Florence having raiſed an army in 1528, Alamanni was choſen Commiſſary General, and his commiſſion was ſent to him to Genoa, where he then was. When he found that the affairs of the French were entirely ruined in Italy, he endeavoured again to engage the Florentines to leave the French and engage with the Emperor; but all his endeavours were to no purpoſe, and ſerved only to render him odious to the people, which obliged him to leave Florence. When a truce had been concluded between the Emperor and Francis I King of France, the Florentines ſent Embaſſadors to the former, in hopes of making peace with him; but he refuſed to treat with them, unleſs they promiſed to reſtore the ſovereign power to the Medici, and upon their refuſing to comply with this, the Emperor and the Pope's armies entered jointly into Tuſcany, took a great part of the Duchy and beſieged Florence. The Florentines in this urgent neceſſity ſent to Francis I, but not finding him diſpoſed to ſend them any ſuccour, they had recourſe to thoſe of their Citizens who were baniſhed. Alamanni, who loved his country, forgetting the ill treatment and injuries he had received, gathered all the money he

(*b*) *Biblioth. Ital.* tom. 1. p. 263, note (*h*).

(*c*) A. D. 1522.

(*d*) The Florentines ſided at that time with the French againſt the Emperor.

[*A*] *Who are probably miſtaken in this.*] Alamanni and Diacceto were almoſt of the ſame age; and Benedict Varchi tells us, that Lewis Alamanni, Zenobio Buondelmonte, James Diacceto, Antony Bruccioli &c. were Francis Cattani de Diacceto's diſciples (1). So that the authors we ſpeak of, miſtook one Diacceto for another: And it muſt be obſerved, that there were three learned men of that name at Florence at the ſame time, two called Francis, and one James. The two Francis's were diſtinguiſhed by the ſurnames or nicknames of Panvonazzo (the Violet or Purple) and Nero (the Black) which were the colours of the clothes they uſed to wear. The firſt of theſe, viz. Diacceto Panvonazzo is the perſon whoſe life Varchi wrote. James, who was much younger than the two former, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Diaccettino, which is a diminutive of Diacceto. Some authors alſo call him Guiaccetto, but this is not ſurprizing, becauſe the Florentines pronounce Guiacetto and Diacceto after the ſame manner (2). We will obſerve, that Father Niceron is in the right not to be too poſitive here; for tho' Alamanni was about the ſame age with James Diacceto, and ſtudied under the ſame Maſter, yet he might alſo have ſtudied afterwards under James Diacceto; for it happens ſometimes in univerſities, that a young Student has finiſhed his ſtudies and is promoted to a Profeſſorſhip, before his fellow-ſtudent has gone thro' all his courſes; ſo that the latter may come to be a diſciple of the former.

(1) Varchi in the *Life of Francis de Diacceto*, *apud* Niceron. *Hom. Illuſ.* tom. 1. p. 53.

(2) Niceron. ibid.

[*B*] *He entered with them* (*Buondelmonte and Diacceto*) *into a conſpiracy againſt Julius de Medici.*] His father had been a great Partiſan of the houſe of Medici, and Alamanni himſelf was very much beloved by Julius de Medici, who governed the Commonwealth of Florence at that time. The Cardinal had given ſuch orders that no body ſhould walk in the ſtreet with arms in the night time. Alamanni not thinking that this could regard him neglected to obey theſe orders, and having been found armed one night, he was obliged to undergo ſome puniſhment (3). He look'd upon this as a very great injury, and was ſo much exaſperated at it, that he joined with Buondelmonte and Diaccettino, who were diſpleaſed with the Cardinal; they formed a plot againſt him under pretence of promoting the public happineſs, being in hopes that by killing him they would acquire the honour of having ſaved their country. They thought that the death of Pope Leo X, which happened on the ſecond day of December 1521, was a proper time to execute their deſign, into which they had found means to draw ſome other perſons, amongſt whom was a relation of our Alamanni, who bore the ſame name with him (4), Nicholas Martelli, and Anthony Bruccioli. But their Plot was ſoon diſcovered. James Diaccettino having been impriſoned on ſome ſuſpicion the 22d of May 1522, Bruccioli fled immediately out of Florence, and gave notice to Alamanni who was then in the country; and finding he had no time to loſe he fled into the dukedom of Urbino with ſo much haſte, that he forgot to inform his couſin who was at Arezzo, of what had happened. This forgetfulneſs was the occaſion of his couſin's death, for he was taken

(3) Neither Father Niceron, nor the Authors of the *Biblioth. Ital.* tell us what ſort of puniſhment it was: I ſuppoſe it was only a fine.

(4) He was not his brother, as the Authors of the *Biblioth. Ital.* erroneouſly ſay (tom. 1. p. 263) but the ſon of Thomas, his couſin-german, Fratel-cugino, as the Journal of Venice has it, *apud* Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, p. 55, note (*a*).

he could [C] to maintain or reſtore the liberty of his fellow citizens; but this was too late; the Florentines were obliged to ſurrender their city the tenth of Auguſt in the year 1530. The conſtitution of the government was immediately altered, and Alexander de Medici was inveſted with the ſovereign authority: the chief of thoſe who ſided with the People were put to death; and Alamanni among others was baniſhed to Provence, but as he did not conform to his ſentence, he was ſummoned to appear, and upon his refuſal was declared a rebel in 1532. Having now loſt all hopes of ever ſeeing his native country again, he went into France, where Francis I became his patron. The happy genius he had for Poetry put him in a way of gaining riches. Francis I loved him very much, and employed him in ſeveral important affairs, and honoured him with the Collar of the Order of St. Michael: Henry Duke of Orleans who ſucceeded Francis in 1547, having married Catherine de Medici in 1533, that Princeſs took our Alamanni into her ſervice, and made him Lord Steward of her Houſhold. Pope Clement VII dying in 1534, and Alexander de Medici having been killed in 1537, the Florentines began to have new hopes of reſtoring the publick liberty and the popular government. They took up arms for that purpoſe, and Alamanni did not fail to encourage them by his letters; it is even probable that he went himſelf to Florence in order to perſuade them more effectually; for it appears by one of his Sonnets, that ſix years after he had retired into France, he went into Italy and returned ſoon after to that Kingdom. About the year 1540 he was admittted a member of the Academy of the *Inſiammati* (*e*), which was newly eſtabliſhed at Padua by the care of Daniel Barbaro, and Ugolin Martelli (*f*). The peace having been concluded in 1544 between the Emperor and the King of France, Alamanni was ſent Embaſſador to Charles the Fifth; in this Embaſſy there happened to him ſomething very remarkable, of which we will give an account in the Remark [D]. After the death of Francis I, Henry II his ſucceſſor ſhewed no leſs favour to Alamanni; he ſent him in 1551 Embaſſador to Genoa, in order to prevail with that Commonwealth to receive the French ſhips in her Ports, and to give a free paſſage to the troops which Henry intended to ſend into Italy. Alamanni was alſo charged, by a ſecret commiſſion, to conſult with thoſe Senators who were attached to the French intereſt, and to raiſe by their means a revolt, which might draw off the Commonwealth from the party of Spain, and make her dependent upon France Alamanni did all that lay in his power to ſucceed in this affair, but in vain. This was the laſt journey he took into Italy, and being returned to France he died at Amboiſe, where the court then was, the 18th of April 1556 [E], being then in the ſixty firſt year of his age. He was twice married, and both his wives were of noble Florentine families. The firſt whom he married at Florence before his baniſhment in the year 1516, was Alexandra Sirriſtori, the ſecond whom he married in France was Magdalen Buonajati, one of the dreſſers to Queen Catharine; after her huſband's death ſhe was married again in 1558 to John Baptiſt de

(*e*) Inflamed.

(*f*) Razzi, in the *Life of Varchi*, ap. Niceron, *Mem. pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire des hommes illuſtres*, tom. 13. p. 63.

taken priſoner ſoon after and brought to Florence, where he was beheaded with Diaccettino in June following. Our Alamanni and Buondelmonte were proſcribed, and a ſum of money put upon their heads (5). The authors of the *Bibliotheque Italique* (6) have miſtaken the ſenſe of the following words in the *Journal of Venice*, *E poſto taglia di cinquecento fiorini d'oro per uno*, which they tranſlate thus, "They were fined 500 golden florins a piece," inſtead of ſaying 500 *golden florins were promiſed for each of them.*

(5) Niceron, ib. p. 54. 56.
(6) Tom. 1. p. 263.

[C] *Alamanni gathered all the money he could.*] He found means to get from ſeveral perſons fifteen or twenty thouſand crowns, as Nardi relates it (7), or forty thouſand according to Segni (8), which he ſacrificed for the liberty of his country (9), having carried it from Lions to Genoa, and thence ſent it to Piſa. Benedict Varchi in his manuſcript Hiſtory of Florence (10) fixes this incident in the months of May and June 1530, and relates it in another manner. He tells us, that Alamanni leaving Genoa, where he uſed to live, made a tour to Barcelona, and went afterwards to Florence; and that he had found means by his entreaties and prayers to get twenty two thouſand crowns from the King of France, part of which he ſent to Piſa, and carried the reſt himſelf to Florence. However that be, this was certainly a great proof of his generous principles of liberty and of his love for his country.

(7) *Ap.* Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, p. 59.
(8) *Ap. eund.* ib. p. 60.
(9) *Biblioth. Ital.* tom. 1. p. 264.
(10) *Ap.* Niceron, ibid.

[D] *In this Embaſſy there happened to him ſomething very remarkable.*] Among the ſeveral Poems, which he had compoſed in praiſe of Francis I, there was a very ſmart piece againſt the Emperor; in that piece beſides ſeveral other ſatyrical ſtrokes, there was one in which the cock ſaid to the eagle,

——— *Aquila Grifagna*
Che per ſtu divorar due becchi port.

That is,

" Two crooked bills the ravenous eagle bears
" The better to devour.

The Emperor had read that piece; and when Alamanni appeared before him, and pronounced a fine diſcourſe in his praiſe, beginning every period with the word *Aquila*, an Eagle, the Emperor, who had heard him very attentively, gave him no other anſwer but the verſes we have related. Alamanni without being in the leaſt out of countenance anſwered immediately, " Sire, ſince your Majeſty has ſeen " theſe verſes, I will not diſown them; but when I " made them, I ſpoke as a Poet who is permitted to uſe " fictions and lies; but now I ſpeak as an Embaſſador, " who is obliged to tell the truth. I ſpoke then as " a young ſpark, but now I ſpeak as an old man. " I was then ſwayed by paſſion and rage, with which " the deſolate condition of my country inſpired me, " but now I am free from paſſion." The Emperor was ſo much pleaſed with this anſwer, that he told Alamanni he ought not to grieve at his baniſhment, ſince he had found a Protector like the King of France, but that Florence ſhould rather be afflicted at the loſs of ſo valuable a ſubject as he was (11).

(11) Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, p. 63, 65. *Bibl. Ital.* tom. 1. p. 264, 265.

[E] *He died at Amboiſe the* 18*th of April* 1556.] Jerome Ghillini (12) ſays, he died at Paris and was buried in the church of the Franciſcan Friars; but Luke Anthony Rudolphi his countryman and his friend, who was then in France, and for that reaſon is rather to be believed than Ghillini, ſays (13), he died at Amboiſe. We find in the ſecond book of Peter Aretino's Letters one of that author to our Lewis Alamanni, dated at Venice June the 10th 1562; but this muſt certainly be an error of the preſs (14).

(12) *Theatro d' Huomini Illuſt.* p. 156.
(13) In his Dialogue intitled *Aretiſila*, printed at Lions in 1560.
(14) Niceron, *ubi ſupra.*

de Gondi. Alamanni had ſeveral children, of which the two that are moſt known were probably born of his firſt wife [F]. We will give in the Remarks a catalogue of his works [G] (g).

(g) Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, p. 53---79. Volpi, Pref. to Alamanni's *Coltivazione*. The *Journal of Venice*, tom. 32. p. 230.

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[F] *Two of his ſons that are the moſt known were probably born of his firſt wife.*] The ground of this aſſertion is as follows: There is a Letter from Annibal Caro to Alamanni written in December 1539, in which Caro ſends compliments to Nicholas and Baptiſt Alamanni's two ſons. Now Nicholas Martelli dedicated his *Collection of Letters* in 1546 to Magdalen Buonajetti Alamanni's ſecond wife, and told her in that Dedication that ſhe was then but twenty two years of age; therefore in 1539 ſhe could be but fifteen, and conſequently ſhe was then too young, to be the mother of two children, to whom one might ſend compliments. This is confirmed by what the R. FF. de Sainte Marthe ſay of Baptiſt Alamanni in their *Gallia Chriſtiana*. We find there that he was born in Italy, the 30th of October 1519; that he came into France with his father, and was made Chaplain to Queen Catherine, that in 1555 he was made Biſhop of Bazas; that in 1558 he was tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Mâcon, and died Auguſt the 13th, 1581. F. de Sainte Marthe is miſtaken in the new edition of his *Gallia Chriſtiana*, when he ſays (15), that the Biſhop of Mâcon was the ſon of Lewis Alamanni, *qui pro tuenda Patriæ libertate mortem oppetierat*; i. e. "who was put to "death for having maintained the liberty of his "country." He miſtook our Alamanni for his brother who had been beheaded. There are ſome of Baptiſt Alamanni's Letters extant, in one of which, dated from Lions May the 29th 1545, he ſays that the King had given him in March before the abbey of Belleville in the Beaujolois, worth a thouſand crowns. a year. Alamanni's other ſon called Nicholas was Captain of the King of France's guards, and Knight of the Order of St. Michael (16).

(15) Tom. 1. p. 1210.

(16) Niceron, *ubi ſupra*.

[G] *A Catalogue of his works.*] I. *Opere Toſcane*, printed by Stephen Griphius at Lions in 1532, 8°. This is the firſt and moſt beautiful edition of the collection of Alemanni's Italian Poems, ſome of which perhaps had already been printed ſeparately. In his Dedication he ſpeaks after the following manner. "I ſhall "perhaps be blamed for having written in blank "verſe, againſt the common practice of the beſt "Poets who have written in our language. But I "anſwer, that rime does not at all ſuit with thoſe "ſubjects that require to be treated by way of dia- "logue, becauſe it gives it a ridiculous air of affecta- "tion. . . . In ſubjects of a more ſublime nature, "rime which has ſomething in it ſoft and tender, "rather than noble and lofty, deprives a Poem of "that dignity which muſt attend it, . . . it gives the "ſtyle a turn too periodical, it brings in a tireſome "uniformity, it ſtreightens, and if I may ſay ſo, "impriſons the thoughts, and leaves no room for "the nobleneſs, freedom and variety of ideas." It appears by this paſſage, that blank verſe were not yet much in uſe at the time our Alamanni wrote; and it may be diſputed whether he or Triſſino firſt employed them, and as they were contemporaries, it would be difficult to decide this queſtion, if we could not trace the date of their works: but it appears that Triſſino's *Sophonisba*, which he dedicated to Leo X in 1520, was compoſed before Alamanni's *Coltivazione*, who wrote that Poem in his old age, and before his *Diluvio Romano*, in which he gives a deſcription of the overflowing of the Tyber, which happened in 1531. All Alamanni's other pieces were written in France after the year 1522, when he was obliged to leave his native country. So that Triſſino's pieces in blank verſe having been written and publiſhed before thoſe of Alamanni, the glory of the invention ſeems to belong to the former. Several ingenious men look upon Alamanni's *Diluvio Romano* as more beautiful than Horace's ſecond Ode. His Satyrs according to Bianchini are written in too lofty a ſtyle; his Hymns happily imitate Pindar; his *Coltivazione* calls to the reader's mind Homer and Virgil, and his Epigrams are in Martial's taſte (17).

(17) *Bibliotb. Ital.* tom. 1. p. 265, 266.

The firſt volume of his *Opere Toſcane* contains Elogies, Paſtorals, Sonnets, the Fable of Narciſſus, which is found alſo in a collection intitled, *Prima parte delle Stanze di diverſi illuſtri Poëti, raccolti da Ludovico Dolce; in Venegia* (at Venice) 1570, 12mo; *Il Diluvio Romano*; the Fable Atalantis; twelve Satyrs, of which the ſixth, ſeventh, ninth and tenth have been inſerted by Mario de gli Andini in a collection intitled *Satire de cinque illuſtri Poëti*, at Venice, 1565, 12mo. And Francis Sanſovino has inſerted all Alamanni's Satyrs in a collection of Satyrs containing ſeven books, printed at Venice in 1560, 8vo: and *Pſalmi penitentiali*, Penitential Pſalms, of which there are ſeven; he compoſed them in imitation of thoſe of David, when he was dangerouſly ill in 1525. Father Francis de Treviſe has printed them in a collection intitled, *Salmi ſpirituali di diverſi excellenti autori; con alcune Rime ſpirituali*, Venice, 1572, 12mo. They are alſo found in the ſecond volume of the *Rime ſpirituali*, printed at the ſame place in 1550, in 16mo. II. The ſecond volume of his *Opere Toſcane* was printed at Lyons in 1533, in 12mo, and contains among other pieces leſs conſiderable, the *Fable of Phaeton*, and the *Tragedy of Antigone* tranſlated from Sophocles; this laſt piece is in blank verſe. III. *La Coltivazione*, at Paris, by Robert Stephens, 1546, in 4to. This edition is very beautiful, and the author himſelf took care of it: that piece was reprinted at Florence in 1546, 1549, 1569, and 1590., always in 8vo. It was afterwards reprinted again by John-Anthoni and Gaetan Volpi with the following title. *La Coltivazione di Luigi Alamanni, e le Api di Giovanni Rucellai Gentilhuomini Fiorentini: colle Annotazione di Ruberto Titi ſopra le Api, e con gli Epigrammi Toſcani dell' Alamanni; ſi e aggiunta una dotta Lettera del Sign. Giov. Checozzi Vicentino, in diffeſa del Triſſino, duo copioſe tavole non piu ſtampate, e varie notizie intorno alla vita e agli ſcritti de' due Poëti*, Padua 1718, 4to. pp. 355. His *Coltivazione* had always been printed by itſelf till the year 1590, when the Giunti added to it *Le Api di Giovanni Rucellai*, and the *Remarks of Ruberto Titi*. This edition is very imperfect, tho' Haym in his Catalogue of Italian writers calls it *Bella e correttiſſima edizione*. IV. *Gyrone Corteſe*, at Paris 1548, 4to, and reprinted at Venice the next year, with additions, as it is ſaid in the title-pages; but theſe additions are only in the title-page, and appear no where in the book. Alamanni compoſed that Poem at the command of the Kings of France, Francis I, and Henry II; but he only tranſlated in Italian verſe a French Romance then in great eſteem, called *Gyron le Courtois*. He informs us himſelf of this in his Dedication to Henry II, where he alſo gives us an account of the origin and laws of the Knight-Errants in Great-Britain, commonly called the Knights of the Round-Table. V. *La Avarchide*, at Florence 1570, 4to. Francis Bocchi in hisElogiums of the learned Men of Florence, and Michael Poccianti in his Catalogue of the Florentine writers quote that piece, but the former calls it *Varchides*, and the latter *La Varchide*. The ſubject of this Poem is taken from the ancient town of Avaricum, mentioned by Julius Cæſar, and which ſome think is Bourges a city of the province of Berry in France. Alamanni propoſed to imitate *Homer's Iliad*, and indeed the incidents are almoſt the ſame as in the Greek Poem, ſo that one would think the names are only changed. This Poem was publiſhed by Baptiſt Alamanni the author's ſon. VI. *Flora* a Comedy, at Florence in 1556 and 1601, both in 8vo. This piece did not pleaſe, becauſe it is written in verſes of thirteen ſyllables; that ſort of verſe having already miſcarried in a Tragedy of Alexander Pazzi call'd *Didone*. VII. *Epigrammi*. They have alſo been printed with the *Coltivazione* in 1590, and have been ſince publiſhed by the Volpi's. Dolce has alſo inſerted a great many of theſe Epigrams in the fifth book of his *Rime di diverſi*. To theſe Epigrams is prefixed a Dedication to Margaret Dutcheſs of Savoy, dated January the 8th 1546, whence we may ſuſpect that there was an edition of them before that of 1590, and perhaps more complete. VIII. *Orazione & Selva*. Neither the place nor year are mentioned in that book. The diſcourſe

ALAMOS (BALTHASAR) was born at Medina del Campo in Caſtile. Having ſtudied the Law at Salamanca he entred into the ſervice of Anthony Perez, Secretary of State under King Philip II, and had a great ſhare in the eſteem and confidence of his maſter, upon which account he was impriſoned after the diſgrace of that Miniſter. He was kept in priſon eleven years. Philip III coming to the crown ſet him at liberty agreeably to the orders which his father gave him in his will. Alamos continued to lead a private life till the Conde-Duke of Olivares, the favourite of Philip IV, called him to ſome publick employments. He gave him the place of Advocate-General in the Court of Criminal Cauſes, and in the Council of War; after this he was made Counſellor in the Council of the Indies, and then of the Council of the King's Patrimony. He was a Knight of St. James, and a man of wit and judgment, whoſe pen was much ſuperior to his tongue. He lived eighty eight years, and left only ſome daughters behind him. His *Spaniſh Tranſlation of Tacitus*, and the *Political Aphoriſms* which he has given in the margin, gained him a great reputation, though the judgment of the world is divided upon them [*A*]. This work, publiſhed at Madrid in 1614, was to have been followed by a Commentary [*B*], which has never yet been printed, that I know of. The Author compoſed the whole during his impriſonment, in which condition he likewiſe endeavoured to obtain a privilege for printing

diſcourſe is that, which Alamanni made in 1529 to the Militia of Florence. Varchi, who mentions it in the eighth book of his Hiſtory, tells us that Alamanni having a very feeble voice could ſcarce be heard by the aſſembly, for which reaſon his Diſcourſe was ſoon after printed; ſo that it muſt have been printed the firſt time in 1529, or at leaſt in 1530. The *Selva* joined to it is the third in the ſecond volume of his *Opere Toſcane*. IX. *Rime*, Verſes. They are printed in ſeveral collections of Italian Poems. X. *Lettera alla Marcheſe di Peſcara*, printed in the firſt book of the *Nuova Scelta di Lettere di diverſi, di Bernardino Pino*, at Venice, in 1582, 8vo; and in the *Idea del Secretario di Bartolomeo Zucchi, Parte II.* Venice, 1606, 4to. *Lettera à Pietro Aretino*, in the firſt book of the Letters written to Peter Aretino. XII. *Orazione*, inſerted in Varchi's Hiſtory, and in the Journal of Venice, T. 32. p. 252. It is the diſcourſe which he made tō engage the Florentines to enter into an agreement with Charles V. XIII. *Canzone*, printed in the Journal of Venice, T. 32. p. 364. XIV. We have alſo ſome notes of his upon *Homer's Iliad* and *Odyſſea*; the former were printed firſt in the Cambridge edition of Homer in 1689, 4to; and Joſhuah Barnes has alſo printed them with thoſe on the *Odyſſea* in his fine edition of Homer, publiſhed in 1711, 4to. XV. *Delle lodi di Filippo Saſſetti*. This Diſcourſe is inſerted in a collection intitled *Proſe Fiorentine*, at Florence, 1720, 8vo, Vol. the fourth (18). P.

(18) Taken from Niceron, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *The judgment of the world is divided upon his Tacitus.*] This difference of opinion relates more to the aphoriſms, than to his tranſlation, as will appear from the following quotations. "With regard "to the aphoriſms of Alamos, they are quite diffe- "rent from what one would imagine; for you will "find nothing like an aphoriſm, or that comes near "the force of what is expreſſed in the text of the "tranſlation. Inſtead of the aphoriſm's being more "conciſe and ſententious than the text, the words "of the text are always more ſententious than the "aphoriſm. In ſhort, the aphoriſm is generally no- "thing but a paraphraſtical verſion of the verſion "itſelf; which is a very tedious and inſipid thing "to readers, who have any ſenſe and delicacy. This "being granted I ſhall venture to ſay, that the "tranſlation of Alamos is much ſuperior to his a- "phoriſms. And this judgment was made before "me by the author of the *Hiſtorico-Political Bib- "liographi* in the article of the Latin Hiſtorians. "*The Tacitus illuſtrated*, ſays he, (that is the title "of Alamos's tranſlation) *is very much eſteemed by "our travellers; but to ſpeak impartially, the "notes are not worth more than the impertinent* "Penſées nouvelles, *or* New Thoughts of Lewis "d'Orleans *upon this author, or than the* Court "and Political Remarks of Count Hannibal Scoti of "Placentia, *which Juſtus Lipſius juſtly calls Leaden "Notes.* However a certain Spaniſh Secretary, "named Juan Oñate, has taken the pains to range "theſe aphoriſms under their proper heads in an "alphabetical order, and even ventured to intitle "them, *Alma de Cornelio Tacito*; and beſides this "one Jerome Canni has tranſlated them into Ita- "lian, and joined them to the Italian tranſlation of "*Adriano Politi*, as ſomething of great importance "and excellence, as appears from the title; *Opere "di Corn. Tacito, illuſtrate con* NOTABILISSIMI A- "FORISMI *del Signore D. Baldaſſor Alamo* (1)."

Here are two authors, who ſpeak with contempt of theſe aphoriſms, and two on the other hand, who put a great value upon them. We ſhall be leſs ſurprized at this difference of their ſentiments, if we obſerve, that in the year 1683 Mr. Amelot had not the ſame opinion of them, as that which he publiſhed in 1686 and 1690. Let us ſee the Preface to his *Tiberius* (2). *It is very true*, ſays he, *that Alamos has not only tranſlated* Tacitus, *but likewiſe made a great many remarks upon him, which he calls Aphoriſms, and which Anthony de Covarruvias, who gave his approbation of it, ſays are the chief part of his work.* †..... *I confeſs that his performance is excellent, whether we regard his tranſlation, which is as clear as the original is obſcure, or the Aphoriſms, which are in all the margins, and are for the moſt part properly paraphraſes and verſions of the ſentences of* Tacitus, *and the reſt moral or political concluſions drawn from the events, which he relates. But whatever applauſe this book has met with in the world, I have ſome hopes, that mine will be well received by thoſe, who are capable of judging in this point, and ſo much the rather, becauſe what I have done is a great deal more difficult, than what Alamos has done. For all his Aphoriſms ... are ſo many diſtinct pieces, and as the proverb ſays, Sand without lime and without mortar; whereas in my chapters I make a continued diſcourſe of all the Latin quotations, which are in the margin, and even an uniform body of all the different pieces. In ſuch a ſcheme as this Juſtus Lipſius tells us, that we muſt attempt it, before we can know how difficult a task it is.* The words of Lipſius, as they are quoted by Mr. Amelot, are as follows: *Nec vero nudas aut ſparſas ſententias dedimus, ne diffluerent, & eſſet, quod dicitur, Arena ſine calce; ſed eas aut inter ſe haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut cæmento quodam commiſimus noſtrorum verborum è mille aliquot particulis uniforme hoc & cohærens corpus formantes. Hoc totum quam arduum mihi fuerit, fruſtra dixerim apud non expertum .... eo major mihi moleſtia, quod per hæc aliena veſtigia ſic iverim, tanquam in liberrimo ingenii curſu* *.

(1) Amelot de la Houſaye, *Diſc. Critique*, before his Tranſlation of Tacitus's *Annals*, printed at Paris in 1690. This Diſcourſe was publiſhed before with his *Morale de Tacite* in 1686. It is ſomewhat enlarged in the edition of the Annals.

(2) Printed at Amſterdam in 1683.

† *Aun es la principal parte, y de mas momento deſtra Obra.*

* Lipſius, *Prælatione Doct. Civil.*

[*B*] *This work was to have been followed by a Commentary.*] The King's Privilege expreſly mentions this Commentary. Anthony Covarruvias ſpeaks of it as of a book, which he had read, and gives us an account of its form, and principal parts. This is in the Approbation, which he gave to Alamos's work, printed before the tranſlation. Another Licenſer of Books mentions this Commentary by name. Alamos in his Prefaces ſpeaks of it more than once, and promiſes to explain the obſcure paſſages in *Tacitus*. And yet Nicholas Antonio does not ſay one word of it; and, what is more ſtrange, ſays nothing even of the tranſlation; but only that Alamos wrote aphoriſms upon the works of Tacitus.

printing it [C]. He left ſeveral other works which have never been printed; *Advertiementos al govierno*, addreſſed to the Duke of Lerma about the beginning of the reign of Philip III; *El Conquiſtador*, containing inſtructions relating to the conqueſts which were to be made in the new world; *Puntos politicos o de Eſtado*; *Don Garſias Tellode de Sandoval*, Knight of Calatrava, ſon-in-law to Alamos, gave an account of theſe manuſcripts to Don Nicholas Antonio (*a*), from whom I have taken the greateſt part of this Article.

(*v*) See *Biblioth. Script. Hiſpaniæ*, tom. 1. p. 141.

[C] *He endeavoured in priſon to obtain a privilege for printing it.*] I do not take notice of this, in order to lengthen this article, as ſome readers, who are uſed to be too haſty in their judgments, might imagine. I propoſe to put in a clear light the objections which have been raiſed againſt Don Nicholas Antonio, with a great appearance of reaſon. He pretends that Emanuel Sueiro tranſlated the works of Tacitus into Spaniſh, after Anthony de Herrera had tranſlated a part, and Balthaſar de Alamos and Carlos Coloma had tranſlated the whole: *Poſt Antonii de Herrera aliqualem, Balthaſaris de Alamos, & Caroli Coloma, illuſtrium virorum integram operam in hujuſmodi autoris interpretatione poſitam* (3). Now he confeſſes that the verſion of Sueiro was printed at Antwerp in 1613; and it is certain, that that of Alamos was printed at Madrid in 1614. This is the date, which Don Nicholas Antonio gives to the aphoriſms of Alamos (4). Beſides Alamos declares in his Preface the reaſons, which induced him to publiſh his *Tacitus*, tho' Sueiro's tranſlation was then publiſh'd (5). It ſeems therefore impoſſible to vindicate the author of the *Bibliotheca Script. Hiſpan.* againſt this objection of Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye: *It ſhews*, ſays he, quoting what I have quoted above, *that Don Nicholas Antonio is miſtaken, when he places the verſion of Emanuel Sueiro after that of Alamos* (6). I can ſee but one reaſon to excuſe him; and that is, to ſay that perhaps Sueiro was not ignorant when he undertook this work, that Alamos had already obtained a privilege to publiſh one of the ſame kind, which had been ſeen and approved of by Anthony Covarruvias. The news of it might reach him as far as Antwerp; for after the year 1594 King Philip II had given orders to this Covarruvias to examine all this work of Alamos; and in the year 1603 Philip III gave permiſſion to print it. Alamos relates all this in his Advice to the reader; which by the way overthrows the conjecture of thoſe, who imagine that he wrote his aphoriſms in the margin of his tranſlation only with a deſign *to ſurpaſs that of Sueiro* (7). The aphoriſms were one of the chief parts of his work even at the time it was approved of by Anthony Covarruvias.

(3) Nich. Anton. *Bib. Hiſt.* tom. 1. p. 273.
(4) Idem, ibid. p. 140.
(5) *Yaunque ayora Salido otro Tacito traduzido per Manuel Sueyro, no quiſe que dexaſſe de publicarſe el mio, &c.*
(6) Amelot, *Diſc. Crit.* prefixed to his *Morale de Tacite*, and the tranſlation of his *Annals*.
(7) Amelot, ib.

ALANS, or ALANI, a barbarous people, who contributed very much to the ruin of the Roman Empire. Pliny places them in Europe, beyond the mouth of the Danube (*a*); but Joſephus fixes their ſituation more exactly; for he places them near the Palus Mæotis and the River Tanais (*b*). He gives an account of a dreadful irruption which they made into Media and Armenia, under the reign of Veſpaſian. It was then that Vologeſes, King of the Parthians, deſired that Emperor to aſſiſt him againſt the Alans, and to ſend one of his ſons for General; upon which occaſion Domitian endeavoured with all his intereſt to procure that commiſſion (*c*). This is what perhaps occaſioned Moreri to confound the time a little, and to tell us, that theſe Barbarians *began firſt to be known under Domitian*. But this want of exactneſs in chronology is nothing when compared with the reſt. He acquaints us, that the Alans joined the Vandals and Suevi, and afterwards the Goths, at the beginning of the fifth Century; that they fought againſt the Francs in the year 505; that they ravaged Gaul; that they had for their General Gonderic ſon of Aodegigilus; that about the year 509 they paſſed into Spain, where they ſettled themſelves, and were defeated by Vallia, King of the Viſigots in 418. It is not eaſy to comprehend how ſuch blunders as theſe can poſſibly eſcape every reader's notice; for to tell us of a people who were conquered in 418 in a country, which they did not take poſſeſſion till about the year 509, muſt inevitably excite the attention of the moſt careleſs reader. The truth is, Moreri has committed an anachroniſm of an hundred years. The Alans advanced in 406 from the banks of the Danube to the Rhine, without meeting any oppoſition, and being joined by the Vandals who had eſcaped from a battle which they loſt againſt the Francs, they entered Gaul. Their King was called Reſpendial, that of the Vandals Gunderic, who was the ſon of Gondiſigilus, killed in the laſt battle. Several other nations joined themſelves to theſe two, and made a prodigious devaſtation through all Gaul. One part of the Alans under the conduct of Utaces, who ſucceeded Reſpendial, paſſed into Spain in 409, and ſettled themſelves in the Province of Carthagena and Luſitania; the other continued in Gaul under the government of two Kings. The Alans of Spain being defeated by Vallia King of the Viſigoths near Merida in 418, were obliged to ſubmit themſelves to Honorius. Their King Vataces loſt his life in the battle (*d*). We find again in the year 464 a body of Alans who threw off the yoke of the Huns after the death of Attila, and entered Italy to ſettle themſelves there; but Ricimer marching againſt them with the troops of the Empire, defeated them in ſuch a manner near Bergamo that only a few eſcaped, and their King Biorg was ſlain in the battle. It was long before this that the Huns, having made prodigious deſtruction and ſlaughter in the country of the Alans, joined with thoſe who had eſcaped their fury. It is Ammianus Marcellinus who relates this (*e*). He gives a long account of the manners of the Alans (*f*); he ſays, that they were the ſame people which were anciently called the Maſſagetes [A]; he is of opinion, that they inhabited the vaſt deſerts of

(*a*) Plin. *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. 4. c. 12, and not c. 11, as it is in Moreri.
(*b*) Joſeph. *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 7. cap. 29.
(*c*) *Cum Vologeſes Parthorum Rex auxilia adverſus Alanos ducemque alterum ex Veſpaſiani liberis depoposciſſet, omni ope contendit, ut ipſe potiſſimum mitteretur.* Suet. in Domit. c. 11.
(*d*) Cordemoi, *Hiſt. de France*, under the years mentioned here.
(*e*) Amm. Marcell. lib. 30. c. 3.
(*f*) See the Remark [B].

[A] *They were the ſame people, which were anciently called the Maſſagetes.*] There are two paſſages to this purpoſe in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1). The firſt is in the vth Chap. of the xxiiid Book, which is very plain: *Lucullus per Albanos & Maſſagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione*

(1) Moreri quotes the firſt book, which is laſt.

of Scythia, and gave their name to the neighbouring nations which they conquered, and ſo extended it as far as the Ganges. Though he repreſents them as cruel and ſavage [*B*], yet he does not make them equal in point of brutality to the Huns; and he obſerves, that they carried their incurſions and ravages as far as the Palus Mæotis, and into Media and Armenia.

natione perruptâ vidit Caſpios Lacus. i. e. "Lucul-
"lus paſſing thro' the *Albani* and *Maſſagetæ*, whom
"we now call the *Alans*, and which country he
"forc'd his way thro', ſaw the Caſpian Sea." The other is in the II Chap. of the xxxi Book, in a place, where the manuſcripts are ſo perplexed, that we muſt have recourſe to critical conjectures to find the meaning, which I have aſcribed to Marcellinus. We muſt therefore follow the conjecture of the learned Valeſius, in reading that paſſage of the Hiſtorian thus, *ad uſque Alanos pervenit, veteres Maſſagetas*; i. e. "he came to the Alans, who are the ancient
"*Maſſagetæ*." Now as the firſt paſſage evidently proves, that Marcellinus placed the Alans in Aſia, it ſeems to me, that the explication may be conteſted, which that learned Commentator gives to theſe words of the text. *Hiſter advenarum magnitudine fluente Sauromatas prætermeat aduſque Tanaim pertinentes, qui Aſiam terminat ab Europa. Hoc tranſito in immenſum extentas Scythiæ ſolitudines Alani inhabitant* (2). Valeſius inſiſts, that *Hoc tranſito* relates to the Danube, and not to the Tanais; and he alledges to that purpoſe Pliny, Dionyſius Characenus, Oroſius, and Tzetzes, who place the Alans in Sarmatia, and beyond the Danube; but we are not examining what others have ſaid; the queſtion is only concerning the opinion of Marcellinus; and upon that foot it ſeems to me, that *Hoc tranſito* ought to be referred to the Tanais, ſince beſides that the Maſſagetæ never inhabited between the Tanais and the Danube, we find, that this Hiſtorian places the Alans near the Amazons, and repreſents them as making their incurſions, on the one ſide into Media and Armenia, on the other as far as the Palus Mæotis and the Cimmerian Boſphorus. *Parte aliâ prope Amazonum ſedes Alani ſunt Orienti adclines, diffuſi per populoſas gentes & amplas, Aſiaticas vergentes in tractus, quos dilatari ad uſque Gangem accepi fluvium* (3) . . . *latrocinando & venando ad uſque Mæotica ſtagna & Cimmerium Boſporum itidemque Armenios diſcurrentes & Mediam* (4). Theſe things ſhew evidently, that he did not follow the opinion of thoſe authors, who place the Alans in European Sarmatia; for who would ever repreſent it as a remarkable thing, that robbers, who were ſeated in that country, ſhould make incurſions not only into Media and Armenia, but alſo as far as the Palus Mæotis? Marcellinus would not be the only writer, who places thoſe Barbarians in Aſia. Does not Valeſius quote Procopius (5), who fixes them between the Caucaſus and the Caſpian Straights *? But what does Moreri mean by theſe words; *Pliny places them in European Sarmatia, where Lithuania is now*? He would ſay without doubt, if he could have expreſſed himſelf clearly, that the Sarmatia of the ancients is the modern Lithuania; but this is falſe, for Lithuania is only a ſmall part of the ancient European Sarmatia. We may obſerve, that Ptolomy mentions two ſorts of Alans, the one in Europe, and the other in Aſia.

[*B*] *They are repreſented as cruel and ſavage.*] They had no other houſes than their waggons. It was in theſe that they begot and brought up their children; and they ſtaid in the ſame place no longer than they found paſture; fleſh and milk were their only food, and they did not cultivate the earth. *Nec enim ulla ſunt illis tuguria, aut verſandi vomeris cura; ſed carne & copia victitant lactis, plauſtris ſuperſidentes . . . abſumptiſque pabulis vel ut carpentis civitates impoſitas vehunt, mareſque ſupra cum feminis coeunt, & naſcuntur in his & educantur infantes* (6). They were very early accuſtomed to riding, and they conſidered it as very mean to travel on foot. They were ſo fond of war, that they eſteemed thoſe happy, who loſt their lives in it; and loaded thoſe with abuſive language and reproaches of cowardice, who died of age or ſickneſs. There was nothing that they valued themſelves ſo much upon, as having killed a man. They cut off the heads of thoſe, whom they killed; and pulled off their ſkins, which they uſed for ornaments to their horſes. They had no temple among them; and they paid their worſhip only to a naked ſword fix'd in the ground. This was their God Mars, the Patron of the countries which they inhabited. Their divinations were performed by means of rods choſen with proper charms. *Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prælio profuderit animam; ſeneſcentes enim & fortuitis mortibus mundo digreſſos, ut degeneros & ignavos conviciis atrocibus inſectantur; nec quidquam eſt quod elatius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiſo; proque exuviis glorioſis, interfectorum avulſis capitibus detractas pelles pro Phaleris jumentis accommodant bellatoriis. Nec templum apud eos viſitur, aut delubrum, &c.* (7). This is the deſcription which Marcellinus gives us of thoſe Barbarians; and it is very proper to repreſent to thoſe, who only ſee civilized Nations, that there are others ſo ſavage, that they may be rather taken for brute beaſts, than a part of mankind. This may ſuggeſt to us a great many reflections as well phyſical as moral, and make us admire the infinite turns and habits, which our nature is capable of, and of which for one good there are above an hundred thouſand bad.

(2) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 31. ap. 2.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Henr. Valeſius in Marcell. lib. 21. cap. 2.
* Between the Caſpian Mountains and the Caſpian Sea.

(6) Amm. Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

(7) Ibid.

☞ALARIC or ALRIC King of the Swedes lived about the time of Julius Cæſar, if we may credit John Magnus (*a*), ſucceeded his Uncle Lindorm, being choſen by the Noblemen of Sweden, without waiting for the conſent of the Goths; who thinking they were ſlighted or neglected [*A*], reſolved to be revenged on the Swedes, but thought fit to wait for a proper opportunity to ſhew their reſentment. Alaric in the mean time uſed all his endeavours to perſuade his ſubjects that he intended to promote the publick happineſs to the utmoſt of his power. He turned his arms againſt Norway, and having taken part of the country he made his ſon Gauthon King thereof. He then ſent Governors into the principal places of his new dominions, charging them to govern with ſo much juſtice and moderation that they might give no occaſion to the conquered nations to revolt, and to have more regard to virtue and merit, than to wealth and lucre, that every body might be convinced he was a moſt indulgent Prince, the father of his ſubjects and not their deſtroyer. He took afterwards all poſſible care to ſoften the hearts of the Goths, who were exaſperated againſt him, and to reſtore the ancient union between them and the Swedes. But the hatred of the former

(*a*) Jo. Magn. *Goth. & Sueon. Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 145.

[*A*] *The Goths thinking they were ſlighted or neglected.*] They conſidered that according to ancient cuſtom the Nobles of both kingdoms, Gothland and Sweden, were to concur in the election of a King; therefore they judged that it was an high infringement of their native right, thus to neglect them, or deſpiſe their votes. The Goths are a generous but high-ſpirited nation, who can bear with any thing but contempt: in ſuch a caſe they cannot reſt ſatisfied till they have completely revenged themſelves of the injuries they received (1).

(1) Joan. Magn. *Hiſt. Goth. & Sueon.* lib. 4. c. 14. p. 146.

former againſt the latter was already grown ſo inveterate, that it was not eaſy to eradicate it. The Goths then thinking they were to have more regard for their own honour than for the wiſhes of the Swedes, had choſen a King for themſelves, who was called Geſtill or Geſtiblind, a perſon deſcended from their ancient Princes: this election, ſays our Author, cauſed then in the northern Kingdoms as violent a commotion as that which was about the ſame time occaſioned at Rome by the death of Julius Cæſar [*B*]. For Alaric finding that Geſtill was provoked by the Goths againſt him, forgot his former mildneſs and indulgence, and became ſo cruel a Tyrant, that inſtead of being the father of his people, he deſerved to be called the enemy of his country; ſince whilſt he prepared to wage war againſt his enemy he overloaded his ſubjects with new and intolerable taxes, and thus made them his enemies from faithful citizens as they were before. The effect of this was, that it could not eaſily be diſtinguiſhed whether Alaric feared his own ſubjects more than the powerful Goths, who were become formidable, not only by their own ſtrength, but alſo by the alliance in which they entered with Roller King of Norway; Alaric was Roller's kinſman, and expected a powerful aſſiſtance from him; but he was deceived in his hopes, for though Roller did not think fit to aſſiſt the Goths in perſon, becauſe he was not well ſettled in his Kingdom, yet he ſent Geſtill an army under the command of Eric his brother, who was the more willing to undertake this expedition againſt Alaric, that Gauthon his ſon had been unjuſtly made King of that part of Norway, which Alaric had invaded and laid waſte. Eric therefore turned his arms firſt againſt Gauthon, and having killed him in battle, he was in hopes of getting an eaſy victory over the father. Alaric, though much afflicted at the death of his ſon, was not diſcouraged; he raiſed a great army, with which he might have gained the victory over his enemies, if he had entered into a general engagement; but he choſe rather a ſingle combat [*C*] in which he engaged againſt Eric, and had the misfortune of being killed, though Eric himſelf was very much wounded; however he recovered from his wounds, and became King of Sweden and Gothland after the death of Geſtill (*b*).

(*b*) Id. ibid. cap. 14---17. pag. 145-149.

[*B*] *This Election cauſed then in the Northern kingdoms as violent a commotion, as that which was occaſioned at Rome by the death of Julius Cæſar.*] Here follows our author's obſervation. "As not only the "city of Rome but all Italy was overflowed and de- "filed by the blood of the Senators and the moſt "worthy Citizens, and the bloody ſword was not "ſheathed till the deſtructive Triumvirate of Antho- "ny Lepidus and Octavius had cruelly revenged "the murther of one man upon the whole Roman "Commonwealth. Thus the Northern kingdoms, "particularly Gothland and Sweden, being over- "thrown by the arms of three powerful Princes, "Alaric, Geſtil, and Eric, were at laſt obliged to "ſubmit to Eric alone; the ſame fate, that after "great bloodſhed, reduced the Roman Common- "wealth under Auguſtus's ſubjection, attending it "ſeems the Northern part of the world (2)."

(2) Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 147.

[*C*] *He choſe rather a ſingle combat.*] He firſt called Eric to him, and endeavoured to draw him off from Geſtill's party, by repreſenting to him that they were nearly related, and that Eric's father and grandfather had always been in alliance with the Kings of Sweden. But Eric's generous heart could not hearken to that advice; he could not be prevailed with to deſert thoſe he was come to aſſiſt. Alaric finding his endeavours unſucceſsful that way, tried another. He begged of Eric that he might fight againſt Geſtill alone, and that the deciſion of their quarrel might depend upon the ſucceſs of that combat. But Eric repreſented, that Geſtill being an old man, and very much broken by age, was not in a condition to undertake ſuch a combat; and beſides that it would not be honourable to himſelf if he declined a duel for that perſon for whom he was come to ſpill his blood; he propoſed therefore to Alaric that they might fight together. Alaric accepted the propoſal and fought againſt Eric with the unhappy ſucceſs we have related (3).

(3) Ibid. cap. 16 P. 148, 149.

☞ALARIC or ALVER ſon of Dager [*A*] was raiſed to the throne after his father's death, as well for the great and glorious actions he had performed, as for the hopes which the whole nation had conceived of him. He ſent Commiſſioners to the Ruſſians, whom he had already vanquiſhed before he was come to the Crown [*B*], in order to make them pay the tribute which they were obliged to pay the Swedes: but the Ruſſians having treacherouſly killed the Commiſſioners, ſent Alaric word that henceforth inſtead of paying a tribute, they would make war againſt him. Alaric exaſperated at their perfidiouſneſs, raiſed a powerful army to puniſh them. When they were ready to engage in battle, Hildigern, one of the principal officers amongſt the Swedes, requeſted

[*A*] *Son of Dager.*] It is impoſſible to make Puffendorf's account agree with that of John Magnus; the former tells us (1), that Alric, as he calls him, was the ſon of Agnius, and had a brother called Eric; and he applies to Alver, Alric's ſon according to him, what John Magnus relates of our Alaric or Alver. Puffendorf alſo tells us (2), Ingo and Alver were brothers, and that Alver being returned into Sweden after his expedition againſt the Ruſſians, found that Bava his wife held a criminal converſation with his brother; whereupon he run him thro' with a ſword, but his brother, notwithſtanding he had received a mortal wound, ſtruck him in ſuch a manner, that he died on the ſpot, and that they were both buried in a vale called Funewald near Upſal. Here we may obſerve, I. that according to Puffendorf Alric and Alver are two different Kings, father and ſon; whereas, according to John Magnus, they are the ſame perſon. II. According to Puffendorf Alver and Ingo are brothers; but according to Magnus Ingo or Ingemar is Alver or Alaric's ſon. III. Alver is killed by his brother, if we believe Puffendorf; but if we credit John Magnus, Alaric dies peaceably amongſt his friends. It is impoſſible to reconcile ſuch differences, and to trace out truth with regard to the moſt early accounts of all nations, the Romans themſelves not excepted.

(1) *Intred. à l'Hiſt.* tom. 3. cap. 22. p. 37.

(2) Ib. cap. 23.

[*B*] *He had vanquiſhed the Ruſſians before he came to the Crown.*] Having the command of the whole fleet of the Swedes againſt the Ruſſians towards the latter end of his father's reign, he acted with ſo much prudence and bravery, that in a little time he diſperſed his whole army thro' the country of the Ruſſians, and obliged their Prince to ſubmit to the Swedes, and to pay them a tribute (3).

(3) Jo. Magnus *Hiſt. Goth. & Sueon.* lib. 7. c. 26. p. 251.

requeſted of Alaric that he might challenge the ſtrongeſt and braveſt man among the Ruſſians to fight ſingly againſt him. His requeſt was granted, and accordingly Haldan his own brother was ſent by the Ruſſians againſt him. Hildigern who knew his brother, though he was not known by him, did all he could to wave the combat, without diſcovering himſelf, by pretending Haldan was too young ſtill, and would be too eaſy a match for him. But Haldan having given ſeveral proofs of his courage and ſkill in fighting, Hildigern was at laſt obliged to engage him, and having received a mortal wound, he diſcovered to him that they were brothers [C], and died in a few moments. Alaric, notwithſtanding his champion had been killed, engaged in battle againſt the Ruſſians, and by a complete victory repaired the loſs of his brave officer. The Ruſſians being vanquiſhed could not refuſe any longer to pay a tribute to the Swedes. Alaric returned triumphant into his Kingdom, and paſſed the remaining part of his life in peace, propagating very good laws to maintain union and tranquillity among his ſubjects, and died at laſt in a good old age (*a*). Hence it appears, ſays our Author (*b*), that Eric of Upſal is miſtaken, when he ſays, that Alaric was killed by his brother Eric, who being impatient to reign, ſlew him with a bridle and bit (*c*), finding no other arms near at hand. Alaric was ſucceeded by Ingo or Ingemar his eldeſt ſon.

(*a*) Joan. Mag. *Hiſt. Goth. & Sueon.* lib. 7. c. 27--29. p. 252--254.

(*b*) Joan. Mag. ibid. cap. 29. p. 254.

(*c*) Puffendorf ſays the ſame; but ſee the Remark [*A*].

[C] *He diſcovered to him that they were brothers.*] This ſtory has ſomething in it ſo peculiar and moving, that we don't doubt, but our readers will be pleaſed to meet with it here. Their mother Drott or Drotha was the daughter of Regnald King of Norway, who was ſlain in battle by Gannon or Gannar King of the Goths; Gannon after his victory married Drotha and got Hildigern by her, to whom he gave the kingdom of Norway when he was grown up: But he governing his ſubjects tyrannically was baniſhed by his father and fled into Sweden (4), where he ſerved in the armies under Alaric. The Goths being afterwards tired with their King, Gannon revolted under the conduct of Burchar the ſon of a Prince or Governor of the iſland of Schonen (5), who murthered the King, and married Drotha his widow, by whom he had Haldan. This Prince, who was very young at the time we ſpeak of, was lately come from Denmark into Ruſſia, to ſerve perhaps as a volunteer in the armies. When Hildigernus found it was his own brother, with whom he muſt fight, he refuſed to engage againſt him; the pretence he made uſe of was, that this man was too young, and not yet skilled in military affairs; "For my part, "*ſaid he*, I have made myſelf famous by killing "ſeventy of the ſtrongeſt warriors; but Haldan has "but juſt begun to learn his exerciſes. Let him "firſt try his ſtrength againſt his equals, and then, "if he dares I will engage againſt him. Haldan not "being in the leaſt moved at theſe reproaches, replied, If I appear too young or too weak to thee, "let any one amongſt you come and fight me." Accordingly one was ſent, whom he eaſily killed. Then two men came together againſt him, afterwards three, all whom he killed, at laſt he fought againſt eleven men at once, and gained the victory over them. Hildigern finding Haldan had now acquired a glory almoſt equal to his own, could no longer refuſe to engage againſt him; and having received a mortal wound threw away his arms, and ſpoke thus to Haldan; "O Haldan, I am thy brother by the "mother's ſide; Drotha, whoſe breaſt thou haſt "ſucked, has alſo brought me into the world; "but alas! under what different Stars: thou art "born for happineſs and proſperity, and I to be "thus unhappily cut off in the bloom of my youth." Haldan aſtoniſhed and overwhelm'd with grief anſwered, "O my brother, when thou kneweſt me, "why didſt thou keep wretched ſilence? If I had "known thee, I would have turned my ſword againſt "myſelf rather than againſt thee; nay I would have "willingly ſpent the very laſt drop of my blood "to ſave thy life. O could I now die with thee! "could I enjoy the ſame grave with thee! It is thy "fault, O brother; by thy ſilence thou haſt made "me a wretched parricide. Unhappy as I am, I "will lament you while I live." Hildigern pleaded for excuſe that he did not diſcover himſelf leſt he might be thought to decline the engagement, or, which is worſe, unnatural and cruel, ſince he was reſolved to fight againſt his own brother. Having ſaid thus, he expired (6).

(4) Id. p. 252. and Puffendorf, *ubi ſupra*, p. 38.

(5) *Satrapæ Schoningiani filius.*

(6) Joan. Magn. *ubi ſupra.*

P.

☞ALARIC the famous King, or rather General of the Goths, entered Thrace at the head of two hundred thouſand men (*a*), and laid waſte all the country through which he paſſed. We muſt however obſerve, that Alaric had no great authority over his Goths; for it appears by what Zoſimus tells us (*b*), that he had been one of Theodoſius's Generals againſt the tyranny of Eugenius [*A*], and that he took it very ill, that he was not made General of the whole army, but only commanded the few Barbarians, with whom he had fought againſt Eugenius, ſo that he began to murmur and to ſhake off the Emperor's authority. Rufinus knowing the diſpoſition he was in, invited

(*a*) Joan. Magn. *Hiſt. Goth.* and *Sueon.* lib. 15. c. 8. p. 486.

(*b*) Lib. 5. pag. 292. edit. Oxon. 1679, 8vo.

[*A*] *Zoſimus tells us that he had been one of Theodoſius's Generals againſt the Tyranny of Eugenius.*] Here follow Zoſimus's words: Ἠγανάκτει ὅτι μὴ στρατιωτικῶν ἠγεῖτο δυνάμιων, ἀλλὰ μόνης εἶχε τῆς Βαρβάρης, ἃς Θεοδόσιος ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ παραδὼς, ὅτε σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Εὐγενίε Τυραννίδα καθεῖλε. That is, "He was very angry "that he was not put at the head of the army, but "only commanded thoſe Barbarians, which Theodo- "ſius *had given him*, when he ſuppreſſed Eugenius's "tyranny." But Socrates ſays (1), that Alaric was in alliance with the Romans, and aſſiſted Theodoſius in the war againſt the tyrant Eugenius. Ἀλάριχος ὑπόσπονδος ὢν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ εἰς τὸν κατὰ Εὐγενίου τοῦ τυράννου πόλεμον συμμαχήσας. Whereupon Valeſius obſerves (2), "That Zoſimus "in his fifth book writes, that Alaric, after the expedition againſt Eugenius the tyrant, in which he "had been of great advantage to the Romans, had no "command over any Roman troops, but returned into "Thrace, with thoſe Barbarians only WHICH HE HAD "BROUGHT WITH HIM." It is eaſy to ſee how different theſe words are from thoſe of Zoſimus, whom Valeſius pretends to quote; but that the reader may not think we miſtake him, we'll give here his own words: *Zoſimus in libro quinto ſcribit, Alaricum poſt expeditionem adverſus Eugenium Tyrannum, in qua egregiam operam navaverat, nullis Romanorum copiis præfectum fuiſſe, ſed in Thraciam reverſum ſolos* QUOS DUCTAVERAT *Barbaros retinuiſſe.* Socrates adds (3), that Alaric was honoured with the Roman dignities, on account of the timely aſſiſtance he gave Theodoſius.

(1) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 10. p. 355. ed. Reading. Cambridge 1720. fol.

(2) *Ap.* Socratem, ib. n. 1.

(3) *Ubi ſupra.*

vited him to advance with all his Barbarians farther into the country [B]. Alaric accordingly went out of Thrace, and entered Macedonia and Theſſaly, ſlaying all that oppoſed his march (c); but the Theſſalians reſiſted him near the mouth of the river Peneas (d), and having engaged in battle againſt him, they killed about three thouſand men of his army (e). However he advanced into Greece, laying the whole country waſte; but he did not take Thebes, partly becauſe he thought it too ſtrong, or becauſe he would make haſte to take Athens, being in hopes that it would be an eaſy prey for him; but he was miſtaken, if we may believe Zoſimus [C], though it appears from St. Jerom (f) that Athens was taken by Alaric; and Claudian ſays (g), that *Th' Athenian mothers drew the fatal chains*; and Eunapius tells Maximus (h), that the overthrow of the temples and ſacred things in Attica had been foretold by Biſhop Eleuſinius, which prediction, adds he, was fulfilled when Alaric entered Greece. Alaric having ravaged the whole country, returned into Epirus loaded with immenſe ſpoils. Stilicho reſolved to come to the aſſiſtance of Greece; he landed with his army in Peloponneſus (now Morea) upon which Attila with his barbarians fled to Mount Pholoe (i), where they would ſoon have been vanquiſhed with hunger and want, if Stilicho, inſtead of giving himſelf up to pleaſure and diſſoluteneſs, had beſieged them cloſely. But whilſt he diverted himſelf with pantomimes and lewd women, he ſuffered his ſoldiers to plunder whatever the barbarians had left, and was at laſt obliged to retire again into Italy, having encreaſed the miſeries of Greece by his own ſoldiers. This is the account which Zoſimus gives us (k); but Claudian relates this in a very different manner [D]. Alaric having ſtaid five years in Epirus, reſolved at laſt to turn his arms towards the Weſt [E]. He marched through Pannonia, and finding but little reſiſtance he entered Italy, under the Conſulſhip of Stilicho and Aurelianus (l), A. D. 400 (m). He did not perform any memorable action for two years, engaging only in little

(c) Zoſimus, ib.

(d) A great River in Theſſaly, called alſo *Salampria*.

(e) Socrates, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 7. c. 10. p. 355.

(f) Ep. 3. *ad Helvid.*

(g) Claudian. 2. *in* Ruf. ver. 191.

(h) *Ap.* Sigonium, *in Imp. Occident.* Oper. tom. 1. part 2. edit. a Phil. Argelato, *Mediol.* 1732. Col. 351. not. 16.

(i) A Mountain in Morea, now called *Xiria*.

(k) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 295, 296.

(l) Jornandes *de Reb. Get. apud* Sigon. *ubi ſupra*, Col. 362. not. 56.

(m) Petav. *Rat. Temp.* tom. 2. part 2. p. 112.

(b) *Ap. eund.* ibid.

[B] *Rufinus invited him to advance with his Barbarians &c.*] Stilicho and Rufinus were left Guardians to Arcadius and Honorius by Theodoſius father of theſe Emperors (4). They were ſo powerful that whatever either of them commanded was looked upon as a law (5). But Stilicho pretending that the late Emperor had committed to him alone the care of the two young Princes, endeavoured to ſupplant Rufinus, of whom he was jealous, becauſe he was as powerful in the Eaſt, as he himſelf was in the Weſt; he intended therefore to go to Arcadius, who was at Conſtantinople, being in hopes of getting alone the whole power into his own hands. Rufinus to prevent his journey, employed all the arts he could to weaken Arcadius's forces, and for that purpoſe he ſent ſuch Governors into the Eaſtern provinces, eſpecially Greece, as he knew would not withſtand the enemy. He then invited Alaric to invade Greece, acquainting him, that he might eaſily conquer it (6). Thus the ambition and jealouſy of two great men occaſioned the ruin of the Empire, the deſolation of whole countries, and the death of a million of people.

(4) Suidas *in voce* Ῥυφῖνος.

(5) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 287.

(6) Zoſimus, ib.

[C] *He was miſtaken, if we may believe Zoſimus.*] He tells us that Alaric, as he was approaching the city with all his forces, ſaw Minerva the Protectrix (τὴν πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν) walking round the city, in the ſame attitude, in which ſhe is uſually drawn by Painters, that is to ſay, ready armed, and ſhewing as tho' ſhe were juſt going to attack an enemy. He alſo ſaw Achilles ſtanding before the gate of Athens, juſt as he is repreſented in *Homer*, when inflamed with rage he was going to revenge Patroclus's death on the Trojans. Alaric not being able to behold that ſight, forbore aſſaulting the city; and having made an agreement with the inhabitants, and confirmed it upon oath, he entered Athens with a few attendants only; the Athenians received him very kindly, he dined with the Chief of them, who made him ſeveral preſents; afterwards he left the city and the whole country of Attica without having committed there any act of hoſtility (7) This is Zoſimus's account, which as we have ſeen in the text of this article (8) is contradicted by other authors, and the learned and reverend Januarius Salinas (9) is of opinion, that the whole ſtory related by Zoſimus had been invented by him, to ſupport, if poſſible, by fictitious miracles, the declining condition of Paganiſm.

(7) Id. ibid. 293, 294.

(8) Quotat. *(f)*, *(g)*, *(b)*.

(9) *In notis ad Sigon. de Imp. Occid. edit. a* Phil. Argelato, tom. 1. pag. 1. Col. 351. not. 16.

[D] *Claudian relates this in a very different manner.*] He tells us, that upon Stilicho's arrival Alaric being frightened aſſembled all his ſoldiers who were plundering the country, and intrenched his army within a camp ſurrounded by a ditch: But that Stilicho approaching with his army, and intending to fight him, Alaric was obliged to draw his ſoldiers out of the camp: both armies were juſt ready to engage, when Stilicho received a letter from Arcadius written at Rufinus's inſtigation, in which the Emperor charged him not to meddle with the military affairs in the Eaſt. Theſe orders obliged him to return into Italy; whereas if he had gained the victory over Alaric, as it is probable he might, this would have prevented the miſeries which afterwards befel Italy (10). How different ſoever this account ſeems to be, from that which Zoſimus gives us, it may in a manner be reconciled to it, if we ſuppoſe with Oroſius, who was contemporary with Rufinus and Stilicho, that the latter connived at Alaric's invaſion. Here follow Oroſius's words: *Quid uterque* (Rufinus and Stilicho) *egerit, quidve agere conatus ſit, exitus utriuſque docuit; cum alius ſibi, alius filio affectans regale faſtigium, ut rebus repente turbatis, neceſſitas Reipublicæ ſcelus ambitûs tegeret, gentes barbaras ille immiſit, hic fovit* (11). That is, "What both theſe "men (Rufinus and Stilicho) have done, and what "they intended, the event has ſhewn; one affecting "the Regal power for himſelf, the other for his "ſon. And being in hopes that if the public affairs were ſuddenly embroiled, the neceſſity of "the State would eaſily hide their criminal ambition, the former (Rufinus) called in the Barbarians, "and the latter (Stilicho) ſupported them." If Stilicho ſupported the Barbarians, we may very well believe, that being in Peloponneſus he did not care to fight againſt Alaric, or to vanquiſh him; and that therefore he left his ſoldiers to live in a diſſolute manner, to give Alaric an opportunity to eſcape; or at leaſt that he was glad the Emperor's Letter authorized him not to attack the Barbarians.

(10) *Ex* Claudiano, *ap.* Sigon. ibid. Col. 352.

(11) Oroſ. l. 7. c. 37. *apud* Sigon. ibid. not. (18).

[E] *Alaric having ſtaid five years in Epirus, reſolved at laſt to turn his arms towards the Weſt.*] Valeſius (12) tells us, that after Alaric had laid all Greece waſte, he was made General of the Horſe in Illyricum; and Claudian is quoted for this, who ſays,

Vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præſidet Illyricis. Jam quos obſedit amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis reſponſa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit.
Sic hoſtes penſare ſolent (13).

That is,

"He, that all Greece laid waſte, and in Epirus
"Did all deſtroy unpuniſh'd, does now rule
"Th' Illyrians, now he as a peaceful friend
"Enters the cities, which he ſtormed before.
"There he bears ſway, and judges uncontroul'd

(12) *In Notis ad* Socratis *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 10. not. 1. p. 355. edit. Reading.

(13) Claudianus, *in Eutrop.* l. 2.

"The

little ſkirmiſhes with the Emperor's troops, and he began already to repent of his undertaking; but in the year 402, his army being encamped near Polenzo (*n*). Stilicho came againſt him [*F*] with a powerful army, and attacked him all of a ſudden on Eaſter-day (*o*), being in hopes that the Goths would not defend themſelves on ſo holy a day; or that a great part of them would be drinking and diverting themſelves (*p*), and ſo be eaſily vanquiſhed. But he was diſappointed in his hopes; for though Alaric ſtill entreated the enemy for Chriſt's ſake to put off the fight till the next day, and though a great many Goths were ſlain in the beginning of the battle, yet at laſt they took up their arms, and fell ſo furiouſly upon the Emperor's army that they entirely routed it, took their camp, and got an immenſe booty, if we believe John Magnus, who is ſupported in this by Caſſiodorus (*q*), Jornandus (*r*), and Oroſius (*s*). On the contrary, Claudian and Prudentius (*t*) ſay the Goths were entirely defeated. But if we may judge of this fact by the conſequences, it will appear that Alaric was ſo far from being intirely defeated, that a little time after he engaged again againſt Stilicho, and that it was not till after ſeveral defeats, and when a great many of his Goths had deſerted, that he was obliged to retire into Pannonia (*u*). Stilicho himſelf was accuſed of having favoured his retreat [*G*]. This was the ſucceſs of the firſt invaſion of the Barbarians, of which Zoſimus does not ſay a word; and Paul the Deacon (*w*) gives a very dark and confuſed account of it, in which he has miſled thoſe that have followed him (*x*). Whilſt Alaric was in Pannonia Stilicho concluded publickly a peace with him, on condition that he ſhould retire into Epirus, which he did accordingly, expecting that Stilicho, purſuant to his promiſe, would endeavour to add Illyricum to the Weſtern Empire, which belonged to Honorius (*y*). But finding that he did not keep his word, he returned into Pannonia, whence he ſent Embaſſadors to Stilicho, who was at Ravenna, demanding money to indemnify him for the time he had loſt in Epirus, and threatning to invade Italy again, if he was not ſatisfied. Stilicho having heard the Embaſſadors left them at Ravenna, and went immediately to Rome to the Emperor, to conſult what anſwer it was proper to give Alaric. The Senate being aſſembled, the majority were of opinion not to comply with Alaric's demand, and to make war againſt him; Stilicho with ſome of his dependants only were of a contrary opinion, which however prevailed [*H*], and it was reſolved to give Attila forty thouſand pounds to conclude a peace with him (*z*). Stilicho having been killed ſome time after, the ſoldiers in Italy murthered the wives and children of all the barbarians they could meet (*aa*), and plundered their goods; whereupon theſe went to Alaric, and preſſed him to make war againſt the Romans; but he being willing to keep the peace which he had made with Stilicho, ſent Embaſſadors to Honorius, to demand ſome money of him, and at the ſame time that Aëtius and Jaſon [*I*] be ſent him as hoſtages, promiſing that he would alſo ſend ſome of his Noblemen as hoſtages to the Emperor, and that

(*n*) Anciently a city in Liguria, but now only a village in Piedmont.

(*o*) The ſixth of April.

(*p*) Joh. Magn. *ubi ſupra*. cap. 9. p. 487.

(*q*) In Chron.

(*r*) *De Reb. Get.* cap. 30. p. 653.

(*s*) Lib. 7. c. 37.

(*t*) *Ap.* Sigon. *ubi ſupra*, col. 371.

(*u*) *Vide* Sigon. ibid.

(*w*) Paulus Diac. *de Geſtis Roman.* lib. 13.

(*x*) Sigon. *ubi ſupra*, Col. 373, & *in Not.* num. 89.

(*y*) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 330, &c.

(*z*) Id. ibid. p. 334, &c.

(*aa*) There were a great many Alani, Vandals, Goths, &c. ſettled in Italy at that time.

> " The childleſs father, or the wretched husband
> " Whoſe wife he raviſh'd, or whoſe child he kill'd.
> " Thus foes do make amends ———.

That Alaric had ſome power in Illyricum appears indeed by theſe verſes, but I doubt whether *Præſidere Illyricis*, can ſignify to be *Magiſter Equitum*, General of the Horſe. However Sozomen ſays expreſly (14), that Stilicho obtained from Honorius the poſt of General of the Horſe for Alaric.

(14) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 8. cap. 25.

[*F*] *Stilicho came againſt him.*] Oroſius (15) ſays, there was a certain Jew named Saul, who commanded the Alani, and to whom Stilicho had left the whole management of the battle, and that it was he, who firſt adviſed to attack the Goths on Eaſter-day: and John Magnus (16) tells us Stilicho had given that order himſelf; and went to Rome in the mean time, ſo that according to the laſt mentioned author, he did not command the army. This is alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of Claudian (17), Caſſiodorus (18), Prudentius (19), and Paul the Deacon (20).

(15) Lib. 7. cap. 25.

(16) *Hiſt. Goth. & Suevn.* l. 15. c. 10. p. 488.

(17) *De Bello Get.*

(18) *In Chron.*

(19) *In Sym.* lib. 2. p. 243.

(20) Paulus Diac. lib. 13. p. 355.

[*G*] *Stilicho himſelf was accuſed of having favoured his retreat.*] It is ſaid, he would keep the State always diſturbed and in an unſettled condition, that he might the eaſier compleat his deſign, which was to raiſe his ſon to the purple. However that be, it is certain that Oroſius (21) charges him with what we have ſaid; here follow his own words: *Alarichum, cunctamque Gothorum Gentem, pro pace optima & quibuſcunque ſedibus, ſuppliciter & ſimpliciter orantem, occulto fœdere fovens (Stilicho) publicè autem & belli & pacis copia negata, ad terendam terrendamque Rempublicam reſervavit.* That is, " Stilicho ſupported Alaric and the whole Gothic Nation, in order " to keep the Commonwealth in awe, and to rend " and deſtroy it: and entered ſecretly into an alli- " ance with them, tho' publicly he ſeemed unwil- " ling to make any treaty with them, notwithſtanding they earneſtly begged for peace, and only deſir- " ed that a place be granted them in which they " might ſettle."

(21) Lib. 7. cap. 37.

[*H*] *Stilicho's opinion prevailed.*] They who were for war, asked him for what reaſon he adviſed a diſhonourable peace, which they were obliged to buy. He anſwered, that it was for the good of the Emperor, that Alaric had ſtaid ſo long in Epirus, with an intention to join Honorius's army, and to draw off the Illyrians from the Eaſtern Emperor and ſubject them to Honorius. He added that he intended himſelf to go into the Eaſt and head the army, but that he had been prevented by a Letter which Honorius wrote to him; and thereupon he ſhewed the Letter, and imputed the dropping of that deſign to Serena his wife, who was willing to maintain the peace and friendſhip between the two Emperors (22). Thoſe of the Senators, who came over to Stilicho's opinion, did it out of fear, as Zoſimus obſerves; and Lampadius being aſhamed of the Romans baſeneſs, cried out, *This is not a peace, but a treaty of ſlavery. Non eſt iſta pax, ſed pactio ſervitutis*; and having ſaid thus, he took ſanctuary in a church (23).

(22) Arcadius in the Eaſt, and Honorius in the Weſt.

(23) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 335, 336.

[*I*] *Aëtius and Jaſon.*] Sigonius calls them (24) the ſons of Gaudentius and Jovius, *Aëtium & Jaſonem Gaudentii & Jovii filios*; whence we muſt naturally underſtand, that the former was Gaudentius's ſon, and the latter Jovius's. But the reverend Januarius Salinas obſerves upon this place (25), that Aëtius was Jovius's ſon, and quotes Zoſimus for this, who ſays (26), Αἴτιον καὶ Ἰάσονα, τὸν μὲν, Ἰοβίου γενόμενον παῖδα, τὸν δὲ Γαυδεντίου; but I ſuppoſe that learned Father looked only upon the Latin tranſlation of theſe words, which has miſled him, for it is inaccurate, the words being, *Aëtium & Jaſonem*, ILLUM *Jovii*, HUNC *Gaudentii filium*. *Illum* relating here to Aëtius, and *hunc* to Jaſon. But the Greek words

(24) Lib. 10. *de Occident. Imp.* Col. 392.

(25) Ibid. Not. 165.

(26) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 347.

that on theſe conditions he would maintain the peace, and return with his army into Pannonia. But upon the Emperor's refuſal [K] Alaric reſolved to enter again into Italy; he ſent to Ataulphus his wife's brother who was in upper Pannonia, and invited him to advance with all the Huns and Goths that were with him. He then marched with his own army without ſtaying for his brother-in-law, and came as far as the River Po without meeting any enemy; and having paſſed that river he continued his march and turned directly towards Rome, taking all the forts and towns he met in his way; and being arrived near that capital city of the world, he ſurrounded it with his army; this ſiege became fatal to Serena Stilicho's widow, for ſhe was killed by order of the Senate, they being afraid leſt ſhe ſhould betray them, and deliver up the city to Alaric; they alſo thought that after her death Alaric would loſe all hopes of taking the city by treachery. But they were miſtaken, for he beſieged the city more cloſely, and having made himſelf maſter of the Tiber, he prevented any proviſions from being carried to Rome. The inhabitants nevertheleſs were reſolved to ſtand out the ſiege, tho' they began already to want the neceſſaries of life, being in hopes that the Emperor, who was at Ravenna would come to their aſſiſtance, or ſend an army to relieve them: but finding that the Emperor entirely neglected them, and being reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſent Embaſſadors to the enemy, (ſtill thinking that Alaric was not there in perſon). When the Embaſſadors were introduced to Alaric, he received them in a very haughty manner, and propoſed to them ſuch hard terms [L], that they did not think fit to accept them, without having firſt communicated them to the Senate; for which reaſon they deſired a ceſſation of arms for ſome time, which being granted, they returned to Rome, and declared what conditions Alaric had propoſed. The Romans, having firſt ſacrificed to the Gods after the manner of the ancient Heathens [M], ſent the Embaſſadors back to Alaric, who at laſt conſented to the following conditions; that the city ſhould pay him five thouſand pounds of gold, thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver, four thouſand ſilk veſts, three thouſand ſcarlet fleeces, and three thouſand pounds of pepper: Alaric demanded the ſons of perſons of the firſt rank for hoſtages; on theſe conditions he promiſed not only that he would make peace with the Romans, but alſo enter into an alliance with them againſt whoever ſhould attack them. The Romans having acquainted Honorius with this, he ſubmitted to theſe conditions, and the peace was concluded. Alaric then withdrew his army from the neighbourhood of Rome, and marched to Tuſcany, where he pitched his camp (*bb*). Some time after Ataulphus, whom Alaric had invited to come into Italy, as we have ſaid above, arrived at the head of an army. Honorius having notice of this gathered all the troops he could, and ſent them againſt Ataulphus, expreſly charging them to prevent his joining with Alaric. The Emperor's troops having met Ataulphus's army, they engaged in battle, and the latter had eleven hundred (*cc*) men killed, the former loſing only ſeventeen. Alaric looked probably upon this as an hoſtility, by which the peace lately concluded was broke; for we find that Jovius General of the Guards (*dd*) ſent him ſome perſons to adviſe him to advance near Ravenna, in order to treat about the peace; whence it is plain that the peace concluded at the ſiege of Rome had been broke. Alaric came as far as Rimini, about thirty miles diſtant from Ravenna, where Jovius met him to hear the conditions he propoſed, which were, that a certain ſum of money ſhould be paid him, and a certain quantity of proviſions ſent yearly, and that he ſhould be permitted to

(*bb*) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 347--358.

(*cc*) Sigonius ſays fifteen hundred, though he follows here, Zoſimus, who ſpeaks but of eleven hundred, ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους. ibid. p. 363.

(*dd*) *Præfectus Prætorio.*

may at leaſt ſignifie that Aëtius was Gaudentius's ſon; and thus, I ſuppoſe, Sigonius underſtood them. But if they be equivocal, it muſt be obſerved, that Gregory of Tours (27) and Jornandes (28) expreſly tell us, Aëtius was Gaudentius's ſon; ſo that Father Salinas muſt be miſtaken.

(27) Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. Franc.* lib. 2. *ap.* Du Cheſne, *Hiſt. Franc. Script. Coetan.* tom. 1. p. 277.
(28) *De Getic. Gent. Orig. & Reb. Geſt. apud eund.* ib. p. 225.
(29) Lib. 5. p. 348.

[K] *The Emperor's refuſal.*] Zoſimus (29) obſerves, that the terms propoſed by Alaric were very equitable, and that the Emperor acted with the utmoſt imprudence, when he rejected them. For he ſhould either have put off the war, and purchaſed a truce for a little money; or, if he choſe war, he ſhould have aſſembled all the legions he could, and have poſted them in all the avenues, thro' which the enemy could paſs, to prevent his entering into Italy; he ſhould have choſen an able and experienced Generals, who could keep the enemy in awe. But the Emperor neither accepted the peace propoſed to him by Alaric, nor acted prudently in the choice of his General, having choſen ſuch as could not but be deſpiſed by the enemy. Thus Honorius became himſelf the author of all the calamities which befel Italy.

[L] *He received them in a very haughty manner, and propoſed hard terms to them.*] The Embaſſadors told him, that the Romans were ready to ſubmit, provided they could obtain tolerable terms; but that if once they had took up arms, nothing could deter them from fighting. Alaric anſwered to theſe laſt words, that *the cloſer hay was preſſed, the eaſier it could be cut*; intimating thereby, that tho' the Romans joined all in a body, they would fall an eaſy prey to him, and having ſaid thus, he inſulted the Embaſſadors by laughing loudly at them. He added that he would not raiſe the ſiege, unleſs the Romans delivered to him all their gold and ſilver, with all their houſhold-goods and wearing apparel, and all the Barbarian ſlaves they had. Whereupon the Embaſſadors asked him, what he was then reſolved to leave them, he anſwered briskly, *their lives* (30).

(30) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 254, 255.

[M] *The Romans ſacrificed to the Gods after the manner of the ancient Heathens.*] Zoſimus tells us (31) on this occaſion a circumſtance, which if it be true, is ſomewhat ſurprizing. He ſays, that Pompejanus Governor of the city, intending to perform the rites uſed anciently in Italy, thought fit to conſult the Biſhop, who was then Pope Innocent I, who preferring the preſervation of the city, to his own private opinion, conſented ſecretly to the obſervation of all the religious ceremonies, which ſhould be thought neceſſary to practiſe. But Sigonius ſeems to doubt of the truth of this fact (32), and Father Salinas in his note upon this place of Sigonius (33) obſerves that Sozomen, who was a Novatian (34), and conſequently ſomewhat angry with Pope Innocent, who had baniſhed the Novatians out of the city, does not mention that fact, tho' he gives an account of this ſiege (35). If he had any thing to charge the Pope with, it is probable he would not have omitted it.

(31) Ib. p. 256.
(32) *Ubi ſupra*, Col. 397.
(33) Ibid. not. 179.
(34) Socrates, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 7. cap. 9.
(35) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 9. cap. 6. p. 371, 372, edit. Reading.

to ſettle with his Goths in Venetia (*ee*), Dalmatia, and the country now called Bavaria (*ff*). Jovius wrote to the Emperor Alaric's conditions, and requeſted at the ſame time that Alaric might be made General of the armies (*gg*), that by this honour he might recede a little from the conditions he propoſed, and conclude a peace on more moderate terms. The Emperor blamed Jovius's forwardneſs, and anſwered him, that with regard to what money and proviſions could be granted to Alaric, he might order it as he pleaſed, that being within his province, as General of the Guards, and knowing in what condition the publick treaſure was. But as to the dignity of a General he would never grant it to Alaric nor to any perſon of his nation. Jovius read that letter to Alaric, who was highly offended at it, and looked upon his being denied the honour of being General as an injury not only to himſelf, but alſo to his whole nation; and to be revenged for it, he immediately ordered his barbarians to march directly to Rome. But he ſoon after relented again; and being willing to maintain a good underſtanding with the Emperor, he ſent ſome Biſhops to him as his Embaſſadors, whom he charged at the ſame time to repreſent to the Emperor, not to expoſe the city of Rome to the rage of the barbarians, but rather to accept a peace on the moderate terms that were propoſed to him: for Alaric began now to abate of his former pretenſions; he did not inſiſt upon his being made General, and inſtead of all the Provinces he demanded at firſt, he would now be ſatisfied with that part of Bavaria which bordered upon Iſtria; and he repreſented that this would be no great loſs to the Emperor, ſince that country being often plundered by the neighbouring nations, yielded but a very ſmall income to the Treaſury. He alſo gave up his pretenſion to the tribute he had aſked, and declared that he was willing to enter into an alliance with the Romans againſt all their enemies. This being repreſented to the Senate, they all wondered at Alaric's moderation. But Jovius ſaid, that even that which he aſked could not be granted, becauſe they had all ſwore never to make peace with him [*N*]. Alaric finding himſelf thus deſpiſed and diſappointed, marched with all his troops againſt Rome, being firmly reſolved to beſiege it to the laſt extremity. When he arrived before it, he acquainted the inhabitants with Honorius's perfidiouſneſs, and told them that he would ſtorm the city, unleſs they joined with him againſt the Emperor. But they declining to anſwer him, he made himſelf maſter of the Port upon the Tyber, and by that means deprived the Romans of all neceſſary proviſions; this obliged them at laſt to ſubmit to his conditions, and to receive him (*bb*) in the city (*ii*). Alaric went immediately to the palace, and there he made Attalus, who was Governor of the city, Emperor, who in his turn promoted Alaric to all the military honours. Alaric having ſupported Attalus ſometime againſt Honorius, depoſed him again, and reduced him to a private life; however, he kept him with him, till he had concluded a peace with the Emperor, in which it was ſtipulated that Attalus ſhould be ſafe and ſecure from any harm (*kk*). The conditions of this peace with regard to Alaric were, that he ſhould be in alliance with the Emperor; that he ſhould ſettle in Gaul with his Goths, and there make war againſt Honorius's enemies. But this peace did not laſt long, for one Sarus a General of ſome barbarians, and who was exaſperated againſt Ataulphus Alaric's brother-in-law, attacked the Goths unawares, in order to embroil the ſtate in a new war, becauſe the peace with the Goths was not favourable to his ambitious projects. Alaric, to revenge this injury, returned to Rome, took it by treachery, and permitted his ſoldiers to plunder it, giving yet ſtrict orders that thoſe, who ſhould fly for ſanctuary into the churches, ſhould there be ſecure (*ll*). This happened in the year of Chriſt 409, according to Anthony Pagi (*mm*). Alaric having laid waſte a great part of Italy, intended to paſs into Sicily, but a ſtorm having obliged him to land again, he beſieged the city of Coſenza, and having took it he died there in the year 411 (*nn*), eleven years after he firſt entered Italy. The Goths, in order to bury him, diverted the courſe of the river Baſſento which runs near Coſenza, and interred him in the channel of it, and then turned the river into its channel again; and that the place where he lay might never be known, they killed all the ſlaves who might have obſerved it, and then choſe Ataulphus his wife's brother to ſucceed him (*oo*).

(*ee*) Venetia contained anciently the March of Trevigiano, the Duchy of Venice, Padouano, Vicentino, the weſtern part of Friuli, with part of Ferrareeſe.

(*ff*) Noricum.

(*gg*) Δυνάμεως στρατηγὸν, *Magiſtrum utriuſque Militiæ.*

(*bb*) A. D. 408. Ant. Pagi, *ad h. ann.*

(*ii*) Zoſimus, lib. 5, 6. p. 363--377.

(*kk*) Ibid. l. 6. p. 382, 383.

(*ll*) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 9. cap. 9.

(*mm*) *Ad hunc ann.*

(*nn*) Ant. Pagi, *ad h. ann.*

(*oo*) Joan. Magnus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 490, 491. Sigonius, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 408--413.

[*N*] *They had all ſworn never to make peace with him.*] Jovius had made the Emperor ſwear, he would never make peace with Alaric. He himſelf took the ſame oath by putting his hand on the Emperor's head, and obliged all thoſe, who had any civil or military employments, to follow his example. Whereupon Zoſimus obſerves, that if they had ſworn by God, perhaps they might have been at liberty to break their oath, in hopes that God who is a benevolent and merciful Being might forgive their impiety; but as they had ſworn by the Emperor's head, they were no longer at liberty to act againſt their oath (36). (36) Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 368, 369.

P.

☞ALAVA (DIEGO ESQUIVEL DE) a famous Spaniſh Biſhop lived in the ſixteenth Century; he was born at Vitoria a city of the little country of Alava in the Province of Biſcay in Spain. He ſtudied the Civil and Canon Law at Salamanca, and made ſuch conſiderable progreſs, that having been admitted one of the Judges in ſeveral Courts of Judicature, he was at laſt made Preſident of the Council of Granada. And having entered into holy orders he was made Biſhop of Aſtorga, and aſſiſted at the Council of Trent (*a*). Before the opening of the Council, he propoſed in a general meeting of the Biſhops who were at Trent, that the Pope's Bull, which contained

(*a*) Nic. Antonio, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. p. 203.

the power with which he had inveſted his Legates, might be publickly read. But Cardinal de Sainte Croix, one of the Legates, fearing, that if the Bull was known it might give ſome Biſhops an handle to abridge the power of the Legates, thought fit to keep the Bull ſecret, in order to make uſe of it at a proper opportunity: and to elude Alava's propoſitions, he anſwered, that all the Biſhops together compoſing but one body, if the Pope's Bull concerning the Legates was to be read, they ought to read alſo the Bulls by which every Prelate was eſtabliſhed in his Biſhoprick, which would be endleſs; ſince at the arrival of every Biſhop they would be obliged to read all the Bulls over again. By this evaſion the Cardinal prevented the Council from knowing with what power the Legates were inveſted (*b*). And indeed he had reaſon to fear that the Council would be offended at the power of the Legates, for it was unlimited and exceſſive [*A*]. After the opening of the Council, when the affair of the *Plurality of Livings* came to be debated, Alava, finding that the Fathers of the Council could not agree about the lawfulneſs of diſpenſations, propoſed that all *commendams* be prohibited, and that two or more livings be never united and given to one perſon, though this union ſhould laſt only during that perſon's life, ſince *commendams* and united livings were only pretences made uſe of to cover a criminal plurality, and a modern invention proper only to ſatisfy the covetouſneſs and ambition of the Clergy, to the great ſcandal of the whole world; he added, that it was a ſhame to ſuffer any longer ſo dangerous an abuſe. But the Italian Biſhops, who held united livings and fat benefices in *commendam*, could not be pleaſed with ſuch a reformation (*c*). We don't find that Alava is any more mentioned in Father Paul's *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, and N. Antonio ſays (*d*), that he aſſiſted at that Council only from the fifth Seſſion to the ninth, but he muſt be miſtaken, ſince it appears, from what we have ſaid above, that Alava was at Trent before the opening of the Council. Being returned to Spain in the year 1548, he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Avila (*e*), with which he kept the place of Preſident of the Council of Granada; he was afterwards made Biſhop of Cordova (*f*), and died March the 17th 1562. Martin Aſpilcueta, a Doctor of Divinity, who quotes him, calls him Alba (*g*), if it be not an error of the preſs. Alava publiſhed a learned book intitled, *De Conciliis Univerſalibus, ac de his, quæ ad Religionis, & Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ reformationem inſtituenda videntur.* That is, "Of General Councils, and of the regulations that ſeem neceſſary to reform the Religion and State of the Chriſtians," printed at Granada in 1582 folio (*h*), conſequently after the author's death. N. Antonio mentions ſome other perſons called Alava, of whom we will give a ſhort account in the Remark [*B*].

(*b*) Fra. Paole, *Hiſt. de Concil. de Trent.* l. 2. pag. 119, 120. of the French Tranſlation.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 236.

(*d*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) In Old Caſtile.

(*f*) Or Corduba, a City of Andaluſia in Spain.

(*g*) *In cap. Novit.* num. 104. *de Reſcriptis.*

(*h*) Nic. Anton. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *The power of the Legates --- was unlimited and exceſſive.*] Here follows the ſubſtance of the Pope's Bull. Paul III ſaid, "He ſent his Legates to Trent "as Angels of peace to preſide over the Council, "to make all the decrees and canons which would be "proper, and to publiſh them in the Seſſions of the "Council according to cuſtom. To propoſe, con"clude, and execute whatever would be neceſſary "to extirpate all errors, and to recall the wandering "nations, and ſubject them again to the holy See, "and to reſtore the liberty of the Clergy: To de"cide and dermine in matters of hereſy, and in all "others relating to the Catholic Faith: To reform the "Church in all its member, either regular, or ſecu"lar: To reſtore the peace between the Chriſtian "Princes: To perform and order whatever they "ſhould judge proper to promote the glory of God, "and to propagate the Chriſtian Faith: To reſtrain "by eccleſiaſtical cenſures and puniſhments all ob"ſtinate and rebellious perſons, of whatſoever "rank or dignity they were, even Kings or Pre"lates (1)." It is no wonder that Sainte Croix ſcrupled to publiſh this Bull, ſince it deprived the Council of all manner of power, and rendered it abſolutely uſeleſs; for tho' the Pope ſaid in his Bull, that the Legates were to act in every thing with the conſent of the Council; this was a mere compliment, which did not render leſs ſhocking, the power, with which he inveſted his Legates.

(1) Fra. Paolo, *Hiſt. de Conc. de Trente*, l. 2. p. 103, 104.

[*B*] *Some other perſons called Alava.*] I. D. Diego de Alava y Beaumont born in Biſcay, of an illuſtrious family; for his father Francis de Alava was a Member of the Council of War and Maſter of the Ordnance to the King of Spain. Diego having ſtudied Latin, Greek, Philoſophy and the Law, applied himſelf to the Mathematics, and having acquired a great ſkill in that ſcience, he ſtudied by himſelf without any Maſter the military ſciences with ſo much ſucceſs, that he acquired a perfect knowledge of all the duties of a General; of which he gave a ſpecimen in a book he publiſhed, intitled, *El perfecto Capitan inſtruido en la diſciplina militar, y nueva cientia de la Artilleria.* That is, "The perfect Captain inſtruct"ed in the military ſcience, and the new art of for"tification;" dedicated to King Philip II, and printed at Madrid in 1590, folio; with the approbation of the learned Francis Sanctius, then a famous Profeſſor at Salamanca (2). II. Francis Ruis de Vergara y Alava, a man of eminent virtue and probity as well as learning; after he had taken his degrees of Doctor in the univerſity of Salamanca was there made Profeſſor of Law: afterwards he was admitted to the Council of Granada, and then raiſed to the honour of a Knight of St. James, and Member of the great Council of Caſtile, which poſt he ſtill held, when N. Antonio wrote his *Bibliotheca Hiſpana*, or Spaniſh Library. He publiſhed *La Hiſtoria del Colegio de San Bartolome major de la Univerſidad de Salamanca.* That is, "The Hiſtory of the College of "St. Bartholomew the Elder in the Univerſity of Sala"manca," printed at Madrid, as N. Antonio believes. He alſo took care, by order of Philip IV, of the laſt edition of *De la Regla y eſtablecimientos nuevos de la orden y Cavalleria del Apoſtolo San-Iago.* That is, "Of the Statutes and new Regulations of "the Order of the Knights of St. James;" printed at Madrid in 1655, folio (3). III. Leo de Alava, a Licentiate in Divinity and friend to Cardinal Colonna, publiſhed *Orationes tres, in urbe habitas, ad ſixtum V duas, ad Gregorium XIII unam.* That is, "Three Harangues or Diſcourſes made at Rome, "two to Sixtus V, and one to Gregory XIII;" printed at Rome in 1591, 4to (4).

(2) Nic. Ant. *Biblioth. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 203.

(3) Id. ibid. *in Append.* p. 324.

(4) Ibid. p. 332.

P.

☞ALBANI (FRANCIS) was born in Bologna, March 17 1578 (*a*). His father trafficked in ſilk, and intended to bring him up to his buſineſs, but Albani having a ſtrong

(*a*) Felſina Pittrice, *Vite de Pittori Bologneſi.* tom. 2. p. 224. in Bologna 1678, 4to.

ſtrong inclination to painting [*A*], devoted himſelf entirely, when but twelve years of age, to that Art, immediately after his father's death, to the diſſatisfaction of his relations. He firſt ſtudied under Denys Calvert, together with Guido [*B*] (*b*), with whom he contracted a very intimate friendſhip, and followed him to the ſchool of the Carraches (*c*). Howevèr their friendſhip afterwards broke quite off [*C*]. Albani went to Rome, where he continued many years, and married in that city, but his wife dying in childbed, he, at the earneſt requeſt of his relations, returned to Bologna, where, at the ſollicitation of his brothers (who afterwards impoſed upon him) he entered again into the ſtate of wedlock (*d*). The motives which induced him to marry a ſecond time are entertaining [*D*]. He was well verſed in ſome branches of polite Literature, but did not underſtand

(*b*) *The Art of Painting*, by Charles du Freſnoy, engliſhed by Dryden, p. 348, London, printed for B. Lintott, 2d edit. 1716, 8°.

(*c*) Sandraart, *Academia Picturæ eruditæ*, p. 182. Norimbergæ. 1683, fol.

(*d*) Felſina Pittrice, p. 229, & *ſeq.*

[*A*] *Albani having a ſtrong inclination to painting.*] Auguſtin Albani his father intended to give him a liberal education, but finding he made very little progreſs in Grammar, he had him taught Arithmetic, in order that he might be qualified to ſucceed him in his buſineſs. However, Francis improved but very little in Accompts; and his father obſerving his ſtrong propenſion to painting, asked ſome mean Painters who were come to work in his houſe, whether he ſhould devote his ſon to their art? They anſwered that as his ſon might be ſo uſeful to him in his buſineſs, he would not do well to let him demean himſelf ſo far as to take up the pencil. The father byaſſed by theſe ſilly people, would have diverted him, if poſſible, from drawing; but dying ſome time after, Albani was left at full liberty to follow the bent of his genius (1).

(1) Felſina Pittrice, tom. 2. p. 224.

[*B*] *Studied under Denys Calvert with Guido.*] Albani reap'd very great benefit from Guido Rheni's friendſhip, who had already made conſiderable advances in painting when Albani put himſelf under Calvert. The Maſter drew but one profil for Albani to copy, afterwards left him entirely to the care of Guido, under whom he made a very great improvement, he inſtructing his fellow-diſciple Albani with the utmoſt humanity and good humour, whilſt Calvert on the other ſide, by the ſeverity of his temper, made Albani very uneaſy; ſo that he at laſt left his Maſter (upon pretence that he did not deſign to exerciſe the pencil any longer) and followed his friend Guido to the ſchool of the Carraches (2), where he improved very much. Albani's compoſitions ſhew a great genius and an admirable ſweetneſs, he having beſides all the parts of an excellent Painter (3).

(2) Idem, p. 225. and Sandraart, *Academia Picturæ*, p. 18. fol.

(3) *Painting Illuſtrated*, in three Dialogues, by Wm Aglionby, p. 89. London, printed for John Gain, 1685, 4°.

[*C*] *Their friendſhip afterwards broke quite off.*] Guido and Albani ſeem'd overjoyed to find themſelves under Ludovico Carrache, but a little after their amity began to cool, whether this were owing to the pride of Albani, who perhaps could not bear to ſee Guido ſurpaſs him; or to the jealouſy of Guido, at finding Albani make ſo ſwift a progreſs. However this be, it is certain they afterwards endeavoured to eclipſe one another, tho' Albani ſeems to have been much the moſt in fault; for when Guido ſet up a beautiful altar piece, his competitor would oppoſe to it ſome fine picture of his. Thus did they behave for ſome time, and yet ſpake of each other with the higheſt eſteem and veneration (4). Our two Artiſts ſeemed to have had the perfect ſpirit of Courtiers by ſo highly applauding one another in public, and at the ſame time doing their utmoſt to prejudice each other's reputation. Envy is ſometimes but too predominant in Poets, Painters, Sculptors, and others who cultivate the polite arts with ſucceſs. Fired with ambition, they not only endeavour to riſe as high as they poſſibly can, by ſtudy and application, in the ſciences, but ſtrive with all their might to pull down thoſe who alſo excel in them. How far this principle can make even the beſt-natured men ſwerve from the dictates of tenderneſs and humanity is particularly viſible in Albani; who is generally related to have been endowed with the utmoſt ſweetneſs of temper, and to have poſſeſſed all the virtues which endear a man to ſociety. He had received the higheſt favours from Guido, who taught him with the moſt affectionate care. And yet he afterwards envies the eminence to which he was aſcended. The polite Arts, one would imagine, ſhould inſpire their votaries with complacency and love, and yet we find they often have a quite different effect, and not only cancel the higheſt obligations, but even create the utmoſt averſion to a benefactor. How many Writers and Artiſts are fired with envy and detraction! With what ſecret, and ſometimes open, ſatisfaction, do they hear their rivals aſperſed! How eagerly do they ſeek after ſtories which are prejudicial to the reputation of their competitors, and are often the inventors of them! They ſeem to image themſelves and their rivals as a pair of ſcales; that one muſt neceſſarily fall in proportion as the other riſes. However, it muſt be confeſſed that this detracting ſpirit prevails infinitely leſs in perſons of exalted genius and talents, than in thoſe who have none; for detraction ſeems to be the chief characteriſtic of the latter, incapable of acquiring fame by their own productions, they endeavour to make themſelves eminent, (at a very cheap and eaſy rate) by railing at thoſe of eminent perſons. As a great genius in one art or ſcience, cannot be equally conſpicuous in all, the little fry of Artiſts are ſure to attack him in ſomething he does not pretend to excell in, or endeavour to leſſen the merit even of that talent for which he is moſt famous: Talk to theſe witlings of Mr. Pope, they'll tell you that he has an excellent knack at verſifying; but that --- take away his jingle --- and nothing remains. The ſame they affirm of Dryden and all thoſe Poets, whoſe works are the greateſt honour to our Nation. On the other ſide, if you ſpeak of the great poetic merit of theſe Writers, they immediately cry that they are no Scholars, by which word is frequently underſtood, the ſtuffing one's head with a thouſand things which a man of true genius would not deſire to know. Be this ſaid however without derogating from the merits of the true Scholar, who to a vaſt erudition joins the fineſt taſte. Such a one is the higheſt honour to Literature, and ought to be had in great veneration, as ſo very few are found of this character.

(4) Idem, ibid. and 226.

[*D*] *The motives which induced him to marry a ſecond time &c.*] His ſecond wife (Doralice) was well deſcended, being of the honourable family of the Fiorovanti, but had very little fortune; but this Albani diſregarded, ſo ſtrongly was he captivated with her beauty, good ſenſe and merit. We find that eminent Poets, Painters &c. generally make choice of handſome women for their wives or miſtreſſes, eſpecially of the latter. Being ſo very converſant in beauty, and able to ſtrike out the loveliеſt creatures on the canvas, it is natural they themſelves ſhould be affected with ſuch living ones only, as are beautiful. Albani fancied this match would be advantageous to him, ſince, beſides the ſatisfaction of poſſeſſing a moſt accompliſhed wife, ſhe would ſerve him as a beautiful model, ſo that he would have no occaſion to make uſe of any other woman, whenever he ſhould paint a Venus, the Graces, Nymphs, and other Deities, whom it was his delight to repreſent. Albani was ſucceſsful in his choice, and his wife anſwered his purpoſe admirably well; for beſides her bloom of youth and the beauty of her perſon, he diſcovered in her ſo much modeſty, ſo many graces and perfections, ſo well adapted to painting, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have met with a more finiſh'd woman. And indeed he often repreſented her as a Venus. She afterwards brought him a conſiderable number of boys, who were all ſo beautiful and ſo finely proportioned, that it is from them thoſe excellent ſculptors Francis Flamand and Algardi modell'd their little Cupids. So that Albani's wife and children were the originals of his moſt agreeable and moſt graceful compoſitions. His wife was ſo conformable to his intentions,

understand Latin, to his very great regret, but supplied this defect by the perusal of the best Italian Translations of such of the Classicks as are of service to his Art. When he came to years of discretion he was very fond of reading, and particularly Tasso's *Jerusalem*, which was always in his painting room, he desiring such of his friends as came to visit him, to read some parts of it to him, whilst he was exercising the pencil (e). He excelled in all the parts of Painting, but was particularly admired for his performances in little, tho' he himself was very much dissatisfied, that equal notice was not taken of his great pieces, of which he had painted many for Altars. As he delighted very much in drawing the Fair-sex [E], he has represented them with wonderful beauty, but is not very happy in his imitation of Men (f). Notwithstanding Albani's fondness for painting Nudities, for which he had a particular genius, and especially women, he himself was very chaste [F] (g). He sometimes represented divine stories, but his compositions on love-subjects were so eagerly

(e) Id. p. 234.

(f) Idem, p. 276 and 277. Felibien *Vies des Peintres*, tom. 3. p. 525.

(g) *Academia Picturæ*, p. 182.

that she took a pleasure in setting their children in different attitudes, and in holding them, naked, and sometimes suspended by strings, when Albani would draw them in a thousand different ways (5). But let us hear Malvasia. *Tale per ogni parte riuscì la Moglie... Trasformandosi tutta nel gusto e nel genio del marito, ingegnavasi ella stessa d'accommodar que' Bambini nelle desiate posture ferme non solo e posanti, ma nelle attitudini, & ne' scorti più difficili, e vivaci sapendo giudiciosamente farglili veder sospesi, con pannolini, & bende accommodandoli, e sostenendoli, sin' a che il bramato effetto ben' osservato n'avesse, & colto.* Malvasia observes, that it is no wonder Albani's Cupids are very beautiful, since his own children, who were his models on this occasion, were exquisitely so. His wife was very fruitful, insomuch that they had twelve children alive at the same time. A great character is given of her, for she not only carefully instilled the principles of virtue into their minds, but also taught them to read and put the best books into their hands, she herself being a woman of such excellent taste, that her husband used to consult her often on his own compositions, and never without receiving the greatest benefit from her hints. All this, the Historian informs us, did not prevent her taking the utmost care of their domestic affairs, and not only of those which relate immediately to the wife, but even of such as are commonly the province of the husband, viz. paying, receiving &c. (6). Such a wife must be a treasure to a man of Letters, since few are found of this character. If a woman is very careful of her domestic affairs, she generally has little inclination for the Muses; on the contrary if she is smitten with the love of those bewitching creatures, she commonly has no manner of talent for houshold affairs, is either a coquet or slovenly in her person, her dress, her house, and every thing about her, to the everlasting disgust of her husband if cleanliness be his delight. But how many excellent characters unite in Albani's wife, that of the lover, the scholar, the friend, the steward, the housewife &c. Were all women so well accomplished, wedlock so far from being a burthen to the Literati and Artists, would on the contrary be of the highest advantage to them. It is however with great regret we inform our reader, that the haughtiness of Albani's wife gave him afterwards the highest uneasiness.

(5) Felsina Pittrice, tom. 2. p. 230. and Felibien *Vies des Peintres*, tom. 3. p. 524.

(6) Idem, ibid.

[E] *As he delighted very much in painting the fair sex.*] This inclination which he received from nature, continued to the end of his life, as he confessed in a Letter to his friend, a year before he died. He therein declares, that were he younger, he would act in a different manner from what he had done; finding himself inspired not only with a numberless multitude of noble ideas, but that he took much more delight, and had a much greater facility than ever to represent divine and human beauties, particularly nymphs, children, and diverting and agreeable actions. He then imagined, that his genius and great practice would alone enable him to strike out the noblest compositions; blaming the Carraches, for having been too diffident of their own strength, and observed, that as they had devoted so many years to study, instead of giving a scope to their genius, they by that means were always poor. To support his argument, or rather justify his own negligence, and his conduct so opposite to theirs, he observed in the abovementioned Letter that Hannibal Carrache having began to paint from idea a dead Christ lying on the knees of the Virgin Mary, he drew a wonderful and divine figure; but that afterwards having retouched the body of his Christ from a model, he changed that first production of his mind; and from too great a distrust of his own strength, spoilt his picture by his last touches (7). Sandraart takes particular notice of a Phaeton fallen from his chariot of Albani's painting, and declares it to be a capital piece (8).

(7) Felsina Pittrice, tom. 2. p. 275. and Felibien, *Vies des Peintres*, tom. 3. p. 526.

(8) *Academia Picturæ*, p. 182.

[F] *Notwithstanding his fondness for painting Nudities, and especially women, he himself was very chaste.*] He was so very modest, that when his wife was no longer of an age to serve him for a model, and that he was obliged to make use of others, he always, (after the decent custom of Ludovico Carrache and Guido) had only their arms, breast, and legs uncovered, and always sent them away the moment he had done (9); not but his enemies were for ever reproaching him and his disciples, who perhaps were not so reserved as their Master, with being immodest. *Una fede così esatta al santo matrimonio, che più tosto s'auria eletto il morire; che il far torto alla sua Dorattice* (a circumstance a little extraordinary) *che però, non potendosi più di essa servire per modello, valendosi di quelle femmine che li trouava Lampietro, non aver mai perduto conorato costume di veder solo quelle parti, che non cagionan rossore &c.* (10). It was a great happiness for Albani, that his wife was as a Venus to him (in beauty) till age began to lessen the force of her charms, a proof that she still was dear to him, since had it been otherwise, she could not have been so lovely in his eye. His long affection for her contradicts the reflection in Cato;

(9) Felsina Pittrice, tom. 2. p. 266.

(10) Idem, ibid.

Beauty soon grows familiar to the lover,
Fades in the eye, and palls upon the sense.

and is not agreeable to what so many wags have written, that possession never fails to cloy; nor to the story which is related of Henry IV, who being dissuaded by his Confessor from engaging in such a variety of amours, and advised to keep to his Queen only; answered the ghostly Father no otherwise than by ordering partridges to be set before him perpetually. For the first day or two the birds were found excellent, but in a little time they began to satiate, which the confessor declaring, the King drew an inference from thence with regard to his own Ladies. The story of the Painter is well known, who being ordered by a Gentleman in love, to draw Hymen for him; represented that Deity to the greatest advantage, with the utmost sweetness in his countenance, the brightest fire in his eyes, and his whole person inchanting. The picture being finished was sent home to the amorous Gentleman, who surveying it found it too languid and not handsome enough for that lovely God; so obliged the Artist to take it back in order to mend it. The Painter having got the picture home, did not alter a stroke in it: But the Gentleman having been married some months, sent again for the piece, when Hymen was found too sprightly and too beautiful, and thereupon the purchaser would have the Painter alter it a second time: However, this the Artist refused to do, assuring him that his eye, not the picture was altered... But tho' many find marriage as this Gentleman did, yet to others (who' perhaps are fewer in number) it is a most delightful state, and a wife, the greatest blessing.

eagerly ſought after [G], that he was obliged to get ſeveral copies of them painted. Though he met with a great many diſappointments in life, and private diſcontents in his family, yet ſo happy was his temper, that nothing could ruffle or diſconcert him [H]. He was a modeſt, worthy man, and had a moſt tender affection for his diſciples, (and ſeveral of them were excellent Painters) to whom he revealed all the difficulties of Painting. He died October 4 (b) 1660, aged eighty two years and a half, to the great grief of all his friends [I]. Such as deſire to ſee Albani's life at length, may peruſe the *Felſina Pittrice*, Vol. 2.

(b) Sandraart in his *Academia Picturæ*, p 182, ſays he died about 1658, but Malvaſia, (from whom we may ſuppoſe the reſt have copied) the author of Abedario Pittorico, and Felibien *De Piles Graham*, fix it to 1660.

☞ALBERIC

All other goods by Fortune's hand are given,
A wife is the peculiar gift of heav'n;
Vain Fortune's favours, never at a ſtay,
Like flitting ſhadows, paſs and glide away;
One ſolid comfort our eternal wife,
Abundantly ſupplies us all our life.
Pope from Chaucer.

[G] *His compoſitions on love ſubjects were ſo eagerly ſought after, &c.*] To his ſtudy and obſervations on nature, (he copying from his wife and children, as was obſerved before) was owing his great ſucceſs in repreſenting Cupid's playing and hovering up and down; when forming to himſelf a thouſand images of delicious abodes, he painted Venus attended by the Graces and Nymphs, and in theſe he has particularly diſplayed the beauty of his genius. He did not, ſays Malvaſia, feign Cupid heavy and ſleeping, as Guido did, but repreſented him ſeated majeſtically on a throne; now directing the ſportive exerciſes of the little *Loves*, ſhooting at a heart, which was fixed on the trunk of a tree; now preſiding over their ſprightly dances, round the marble monument of Flora crowned with a chaplet of blooming flowers; now ſurveying the conqueſt of the little winged boys over the rural Satyrs and Fauns. If he repreſented the dead Adonis bewailed, he always introduced a band of Loves on that occaſion, ſome of which, viewing the cruel wound, drew back in the utmoſt fear; while others exaſperated, brake to pieces their bows and arrows, as being no longer of uſe to them ſince Adonis was no more; and others again who, running behind the fierce wild boar, brandiſhed their darts, with an air of vengeance. *Se finſe Amore, non ſonnachioſo e dormiente, com' è quel di Guido ce'l fè vedere, ma nel ſuo trono, ed in maeſtà aſſiſo, aſſiſtere hora all' eſercizio, ed alla gara dè gli Amoretti minori in berſagliare un cuore ad un tronco appeſo e pendente: hora alle liete danze e carole colte, e miſurate da que' teneri piedì attorno al ſimulacro marmoreo dell' inghirlandata Flora: hora alla vittorioſa ſconfitta dè Satiretti e de Fauni ſelvaggi, da gli alati Fanciulli ſottomeſſi ed oppreſſi. Se d'un Adone ucciſo fece piangere ne' pinti ſuoi rami il lugubre caſo, accompagnato anche lo volte dal corteggio d'Amorini, altri de quali mirando la crudel piaga, ſpaventato s'arretraſſe; altri che adiratoſene, l'arco ſpezzaſſe & le quadrella, arneſi reſi inutili per la morte dell' infelice; altri che imbrandilo il dardo, dietto al fievro unghiale correndo, ne minacciaſſe la vendetta* (11). To heighten theſe ideas, and cheriſh the inclination he had to repreſent fabulous ſubjects, he uſed to read all kinds of Poetry, and to reſort often to the country, where the verdure of the fields and groves, the gentle murmurs of chryſtal rivulets, the harmony of the winged choriſters, the agreeable ſtilneſs of the air, could not but inſpire a fancy like his; and indeed Malvaſia is of opinion, that Albani was the happieſt Artiſt that ever lived for repreſenting of love-ſubjects. *Invaghirlo*, ſays he of Albani, (*il mondo*) *queſti cò piu laſcivi vezzi, che giammai meditaſſe pennello* (12). This made a learned author (13) ſay, (where he imagines himſelf conducted into the garden of the Poets at Bologna by the genius of Raphael Urbino) that that beautiful ſpot recalled to his remembrance the pictures of Albani; on which occaſion that author is ſuppoſed to ſpeak thus to the genius, "It muſt be "confeſſed that the paintings of this great Artiſt "(Albani) ſeem naturally adapted to ſuch delightful "places as theſe. Moſt of his compoſitions being "ſo gayly beautiful, that they naturally inſpire ſa"tisfaction and joy, and conſequently ſuppreſs all "dark and melancholy ideas." The genius anſwers. "You ſay right: for Albani was inclined by nature to repreſent delightful ſubjects, ſuch as cele"ſtial Deities, Loves, Nymphs, and Solitudes (14)." This made him ſo fond of the country, that he generally uſed to paſs the ſummer in it, there to enjoy

(11) Felſina Pittrice, Vol. 2. p. 232, 233.

(12) Felſina Pittrice, tom. 2. p. 234.

(13) Girupeno.

(14) Felſina Pittrice Vol. 2. p. 234.

That calm repoſe and peace of mind,
Which none in crowds nor courts can find.
The flowery meads, where purling ſtreams
Soften the ſoul to pleaſing dreams;
The woods that ſhelter, ſoft, from heat,
Where birds their various ſongs repeat;
The riſing hills, and winding vales,
And ev'ning's ſweet refreſhing gales,
Thoſe coy receſſes of the grove,
Thoſe ſeats of innocence and love (15)!

(15) From the Tale intitled *Woman* in *Dryden's Miſcellanies*, Vol. 6. pag. 149. London printed for J. Tonſon 1716, 12°.

[H] *So happy was his temper that nothing could ruffle it.*] *Sue tele* (ſays Malvaſia) -- *non ſpirano altro mai, che gioie, che allegrie, che contenti. Vincitore d'ogni contraſto, e ſuperiore ad ogni contrario deſtino, non ſapea col ſuo poetico pennello, che paſſegiar mai ſempre per i delizioſi giardini di Peſti, per le amene pendici di Paſo, & di Citera: Che calcare anche talora le rupi del Permeſſo, ed arrivare a ſtanziar felicemente con Apollo e le Muſe; onde di lui ben' anche dir ſi poteſſe ciò che Freſnoy cantò del gran Giulio Romano, che,*

A puero Muſarum edoctus in antris
Aonias reſeravit opes, Graphicaque Poeſi,
Quæ non viſa prius, ſed tantum audita Poetis,
Ante oculos ſpectanda dedit ſacraria Phœbi (16).

(16) Felſina Pittrice, Vol. 2. p. 232.

That is, "His paintings breathe nothing but con"tent and joy. Happy in a force of mind that con"quered every kind of uneaſineſs, his poetic pencil car"ried him thro' the moſt agreeable gardens, to Pa"phos and Citheræa, thoſe delightful ſcenes brought "him over the lofty Parnaſſus, to the delicious "abodes of Apollo and the Muſes with whom he re"ſided; whence, what du Freſnoy ſays of the cele"brated Giulio Romano, may be juſtly applied to "Albano. Things never ſeen till then, and only "mentioned by Poets.

"*Taught from a child in the bright Muſe's grots,*
"*He open'd all the treaſures of Parnaſſus;*
"*And in the lovely Poetry of painting*
"*The myſteries of Apollo has reveal'd.*

[I] *He died ... to the great grief of all his friends.*] Albani had always applied himſelf very diligently to painting, and his aſſiduity continued to the laſt. In the ſickneſs which was fatal to him, he could refrain from taking up the pencil, whenever he enjoyed a little interval of eaſe (17). At laſt his ſtrength being quite gone, and having received the Sacraments, he turned to his wife and children, and beſought heaven to beſtow his choiceſt bleſſings upon them. Several of his Diſciples aſſiſted him till he breathed his laſt, (he loving them tenderly) (18), and particularly Philip Merizani, who never ſtirred from him day nor night, but poured forth floods of tears. The whole city of Bologna grieved at his death, which they conſidered as a great loſs, his houſe having been free to all Virtuoſi, and his converſation eaſy, facetious and learned. He was very famous in his life time (19); had been viſited by the greateſt Painters, and had been favoured with letters from Pouſſin, Mignard, Lanfrank, Salvator Roſa, and many more equally eminent Artiſts, who uſed to call him their Father and Maſter. Several Princes honoured him with letters, and among the reſt King Charles I, who invited him to come into England, by a Letter ſigned with his own hand (20). As many

(17) Idem 281.

(18) *Abecedario Pittorico*, p. 160, in Bologna 1719, 4to.

(19) *Academia Picturæ*, p. 182.

(20) Idem pag. 282.

☞ALBERIC born in France lived in the twelfth Century. Having been a Monk in the Monaſtery of Clugni he was made Prior of St. Martin's at Paris, and afterwards Abbot of Vezelay (*a*) about the year 1124; and in 1138 Pope Innocent II made him Cardinal and Biſhop of Oſtia, and ſent him Legate into England and Scotland (*b*). The Engliſh Clergy were not very well pleaſed with this [*A*]; however after ſome objections Alberic was admitted (*c*), becauſe King Stephen being not yet well enough ſettled on the throne, durſt not diſoblige the Court of Rome (*d*). It muſt alſo be obſerved that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury always uſed to act as the Pope's Legate in England; but that See being then vacant, the Biſhop of Wincheſter the King's brother had flattered himſelf that he ſhould be the Pope's Legate during the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, and both he and the King were diſpleaſed to ſee a foreigner inveſted with that power and dignity (*e*), but they were obliged to ſubmit. Alberic intending to convoke a national Council of the Engliſh Clergy took a journey through England in order to acquaint himſelf with the grievances and abuſes that required to be redreſſed. And the time of holding the Council drawing near, the Legate ſummoned the Biſhops and Clergy to repair to London, intending to hold the Council in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. In his letter to the Prior and Clergy of Canterbury, he acquaints them, that he would conſecrate the newly elected Biſhop of Exeter, and adviſes them to chuſe for their Archbiſhop a perſon duly qualified, and againſt whom the King could have nothing to object: He alſo commands them, by his Apoſtolic Authority (*Apoſtolica Authoritate præcipimus*) to ſend their deputies to the Council, and deſires they may come before the opening of it, becauſe he wanted to conſult with them about ſome particular affairs that were to come before the Council (*f*). But we are not told what theſe affairs were. We may perhaps ſuppoſe that the Legate had a mind to form his party, and to ſecure a ſufficient number of votes for what he had a mind the Council ſhould decree. For the Pope's authority not being yet well eſtabliſhed in England, the Court of Rome left no ſtone unturned to gain ground there. The Council met the 13th of December (*g*) 1138 (*b*), and was compoſed of ſeventeen Biſhops, and of about thirty Abbots, beſides a great number of Clergymen and other people (*Cleri & Populi multitudine numeroſa* (*i*); though by the (*populi multitudo numeroſa*) great number of people, we are not perhaps to underſtand, that Laymen were permitted to vote in the Council, but only to be witneſſes of what was there tranſacted. That Council made ſeventeen Canons,

(*a*) A little city in the Duchy of Nivernois in France.

(*b*) Ricardus Haguſtaldenſis *Hiſt. de Geſtis Reg. Stephani, in Hiſt. Angl. Script. Decem*, edit. a Rog. Twiſden, tom. 1. Col. 324.

(*c*) Gervaſii *Chron. ap.* Twyſden, ib. tom. 1. Col. 1344.

(*d*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d' Anglet.* tom. 2. l. 6. p. 154.

(*e*) Gervaſii *Chron. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Ibid. Col. 1345, 1347.

(*g*) *Idus Decembris*, id. ibid.

(*b*) Ricardus Haguſtald. ibid. Col. 326.

(*i*) Gervaſii *Chron. ubi ſupra.*

many of the famous Bologneze Painters had been buried with great pomp, Albani's friends were greatly diſpleaſed not to find the ſame honours paid to him; and therefore ſeveral of them were reſolved to have this done, at their own labour and expence, in St. Gregory's church, and had made prodigious preparations for that purpoſe, when the envy of the other *School* quite put a ſtop to this noble deſign, thoſe declaring that the honours they intended Albani were fit only for a crowned Head (21). Albani's memory was celebrated both in proſe and verſe, by ſeveral very eminent Writers (22). Malvaſia has preſerved an Ode in praiſe of Albani written by Signior Paolo Moſcardini, and ſome Verſes of Franciſco de Lemene; among which are the following intended for his monument:

(21) Idem 284, 285.

(22) Idem, pag. 290.

Per l'Eſſequie di Franceſco Albani,
Queſti di giara tomba illuſtri horrori
Chiudon del grande Alban la ſpoglia frale,
Che al fin troprìo con lividi pallori
Lui, che diè vita a l'ombra, ombra mortale.
Prodigio ancora, a la ſua mano equale,
Non addita la terra in frà i maggiori,
A quella man famoſa, ed immortale,
Che diè colori a l'alma, alma a i colori.
Prometeo ſol con ſovrhuman penſiero,
Mentre di morto fango un' huomo adombra,
Poteo dar vita al nobil magiſtero.
Mà ſtupor non bugiardo hor più n'ingombra;
Finto Prometeo fù, l'Alban fù vero,
Quei diè vita col Sol, queſti con l'Ombra.

The ſenſe of which is, That the mortal remains of the illuſtrious Albani, he who gave life to ſhade, lie interred in this tomb. The earth never brought forth ſo wonderful an Artiſt, or a hand equal to his immortal one, which gave colours to the ſoul, and a ſoul to colours (23). Prometheus animated dead clay, and gave life by means of the Sun, but Albano animated meerly by the aſſiſtance of ſhade.

(23) This thought and the laſt will hardly be found juſt.

[*A*] *The Engliſh Clergy were not very pleaſed with this.*] Rapin obſerves (1), that one of the expedients, which the Popes employed, to eſtabliſh their power and authority in England, was the frequent ſending of Legates. We meet but with few Legates under the Saxon and Daniſh Kings. And tho' even at that time the Popes had formed the deſign of making themſelves abſolute in the Church, yet they had not yet hit upon the method of ſending Legates; perhaps they were afraid of offending the Metropolitans. For in England the Archbiſhop of Canterbury as Primate of the Church, was look'd upon as the born Legate of the Pope, and was uſually charged with executing the orders of the Court of Rome. But as he had affairs of a different and often inconſiſtent nature to manage, I mean, the intereſt of the Church of England, and that of the Pope, it happened ſometimes that he preferred the former to the latter. For this reaſon the Popes took hold of all opportunities, to ſend ſuch Legates, as might be engaged in no other party but that of Rome. Thus, when under King Offa the Biſhoprick of Lichfield was to be erected into an Archbiſhoprick, it was not proper to give the commiſſion for it to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſince he was to loſe a great deal of his power and juriſdiction by it; therefore the Pope did not let this opportunity eſcape; he eaſily prevailed with the King to admit Italian Legates for the intended deſign (2). When under Henry I the Pope ſent Guy Archbiſhop of Vienna *, to reſide in England as Legate over all Great Britain, the Clergy of England look'd upon it as a great infringement of their liberties; and tho' there were ſome inſtances of ſuch Legates, yet the King and his Council would not permit Guy to exerciſe any of his functions. Alford the Jeſuit, who wrote the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England*, finding how difficult it is to make this refuſal agree with the Pope's authority, thought to avoid this difficulty by a ſubtle invention; he ſays, that the Legate's commiſſion was not accepted, becauſe they had neglected to inſert the following words in it, viz. *Notwithſtanding the privileges of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; but as he does not quote any authority for this, we are not obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Cardinal Baronius has found out a more artful method to get rid of this difficulty, which is, not to ſpeak a word of the whole affair. In the

(1) *Hiſt. de Ang.* tom. 2. l. 6. pag. 151.

(2) Rapin, ibid.

* In France.

nons, ſome of which deſerve particularly to be taken notice of [*B*]. The Council being ended, and Theobald having been elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was conſecrated January the 8th 1139 by Alberic, who then returned into Italy, and was afterwards ſent Legate by the Pope to Sicily, then to the Eaſt, and at laſt to France. He died in 1147 (*k*). Richard Prior of Hexham (*l*) ſays of him, that he was famous for divine and human learning, had a great ſkill in Eccleſiaſtical affairs; was eloquent, prudent, wiſe, of a very ſweet and mild temper, and above all, exceedingly devout and religious (*m*). How far a Monk devoted to the Pope is to be credited in this we leave our readers to judge.

(*k*) Baron. *ad b. Ann.*
(*l*) In Northumberland.
(*m*) Richardus Hagustald. *ubi ſupra.*

year 1116 Abbot Anſelm having preſented to the ſame King Henry the Commiſſion, by which the Pope appointed him his Legate in England, the King would not permit him to execute it; and the Engliſh Biſhops, whom he conſulted on this affair, anſwered unanimouſly, that this Legateſhip was inconſiſtent with the privileges of the Church of England (3). So that we muſt not wonder, that Alberic was not eaſily admitted, ſince the Engliſh Clergy did not care to ſubmit to the Court of Rome, and the Biſhops could not be pleaſed to ſee their power and authority abridged by foreigners.

(3) Rapin, ibid. p. 152, 153.

[*B*] *Some of which* (*Canons*) *deſerve particularly to be taken notice of.*] By the firſt it is decreed, that no Prieſt ſhould receive any price or money for chriſm, holy oil, baptiſm, penance, marrying, viſiting of the ſick, adminiſtring of the Body of Chriſt, or burying the dead, and whoever acted againſt this Canon, was to be excommunicated (4). The fifth prohibits every one from accepting any Church or Eccleſiaſtical preferment from a Lay-man: and obliges all Clergymen, when inducted into their livings by the Biſhop, to ſwear upon the Goſpels, that they have neither given nor promiſed any thing themſelves, or by any other perſon, for ſuch preferment; and if it be diſcovered that they have, the only penalty is deprivation (5), which is but a ſmall puniſhment for perjury. The ſeventh deprives all Clergymen that are married, or keep concubines, of their preferments, and forbids all perſons to hear Maſs ſaid by them (6). Richard of Hexham gives us another Canon, omitted by Gervaſe, in which it is decreed, that no one perſon ſhall claim any Church or Eccleſiaſtical preferment by right of inheritance; nor name his ſucceſſor to any benefice; and if any ſuch thing happened, it was to be void, according to what the Pſalmiſt ſays (7). *O my God, make them like unto a wheel, who ſay, let us take to ourſelves the houſes of God in poſſeſſion* (8). It is manifeſt from theſe Canons, not only that Clergymen were married at leaſt in England in the twelfth Century, ſince the Council was obliged to make a Canon againſt it, but alſo that they diſpoſed of their livings by their laſt will.

(4) Gervaſii *Chron. ubi ſupra*, Col. 1347.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Pſ. lxxxiii. 12, 13.
(8) Ricardi Hagustaldenſis, *De Geſt. Reg. Steph.* Col. 327.

P.

☞ALBERTET, a famous Mathematician and Poet, was a Gentleman of Provence, born at Siſteron, and flouriſhed about the year 1290. Other writers ſay, that he was of Taraſcon, of the family of Maleſpine (*a*). But it is very probable, that he only lived in the latter of theſe towns. He was a man of a ſoft temper, very fond of polite literature, and extremely devoted to the Fair-ſex. And as gallantry was at that time the chief employment of men of quality, who uſed to dedicate themſelves to the ſervice of the Ladies, and make them the ſubject of Poetry, our Author, in compliance with this cuſtom and his own natural inclination, choſe for the object of his *Devoirs* the Marchioneſs of Maleſpine, who was the moſt accompliſhed Lady of Provence in that age [*A*]. He died at Taraſcon: he wrote a book intitled *Lou petrach de Venus*, and ſeveral Treatiſes of the Mathematics, which he dedicated to the Marchioneſs of Maleſpine, the Counteſs of Provence, and the Marchioneſs of Saluces (*b*).

(*a*) Du Verdier Vau-privas, *Biblioth.* p. 19, 20. edit. Lyon, 1585.
(*b*) Du Verdier, p. 20. See likewiſe Noſtradamus, *Vies des poetes Provinceaux, & la* Croix du Maine.

[*A*] *Choſe for the object of his devoirs the Marchioneſs of* MALESPINE, *who was the moſt accompliſh'd Lady of Provence in that age.*] He wrote ſeveral Poems and Sonnets in her praiſe, which pleaſed her ſo highly, that ſhe privately preſented him in return with horſes, jewels and money. However finding that his gallantry to her had occaſioned ſome imputations upon her character, ſhe deſired him by Letters to ſuſpend his public addreſſes to her for ſome time. He obeyed this command with reluctance; but ſent her a Sonnet in the manner of a dialogue, between the Marchioneſs and himſelf, which begins thus:

Deportas vous Amy d'aqueſt amour per aras.
That is,
"Suſpend a while the efforts of your love."

And in another Stanza he ſays thus:

Mais comma faray yeu (diz' yeu) mas amours caras
My poder deſportar d'aqueſt' affection?
Car certes yeu endury en eſta paſſion.
Per vous ingratament, moutas doulours amaras.

That is,
"But how can I, thou charmer of my ſoul,
"Suppreſs the ardent motions of my love?
"Siez'd as I am with a vain fruitleſs paſſion,
"I ſtill muſt love, yet feel no kind return."

Le Monge des Iſles d'Or (1) tells us, that he died of grief at Taraſcon, and that he delivered his Poems to his intimate friend Peyre de Valieras or Valernas, in order to be preſented to the Marchioneſs: But Peyre was ſo far from executing Albertet's deſire, that he ſold them to Faber d'Uzes a Lyric Poet, who had the vanity and aſſurance to publiſh them as his own. However the fraud was diſcovered, and d'Uzes was ſeized and obliged to ſuffer the puniſhment of whipping, for his Plagiariſm, agreeably to the Law eſtabliſh'd by the Emperors againſt that crime.

(1) Quoted by Du Verdier, *ubi ſupra.*

T.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, a Dominican Friar, Biſhop of Ratiſbon, and one of the moſt famous Doctors of the thirteenth Century, was born at Lawingen on the Danube in Suabia, in 1193 or 1205 [*A*]. In Moreri's Dictionary may be ſeen his various employments, and with what ſucceſs he taught in ſeveral cities (*a*). I ſhall chiefly take notice of ſome falſe reports which have been ſpread concerning him. He is ſaid to

(*a*) See alſo Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, t. 2. p. 145, and hereunder the note [*H*].

[*A*] *He was born in* 1193 *or* 1205.] Voſſius juſtly cenſures Nicholas Reuſnerus, who has placed the birth of Albertus in 1203, and his death in 1382; this is beginning his book with a blunder. *Quæ magna eſt ἀνεσφησία peccantis in ipſo operis ingreſſu, velut cantherius in portâ, ut dici ſolet, nam ab hoc Alberto*

to have followed the buſineſs of a Midwife; and ſome have been much offended, that one of his profeſſion ſhould ſet himſelf up in ſuch an employment (*b*). What gave birth to this ſtory is, that a book was handed about under the name of Albertus Magnus, in which there are ſeveral inſtructions for Midwives, and ſo much ſkill in their art, that one would think the author could never have arrived at it, without having practiſed it. But the vindicators of Albertus Magnus maintain that he is not the Author of this book [*B*], nor of that *de Secretis Mulierum* [*C*], in which are many things that could not be expreſſed without low and ſmutty phraſes, which has raiſed a great cry againſt him, who was taken for the Author of it. His Vindicators cannot always deny the fact; they acknowledge that there are in his Comment upon the Maſter of the Sentences ſome queſtions concerning the practice of Conjugal Duty [*D*], in which he was obliged to uſe ſome words that are a little ſhocking to chaſte ears (*c*); but they alledge what he uſed to ſay himſelf in his juſtification, that one came to the knowledge of ſo many monſtrous things at confeſſion, that it was impoſſible to avoid touching upon theſe queſtions. It is certain that Albertus Magnus was the moſt curious man in the world; and this has been the cauſe of his lying alſo under other accuſations. They ſay he laboured for the Philoſopher's Stone [*E*]; that he was alſo a great Magician [*F*];

(*b*) *See* Theophili Raynaud *Hoploth.* Sect. 2. Serm. 3. cap. 10. p. 361.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(1) Voſſius *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 362.

berto Icones & Elogia ſua auſpicatur (1). i. e. "Which "is a great blunder in Hiſtory, a ſtumble at the very "treſhold of his work, for he begins his Figures "and Elogies with this Albertus." Thus ſaid Voſſius, without calling to mind that he had committed no leſs a fault in page 62, in placing the flouriſhing ſtate of Albertus in 1160 and his death in the 87th year of his age, in 1208; which made him contemporary with Urban IV, and the Emperor Rodolphus.

[*B*] *He is not the author of the book of Midwifery.*] This work is intitled *De Naturâ Rerum*, and treats largely and particularly of the buſineſs of Midwives. The author maintains that this office may very well be annexed to the function of monaſtic perſons, becauſe the ignorance of Midwives cauſes abundance of children to periſh, and deprives them for ever of celeſtial happineſs. Petrus de Pruſſia a Dominican, affirms that this book *De Naturâ Rerum* was writ by Thomas de Cantopré, a Scholar of Albertus; and does not deny there are ſeveral precepts about procuring a ſafe delivery, which cannot be expreſſed without obſcene words: but they are not ſo in themſelves, but only thro' men's ſenſuality (2). *Admodum ſuccenſet in blaterones illos, qui Alberto impoſuerunt, quod egiſſet obſtetricem: faſſus tamen Cantipratanum ad inſtructionem obſtetricum in opere perperam ſuppoſito præceptori ejus Alberto tradidiſſe modos & vias felicis obſtetricationis, cujus præcepta chartis committi nec voce tradi poſſunt abſque expreſſione multorum quæ libido non natura fœdavit* (3). It muſt have been ſomething very extraordinary to ſee Albertus undertaking the office of a Midwife, and putting his hand to the work. See the note [*A*] of the article HIEROPHILUS.

(2) Petrus de Pruſſiâ *in Alberti Magni Vitâ*, cap. 18.

(3) Theoph. Raynaudi *Hoploth.* Sect. 2. Ser. 3. cap. 10. p. 361.

[*C*] *Nor of that* De Secretis Mulierum.] Naudé makes uſe of theſe two proofs. I. Albertus has not ſet his name at the beginning of this work: he that has commented tells a falſity, when he affirms the contrary. II. Albertus's authority is often cited in this book: whence we muſt conclude that the author *lived ſome time after him* (4). Theſe two proofs are of no force; and the conſequence drawn from the ſecond is nothing. There are a hundred reaſons for people not to put their names at the beginning of a book: there are no authors more ready to quote themſelves, than thoſe who ſuppreſs their names; nothing is more common, than to quote contemporary authors. See below the note [*K*].

(4) Naudé, *Apologie des grands Hommes*, p. 524.

[*D*] *He has handled ſome queſtions concerning the practice of conjugal duty.*] Petrus de Pruſſia, not being able to diſpute the fact, intrenches himſelf within the juſtice of it, and ſhews in the xviiith chapter of his book (5), *that it is advantageous and neceſſary to know natural things, not excepting even the obſcene*; and that ſo Albertus Magnus, and ſome other Caſuiſts were in the right to take pains about ſubjects of that nature; for, without that, the Confeſſors would not have it in their power to cure the diſorders of their penitents. *Qualia item multa ab Alberto* de Uſu Conjugii, *in* 4. *S. d.* 31. *ſub finem, ſcripto comprehenſa fatetur, illud ex ipſo Alberto ibidem præfatus* [*dicendum primo, quod hujuſmodi turpes quæſtiones, nunquam tractari deberent niſi illa cogerent monſtra quæ his temporibus in confeſſione audiuntur,*] *ne ergo Confeſſarii rudes ſint medicinæ quam facere debent adeo frequentibus morbis, juſtum cenſuit Albertus, in illud oletum ſtylum demittere* (6). i. e. "Many ſuch things alſo he confeſſes "to be in Albertus's book *On the uſe of Wedlock*, "premiſing this out of Albertus himſelf [that ſuch "ſhameful queſtions ought never to have been han-"dled if the monſtrous things which are now a days "heard at confeſſion had not made it neceſſary] leſt "therefore the Confeſſors ſhould be ignorant of "the phyſic which they ought to apply to ſuch "frequent diſeaſes, Albertus thought it right to ſtoop "to that indecent ſtyle." It were to be wiſhed, ſays one, that only Confeſſors were to feed their minds with theſe filthy writings; but there is no being without books, wherein one may find the reſolution of caſes of conſcience which concern this unclean ſubject. *Neceſſarium eſt enodationem ſolidam atque legitimam dubiorum circa fœditates illas emergentium proſtare alicubi apud probatos Doctores, cujuſmodi fuit Albertus, qui proinde reprehenſione vacat, etiamſi illum veluti ſcriptionis putorem ſuis commentariis immiſerit* (7). i. e. "It is neceſſary that a ſolid and legi-"timate ſolution of the doubts concerning thoſe "indecencies ſhould be found in approved Doc-"tors, ſuch as was Albertus, who is therefore "not to be cenſured, tho' he ſeems in his Com-"mentaries to be a very foul writer." But it would ſtill be more neceſſary to aboliſh what renders this ſort of writings neceſſary; for how good ſoever the intention of the authors may be, we may apply to books of this nature, better than to a hundred others the *peccare docentes hiſtorias* (8).

(5) The Title of this chapter is, *Quod ſcire naturalia etiam impudica utile ſit & neceſſarium.*

(6) Theoph. Raynaudi *Hop.* Sect. 2. Serm. 3. cap. 10. p. 361.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Horat. Od. 7. lib. 3. ver. 19.

Tales that are bawds to vice. Creech.

[*E*] *They ſay he laboured for the Philoſopher's Stone.*] Naudé informs us that Mayer, the great favourer of the Alchymiſts, *was not aſhamed to affirm in his ſymbols of the table of gold of the twelve nations* * *that St. Dominick* was the firſt that knew the Philoſopher's ſtone; *and that thoſe to whom he had left it communicated it to Albertus Magnus, who by the help of it paid all the debts of his biſhoprick of Ratisbon in leſs than three years* (9). Mayer founds this upon three books of Chymiſtry, which he attributes to Albertus Magnus. To this it is anſwered, that he is to blame to attribute them to him (10); both becauſe *there is not one of them collected in his works, or ſpecified by* Trithemius, and that the *Quintæ Eſſentiæ* have been falſly attributed to him by Picus †. To prove this laſt fact, they do not follow Velcurion ††, and Guibert §, who have affirmed that Albertus Magnus *laughed at the Alchymiſts and their pretended tranſmutation in his third book of Minerals* **: there is no occaſion to make uſe of this proof *ſeeing a quite contrary opinion is there maintained*; but it is ſhewn that the author of the *Quintæ Eſſentiæ makes himſelf a Monk of the Order of St. Francis, and ſays he compoſed it when he was in priſon.* Theſe two circumſtances *muſt* undoubtedly relate to Johannes de Rupeſciſſa.

* Lib. 6.

(9) Naudé *Apologie des grands Hommes*, p. 519.

(10) Ib. p. 520.

† Lib. 3. *de Auro.*

†† Lib. 3. *Phyſic.* cap. 13.

§ *Alchym. impugnatæ* lib. 2. cap. 7.

** *Tractatu* 1. cap. 9.

Magician [*F*]; and that he made a machine in the ſhape of a man, which was an Oracle to him, and explained all the difficulties that he propoſed. I could eaſily believe, that as he underſtood the Mathematicks, he had made a head, with ſprings that were capable of forming articulate ſounds; but how ridiculous is it to found an accuſation of Magick upon this? Some pretend that a great miracle ſpake for his juſtification [*G*]. Though he was as capable as another of inventing fire-arms, yet we have reaſon to

[*F*] *They ſay .... that he was alſo a great Magician.*] Trithemius long ago endeavoured to vindicate him from this accuſation; as appears by theſe words: *Non ſurrexit poſt eum vir ſimilis ei, qui in omnibus literis, ſcientiis & rebus tam doctus, eruditus, & expertus fuerit. Quod autem de Necromantia accuſatur, injuriam patitur vir Deo dilectus* (11). i. e. "There never aroſe ſuch another man after him, "who was ſo skilful in all kinds of learning, ſci- "ences and things. But when they accuſe him of "necromancy, they injure a man that was beloved "of God." Naudé pretends, that this accuſation could not be founded upon any thing but two works, which have gone under the name of Albertus Magnus, and upon the Androïde. Here then are the two proofs: let us hear what he ſays of each.

(11) Trithem. *de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 195.

I. The firſt of the two writings is that *De Mirabilibus*, the other is *The Mirror of Aſtrology; wherein is treated of the allowed and prohibited authors, that have writ of this ſcience* (12). Picus * and Martinus Delrio †, agree that it is doing Albertus Magnus a great injury *to ſuppoſe him the author of the books* De Mirabilibus; *and the laſt of them acquits him in theſe expreſs terms:* Alberto Magno tributus liber de Mirabilibus, vanitate & ſuperſtitione refertus eſt, ſed magno Doctori partus ſuppoſititius. The book *De Mirabilibus* aſcribed to Albertus Magnus is full of trifles and ſuperſtition, but it is a ſpurious off-ſpring of that great Doctor. *The* Mirror of Aſtrology *has been condemned by Gerſon* ** *and Agrippa* ††, *as the heighth of ſuperſtition, and by Picus* § *and many others, becauſe the author of it maintains a moſt erroneous opinion in favour of the books of Magick, which he affirms, ſaving better advice, ought to be carefully preſerved, becauſe the time draws near, when for certain cauſes, which he does not ſpecify, people will be obliged to turn them over and make uſe of them on ſome occaſions* (13). It ſeems then, that if our Albertus had compoſed ſuch a book, we muſt have looked upon him as a magician; but Naudé does not admit this conſequence, ſeeing Vaſquez the Jeſuit ſays plainly ***, that *the books of Magick are neceſſary, and the Magicians permitted by God, to the end that Libertines may be reclaimed from Atheiſm* (14). Naudé relates beſides as a matter of fact, that Roger Bacon was the author of this work, as Picus affirms in his firſt book againſt the Aſtrologers (15). So much for the firſt proof of the accuſation: let us ſee now what is anſwered to the ſecond.

(12) Naudé *Apologie des grands Hommes*, p. 523, 524.
* Lib. 7. *de Præſt.* cap. 7.
† *Diſquiſit. Mag.* lib. 1. c. 3.
** *Libro de Libris Aſtrolog. non tolerandis*, Propoſit 3.
†† *In Epiſtolis.*
§ Lib. 7. *de Præſt.* cap. 2.
(13) Naudé *Apologie pour les grands Hommes*, p. 525.
*** Part 1. Quæſt. 2. Art. 3. Diſput. xx. cap. 4. *in princip.*
(14) Naudé *Apologie pour les grands Hommes*, p. 527.
(15) Ib. p. 526.

II. There are ſome, who have believed it poſſible to make *brazen heads under certain conſtellations*, and to obtain anſwers from them, to conduct us in all our affairs. One Yepes relates ‡, that Henry de Vileina had made one at Madrid, which was broken to pieces at the command of John II, King of Caſtile. Virgil, Pope Silveſter, Robert of Linçoln, and Roger Bacon, have had ſuch heads, if we may believe ſome writers (16). Albertus Magnus was thought a more able man; for they pretend that *he had compoſed an entire man after this manner, having laboured thirty years without interruption, in forming him under different aſpects and conſtellations, the eyes for example .... when the Sun was in that ſign of the Zodiack which anſwered to ſuch a part, which he founded of metals mixt together, and mark'd with characters of the ſame ſigns and planets, and of their different and neceſſary aſpects: and ſo the head, neck, ſhoulders, thighs and legs, faſhioned at different times, and mounted and faſtned together in form of a man, had the ingenuity to reveal to the ſaid Albertus the ſolution of all his principal difficulties* (17). This is what they call the Androïde of Albertus Magnus. It was broken, they ſay, by Thomas Aquinas, who could not endure its too great prattling. *Henry of Aſſia and Bartholomew Sibille affirm, that it was compoſed of fleſh and bones; not by nature but by art: which being always judged impoſſible by modern authors, and the virtue of images, rings and planetary ſigils being in great vogue, it has been thought ever ſince, ... that ſuch figures were made of copper or ſome other metal, and work'd under the influence of the conſtellations and planets* (18). On this footing it is that Naudé refutes the accuſers of Albertus: that is, on the ſuppoſition that the pretended Androïde was made of metal. He ſhews by very ſtrong reaſons, that it could neither underſtand, nor ſpeak, nor ſerve as an inſtrument to the Devil to ſpeak by: and that if the Devil had ſpoken in this machine, he would have done it without the concourſe of metallic organs. It was unneceſſary therefore to employ ſo much time and ſo many ceremonies in forming this machine: a bottle or a trumpet would have been no leſs fit to ſolve all the difficulties of Albertus Magnus. Laſtly, Naudé obſerves, that thoſe who ſpeak of this Androïde bring no proof of the fact. Toſtatus, notwithſtanding all his wit and learning, was very credulous: ſo his authority is of no force. If one had a mind to affirm that ſuch a tradition as this muſt have ſome foundation, Naudé gives us a very probable ſolution of it (19): that Albertus Magnus might have in his cabinet a head, or a ſtatue of a man, like Boetius's machines of which Caſſiodorus has ſaid *: *Metalla mugiunt, Diomedis in ære grues buccinant, æneus anguis inſibilat, aves ſimulatæ fritinniunt, & quæ propriam vocem neſciunt ab ære dulcedinem probantur emittere cantilenæ.* i. e. "Metals lowe, the birds of Diomedes trumpet "in braſs, a brazen ſerpent hiſſes, counterfeited "ſwallows chatter, and thoſe which have no proper "note are taught by braſs to utter the ſweetneſs of "muſick."]

(16) Naudé, *Apologie des grands Hommes*, p. 528.
(17) Ibid. pag. 529, 530.
‡ *In* Emanuel de Moura, Sect. 2. cap. 15. Art. 6.
(18) Ib. p. 531, 532. He quotes Pereg. Qu. 3. *Decad.* cap. 2. Qu. 3.
(19) Ibid. pag. 539, 540.
* Lib. 1. *variarum* Epiſt. 45.

[*G*] *A great miracle ſpake for his juſtification.*] According to Father Theophilus Raynaud, the accuſers of Albertus ſay that once on the Epiphany he treated William Earl of Holland, and King of the Romans, as he was paſſing thro' Cologne; and that, to make his entertainment remarkable, he turned the winter into a ſummer abounding with flowers and fruits. *Horridam hyemem in florigeram fructiferamque æſtatem vertit, ut ſcribit Trithemius in Chron. Spanh. anno* 1254 (20). It is true, Trithemius relates it. They add to this, the ſpeaking head, the book *De Mirabilibus*, and that *De Secretis Mulierum*. Father Theophilus does not amuſe himſelf with oppoſing to ſuch accuſations as theſe the Elogies which ſeveral Hiſtorians beſtow on the virtue of the accuſed. He has recourſe to the teſtimony given by God himſelf to the ſanctity of Albertus by ſeveral miraculous works, and by preſerving his body free from corruption to his time: *Teſtimonium quod ejus ſanctitati Deus perhibuit, patratis in ejus gratiam miris pleriſque operibus, & ipſius Alberti corpore ad hunc uſque diem à tabe & putrefactione exempto.* This Apologiſt adds, that the metamorphoſis of winter into ſummer, and the ſpeaking head are two great lies, and that the two books in queſtion have been falſly aſcribed to Albertus Magnus; and that St. Thomas does not acknowledge †, that he broke this ſpeaking head at his Maſter's houſe. *Hyems in veris amœnitatem verſa, & caput æneum articulatè loquens, ad Deum fabulinum ſunt ableganda tanquam conficta & falſo jactata de tanto viro. ... Libri autem magici qui Alberto affingebantur ſunt ſuppoſititii* (21). See what this Jeſuit relates concerning ſome machines that utter very harmonious ſounds. He will have it that Albertus had a head ſo artificially compoſed that the air blown into it was capable of the modifications requiſite to form a human voice. As for the exemption from putrefaction, this is what I have read of it in *Thevet*. "Our Albertus, after having lived "87 years, died in the year of our Lord 1280, at "Cologne, whither he was retired to ſtudy; and "there his corps was interred in the middle of the "choir of the Jacobins Convent, and his entrails "were carried to Ratisbon, which, in the time

(20) Theoph. Raynaudi *Hoplotb.* Sect. 2. Serm. 1. cap. 14. pag. 149.
† *III Contra Gent.* cap. 104.
(21) Th. Raynaudi *Hoplotb.* p. 150.

to believe that thoſe who attribute the invention of it to him are miſtaken [*H*]. It is related (*d*), that he was naturally very dull, and ſo incapable of inſtruction, that he was upon the point of going out of the Cloiſter, becauſe he deſpaired of learning what his habit required; but that the holy Virgin appeared to him, and aſked him in what he chiefly deſired to excel, whether in Philoſophy or Divinity; that he choſe Philoſophy; that the holy Virgin aſſured him that he ſhould become incomparable in it; and that by way of puniſhment for not having choſen Divinity, he ſhould relapſe before his death into his former ſtupidity. It is added, that after this apparition, he had an infinite deal of wit, and that he improved in all the Sciences, with a quickneſs that aſtoniſhed all the Maſters; but that three years before his death he forgot ſuddenly all his knowledge, and that ſtopping ſhort in reading a Divinity Lecture at Cologne, and having endeavoured in vain to recall his ideas, he found that the prediction was accompliſhed. It has been ſaid therefore, that by miraculous means he had been metamorphoſed from an Aſs into a Philoſopher, and from a Philoſopher into an Aſs again. It would be very unneceſſary to obſerve that theſe are fables; thoſe who would believe me in it have no occaſion to be told, and would judge in the ſame manner of their own accord; and as for thoſe who think otherwiſe, they would not change their opinion by reading in this place that I am not of their taſte. Our Albertus was a very little man [*I*]. He died at Cologne Nov. 15, 1280, being either eighty ſeven or ſeventy five years old. He has writ ſuch a prodigious number of books, that they amount to twenty one volumes in folio in the Lyons edition of 1651. Peter Jammy, a Jacobin of Grenoble was the editor of it.

(*d*) See the firſt volume of the *Annals of Bzovius*.

Mr. de la Monnoie has communicated two or three particulars, which may be ſeen below [*K*].

" of the Emperor Charles V, was ſtill entire, and was " taken up by his order, and afterwards put again " into its firſt monument (22)." Raderus the Jeſuit has made ſome Latin Verſes on the incorruption of this body (23); they end thus:

(22) Thévet, *Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres*, tom. 2. p. 87.
(23) Bullart relates them, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 149.
(24) That is *Ariſtotle's*.

Illius (24) *doctas mirentur ſæcula chartas,*
Miror ego ſalvas poſt tria ſæcla manus.

" His learned works let ev'ry age admire;
" I praiſe the hands, three ages ſav'd entire.

Moreri, inſtead of three hundred years, puts but two hundred. It is neither his cuſtom, nor his inclination to leſſen things of this nature.

[*H*] *Thoſe who attribute the invention of fire-arms to him are miſtaken.*] " Joannes Matthæus de Luna " *, who lived above ſix ſcore years ago (25), af- " firms, contrary to the opinion of Polydore Virgil, " Magius, Mayer, Pancirolus, Flurence Rivault, Be- " zoldus, and all the authors that have written about " fire-arms, that it was Albertus Magnus that firſt " found the uſe of cannons, muskets, and piſtols " (26); tho' I have not obſerved in all theſe authors " any thing that can come near this opinion, ex- " cept that ſuch machines were put in practice in " his time, and by a German Monk, whom they " call Berthold Schwartz, or by a Chymiſt, who ac- " cording to the opinion of Cornazanus, a pretty " old author, lived in the city of Cologne, in which " it is certain that Albertus Magnus reſided conſtantly " after he had taken the habit of a Jacobin." Thus does Naudé confute his Joannes Matthæus de Luna. The laſt thing that he affirms is falſe; for thoſe who have writ the Hiſtory of Albertus Magnus ſay, that he entred into the Order of St. Dominick in 1222; that after his Superiors had ſent him to Cologne, to teach Divinity and Philoſophy, and he had acquitted himſelf of this function to the aſtoniſhment of his auditors, he went to make himſelf admired at Hildeſheim, Fribourg, Ratisbon, and Straſburg; that he returned to Cologne in 1240; that he had there, amongſt other Diſciples, Thomas Aquinas, to whom he quitted his chair, when he went to be Profeſſor at Paris; that after he had taught there three years, he returned to Cologne; that he was made Provincial of his Order in 1254; that he viſited the Provinces on foot; that he went to Rome by order of Alexander IV; that he there executed the office of Maſter of the ſacred Palace; that he there read Lectures in Divinity; that he returned to Germany in 1260; that he was there choſen Biſhop of Ratiſbon; that at the end of three years, he obtained leave to quit his biſhoprick; that he returned to his cell at Cologne; that the Pope commanded him ſoon afterwards to preach the Cruſade throughout all Germany and Bohemia; that in 1274, he was at the Council of Lyons; that he there had the character of the Emperor's Embaſſador; and that he returned at laſt to Cologne (27). How could Naudé, who had read ſo much, be ignorant of all theſe things concerning Albertus Magnus.

* *Libro de Rerum Inventorib.* cap. 12. fol. 10.
(25) Theſe are Naudé's words, p. 518 of the *Apologie des grands Hommes*, printed at Paris in 1625, in 8vo.
(26) Moreri, inſtead of that, ſpeaks only of Gun-powder, of which Naudé ſays nothing.
(27) *See* Bullart, *Academie des Sciences* tom. 2. p. 146, &c.

[*I*] *Our Albertus was a very little man.*] " Some " write, that as he was kiſſing the feet of his Holi- " neſs, when he came to Rome, the Pope command- " ed him to ariſe, thinking him to be ſtill on his " knees, tho' he ſtood upright (28)." They tell the ſame ſtory of ſeveral other perſons. See the note [*H*] of the article JOANNES ANDREAS: and remember the diſtinction of the Logicians between *quantitas molis*, and *quantitas virtutis*. The little Albert the Great made me think of it (29).

(28) Ib. p. 145.
(29) In another order, the *non eſt in tanto corpore mica ſalis* contains the ſame diſtinction.

[*K*] *Two or three particulars . . . may be ſeen below.*] " The book *De Secretis Mulierum*, falſly at- " tributed to Albertus Magnus, is the work of one " of his Diſciples named Henricus de Saxonia, un- " der whoſe name it has been printed more than " once. Theſe are the words of Simler: *Henrici de* " *Saxonia, Alberti Magni diſcipuli, liber* De Secre- " tis Mulierum, *impreſſus Auguſtæ anno Dom.* 1498, " *per Antonium Sorg* (30). And in Thuanus's Cata- " logue you will find, *Henrici de Saxonia de ſecretis* " *mulierum, de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum, quo-* " *rundam animalium, aliorumque, in* 12°. *Francof.* " 1615 (31). It is evident the name of Albertus be- " ing more famous than that of Henry cauſed the " ſuppoſition. . . . . Joannes Picus de Mirandola ſays " that Albertus Magnus, when he was of riper " years condemned the books of Magic which he had " writ when he was young. . . . . Androïde is not " the word uſed when Albertus's artificial man is " ſpoken of. It is a word abſolutely unknown, and " purely the invention of Naudé who has uſed it " boldly as if it had been eſtabliſhed."

(30) Simler, *Epit. Bibliot. Geſneri*, p. 332.
(31) Page 156 of the 2d Part of the *Catal. Bibliot. Thuan.*

☞ALBERTUS [*A*] Archbiſhop of Mentz the firſt of that name, was deſcended from

[*A*] *ALBERTUS.*] Otto Friſingenſis, St. Bernard, and ſeveral other authors call him Adelbertus, or Adalbertus; but Dodechin and other writers, among whom is the learned Aventinus, call him Albertus, and, which is the beſt authority we can have, he himſelf writes his name thus, as appears by an oath he made, which we ſhall have occaſion to quote hereafter, and which is cited by Serrarius (1).

(1) *Rer. Moguntiac.* lib. 5. pag. 534. Col. 2. num. 5.

from a noble and antient family in Lorrain (*a*) [*B*]. Being but in Prieſt orders, he was made Secretary or Chancellor to Prince Henry ſon of the Emperor Henry the Fourth (*b*), and became one of the chief promoters of that Prince's revolt againſt his father, in order, as he pretended, to reſtore the Pope's authority, which Henry IV endeavoured to leſſen (*c*); by which it appears that Albertus ſeemed at that time to adhere to the Pope's intereſt; but whether he was ſincere in this, or only intended to ingratiate himſelf into the Prince's favour, will beſt appear by the account we are going to give of him. When Henry V was ſettled on the throne, Albertus, who was then probably his Chancellor [*C*], enjoyed great credit under him. He was ſent ſeveral times Embaſſador to the Pope (*d*); firſt in the year 1106, when a conference was appointed at Chalons in Champagne to put an end to the miſunderſtanding that had laſted a long time between the Emperors and the Popes, concerning the right the former claimed of inveſting the Prelates of the Empire with the Croſier and Ring [*D*]. Albertus hearing the Pope would be preſent at theſe conferences, refuſed to aſſiſt there himſelf, and left the whole management of the affair to his Collegues, thinking it inconſiſtent with the honour and dignity of the Emperor whom he repreſented, if he ſhould yield to the Pope, whom he ſtill looked upon as a vaſſal of the Empire. The Pope refuſing to acknowledge the Emperor's right of inveſting the Prelates, and the Embaſſadors having ſtrict orders not to give up that point, the Aſſembly broke up ſuddenly, without coming to any concluſion (*e*). In the year 1109 Albertus was again ſent

(*a*) Nic. Serrarii *Rer. Moguntiac.* lib. 5. edit. a Geor. Chriſtiano Joannis, Francof. 1732. tom. 1. p. 533.

(*b*) Otto Friſing. (*apud* Serr. ibid.) ſays, *Cancellarium*; but Aventinus (*Annal. Boior.* lib. 5. p. 365) calls him *Magiſtrum Epiſtolarum.*

(*c*) Aventinus, ibid.

(*d*) Paſcal. II.

(*e*) Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Empire*, tom. 1. lib. 2. p. 387. Paris ed. 1731.

[*B*] *From a noble and ancient family in Lorrain.*] Bruſchius ſays (2), he was Duke of Lorrain, and quotes Otto Friſingenſis for this, who ſays only that Albertus was *Natione Lotharingius* (3), originally come from Lorrain. He was indeed deſcended from the Princes of Lorrain, ſince his anceſtors were Counts of Sarbruck (4). He was the ſon of Sigebert or Sigehart, brother of Frederic, who married Giſel, by whom he had Adelbertus or Albertus the ſecond, who ſucceeded our Albertus in the Archiepiſcopal See of Mentz; George Chriſtian Joannis, who tells us this in his notes upon Serrarius's Life of Albertus, refers us for the proof of it to F. Anſelmus's *Hiſtory of the Families of France*, T. II. p. 1325, and to his own Appendix to the *Palatine Hiſtory of Pareus*, p. 433.

(2) *Apud* Serrarium, ibid. pag. 533.

(3) Lib. 7. cap. 14. *apud eund.* ibid.

(4) In Latin *Sarbrukenſes* or *Saræpontani Comites.* The County of Sarbruck is ſituated near Lorrain, and was anciently included in it.

[*C*] *Who was then probably his Chancellor.*] When we ſpeak thus in a doubtful manner, it is only becauſe Aventinus, whom we quoted above (5), calling him only Henry's Secretary, we dare not be too poſitive. However Albert is called the Emperor's Chancellor by ſeveral writers, and he enjoyed that high poſt as ſoon as the year 1106 (6), when Henry IV died.

(5) Quot. (*b*).

(6) *Ap.* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, p. 534. not. 2.

[*D*] *The right of inveſting the Prelates of the Empire with the croſier and ring.*] The miſunderſtanding occaſioned by this between the Emperors and the Popes began under Henry IV. Cardinal Hildebrand, who had been employed in ſeveral nogotiations by Pope Alexander II, and ſome of his Predeceſſors, uſed all poſſible intrigues to deprive the Emperors of the right of inveſting their Prelates, which they had enjoyed ever ſince the time of Charles the Great: And that the reader may form a juſt notion of that diſpute, we will lay the whole matter before him, as we find in Heiſs's *Hiſtory of the Empire* (7). When the place, which Judas had left vacant among the Apoſtles, was to be filled up, the aſſembly of the Chriſtians, which conſiſted then only of about an hundred and twenty perſons (8) propoſed Barſabas and Matthias to the Apoſtles; and when they were to chuſe Deacons, the aſſembly then much more numerous, elected ſeven perſons, whom they preſented to the Apoſtles, who after having prayed lay their hands on the elected perſons (9). Now we may diſtinguiſh two things in theſe elections; firſt the preſentation of the elected perſons made by the faithful to the Apoſtles, ſecondly the ordination or laying on of hands by the Apoſtles themſelves. The preſentation was entirely ſecular as being made by lay-men. The impoſition of hands was a ſacred thing, being a viſible ſign of the inviſible communication of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſequently could not be performed but by holy and ſacred perſons. The preſentation is then what we may call the Inveſtiture; ſince the people firſt choſe ſuch perſons, as they judged well qualified, and by that means inveſted them, as much as lay in their power, with the office, for which they were elected, and theſe perſons were afterwards to be ordained by Biſhops. This was the practice of the primitive Church, when the Chriſtians were ſtill united by the bonds of peace and love. Since that time Emperors and other wealthy Perſons having endowed the churches with large eſtates, ambitious and covetous men began to covet the Eccleſiaſtical preferments, more for the ſake of the wealth and power annexed to them, than for the ſake of the ſouls committed to their charge. This ſoon occaſioned ſuch factions, corruption, and ſimony, as often ended in ſeditions and murmurs: The Emperors, to put an end to theſe abuſes, took into their own hands the power of preſenting to the Eccleſiaſtical preferments, and to inveſt with them whom they pleaſed. And it is obſerved, that thoſe who had been choſen by Princes, were generally men of worth and merit; whereas thoſe, who came to preferments by other methods, did not always behave in a manner worthy of their holy function. This is what Heiſs ſays, but how far this obſervation will be confirmed by the Prelates of a certain country not far off, we leave our readers to judge. He adds, that two reaſons ſhew the undoubted right of the Princes to inveſt the Biſhops and other Clergymen. The firſt is, that all the temporalities originally come from the Princes, theſe eſtates being as ſo many fiefs held *in Capite* by the Prelates from the Sovereign. The ſecond is, that the Prelates being the ſubjects of the Princes, and moreover their Vaſſals, it is neceſſary for the good of the State, that the Sovereign ſhould have ſome ſecurity for the loyalty and good behaviour of his ſubjects and Vaſſals; and to deprive the Sovereign of this right, would be to oppoſe what God himſelf has ordained, ſince Princes are by him obliged to take care of the peace and welfare of their ſubjects. The Emperors were uſed to inveſt the Prelates by delivering to them a croſier and ring, as they uſed to inveſt Lay-men with other fiefs, by delivering to them a ſcepter and crown, or ſometimes a ſtandard. This was a ceremony by which it was ſignified, that the power with which ſuch perſons were inveſted, was derived entirely from the Emperor. For there is no reaſon to ſay, that becauſe a Biſhop's croſier may repreſent the crook by which he is to guide his flock, and the ring his marriage with the Church, theſe two marks muſt relate to his ſpiritual power. The Emperors had anciently the right of inveſting not only the Biſhops of the Empire, but even the Popes themſelves, who began to diſown that right in the Emperors under the reign of Henry IV, pretending that it was a ſacrilege in Lay-men to make Biſhops, who are ſacred perſons, and ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; but this was only a pretence they made uſe of to become independent from the Emperors; for they took care never to diſtinguiſh between the temporalities and ſpiritualities of the Church; but confounding and blending together theſe two things, they knew very well that this would give them a handle to ſtir up the zeal of the Laity againſt the danger of the Church; and ſo furniſh them with a proper opportunity to ſhake off entirely the yoke of the civil power.

(7) Tom. 1. l. 1. p. 334, &c.

(8) Act. i. ver. 15.

(9) Ibid. ch. 6.

ſent Embaſſador to the Pope, who was then at Rome, to treat with him concerning the coronation of the Emperor, and having finiſhed his commiſſion [*E*], he returned into Germany (*f*). Richard Archbiſhop of Mentz dying that ſame year, the Emperor appointed Albertus to ſucceed him (*g*), though he was not conſecrated till ſome years after (*h*). That ſame year he followed the Emperor into Italy, and was the chief of thoſe who were choſen to negotiate an agreement between Henry V and the Pope, concerning the claim abovementioned. Albertus was at that time ſo ſtrenuous an aſſertor of the Emperor's right, that he adviſed him not only never to give up his pretenſions, but even to impriſon the Pope himſelf. The Emperor followed that advice, and by that means forced at laſt the haughty Pope to ſubmit [*F*], and to enter again into a Treaty, which had been often concluded and broken, but was at laſt ratified the 11th of April 1111 (*i*). The next year the Emperor being returned into Germany inſtalled Albertus into the Archbiſhoprick of Mentz, by delivering to him the Croſier and Ring (*k*). But he ſoon forgot the favours which Henry had beſtowed upon him, and entered that very year into a conſpiracy againſt him [*G*] with Luther Duke of Saxony, Rudolf a Markgrave, and Frederic a Count Palatine; but having been taken he was put in priſon, where he remained about four years, from 1112 to 1115, when the Emperor being at Mentz, the inhabitants, who had a great love for Albertus, obliged

(*f*) *Annal.* Hildeſheim. p. 737. *apud* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, p. 537. n. 3.

(*g*) Dodochini *Append. ad Mar. Scot. ad an.* 1109. *ap.* Piſtorium, *Rer. Germ. Scriptor.* tom. 1. Part 2. p. 668.

(*b*) Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, p. 334. n. 1. *ad* § 4.

(*i*) Heiſs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 396.

(*k*) Abbas Uſpergenſ. *apud* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*.

[*E*] *Having finiſhed his commiſſion.*] Here follow Serrarius's own words (10), *Anno* 1109 --- *Romam miſſus eſt, ut cum Pontifice de Henrico Romæ coronando ageret. Quâ re expeditâ, anno ſequenti* 1110 *in Germaniam reventit, ac Leodii Henrico Papæ reſponſum retulit.* That is, "He was ſent to Rome in the "year 1109, to treat with the Pope concerning Hen- "ry's Coronation to be performed at Rome, and "having finiſhed this affair, he returned the next "year 1110 into Germany, and communicated the "Pope's anſwer to Henry at Liege." But we are not told whether the Pope conſented to crown the Emperor, nor what time he appointed for it. There is reaſon to believe, that he would not do it, but on condition that the Emperor ſhould give up the affair of the Inveſtitures. See the Remark [*F*].

(10) *Rer. Moguntiacar.* lib. 5. pag. 534. § 4.

[*F*] *The Emperor forced at laſt the haughty Pope to ſubmit.*] The Emperor being at Florence in the latter end of the year 1110, ſent Embaſſadors to the Pope, to aſſure him of his great regard and ſubmiſſion to the holy See. The Pope ſent alſo his Legates to the Emperor. A conference was afterwards held at Sutry, in which the Commiſſioners on the Pope's ſide granted the Emperor all his pretenſions and even more. But he ſoon found the Pope intended only to impoſe upon him; for at the ſame time that he pretended to ſign a treaty with Henry, he left no ſtone unturned to create jealouſies and diviſions between the ſpiritual and temporal Princes of the Empire. And the very day of the Emperor's ſolemn entry into Rome his ſoldiers were plundered and murdered if they did but in the leaſt leave their rank. And tho' the Emperor was highly offended at it, yet he diſſembled for ſome time, and continued his march. Before the beginning of the coronation, the late treaty between the Emperor and the Pope being read, in preſence of the Princes of Germany and the Italian Prelates, the latter objected againſt it, as the Pope very well knew they would do, and the conteſt laſted till night. The Emperor finding himſelf thus illuded, and that the Pope had broke his promiſe, and violated his oath, ordered him to be impriſoned (11). Otto Friſingenſis ſays, that Albertus was thought to have inſpired the Emperor with this wicked reſolution, *Hujus peſſimi ſceleris auctor fuiſſe dicitur Albertus* (12). As ſoon as the ſoldiers, who waited at the city gates, heard the order of ſeizing the Pope, they entered the church in which the aſſembly was, thinking it was the intention of the Emperor and of the Princes of the Empire that they ſhould fall alſo upon the Cardinals and other Prelates: This occaſioned a great fight in the city, in which ſo much blood was ſhed, that the Tiber was tainted with it. Several Cardinals and Biſhops, with ſome of the principal Citizens of Rome were alſo taken priſoners. Three days after the Emperor left Rome, and incamped near that city, keeping the Pope and Cardinals cloſe priſoners during the whole Lent and the Eaſter holy-days, tho' he took care that his Holineſs was always treated with great reſpect. The Prelates that were in priſon with the Pope, entreated him very earneſtly to give up the point of the Inveſtitures to the Emperor, and to crown him, that he might recover his own liberty as well as theirs; but Paſcal was not in the leaſt diſpoſed to renounce thoſe rights and privileges which he pretended his predeceſſors had juſtly gained for the holy See, and he ſaid, he would maintain them even at the peril of his life. The Emperor ſeeing with ſorrow the ſtubbornneſs of the Pope, gave orders, that the Cardinals, who were priſoners with him, ſhould be immediately beheaded. This order was juſt going to be performed, when the Pope, filled with compaſſion for his fellow-priſoners, promiſed to give the Emperor an entire ſatisfaction. In the treaty he made with him it was ſtipulated, that the Emperor ſhould inveſt with the croſier and ring ſuch perſons, as ſhould have been canonically elected with his conſent, and that afterwards they ſhould be conſecrated, but that no perſon ſhould be conſecrated before he had been inveſted by the Emperor. That the Pope ſhould never excommunicate the Emperor, nor recede under any pretence whatſoever from the conditions of this treaty. This the Pope with ſeventeen Cardinals ſwore upon the Goſpels. The Emperor on the other ſide, promiſed to reſtore to the holy See whatever had been taken from it, and to pay to the Pope that obedience, which the Chriſtian Emperors had done before him, ſaving however the honour and dignity of the Empire. The Emperor ſwore to this with four Biſhops, his Chancellor (Albertus) and eight Princes of the Empire (13). But if we may credit Baronius (14), Albertus had taken before that time a very different oath, in which he promiſed, never in fact or by advice to be inſtrumental in any harm Pope Paſcal II might receive from the Emperor, either in loſing the Papacy or his life, or ſo much as a limb; nor to promote his being taken priſoner; and he added, that if the Emperor (15) did not keep this oath, or did not perform whatever was contained in his treaty with the Pope, he would turn to the latter, and adhere to the Church of Rome. He alſo promiſed to be ſincerely obedient to the Pope in caſe the Pope kept his engagements with the Emperor. This oath is dated from Sutri February the 7th 1111. So that it muſt have been made immediately after the firſt treaty mentioned in this remark (16), and juſt before the Emperor's entry into Rome, which was February the 12th, when the Pope and the Italian Prelates received him ſo ill. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing that Albertus ſhould adviſe the Emperor to impriſon the Pope, if he had taken the oath which Baronius relates. But an intelligent reader, who has a little knowledge of the world, will eaſily reconcile theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies.

(11) Heiſs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 392--394.

(12) Lib. 6. cap. 14. *ap.* Serr. *ubi ſupra*, p. 533. § 3.

(13) Heiſs, *ubi ſupra*. P. 394, 397.

(14) *Ad. An.* 1111. § 4.

(15) He means the Emperor.

(16) Above the Quotation (11).

[*G*] *He entered into a conſpiracy againſt him.*] As ſoon as the Emperor had left Italy, the Pope aſſembled a Council at Rome, in which all that he had been obliged to yield to the Emperor concerning the Inveſtitures was pronounced void, as tho' the Pope had not then been at liberty, but had been forced to conclude with the Emperor the treaty we have mentioned. This occaſioned new broils between the Emperor and the Pope, in which Albertus thought fit to follow the latter, preferring, ſays Serrarius (17), the opinion

(17) *Ubi ſupra*, P. 535. § 5.

obliged Henry to promiſe that he ſhould be releaſed; for they roſe in arms and threatened to kill the Emperor, if he would not reſtore them their Biſhop, who was accordingly ſet at liberty, though under ſecurities [*H*]. He went that ſame year to Cologne, where he was at laſt conſecrated by Otto Biſhop of Bamberg (*l*). Henry having been excommunicated by the Pope, Albertus, who was now entirely in the latter's intereſt, confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt the Emperor by Pope Calixtus II, Gelaſius II and Paſchal II's ſucceſſor, of which he had been himſelf the chief promoter, if we may believe Otto Friſingenſis (*m*); his words are, *Sententia excommunicationis a Calixto, qui Paſcali & Gelaſio ſucceſſit, ſuadente Alberto Moguntino——in eum datur.* Albertus roſe afterwards openly in arms againſt his lawful Sovereign, and would not ſubmit till the Emperor, finding himſelf abandoned by almoſt the whole Empire, ſubmitted to the Pope, and gave up the right of the inveſtitures. Albertus drew afterwards upon him the arms of the Thuringians, becauſe he exacted the payment of his tythes with too much rigour, having ſent his ſoldiers againſt them, who killed or took priſoner thoſe who refuſed. Henry Earl of Thuringe came againſt him (*n*) with an army of twenty thouſand men, and he would not eaſily have eſcaped them, if by his prudence and wiſdom he had not ſatisfied and appeaſed them (*o*). We don't find that after the death of Henry V (*p*) Albertus made any great figure at the court of his ſucceſſor Lotharius, except that in a Council held at Mentz A. D. 1131, in which he preſided with the Pope's Legate, he excommunicated Conrad Duke of Suabia (*q*), who had been choſen King of the Romans, and crowned at Milan by the Biſhop of that City (*r*). Albertus died June the 23d A. D. 1137. After the account we have given of him, we need not deſcribe his character here; we will only ſay, after Otto Friſingenſis, that he was very rich, powerful, and had a worldly prudence. *Vir ad ſæculum prudens, & potens, locupletiſſimuſque* (*s*). He was ſucceeded by his brother's ſon Albertus or Adelbertus II.

(*l*) Serrarius, *ubi ſupra*, p. 536. & *in notis*.

(*m*) *Ap. eund.* p. 539. § 14.

(*n*) *Addition. ad* Lambert. Schafnaburg. *ap.* Piſtorium, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 1. Part 1. p. 427.

(*o*) *Ap.* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 543. n. 4.

(*p*) A. D. 1125.

(*q*) Thus he is called in a MS. quoted by Serrarius, *ubi ſupra*, p. 545. but Heiſs (*ubi ſupra*, pag. 415) calls him, *Duke of Francozia.*

(*r*) Heiſs, ibid. p. 419.

(*s*) *Ap.* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 549.

on of the Council and of the Pope, to the Emperor's favour. This was perhaps the effect of the oath we mentioned in the foregoing remark; or we may think, that Albertus being now inveſted with the temporalities of his archbiſhoprick (18), he thought he had no more occaſion for the Emperor's favour, and would be better able to ſupport his power and authority by the Pope's intereſt, than by that of his temporal Prince, who perhaps might be willing to abridge the power of his own Clergy, as he had endeavoured to do that of the Pope. However this be, it appears that Albertus joined againſt the Emperor, with notorious rebels, and even exhorted them to riſe againſt the Emperor, as he did ſeveral Princes of Saxony, if we may credit Helmoldus (19), whoſe words it is proper to quote here. *Inter præcipuos* (*rebelles*) *erat famoſus ille Adalbertus* (thus he calls our Albertus) *Moguntinus Epiſcopus, ſociatis ſibi quamplurimis, maximè verò Saxonum Principibus, quos ad defectionem partim neceſſitas, partim etiam rebellionum vetus conſuetudo illexerat.* The ſame author ſays a little lower, that Albertus was the author and ringleader of the rebellion (20).

(18) See the Text of this Article quot. (*i*).

(19) *In Chron. Slaven.* cap. 11. Sect. 2. p. 573. *ap.* Serrar. *ubi ſupra*, p. 535. n. 1.

(20) *Ap. eund.* ibid. n. 2.

[*H*] *Albertus was ſet at liberty tho' under ſecurities.*] The inhabitants having beſieged the Emperor in the palace or the town-houſe of Mentz, he was himſelf obliged to give them ſureties, that he would releaſe the Archbiſhop, otherwiſe he would have been cruelly murdered, with all his attendants. The conditions on which Albertus was ſet free were as follows; 1. That within a year he would give the Emperor full ſatisfaction for the breaking of his oath; and if he failed he promiſed to return directly into priſon willingly of his own accord, without ſtaying till he was forced to it. And if he did not perform this promiſe, the inhabitants of Mentz declared they would ſend ſome of their chief Citizens, whom they named, in his ſtead, which they confirmed upon oath. They alſo promiſed, that if the Archbiſhop ſhould ever create new broils and diviſions, they would look upon it as a violation of the treaty he had made with the Emperor, and immediately expel him the city. It appears by Henry V's letters, that Albertus brought him his ſureties at Spire; but this did not prevent his joining the Emperor's enemies ſoon after, as we have ſeen in the text of this article (21). We muſt not forget to ſay, that he had been very ill treated in priſon, ſo that his bones ſcarce hung together, *ut oſſibus vix hæſerit*, ſays Helmoldus (22). Another author tells us, that he ſhewed what he had ſuffered not ſo much by the ill conſtitution of his body, as by the bitterneſs of his revenge, *quantas mortes in captivitate pertulerit, non tam exeſi corporis ſpecie, quàm ultionis expreſſerit acerbitate* (23).

(21) Serrar. ibid. p. 536. n. 4.

(22) *In Chron.* cap. 11. Sect. 6. *apud eund.* ibid. n. 1.

(23) *Chronograph.* Halberſtadenſis, p. 132. *ap. eund.* ibid.

P.

ALBRET, a family. It has been one of the moſt illuſtrious families of France for ſome ages, on account of the great men it has produced, whoſe merit has ſhined in the moſt eminent poſts of the Kingdom. Every body knows it has poſſeſſed Navarre and Bearn. Moreri ſpeaks of it at length: to whom I refer my readers, and do not examine whether all he ſays of it be correct. I will obſerve only one thing that he does not ſay; that there remains never a male of this great family, ſince the Marquis d'Albret (*a*) was killed in Picardy, in the houſe of the Marquis de Buſſi-Lamet. He had married the only daughter of the Marechal d'Albret his uncle in 1662; but he had no iſſue by this marriage. Probably, the Marechal conſulted the intereſts of his family more than the inclination of the young couple; for they ſay there was no good underſtanding between the huſband and wife. She married again with the Comte de Marſan, one of the ſons of the Comte d'Harcourt. The Marquis d'Albret, her firſt huſband was capable of arriving to the firſt commands in the army. He was already Marechal de Camp, and was to have finiſhed the campaign of 1678, under the Marechal de Schomberg, who was ſent upon the frontiers of Champagne, in the beginning of Auguſt. Whilſt his flying camp drew near to Charleville, the Marquis d'Albret aſked leave to be abſent for ſome days, as is ſuppoſed on ſome affair of gallantry. Be that as it will, he was killed at the Gentleman's abovementioned, who got himſelf very well out of the ſcrape, by proving he was elſewhere (*b*). On ſuch a bed of honour periſhed the only offſpring that remained of ſo many Heroes. His family deſerved to have been

(*a*) His name was *Charles Armanjeu d'Albret.*

(*b*) *See the* cxxth Letter of Buſſi-Rabutin, Part 1. p. 262 of the Dutch edition.

been extinguiſhed on a more glorious occaſion. The Marechal d'Albret died Governor of Guienne, two years before. He had obtained in 1653 the Staff of Marechal of France; thoſe who have ſaid that he deſerved it, for having ſecured the perſon of the Prince of Condé, are not well acquainted with the affair. It was not he that arreſted him (it was Mr. de Guitaud) (*c*); he only conducted the Princes to the wood of Vincennes. He commanded at that time the Gendarmes of the Guard. He had learnt the art of war in Holland, and went by the name of the Comte de Mioſſens. It was under that name that he received abundance of praiſes in a work of Mr. de St. Evremont (*d*). He was made Knight of the Holy Ghoſt, the firſt of January 1662, and Governor of Guienne in November 1670. He married in 1645 Magdalen de Guenegaud, younger daughter of Gabriel de Guenegaud the King's Treaſurer (*e*). He was one of Scarron's Heroes, as appears clearly in the works of that Writer.

(*c*) *See* Benjaminus Priolus, *de Rebus Gallicis*, lib. 5. cap. 3.

(*d*) See the works of St. Evremont, tom. 2. p. 71 and 77, &c. of the Dutch edition, in 1693.

(*e*) *See* F. Anſelme, tom. 2. p. 285.

☞ALBRICIUS an Engliſhman was born at London, and lived in the eleventh Century: He ſtudied firſt in the Univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, and went afterwards to foreign countries to make a farther progreſs in learning. He was a great Philoſopher, a learned and able Phyſician, and very well verſed in all the branches of polite Literature. He had a happy genius, born for the Sciences, as appears by the excellent books he wrote [*A*]. Bale ſays he happened to ſee only the following; 1. *De Origine Deorum*, "Of the Origin of the Gods." 2. *De Ratione Veneni*; "Of the Nature of "Poiſon." 3. *Virtutes Antiquorum*; "The Virtues of the Antients." 4. *Canones Speculativi*; "Abſtract or Metaphyſical Rules." He wrote divers other books of Philoſophy and Phyſick, which are diſperſed in ſeveral Libraries in England. In his book concerning the virtues of the Ancients, he gives us the character of ſeveral Philoſophers and Governors of Provinces (*a*). Perhaps the encomium Bale beſtows upon him muſt be underſtood with regard to the time in which Albricius lived.

(*a*) Balæus, *Illuſtr. Maj. Britan. Scrip. Cent. II. fol.* 74. *verſo.*

[*A*] *The excellent books he wrote.*] If thoſe learned Antiquaries, who publiſh old Manuſcripts, full of fictitious miracles and ſtrange ſtories, invented to ſupport the pretended grants made to monaſteries, would enquire for books like thoſe of our Albricius, they would perhaps be more ſerviceable to the Republick of Letters: if it were no more than to let us know in what ſtate learning was, in thoſe commonly called dark ages, that preceded the Reformation, and what notions the learned Men in thoſe times entertained of virtue. P.

ALBUNEA, a famous place near Tibur (*a*) in Italy. See the laſt note of the article TIBUR.

(*a*) Now called *Tivoli*.

ALBUTIUS SILUS (CAIUS) a famous Orator in the time of Auguſtus, was a native of Novarre, he was advanced to the office of Ædile; but he left it on account of an inſult offered him by ſome perſons that had loſt their ſuit. It was he that had been their Judge, andwhen he pronounced their ſentence, they at the ſame time threw him out of his Tribunal, dragging him by the feet. This affront obliged him to leave his country immediately, and go to Rome, where he aſſociated himſelf with Munacius Plancus the Orator. Emulation having ſet them at variance, he formed a ſeparate auditory, and at laſt ventured to plead cauſes. But he met with ſome diſgraces at the bar [*A*], which obliged him to renounce it. Being old and afflicted with an Abſceſs, he returned to Novarre, where having called the people together, he repreſented to them in a long harangue the reaſons that hindred him from deſiring to live, and ſo ſtarved himſelf to death (*a*). Seneca the Father, who had heard him ſometimes, ſpeaks largely of him, and relates ſeveral extracts of his harangues (*b*). He gives him the commendation of having never been able either to bear or offer any injury, which he calls a great probity, *Homo ſummæ probitatis, qui nec facere injuriam, nec pati ſciret.* Seneca the Philoſopher would have given a better definition of the nature of probity. Albutius compoſed a Treatiſe of Rhetorick, as one may eaſily gather from a paſſage in Quintilian (*c*).

(*a*) Sueton. *de claris Rhetoribus*, cap. 6.

(*b*) Seneca, *Præfatione*, lib. 3. *Controv. & alibi paſſim.*

(*c*) *Albutius non obſcurus Profeſſor, atque autor, ſcientiam bene dicendi eſſe conſentit (Rhetoricam)* Quint. *Inſtit.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

[*A*] *He met with ſome diſgrates at the bar.*] He thought one day to alledge only a fine common place, by ſaying to his adverſary, *Swear by the aſhes and by the memory of your father, and you ſhall gain your cauſe.* After he had amplified this thought the beſt he could, the Advocate of the oppoſite ſide anſwered, *We accept the condition.* Albutius replied that he did not offer it, that he had ſpoken it only as a figure of Rhetoric, and that figures muſt be quite baniſhed, if people catched hold in ſuch a manner of the letter of an expreſſion. The other Advocate replied, that one might live without theſe figures, and that they might periſh if they had a mind. The Judges admitted the oath; and ſo Albutius loſt his cauſe, by amuſing himſelf with the falſe glitter of a declamation. He was ſo much vexed at it, that he renounced his trade (1). Theſe are Suetonius's words: *Cum in lite quadam centumvirali ab adverſario, quem ut impium erga parentes inceſſebat, jusjurandum quaſi per figuram ſic obtuliſſet: "Jura per patris ma-" triſque cineres, qui inconditi jacent," & alia in hunc modum, arripiente eo conditionem, nec judicibus aſpernantibus, non ſine magna ſui invidia negotium afflixit* (2). From that time, the Maſters adviſed their Scholars not to uſe theſe figures improperly (3).

(1) Seneca, *Præfatione*, l. 3. Controv.

(2) Sueton. *de claris Rhetorib.* cap. 6.

(3) Quintil. l. 9. cap. 2.

ALBUTIUS (TITUS) a Philoſopher of the Sect of Epicurus, went from Rome to Athens when he was very young, and took ſuch a liking to the manners of the Greeks, that he choſe rather to paſs for a Greek than for a Roman (*a*), which gave occaſion

(*a*) Cicero in Bruto cap. 26 and 35.

occaſion to a joke of Scævola [*A*], to which Lucilius gave an ill-natured turn in one of his Satires; as we learn from Cicero (*b*). We learn alſo from this Author, I. That Albutius was a paſſionate Epicurean (*c*), and that he had been a better Orator if he had been leſs attached to the Sect of Epicurus (*d*); II. That he underſtood the Greek (*e*) learning very well, and that he had publiſhed ſome declamations (*f*); III, That he had born office in the Commonwealth; that he had governed Sardinia in quality of Pro-prætor (*g*); and that he did not obtain of the Senate the proceſſion [*B*] which he had aſked to be made for a thankſgiving to the Gods for his exploits; that he was accuſed of bribery [*C*], and

(*b*) Idem, lib. 1. *de Finibus*, c. 3.
(*c*) *Idem*, lib. 1. *de Natura Deorum*, cap. 33.
(*d*) Idem. *in Bruto*, cap. 26 and 35.
(*e*) Idem, *in Bruto*. ibid.
(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Idem, *de Provinc. Conſular.* cap. 7. and *in Piſonem* p. 38.

[*A*] *The liking he took in the manners of the Greeks gave occaſion to a joke of Scævola.*] It was this; when he received Albutius's viſit at Athens, he ſaluted him in Greek, and cauſed him to be ſaluted in Greek by all his attendants. One cannot perceive the ridicule of this, without conſidering the action itſelf. Cicero expreſſes it thus: *Res vero bonas verbis electis graviter ornatéque dictatas quis non legat, niſi qui ſe planè Græcum dici velit, ut à Scævola eſt Prætor ſalutatus Athenis Albutius, quem quidem locum cum multa venuſtate & omni ſale idem Lucilius, apud quem præclarè Scævola,*

Græcum te, Albuti quàm Romanum atque Sabinum
Municipem Ponti, Titii, Anni, Centurionum
Præclarorum hominum ac primorum ſigniferumque,
Maluiſti dici. Græcè ergo Prætor Athenis,
Id quod maluiſti, te, cum ad me accedi' ſaluto:
Χαῖρε, inquam, Tite: lictores, turma omni', cohorſque,
Χαῖρε. Hinc hoſtis muti Albutius, hinc inimicus (1).

(1) Cicero *de Fin.* lib. 1. c. 3.

That is, "But who would not read a good ſubject "expreſſed in good and proper Latin except one "who would be taken for nothing but a Greek him-"ſelf, as Albutius the Prætor was ſaluted by Scævola "at Athens, as Lucilius has related with much ele-"gance and wit, who makes Scævola to ſay:

"Since you a Greek to me, Albutius, came,
"Slighting the Roman and the Sabine name:
"I who am Prætor here at Athens ſpeak
"Your fav'rite language, and ſalute in Greek.
"Their high reſpects in Greek my ſervants ſhew,
"For this Albutius is become my foe."

Thus Cicero, who ſays poſitively that Albutius was at that time Prætor at Athens; and yet Lucilius's verſes teſtify that Albutius making a viſit to Scævola, was ſaluted in Greek, in a ſneering manner, which offended him, and made him Scævola's enemy. Is it not as clear as the light, that according to Lucilius, it was Scævola and not Albutius, that exerciſed the Prætorſhip? If Albutius had been Prætor, he would have received the viſit, and not have made it; and if he had made it, no one would have dared to receive him with a ſtinging jeſt. I am ſurprized therefore, either that Cicero has given the Prætorſhip to Albutius; or if he has given it to Scævola, as is very plain, that this fault, which has crept into the text, has not been corrected in the editions of this author, We ought to read, *ut à Scævola eſt Prætore ſalutatus Athenis Albutius* (2), i. e. "as "Albutius was ſaluted at Athens by Scævola the "Prætor," and not, *ut à Scævola eſt Prætor ſalutatus Athenis Albutius*, i. e. "as Albutius the Prætor "was ſaluted by Scævola at Athens." Mr. Dacier quotes theſe verſes of Lucilius, and tranſlates them ſo as to declare that Scævola was Prætor at Athens, when he ridiculed Albutius, who came to pay his compliments to him (3). Corradus is opinion that Albutius ſtudied at Athens, and that Scævola came thither, in his way to Rhodes, which is mentioned in his firſt book of the *Orator* (4).

(2) Corradus *in Brutum Cicer.* p. 189, would have it be corrected in this manner. Other Criticks are of the ſame opinion. *See* Gronovius's *Cicero.*

(3) Dacier upon Horace Sat. II. Book II. p. 121 of the Dutch edition.

(4) Corrad. *in Brutum Ciceronis*, pag. 189.

[*B*] *He did not obtain of the Senate the proceſſion &c.*] Cicero mentions it, in order to take from the friends of Gabinius and Piſo the comfort they drew from it. He ſhews them that the caſes were not parallel. *Hac conſolatione utuntur etiam T. Albutio ſupplicationem hunc ordinem denegaſſe, quod eſt primum diſſimile; res in Sardinia cum maſtrucatis latrunculis à Proprætore, una cohorte auxiliari geſta, & bellum cum maximis Syriæ gentibus ac tyrannis conſulari exercitu imperioque confectum. Deinde Albutius, quod à Senatu petebat, ipſe ſibi in Sardinia ante decreverat: conſtabat enim, Græcum hominem ac levem in ipſa provincia quaſi triumphaſſe. Itaque hanc ejus temeritatem Senatus ſupplicatione denegata notavit* (5). i. e. "They comfort them-"ſelves with this, that this order denied the ſup-"plication alſo of Titus Albutius, which is a very "different caſe: the ſubduing ſome paltry thieves "in Sardinia by a Proprætor, with one auxiliary co-"hort, and a war with the greateſt nations of Syria "brought to an end with a conſular army and com-"mand. Beſides, what Albutius asked of the Se-"nate, he had decreed for himſelf before in Sardi-"nia; for it appeared, that that Greekiſh, trifling "man had triumphed in a manner in the very pro-"vince. Therefore the Senate ſet a mark on his "temerity by denying his ſupplication." It is thought that Albutius commanded in Sardinia in the 649th year of Rome (6).

(5) Cicero *de Provinc. Conſular. d. l.*

(6) Prouſt, *Commentario in uſum Delphini, in Ciceronem de claris Oratoribus.*

[*C*] *He was accuſed of bribery.*] There is no doubting of that, after having read theſe words: *Mutius autem Augur, quod pro ſe opus erat, ipſe dicebat, ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albutium. Is oratorum in numero non fuit, juris civilis intelligentia, atque omni prudentiæ genere præſtitit* (7). i. e. "But Mutius the Augur, when he had occaſion, "ſpake for himſelf, as when he accuſed Titus Albu-"tius of bribery. He was no Orator, but excelled "in the Civil Law, and all ſorts of knowledge." It is not ſo certain that Mutius Scævola was the accuſer; I had rather ſay he only found himſelf affected in this cauſe, and obliged to clear up or maintain ſomething that concerned him and added to the load of the accuſed. He had eloquence enough for an affair of this nature; but otherwiſe he was no Orator; as we read plainly enough in the words I have quoted. Some Critics like this reading better; *Mutius autem Augur, quod opus erat, per ſe ipſe dicebat* (8): i. e. "But Mutius the Augur ſpake himſelf, when "he had occaſion." I am not much concerned about it; for this reading does not deprive me of the conjecture that Scævola did but intervene in this cauſe and ſpeak upon ſome incident. This conjecture, of which I ſhall ſpeak again in the note [*E*], is ſtrongly confirmed by a reaſon that Cicero alledged againſt the perſon, who diſputed with him the office of accuſing Verres. He ſays that Caïus Julius, having a like diſpute with Cneius Pompeius, in the affair of Albutius, made uſe of two arguments: one that Pompey had been Albutius's Quæſtor; the other, that the inhabitants of Sardinia had deſired him to accuſe Albutius (9). It was judged that Pompey ſhould not be the accuſer. We may conclude then, that this office remained with Caïus Julius. The reader, who does not know it, will learn here, by the way, that they did not like at Rome that a ſuperior Magiſtrate ſhould be accuſed by his ſubaltern. *Neque fere unquam venit in contentionem de accuſando qui Quæſtor fuiſſet, quin repudiaretur. Itaque, neque L. Philoni in C. Servilium nominis deferendi poteſtas eſt data, neque M. Aurelio Scauro in L. Flaccum, neque Cn. Pompeio, in T. Albutium: quorum nemo propter indignitatem repudiatus eſt, ſed ne libido violandæ neceſſitudinis autoritate judicum comprobaretur* (10). i. e. "Whenever it was conteſted whe-"ther a Quæſtor ſhould accuſe, it was denied. "Therefore L. Philo was refuſed the accuſation of "C. Servilius, M. Aurelius Scaurus that of L. Flaccus, "and Cn. Pompeius that of T. Albutius: none of "whom was rejected for inſufficiency, but for fear the "luſt of violating friendſhip ſhould be approved "by the authority of the Judges." Apuleius indeed ſhakes a little what I have been endeavouring to eſtabliſh; for he ſays in his ſecond Apology, that C. Mutius accuſed A. Albutius. But it is eaſy to anſwer this objection; ſince on one ſide the perſons of whom Apuleius ſpeaks have not the ſame names

(7) Cicero *in Bruto* d. c.

(8) Corrad. *in Brutum Ciceronis*, p. 189. *Douza in Lucilium*, pag. 99.

(9) Cicero, *Divinatione in Verrem*, cap. 19.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(b) Cicero, Tuſcul V. cap. 37.

and baniſhed [D], and went to philoſophiſe at Athens (b). Scævola's joke was a ſeed of enmity between them [E]. The Dictionaries are not free from faults in this article [F].

with thoſe whom we are mentioning, and on the other ſide we cannot apply to the Scævola here in queſtion what Apuleius obſerves of his C. Mutius. It is certain that our Albutius's name was Titus and not Aulus; and that our Scævola's name was Quintus Mucius: and as he was an augur, he was often deſcribed by that office, *Quintus Mucius Scævola Augur*. The accuſer of whom Apuleius ſpeaks was a young man, that was making his firſt attempt, to introduce himſelf into the world, and make himſelf known at the bar. *Neque autem gloriæ cauſa me accuſat ut M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem, C. Mutius A. Albutium . . . quippe homines eruditiſſimi, juvenes laudis gratia primum hoc rudimentum forenſis operæ ſubibant, ut aliquo inſigni judicio civibus ſuis noſcerentur, qui mos incipientibus adoleſcentibus ad illuſtrandum ingenii florem apud antiquos conceſſus, diu exolevit* (11). i. e. "But neither does he accuſe me for the ſake of "glory, as M. Antonius accuſed Cn. Carbo, and C. "Mutius A. Albutius . . . for thoſe moſt learned men "undertook the firſt rudiments of pleading when they "were very young for the ſake of praiſe, that they "might be made known to their Citizens by ſome "remarkable cauſe, which practice was granted a-"mongſt the ancients to young beginners, to give "them an opportunity of ſhewing their genius, but "has now been a long time out of uſe." This does not agree with our Mutius Scævola; he was Conſul in the 636th of Rome (12). He was old when Cicero was but eighteen years of age: that is in the 665th year of Rome: and Albutius was not accuſed till after his return from Sardinia, where he was Pro-Prætor in the year 649. It is poſſible that the Tranſcribers of Apuleius have by degrees, and going from one fault to another, converted C. Julius into C. Mutius. It is certain that C. Julius was the accuſer of Albutius; and if Apuleius had named him, he would have been ſo far right; but we cannot juſtify him in advancing, that all the accuſers that he has named, were young adventurers, who were ſeeking to ſignalize their entrance into the world by ſome famous cauſe. He borrows all theſe examples from Cicero, as the celebrated Mr. Græ-vius has judiciouſly obſerved (13), why then ſhould he reduce them all to one ſort, when Cicero has made ſeveral claſſes of them (14)? Is it not becauſe they would not have ſerved his purpoſe, if they had been divided? Here then is a very fruitful reaſon for falſifying matters of fact. When one does not find them juſt as one could wiſh, it is but twiſting and turning them as one has occaſion.

(11) Apul. Apolog. II.

(12) Cicero, *in Lælio, init.*

(13) Græv. *Notis in Cicer. de Offic.* lib. 2. cap. 14.

(14) He gives his accuſation of Verres for an example; whence it appears that he did not intend to quote thoſe only who had been accuſers when they were very young.

[D] *He was baniſhed.*] We do not find this in the ſame places of Cicero, where Albutius's trial is ſpoken of, and it is no wonder; for when one does not write a man's life, one is contented to ſay of him only what concerns the preſent ſubject. When Cicero ſaid any thing of Albutius's trial, he had nothing in view but the perſons that had ſpoken, or were to ſpeak, againſt the accuſed: there was no neceſſity therefore for him to touch upon the iſſue of this cauſe. When he ſpake of Albutius's baniſhment, he had nothing in view but to ſhew the uſe one might make of baniſhment; he had no occaſion therefore to take notice why Albutius was baniſhed. It lies upon us to weave theſe different paſſages together; and, by this means we ſhall find that Albutius, having been accuſed of bribery, was condemned and baniſhed. *Albutius* CUM *in Sardinia triumphaſſet, Romæ damnatus eſt* (15). i. e. "When Albutius "had triumphed in Sardinia, he was condemned at "Rome." *Quid T. Albutius, nonne animo æquiſſimo Athenis exul philoſophabatur? cui tamen illud ipſum non accidiſſet, ſi in republica quieſcens, Epicuri legibus paruiſſet* (16). i. e. "What did T. Albutius, "did not he philoſophize with the greateſt evenneſs "of mind when he was in exile at Athens? to "whom however even that would not have happen-"ed, if he had kept himſelf quiet in the Common-"wealth in obedience to the laws of Epicurus." Mr. Gaſſendi has quoted this paſſage very ill; for inſtead of *ſi in republica . . . paruiſſet*, i. e. "if he "had kept himſelf quiet in the Commonwealth," he has ſaid *niſi in republica . . . paruiſſet* (17), i. e. "un-"leſs he had kept himſelf quiet in the Common-"wealth." Thoſe who would have ſome proof of what I have ſaid, that Albutius was accuſed at the requeſt of the inhabitants of Sardinia, need but read this. *Julius hoc ſecum autoritatis ad accuſandum afferebat, quod ut hoc tempore nos ab Siculis, ſic tum ille ab Sardis rogatus ad cauſſam acceſſerat* (18). i. e. "Julius brought this authority with him to the ac-"cuſation, that as we are now intreated by the Sici-"lians, ſo at that time he was intreated by the Sar-"dians to undertake their cauſe." Add to this theſe words of the XVI chapter of the II book *de Officiis*: *Aut patrocinio, ut nos pro Siculis, pro Sardis Julius.* i. e. "Or by patronage, as we for the Sicilians, and "Julius for the Sardians." We muſt read thus with Lambinus; or with Manutius, *pro Sardis, contra Albutium Julius*, i. e. "Julius for the Sardians, againſt "Albutius,". See Suetonius (19).

(15) Cicero *in Piſon.* cap. 38.

(16) Idem, lib. 5. Tuſculan. c. 37.

(17) Gaſſendi, *de Vitâ Epic.* lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 188. in folio, where the quotations in the margin are very faulty.

(18) Cicero, *Divinat. in Verrem*, cap. 19.

(19) Sueton. *in Julio*, cap. 55.

[E] *Scævola's joke was a ſeed of enmity between them.*] This is what Lucilius took notice of in his Satyrs, *Hinc hoſtis Muti Albutius, hinc inimicus.* A learned man was of opinion, that they were often appointed adverſaries, and that they were ſo particularly in the cauſe of Granius, accuſed by Albutius, and defended by Mutius. He ſays that Mutius had at leaſt the joy of the acquitment of Granius. He proves it by a paſſage of Cicero, to which he acknowledges that others have given a different interpretation; to wit, that Albutius accuſed Mutius of bribery. *Sæpe inter ſe diſſentirent & contenderent, quum Albutius Granium oppugnabat, & Mucius eum defendebat, certè illo abſoluto gaudebat, ut libro ſecundo* de Oratore *ſcriptum videbis, quamvis aliter alii verba illa ſint interpretati, & putârint ipſum Scævolam ab Albutio de pecuniis repetundis accuſatum fuiſſe, quod ut nos de viro tali credamus adduci non poſſumus* (20). i. e. "They often diſſented and con-"tended, as when Albutius oppoſed Granius, and "Mucius defended him, he certainly rejoiced when "he was acquitted, as you will ſee in the ſecond "book *de Oratore*, tho' others have interpreted the "words otherwiſe, and think that Scævola him-"ſelf was accuſed of bribery by Albutius, which "we can never be brought to believe of ſo great a "Man." I am ſatisfied neither with the ſenſe that this Critic rejects, nor with that which he approves. I had rather believe that Cicero intended to ſay, that Scævola was concerned in the accuſation of bribery laid againſt Albutius; and in ſuch a manner concerned, that from his condemnation would have reſulted Albutius's juſtification. I ſuppoſe, according to this conjecture, that by pleading his cauſe he charged Albutius, and that from thence he paſſed for his accuſer. I ſuppoſe he extricated himſelf fully, which helped to convict Albutius. I ſuppoſe moreover, that this laſt made uſe of Granius's Regiſter, to convince Scævola; and that his proof was judged inſufficient. Granius was very eaſy at Scævola's being acquitted, and was rallied about it, as if he had been glad that the Judges had no regard to his books, or to his verbal proceedings. Theſe are the words of Cicero: *Bella etiam eſt familiaris reprehenſio, quaſi errantis, ut quum objurgavit Albius Granium, quod quum ejus tabulis quiddam Albutio probatum videretur, & valde abſoluto Scævola gauderet, neque intelligeret contra ſuas tabulas eſſe judicatum* (21). i. e. "There is alſo a "pleaſant and familiar way of charging a man with "being in a miſtake, as when Albius reproved Gra-"nius, becauſe, when ſomething ſeemed to be prov-"ed from his books in behalf of Albutius, and he "was very glad that Scævola was acquitted, he ſeemed "not to underſtand that judgment was given againſt "his own books and writings." If any one deſires more proofs of the enmity between Albutius and Scævola, I could ſay that Lucilius has introduced Scævola laughing at Albutius's ſtyle (22). I ſhould be glad to know whence Father Prouſt has taken that Lucilius's anger againſt our Scævola came from the friendſhip that he had for Albutius, againſt whom Scævola had pleaded (23)? If Lucilius was Albutius's friend, he has verified the maxim, *that a joker had rather loſe his friend than his joke* (24); for we have ſeen how this ſatyrical Poet diverted himſelf at the expence of Albutius.

(20) Corradus *in Brutum Cicer.* p. 189.

(21) Cicero, lib. *de Oratore*, c. 70.

(22) See below, the Note [G].

(23) Prouſt, *Comment. in ſum Delphini in Ciceron. de Orat.* lib. 1. num. 72.

(24) *Dummodo riſum Excutiat ſibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico.* Horat. Sat. 4. lib. 1. ver. 34. i. e. "He ſpares no "friend, he will "abuſe the beſt, "So he may "laugh himſelf "and have his "jeſt.

Creech.

article [F]. I do not think our Titus Albutius is the ſame that Horace ſpeaks of [G] in the 2d Satyr of his 2d Book. We find nothing concerning the Phyſician Albutius, who is mentioned by Pliny amongſt the moſt famous (i).

(i) Plinius, lib. 29. cap. 1.

[F] *The Dictionaries are not free from faults in this article.*] I. Charles Stephens pretends, that Varro has ſpoken of our T. Albutius, as of a Poet, who had made Satyrs after the manner of Lucilius, *Luciliano ſtylo.* But when we conſult Varro, we find that he has ſpoken of one Lucius Albutius. *Nonne item L. Albutius, homo (ut ſcitis) apprime doctus, cujus Luciliano charactere ſunt libelli, dicebat, in Albano fundum ſuum paſtionibus ſemper vinci à villa, agrum enim minus dena millia reddere, villam plus vicena* (25). i. e. " Did not alſo L. Albutius, a " man, you know, of very great learning, who " wrote books in the ſtyle of Lucilius, ſay, that " his farm brought him in more than his paſture " grounds; for his field brought him in ten thou- " ſand, but his farm twenty thouſand." II. It is not true that Lucilius made a jeſt of Albutius, as of a man that mixed Greek words with his Latin: Charles Stephens did not take the ſenſe of this author; he imagined that the χαῖρε belonged to Albutius; when it is to Scævola and his people that we muſt attribute it. Meſſieurs Lloyd and Hofman have not corrected theſe two faults. Take alſo notice that I do not pretend to deny that Albutius did mix Greek with his Latin. III. What Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hofman ſuppoſe, is very uncertain, that the father of the witch Canidia, who is ſpoken of in the 11 Satyr of the 11 book of *Horace*, is the ſame Albutius. Mr. Dacier thinks there are two Albutius's (26). IV. Theſe three Dictionary-Writers are miſtaken, when they take the Albutius of the 11 Satyr of the 11 book of *Horace* for a downright miſer. We ſhall ſee preſently that this is falſe. V. Moreri is miſtaken, when he imagines the Albutius, of whom Cicero ſpeaks at the beginning of the 1 book *De Finibus*, is not the ſame with him that is mentioned in the 1 book *De Natura Deorum*, and the v book of *Tuſculan Quæſtions*. VI. It is not true that Horace ſaid there was an Albutius *the moſt covetous of men, who uſed to chaſtiſe his domeſtics before they undertook what he commanded them, for fear, ſaid he, he ſhould forget to do it, if they forgot to execute well what he commanded them.* Moreri, who aſcribes all this diſcourſe to Horace, was deceived by Charles Stephens, although this laſt does not formally aſcribe this little tale to Horace. This is what Horace ſaid of it.

(25) Varro *de Re Ruſtica*, l. 3. cap. 2.

(26) Dacier, *Remarq. ſur la Satire* 1, *du* 11 *Livre*, p. 40.

Mundus erit, qui non offendet ſordidus, atque
In neutram partem cultus miſer: hic neque ſervis
Albuti ſecus exemplo, dum munia didit
Sævus erit: neque, ſicut ſimplex Nævius unctam
Convivis præbebit aquam (27).

(27) Horat. Sat. 2. l. 2. ver. 65.

" — He lives well that keeps the middle ſtate,
" And neither leans too much to this, nor that:
" Such when he bids his ſlaves do this and this,
" And taſks them too, as ev'ry Maſter his,
" Will not be cruel as old Albutius is:
" Nor yet, like Nævius, when he makes a feaſt,
" With coſtly ointment will he waſh his gueſt.
Creech.

He lays down, that a true neatneſs is not extravagant, and that it differs not only from ſlovenlineſs, but alſo from *too ſcrupulous and too ſtudied an exactneſs* (28). If he had ſeen the exceſſive and ſervile care that they take of the cleanneſs of the houſes in ſome parts of Holland, he would have called it a falſe neatneſs. Albutius and Nævius are the two examples he brings of the vicious extremity: the firſt is the example of too much, and the other of too little ceremony. Some interpreters have taken the quite contrary of this: they have taken Nævius for a prodigal, and Albutius for a miſer (29). But perhaps here is nothing deſigned about avarice and prodigality: perhaps it is about neatneſs and ſlovenlineſs. This laſt fault is ſometimes joined with a ſuperfluous expence. There are perſons who are prodigal in cloaths, and in furniture, and in entertainments, who nevertheleſs have not the character of dreſſing well, or of placing the ornaments of their apartments with a good taſte, or of keeping a good table. Be that as it will, Albutius is not in this place an example of avarice. I conclude, with obſerving that Albutius's barbarity to his ſlaves is not a forgery of Moreri's: he had read it in his patron (30); but he did not know that the original of it is in an ancient Scholiaſt. *Aſper in exigenda à ſingulis impenſi ratione caſtigandoque, adeo ut ſervos nonnunquam caſtigaret priùs & cæderet quàm peccaſſent, dicens vereri ſe ne cum peccaſſent, cædere tunc ei non vacaret* (31).

(28) See M. Dacier on this paſſage.

(29) The old Commentators Lambinus, Cruquius, &c. d. l.

(30) Charles Stephens.

(31) Vetus Commentator *in Horat. d. l.*

[G] *I do not think our Titus Albutius is the ſame that Horace ſpeaks of.*] We ſaw juſt now that Horace's Albutius was extravagantly exact, that he never pardoned his domeſticks, that he would have one do preciſely this, and another that, and that he entred into a pedantick detail on thoſe ſubjects. He, of whom Lucilius ſpeaks, *who had ſo ſtrong an affectation for the politeneſs and elegance of the Greeks, that he would be taken for a Grecian* (32), was cut out to furniſh Horace with the example, for which he had occaſion: for every man that affects the manners of foreign nations, mixes ſomething forced and exorbitant with it, which renders the thing ridiculous. Do but obſerve how ſome country people, whom Moliere has bantered ſo often, behave with regard to faſhions, in which they never know how to keep the middle way. I can ſcarce believe that Horace brought Albutius the Greek, the Albutius of Lucilius upon the ſtage; but I think it no wonder that Torrentius ſhould believe it. Mr. Dacier chuſes to ſay the Albutius of Horace was the ſon of Lucilius's Albutius. I am of opinion that Albutius's affectation for Greek regarded the language principally, and we know beſides, by Lucilius's raillery, that he loved too ſtudied an affectation. *Collocationis eſt componere & ſtruere verba, ſic ut neve aſper eorum concurſus neque hiulcus ſit, ſed quodammodo coagmentatus & lævis. In quo lepide ſoceri* (33) *perſona luſit, is qui elegantiſſimè id facere potuit, Lucilius,*

(32) *See* M. Dacier *Remarques ſur la Satir.* 1 *du* 11 *Livre d'Horace.*

(33) Mutius the Augur: whence we learn that Lucilius ſometimes made him ſpeak in his Satires.

Quàm lepidè laxeis compoſtæ, ut teſſerulæ omnes
Arte, pavimento, atque emblemate vermiculato.

Quæ cum dixiſſet in Albutium illudens, &c. (34). i. e. It " belongs to the conſtruction to place and put words " together in ſuch a manner, that they may neither be " rough nor gape upon one another, but be well knit " and ſmooth. On which ſubject Lucilius, who " was as capable of it as any man, has been very " witty, ſpeaking in the perſon of Mutius,

(34) Cicer. *de Oratore*, lib. 3. cap. 43. See alſo his *Orator*, cap. 43, &c.

" Your words in various order, plac'd ſo fine,
" Like ſome moſaic pavement ſeem to ſhine.

" Which when he had ſaid in banter of Albutius " &c." Theſe verſes of Lucilius repreſent a ſort of writing, that may be called inlaid or moſaic work.

ALCASAR (LOUIS DE) a Spaniſh Jeſuit (a) was born at Seville in 1554. He entred among the Jeſuits in 1569, in ſpite of the oppoſition of his family, who were in poſſeſſion of a large eſtate. After he had been a teacher of Philoſophy, he taught Divinity at Cordoua, and at Seville, for above twenty years. He applied himſelf chiefly to ſearch the ſecrets of the Apocalyps, and ſpent no leſs than twenty years in this labour (b). His work is one of the beſt that the Roman Catholicks have produced on the Apocalyps [A]. It is intitled *Veſtigatio arcani ſenſus in Apocalypſi*, and has been printed

(a) They have made him a Portugueſe in Mr. de Meaux's Index of the Apocalyps.

(b) Sotuel, *Bibliotb. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, p. 557.

[A] *His work is one of the beſt that the Roman Catholicks have produced on the Apocalyps.*] This is what Nicolas Antonio ſays of it. *Inſignem poſuit operam in adornando atque illuſtrando Apocalypſis libro*

printed ſeveral times [*B*]. It is pretended that Grotius took a good many of his ideas from it (*c*). This Author affirms that the Apocalyps is perfectly accompliſhed to the xxth chapter; and he finds there the two witneſſes, without ſpeaking either of Elias or Enoch (*d*). He makes no difficulty of abandoning the antient Fathers; and as all his principal ſtudies tended only to the explication of this book, the other work which we have of his, is only a Comment on the places of the Old Teſtament that regard the Revelations of St. John. It was printed after his death under this title, *In eas Veteris Teſtamenti partes, quas reſpicit Apocalypſis, nempe Cantica Canticorum, Pſalmos complures, multa Danielis aliorumque librorum capita, Libri V.* So there are two volumes in folio, which, properly ſpeaking, are nothing but a Comment on the Apocalyps; but there is an Appendix to each: that of the firſt volume is a Treatiſe *de Sacris Ponderibus & Menſuris*; and that of the ſecond, a Treatiſe *de Malis Medicis*. Alcaſar died at Seville June 16, 1613, being ſixty years old (*e*). You will find an examination of ſome of his apocalyptick hypotheſes in the work that Mr. Heydegger publiſhed at Leyden in 1687, under the title of *Myſterium Babylonis magnæ* (*f*).

(*c*) Mr. de Meaux, *Pref. de l'Apocalypſe*, p. 33 of the Dutch edition.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Alegambe made him 63 years old. F. Sotuel has corrected this miſtake.

(*f*) In the firſt and ſecond Diſſertation.

bro obſcuriſſimo. Edidit namque lucubrationes ſuas ad ipſum, ingenioſas quidem, eruditas, elaborataſque, ut cenſet Cornelius a Lapide. Sed quiſnam ſponſor erit, telo eum quamvis acuto & forti ſcopum tetigiſſe (1)? That is, "He performed a noble work in adorning "and illuſtrating that moſt obſcure book of the Apo- "calyps. For he publiſhed his own lucubrations on "it, which, in the opinion of Cornelius a Lapide, "are ingenious, learned and elaborate. But who "will be ſecurity for him, that with all his acute- "neſs he has hit his point?" I am ſure there is no bankrupt, nor priſoner for debt, but would ſooner find ſomebody in the city to be bound for him, than the expounders on the Apocalyps would find ſecurity, if there was a tribunal on earth, to lay large fines on thoſe who ſhould run in debt with falſe expoſitions. Whilſt we flatter our paſſions with thinking we run no risk, we are credulous; but for the ſecurities that Don Nicolas Antonio requires, it is in vain to look for them.

(1) Nic. Antonii, *Bib. Scrip. Hiſp.* tom. 2. p. 14.

[*B*] *Printed ſeveral times.*] F. Alegambe takes notice only of the edition of Antwerp, by John Keerberge in 1614, and at the ſame time ſays the other volume was poſthumous. If the firſt had been printed but in 1614, it had been poſthumous; and ſo there was no reaſon for that diſtinction. We muſt ſuppoſe then, that the firſt, as Nicolas Antonio obſerves, was printed at Antwerp, for John Keerberge, in 1604; beſide this edition, Nicolas Antonio ſpeaks of that of 1619, *Antverpiæ, apud Nutios*, and that of Lyons, in 1616. Draudius quotes theſe two laſt editions, and beſides, one at Antwerp, by Keerberge, in 1611 (2). F. Sotuel, beſides the edition of 1614, takes notice only of the two laſt of Nicolas Antonio, and ſays afterwards that the other volume was poſthumous. He did not reviſe Alegambe as exactly as he ought to have done.

(2) Draud. *Bib. Claſſica*, p. 22.

ALCÆUS, a native of Mitylene, in the Iſland Leſbos, was one of the greateſt Lyrick Poets of Antiquity. Some will have him to be the inventor of this ſort of Poeſy (*a*). He flouriſhed in the 44th Olympiad (*b*), at the ſame time with Sappho, who was of Mitylene as well as he. *It is maliciouſly reported* [*A*], *that Alcæus was pleaſed one day to ask I know not what of Sappho, and that Sappho not being in ſo good a humour as uſual, denied him that day, what perhaps ſhe offered him the next* (*c*). Be that as it will, he meddled with other things beſide Poetry: he would needs give proofs of his courage in war, but was not always ſucceſsful; for he ſaved himſelf only by flight, and dropping his arms, when the Athenians gained a victory over the Leſbians (*d*): but he found a pleaſing comfort under this diſgrace, for the Conquerors hung up his arms in the Temple of Minerva at Sigæum, which they would not have done in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner, if they had not eſteemed them a very glorious monument of their victory (*e*). Alcæus did not forget this circumſtance in the verſes that he made on his misfortune [*B*]. His Muſe, which he indulged in the midſt of arms, either in drinking ſongs, or love ſongs, and in the praiſe of the perſon he loved (*f*), who was but [C].

(*a*) *Dic latinum, Barbite, carmen, Lesbio primum modulate civi.* Horat. Od. xxxii. lib. 1. and 3. i, e. "Begin, ſweet "harp, a Ro- "man ſtrain, "Thoſe mea- "ſures and thoſe "tunes main- "tain "Firſt ſtruck "by great Al- "cæus noble "hand. Creech.

(*b*) Euſeb. *in Chronic.*

(*c*) Le Fevre, *Vie des Poet. Grecs*, pag. 27.

(*d*) Herod. l. 5. cap. 95.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) See the quotation from Horace, in the note [C].

[*A*] *It is maliciouſly reported, &c.*] I have related Mr. Le Fevre's own words, and am very much miſtaken if he did not take this little ſtory from Ariſtotle's Rhetorick. Ariſtotle cites theſe words of Alcæus;

Θέλω τὶν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλά με κωλύει
Αἰδώς:

And this anſwer of Sappho,

Αἰ δ' ἦχες σ' ἐσλῶν ἵμερος, ἢ καλῶν,
Καὶ μή τι εἰπεῖν γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κακὸν,
Αἰδώς κε νυ σ' οὐκ ἔιχεν ὄμματ'
Ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῶ δικαίω (1).

(1) Ariſt. *Rhetoric.* l. 1. cap. 9. Obſerve that in placing and accenting this Greek I follow Scaliger on Euſebius, p. 85. ed. 1658.

The ſenſe of theſe verſes is this. Alcæus declares his deſire of ſaying ſomething; but that ſhame hinders him. Sappho anſwers him, that if he had deſired what was good or honeſt, and if his tongue had not been ready to pronounce ſomething amiſs, no ſhame would have riſen in his face, and that ſhe deſired him to make ſome reaſonable offer. Thoſe who have the gift of judging of Mr. Le Fevre's books, ſuch, to uſe his own words in his firſt Journaline, *as have a ſoul capable of many forms, and who perceive in half a word the beauty and fineneſs of thoughts and expreſſions*, ſee plainly that theſe words of Alcæus are one of thoſe declarations of love which require the happy moment, and that Sappho perfectly underſtood what he meant. Her anſwer is prudent, but perhaps a little too cold according to this ſuppoſition.

[*B*] *He did not forget, ... his misfortune of running away* (2).] He who moſt reſembled Alcæus of all the Latin Poets, has confeſſed as well as he, in his Poems, that he had ſaved himſelf from a battle, by throwing down his arms, as uſeleſs things to thoſe that run away.

(2) Herod. l. 5. cap. 95. and Strabo, lib. 13. p. 412, 413.

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula,
Quum fracta virtus & minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento (3).

(3) Horat. Od. 7. l. 2. ver. 9.

"The bloody wars, Philippi's field,
"Ignobly having loſt my ſhield,
"With thee I ſaw, ſecure from wound,
"I ſaw the flight, when haughty proud
"To Cæſar's ſtronger virtue bow'd,
"And baſely hit the bloody ground. Creech.

Archilochus

but too like him [C]: his Muſe, I ſay, did not keep ſilence on the defeat of the Leſbians. We know beſides, that it did not always trifle, and that it could ſometimes treat graver ſubjects after a noble manner [D], and particularly a fine common place againſt Tyrants. Alcæus at that time followed an inclination ſtrengthened by his own adventures, and perſonal concerns, for he had fallen out with thoſe who would have invaded the liberty of his country, and particularly with Pittacus [E], who became an Uſurper, notwithſtanding he was one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. He reſtored Alcæus to liberty, who was become his priſoner, ſaying it was better to forgive a crime than to puniſh it (g). Some ſay, *Alcæus was driven away with many others, but that at laſt he put himſelf at the head of thoſe Exiles, made war on the Tyrants, and drove them away in their turn* (b). I find nothing more in Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, but that the inhabitants of Mitylene choſe Pittacus for their Chief, againſt the Poet Alcæus and his adherents, whom they had baniſhed (i). Others would have it, that when he had abuſed the clemency of Pittacus, and did not leave off caballing, and railing againſt him, he ceaſed to protect him (k); and that this is what Ovid meant by theſe words:

(g) Heraclitus, *apud* Diogenem Laert. *in* Pittaco, lib. 1. num. 76.
(b) Dacier on the xiiith Ode of the 2d book of Horace.
(i) Dionyſ. Halicarn. *Ant. Rom.* lib. 5. cap. 82.
(k) *Vide* Dionyſ. Salvagnium Boeſſium, *Comment. in Ibin*, p. 102, 103, edit. in 4°.

Utque lyræ vates fertur periiſſe ſeveræ
Cauſa ſit exitii dextera læſa tui.

This Archilochus had ſuch another adventure before Alcæus, and confeſſed it publicly (4). Perhaps Horace would not have been ſo ingenuous in this affair, if he had not had thoſe great examples before his eyes. Chabot is miſtaken, when he affirms that Plutarch has refuted Herodotus concerning the flight of Alcæus (5). Plutarch contented himſelf with ſaying that Herodotus had ſuppreſſed a glorious action of Pittacus, but not the ſhameful one of Alcæus (6).

(4) See the note [H] in this Article.
(5) Chabot. *in Horat.* Od. xiii. lib. 2.
(6) Plutarc. *de Malign. Herodot.* p. 858.

[C] *The perſon whom he loved was but too like him.*] Horace informs us, that Alcæus's miſtreſs was a boy named Lycus, with black eyes and black hair.

Qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
Littore navim,
Liberum & Muſas, Veneremque & illi
Semper hærentem puerum canebat
Et Lycum nigris oculis, nigroque
Crine decorum (7).

(7) Horat. Od. xxxii. lib. 1. ver. 6.

" He fierce in arms, yet midſt his cares,
" When dangers preſs'd, and noiſie wars,
" And ſtain'd his charming harp with blood;
" Or when he ſtem'd the angry ſeas,
" Or when arriv'd he ſat at eaſe,
" And laugh'd at all the fury of the flood:
" The Muſes he in ſounding verſe
" Would ſing, and Venus praiſe rehearſe,
" With her attending wanton boy:
" Or Lyco's face, ſurprizing fair,
" With *jet-like* eyes, and *raven* hair,
" By nature fitted to entice to joy. Creech.

It is probable it was the ſame that had a mole on his finger, which was a great ornament in the opinion of this Poet. *Nævus in articulo pueri delectat Alcæum, ac eſt corporis macula nævus, illi tamen hoc lumen videbatur* (8). Cicero ſays in another place, that notwithſtanding Alcæus had ſhewn abundance of courage, he had filled his verſes with an exceſſive love of boys: *Fortis vir in ſuâ republicâ cognitus, quæ de juvenum amore ſcripſit Alcæus* (9). With regard to his amorouſneſs, he compares himſelf to a hog, that whilſt he is eating one acorn, devours another with his eyes. *So*, ſays he, *it fares with me, whilſt I enjoy one fine girl, I am longing for another.* Ἀ ὗς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται, λαβεῖν. Κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὰν τὰν μὲν ἴλω, τὰν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν. Scipio Gentilis relates this in his notes on the *Apology of Apuleius*, pag. 65.

(8) Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 28.
(9) Idem, *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* iv. c. 33.

[D] *His Muſe could ſometimes treat graver ſubjects after a noble manner.*] This made Horace ſay:

Et te ſonantem plenius aureo,
Alcæe, plectro, dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli,
Utrumque ſacro digna ſilentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere: ſeà magis
Pugnas & exactos tyrannos
Denſum humeris bibit aure vulgus (10).

(10) Horat. Od. xiii. lib. 2. ver. 26.

" Alcæus too, whoſe golden ſtrings
" With manlier ſtrokes ſound greater things;
" He tells the dangers and the fears
" Of flights, of ſailing, and of wars;
" With ſilent rev'rence Ghoſts admire
" The wond'rous fury of his lyre:
" The vulgar ſhades throng moſt to hear
" Of Kings depos'd, of feats of war,
" And drink them with a greedy ear. Creech.

Mr. Dacier obſerves upon theſe words, I. That *the ſtyle of Alcæus was noble and ſtrong, and that he treated of ſublimer ſubjects than Sappho, who ſays of him in Ovid,*

Nec plus Alcæus conſors patriæque Lyræque
Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille ſonet,

" Tho' great Alcæus more ſublimely ſings,
" And ſtrikes with bolder rage the ſounding ſtrings,
" No leſs renown attends the moving lyre,
" Which Cupid tunes, and Venus does inſpire.
Pope.

II. That *Horace gives him a* golden lyre, *becauſe he ſpeaks of that part of his works, wherein he deſcribed the civil wars that happened at Mitylene, and the different factions of the tyrants Pittacus, Myrſilus, Megalagyrus, the Cleanactides and ſome others* (11), *and that theſe Poems were called* διχοστασιαστικὰ ποιήματα, i. e. " Poems upon Seditions." He quotes this paſſage of Quintilian: *Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur quâ tyrannos inſectatur. Multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo brevis, & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero ſimilis, ſed in luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus tamen aptior* (12). i. e. " Alcæus has a golden harp juſtly aſcribed to him, " in that part of his work where he falls upon ty- " rants. He is alſo a great encourager of morality, " conciſe, ſublime, and accurate, generally reſembling " Homer, he ſometimes ſtoops to gaiety and love, " though he is fitted for greater ſubjects." Add to this the epithet of *threatning*, which has been given to his muſe, *& Alcæi Minaces, Steſichorique graves Camœnæ* (13). i. e. " The threatning Muſe " of Alcæus, and the grave Muſe of Steſichorus.

(11) Strabo, lib. 13. p. 424.
(12) Quint. l. 10. cap. 1.
(13) Horat. Od. 9. lib. 4. ver. 7.

[E] *He fell out with Pittacus.*] He abuſed him in the groſſeſt terms; calling him ſplay-foot, fat-guts, &c. as we are told by Suidas, under the word σαράπους, and by Diogenes Laërtius in the Life of Pittacus. The moderation of Pittacus was very commendable, and appeared ſo to Valerius Maximus. *Pittaci quoque moderatione pectus inſtructum, qui Alcæum Poëtam & amaritudine odii & viribus ingenii adverſus ſe pertinaciſſimè uſum, tyrannidem à civibus delatam adeptus, tantummodo quid in opprimendo poſſet admonuit* (14). i. e. " Pittacus alſo was a man of " moderation, who, when Alcæus the Poet had uſed " him as ill as the bitterneſs of his hatred and the " ſtrength of his wit would let him, yet when the " Citizens conferred the Government upon him, he " only ſhewed what power he had to oppreſs him."

(14) Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 1. *ext.*

This is the more probable becauſe Alcæus paſſed for a man that oppoſed innovations: not becauſe they were ſuch, but becauſe others, and not himſelf, introduced them (*l*). It is a fault he had in common with a great many other people. We have only ſome fragments of his Poems remaining.

(*l*) Οὐδ' αὐτὸς καθαρεύων τῶν τοιούτων πεπτωκότων. i. e. "Nor "was he free "from ſuch de- "ſires of inno- "vation," Strabo, l. 13. p. 425.

(*a*) Suidas.

ALCÆUS, an Athenian (*a*) and Tragic Poet, was, as ſome think, the firſt compoſer of Tragedies. If you will believe Suidas, he is different from Alcæus a Comic Poet, the fifth Author of the ancient Comedy, and ſon of Miccus. It ſeems he renounced his country, which was the city of Mitylene, and called himſelf an Athenian (*b*). He left ten pieces, one of which was intitled *Paſiphae:* this was the Piece he produced when he diſputed with Ariſtophanes, in the fourth year of the 97th Olympiad (*c*). Athenæus quotes ſome of the other pieces. It is not certain whether the *Endymion* quoted by Pollux belongs to Alcæus the tragic, or Alcæus the comic Poet: but it probable, that the piece intitled *Cælum*, was written by the firſt, ſince Macrobius quotes it as a Tragedy (*d*). I find in Plutarch a Poet called Alcæus, different from the former (*e*), and who perhaps is the ſame perſon that Porphyrius mentions as a compoſer of ſatyrical Iambicks and Epigrams, who had made a Poem on the thefts of Euphorus the Hiſtorian (*f*). Plutarch's Alcæus lived in the 145th Olympiad, in the year of Rome 555, as appears in the Song he made on the battle that Philip King of Macedon loſt in Theſſaly. In this Song he made Philip fly ſwifter than a Hart, and magnified the number of the dead, that he might render him the more contemptible. Plutarch however aſſures us that Titus Flaminius who had gained this battle was more offended with the verſes of Alcæus than with Philip, becauſe the Song mentions the Ætolians before the Romans, whereby he ſeems to give the Ætolians the chief honour of that victory. Philip defended himſelf againſt this ſong of Alcæus by another ſong [*A*]. It muſt be owned that Plutarch makes the Roman Conſul extravagantly captious. They alſo mention a Meſſenian Alcæus who lived in the reign of Veſpaſian, and alſo under that of Titus (*g*). There are ſome of his Epigrams in the Anthology. I know not which of theſe Alcæus's it was who ſuffered for his lewdneſs a very ſingular kind of death [*B*]. Voſſius in the 42d page of his Notes on Catullus believes it was he that ſatyriſed Philip King of Macedon. He takes him for the comic Poet, but is miſtaken; for this Comic was contemporary with Ariſtophanes.

(*b*) Μιτυληναῖος, εἶτα Ἀθηναῖος. idem.

(*c*) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. *in Argumento Plati.*

(*d*) Macrob. Sat. lib. 5. cap. 20.

(*e*) Plut. *in Flaminio*, p. 373.

(*f*) Porphyr. *apud* Euſeb. *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 467.

(*g*) Tzetzes *in Lycophr. apud* Gyrald. *de* Poet. Dial. 10. p. 512. edit. anni 1696.

[*A*] *Philip defended himſelf againſt this ſong of Alcæus by another ſong.*] This was the ſubſtance of it:

Sans feuille aucune, & ſans eſcorce auſſi,
Ami paſſant, on a fait ici tendre,
Sur ce coſtau, cete potence-ci,
Expreſſément pour Alcæus y pendre (1).

(1) Thus Amiot tranſlates this Greek: Ἄφλοις καὶ ἄφυλλος, ὀδοιπόρε, τῷ δ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πήγνυται ἀλίβατος. Plutarch. *in Flamin.* p. 373.

"This gibbet or this hill, which paſſers by may "mark,
"Was ſet to hang Alcæus up withouten leaves or "bark. Sir Tho. North.

[*B*] *One of theſe Alcæus's . . . ſuffered a ſingular kind of death.*] Mr. Voſſius relates (2) this Epitaph taken out of a manuſcript Anthology:

(2) Iſaac Voſſius *in Catullum*, p. 42.

Ἀλκαίῳ τάφος οὗτος ὃν ἔκλαυσε ἡ πλατύφυλλος
Τιμωρὸς μοιχῶν γῆς θυγάτηρ ῥάφανος

This ſignifies that Alcæus died of the puniſhment inflicted on adulterers, which was a particular manner of empaling. It was thruſting up their fundament one of the biggeſt radiſhes they could meet with. For want of radiſhes they made uſe of a fiſh with a very thick head, as we learn from the Scholiaſt upon *Juvenal*, on theſe words of the xth Satyr, *quoſdam mœchos & mugilis intrat.* Hence we may underſtand the meaning of that menace in *Catullus:*

Ah! tum te miſerum, malique fati,
Quem attractis pedibus, patente porta,
Percurrent raphanique mugileſque (3).

(3) Catul. Epigr. xv. *See* Parthenius, Muret, and Achilles Statius on this paſſage.

Lucian ſpeaks of this ſort of puniſhment; but he does not decide whether the criminal died of it, and differs much from his Scholiaſt. Both of them ſay that the adulterer uſed to be well beaten; but the Scholiaſt ſays they did not thruſt up the radiſh, till he was ready to expire with the blows he had received. Lucian hints quite the contrary; for the lecher of whom he ſpeaks, after having been well beaten, leaped down from the ſcaffold and ran away with the radiſh ſticking behind. Κατὰ τῦ πίγης ἀλόμενος ὀλίφυγε ῥαφανίδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος (4). *De tecto deſiliens aufugit natibus raphano oppletis.* Voſſius had no reaſon to conclude from this paſſage of Lucian, that the puniſhment was not mortal; for it is very probable, that if the malefactor had not made his eſcape, it would have coſt him his life ſooner or later. The two verſes, that Voſſius quotes, and which he takes for the diſcourſe of an adultereſs, who ſaid to her goſſip, that if inſtead of the radiſh they ſhould make uſe of the croſs to puniſh their gallants, no body would come to them: theſe two verſes, I ſay, are a better proof than the words of Lucian (5). The Commentator on *Diogenes Laërtius* has very juſtly comprehended what Menedemus glanced at, when he told an inſolent adulterer that the juice of radiſhes was uſeful: Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θρασυνόμενον μοιχὸν, ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὅτι ὁ μόνον κράμβη χυλὸν ἔχει χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαφανίδες (6). i. e. "He ſaid to a boaſting adulterer, You do not know that not only cole- "worts but alſo radiſhes have a wholeſome juice."

(4) Lucian. *de Morte Peregrini.*

(5) *Ex* Heſychio *in ῥάφανα ἀγρία.* See alſo the Scholiaſt. on the *Nubes* of Ariſtophanes.

(6) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 128. *See* Aldobrandinus and Mancinus on the ſame paſſage.

ALCHABITIUS, an Arabian Aſtrologer, compoſed an *Introduction to the Knowledge of the celeſtial influences* [*A*]. He has alſo written of the conjunction of the Planets

[*A*] *He compoſed an Introduction to the knowledge of the celeſtial influences.*] The title of the book in Geſner and in Simler is *Iſagoge ad magiſterium judiciorum aſtrorum, vel ad ſcrutanda ſtellarum magiſteria.* Voſſius gives it after another manner, but the ſenſe is the ſame: *Iſagoge ad ſcrutanda aſtrorum indicia* (1). But Moreri having taken one word for another in Voſſius, *initia* for *indicia*, has given us a title incomprehenſible enough. *The Introduction to the knowledge of the beginning of the Stars.* Voſſius ſeems to have thought it ſhould be read *indiciorum* where Geſner and Simler have put *judiciorum.*

(1) Voſſius *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 399.

Note that Alchabitius's treatiſe, *Of the conjunction of the Planets*, has been tranſlated into French by Oronce Finé (2); and that Mr. de la Mare, in his Preface to the works of the four Guiions, quotes the manuſcript notes of Pierre Saumaiſe, Counſellor to the Parliament of Dijon, upon Alchabitius *De Inimicitiis Planetarum.* I have this from Mr. de la Monnoie.

(2) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, p. 20.

nets and a Treatiſe of Opticks which was found in a German Convent, and carried to the Author of the book *de Lumine Animæ*, his Aſtrological works tranſlated by Joannes Hiſpalenſis were printed at Venice in 1491; with the expoſition of Joannes de Saxonia, and in 1521 with the corrections of Anthony de Fantis Phyſician of Treviſe in Italy (*a*). It is not certainly known in what time Alchabitius lived.

(*a*) Geſner *in Biblioth. ex eo* Voſſius *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 354 and 569.

ALCHINDUS, a Phyſician and Aſtrologer, amongſt the Arabians. Cardan reckons him among the twelve ſublime genius's, whom he looked upon as the firſt of all thoſe who have excelled in the Sciences (*a*). This is praiſing him more than Albohazen Haly, and Haly Rodoan who have given him to the title of Great Aſtrologer; and more than Raſis and Meſüé, who treat him as a very learned and experienced Phyſician; and more than Averroës and Wimpina who call him a ſubtle Philoſopher. We may judge of his wit and learning by the two printed books we have of his *de Temporum Mutationibus*, and *de gradibus Medicinarum compoſitarum inveſtigandis*; there are ſeveral others quoted very often by authors under the title *de Ratione ſex quantitatum*; *de quinque Eſſentiis*; *de Motu diurno*; *de Vegetabilibus*; and *de Theorica Magicarum artium:* this laſt work has given occaſion to all the writers upon Sorcerers to ſpeak of Alchindus as of a pernicious Magician. Franciſcus Picus, and Conradus Wimpina, have amply diſcourſed upon the hereſies, blaſphemies, and abſurdities that are obſerved in this book. The famous Joannes Picus does not ſeem to have judged ſo diſadvantageouſly of it, ſince he has ſaid that he had known but three men who had touched upon the natural and lawful Magic, viz. Alchindus, Roger Bacon, and William Biſhop of Paris: What we are moſt ſure of according to Gabriel Naudé, from whom I borrow this article is, Iſt, That this work is full of ſuperſtitions and doctrines quite contrary to our faith, and ſuch as we ought to expect from a Mahometan who writes very freely what he thinks. II. That there is no room to accuſe him of Magick, ſince far from amuſing himſelf with Teürgick or Goëtick Magick, his deſign was no other than to aſcribe to nature thoſe things that had been attributed to good or bad Angels, as Peter d'Apono and Pomponace have done after him (*b*). Theſe people to ſerve their purpoſe ſuppoſe that ſublunary things entirely depend upon the Heavens, and that they receive all their properties from one another, and that each receive them from the whole by the means of certain corporeal beams, which paſſing from the leaſt to the greateſt, are as they ſay the cauſe of all that is done in nature. We do not certainly know when Alchindus lived, but he cannot be placed below the twelfth Century, ſince Averroës mentions him. There is a JACOBUS ALKINDUS whom ſome confound with him of whom I am ſpeaking [*A*].

(*a*) Cardan. *de Subtilit.* lib. 16. Naudé in his *Apolog. des grans Hommes*, p. 354, magnifies the teſtimony of Cardan too much.

(*b*) Naudé ibid. and in the following pages.

[*A*] *Some confound one Jacobus Alkindus with him of whom I am ſpeaking.*] Wolfgang Juſtus makes this Jacobus Alkindus live under Pope Eugenius III, in 1145, contemporary with Averroës and Avicenna: he ſays he was an Arabian Phyſician and Philoſopher (1). The Bibliographers aſcribe the ſame books to Alchindus and Jacobus Alkindus. Voſſius ſeems to diſtinguiſh them; for when he ſpeaks of Alchindus, he aſcribes to him only the treatiſe *De ſex Quantitatibus*, and does not note his age; but he places Jacobus Alkindus in 1235, and aſcribes to him amongſt other books a treatiſe *De Radiis Stellarum* (2). It is without doubt the ſame book that Geſner mentions under the title *De Radiis Stellicis*, and which he thinks to be James Alkindus's, tho' the name of James be not joined to that of Alkindus. One might judge by the title alone, that it belongs to him who was ſuſpected of magick.

(1) *Ap.* Merckinum *in Lindenio renovato.*

(2) Voſſius *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 61 and 179.

ALCIAT (ANDREW) a great Lawyer flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. He was ſon of a rich Merchant of Milan [*A*], and was born in that city, in the month of May 1492 (*a*). They pretend that his mother felt hardly any pain when ſhe was brought to bed of him (*b*). After having ſtudied humanity under Janus Parrhaſius who taught at Milan (*c*) he ſtudied the law at Pavia and at Bologna (*d*), and chiefly followed the Lectures of Jaſon in the firſt of theſe Univerſities, and thoſe of Charles Ruinus in the ſecond (*e*). After he had taken the degree of Doctor, he applied himſelf to the bar in the city of Milan (*f*), till he was called to the Law-chair, by the Univerſity of Avignon [*B*]. He executed that function with ſo much ſkill, that Francis the firſt thought him a fit perſon to make the knowledge of the Law flouriſh in the Univerſity

(*a*) See the Note [*E*].
(*b*) Panzir. *de claris Legum Interprat.* lib. 2. c. 169. p. 353.
(*c*) Minos, *in vita Alciat.*

(*d*) Teiſſier, *Elog.* taken from Thuanus, tom. 1. p. 35, quoting Claudius Minos, ſays that Alciat ſtudied at Verona. I have not met with it.
(*e*) Panzir. *de claris Legum Interpret.* lib. 2. c. 169.
(*f*) Minos, *in Vita Alciati.*

[*A*] *He was a ſon of a rich Merchant at Milan.*] I have followed Panzirolus, the only author of thoſe whom I have conſulted, who owns him to be the ſon of a man of this profeſſion: *Ex Joanne pecunioſo negotiatore Mediolani fere nullo parentis dolore natus & educatus fuit* (1): the reſt make him rather the ſon of a Gentleman of an ancient family: *Andreas Alciatus in pago Alciato ſeu Alzato Mediolanenſi natus à nobili Alciatorum familia.* Thus Claudius Minos begins (2). It cannot be objected to me that in ſome places the quality of a Merchant and that of a Gentleman are not incompatible; for when they are joined, a Hiſtorian does not ſpeak of the weakeſt without ſpeaking of the ſtrongeſt. Then ſince Panzirolus has ſpoken only of Alciat's father's buſineſs, he ſeems not to have been of Claudius Minos's opinion.

(1) Panzir. *de claris Legum Interpret.* lib. 2. c. 169. p. 353.
(2) Minos, *in Vita* Andreæ Alciati, Ghilini, Lorenzo Craſſo, Paul Freher, Bullart, &c. make him deſcend from an ancient and noble family.

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the bar in the city of Milan, till he was called . . . by the Univerſity of Avignon.*] Here I carefully avoid adopting Panzirolus's relation. If I did adopt it, I muſt affirm that Alciat, having been made Doctor in Civil and Canon Law, in 1517, at a little above twenty two years of age, taught firſt at Pavia, and afterwards at Avignon: *Primum itaque Ticini profeſſus, poſtea Avenioni docuit* (3). If I ſhould ſay that, I ſhould give Alciat himſelf the lie, who, in an Oration that he made at Pavia, declares, that when he obtained ſix hundred crowns pay at Avignon, he had never yet entred the chair: *Avenioni cum nunquam ad eam diem cathedram aſcendiſſem ſtipendium ſexcentorum mererer* (4). Panzirolus's account is to be ſuſpected of falſhood on other accounts; he ſhews an extreme negligence: it appears there that Alciat was not quite 23 years old in 1517; and yet his epitaph related by Panzirolus three pages afterwards teſtifies that he was near 59 years old in January, 1550: then he muſt

(3) Panzir. *de claris Leg. Interpret.* p. 353.

(4) *See the* Comments on his *Emblems*, p. 612 of the Padua edition in 1661, in 4°.

Univerſity of Bourges. He prevailed with him to ſettle there in 1529 [C], and the next year he doubled his penſion, which before was 600 crowns. Alciat was Profeſſor five years at Bourges, and acquired much glory there, but he made uſe of a ſtratagem to obtain an augmentation of his ſalary [D]. He mixed much polite learning in the explication of the Laws,

muſt be 25 in 1517. What Panzirolus affirms, that Alciat publiſhed his *Paradoxes* and his *Diſpunctiones*, about the year 1517, cannot be cleared up by Claudius Minos; for never was any chaos of a book more abſurd than the place where this laſt writer has ſpoken of the edition of Alciat's Paradoxes. *Duodecim poſt annos*, ſays he (5), *cum civilis & pontificii Juris profeſſoriis inſignibus donatus eſſet, Paradoxa & Diſpunctiones in publicum emiſit, opus, ut ipſe dicit, elaboratum horis ſucciſivis, & à candidato adhuc & tirone.* i. e. "After twelve years, when "he had obtained the honour of the Profeſſorſhip "of Civil and Canon Law, he publiſhed his *Para-* "*doxes* and *Diſpunctiones*, a work, as he ſays, per- "formed at leiſure hours, and by one who was but "a Candidate and a Student." One cannot comprehend to what the term *twelve* refers; for all that goes before it is the relation of Alciat's different ſtations, and his manner of teaching the Law. If one could underſtand by theſe words of Minos, that Alciat publiſhed his *Paradoxes* twelve years after his promotion to the Doctorſhip, the whole chaos would ſoon be diſſipated; but then what would become of Panzirolus, who places the edition of this book about the time of his taking the Degree of Doctor, that is, in 1517? What would become of Tiraqueau, who affirms, that "Alciat compoſed a conſiderable work before he was "20 years old (6)? It is that which we have under "the title of *Paradoxes du Dröit Civil*, which he "divided into ſix books, and dedicated to the Chan- "celier du Prat, being at Bourges, in 1529, twelve "years after having publiſhed it in his own country, "when he received the Doctor's cap; but ſeventeen "or eighteen years after he had compoſed it (7)." The work which I quote ſhews me, that Alciat's firſt Eſſay was the *explication and correction* of the Greek terms that are found in the *Digeſt*; that this book appeared firſt in Italy, and ſome years afterwards at Strasburg, in 1515. I have read (8), that the firſt Dedication that Alciat made of his works was in the year 1513, and that it is that of the three laſt books of the Code. It is very certain, that he publiſhed his *Paradoxes*, dedicated to the Chancellor Antoine du Prat, about the year 1517 (9). He publiſhed his *Diſpunctiones* about the ſame time, dedicated to John de Selve, Preſident of the Senate of Milan, and his *Prætermiſſa*, dedicated to James de Minut, Counſellor in the ſame Senate, and formerly Profeſſor of Law at Orleans. He was Profeſſor at Avignon about the year 1521; for in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Treatiſe *De Verborum Significatione*, dated at Bourges the firſt of May, 1529, he ſays that he had dictated to his Scholars for eight years.

I have juſt now learnt that Budé, in a Letter written to Chriſtopher Longueil, in the month of February 1520 (10), has made mention of a viſit that Alciat made him ſome time before at Avignon. It is Mr. de la Monnoie that has communicated this particular to me. I add that they have publiſhed at Utrecht ſome Letters of our Alciat, which teſtify that he was Profeſſor of Law at Avignon about the year 1518 (11); that his ſalary amounted to five hundred crowns, and that he had ſeven hundred auditors. Two years after, he wrote that they gave him ſix hundred crowns, and ſome other gratifications; and that his auditory was compoſed of above eight hundred perſons, amongſt whom might be counted Prelates, Abbots and Counts (12). He quitted this Profeſſion and returned to Milan, about the end of October 1522. Among many other things that engaged him to this retreat, the principal was, that they did not pay him his ſalary quick enough, the city of Avignon having run in debt, by means of a contagious diſtemper: beſides he was given to underſtand, that if the plague ſhould return, he muſt conſent to a diminution of his ſalary. He rejected this propoſal (13). He applied himſelf to the bar in his own country, and found that employment more profitable than he expected (14). He ſtaid in Italy till he had accepted of the Profeſſorſhip that was offered him in the univerſity of Bourges (15).

[C] *Francis I. prevailed with him to ſettle at Bourges &c. in* 1529.] I chuſe rather to follow Minos and Mr. Catherinot (16), than Panzirolus. This laſt anticipates this vocation a year. *Deinde, anno* 1528 *Bituriges quo magna ſtudioſorum multitudo ad ejus famam confluxit, amplo* 1200 *aureorum ſtipendio à Rege Franciſco eſt conductus* (17). i. e. "Afterwards, in 1528, he was "retained with a large ſtipend of 1200 crowns, by "King Francis, to teach at Bourges, whither his "fame drew a great multitude of Students." I do not object to Panzirolus, that the penſion was at firſt no more than eighteen hundred francs, and that doubling it the year after brought it to the ſum that he has expreſſed: I have greater inaccuracies to tax him with. He ſays, I. that Alciat could live but a few years in France, becauſe Franciſcus Maria Duke of Milan ordered him to return, and threatned the confiſcation of all his eſtate, in caſe of diſobedience; II, that Alciat being returned home, taught ſome years at Pavia, till he went to Bologna on account of the wars in 1532. It is certain that Alciat tarried five years at Bourges, as appears by the verſes he made when he left it.

Urbs Biturix, invitus amans te deſero amantem,
Quinque per æſtates terra habitate mihi (18).

"Dear Bourges, thee unwilling I forſake,
"Where I five ſummers did my dwelling make.

Since then, according to Panzirolus, he had been called to the chair in 1528, he muſt not have quitted it before 1533. How then could he have taught ſome years at Pavia, after his going from Bourges, and go afterwards to Bologna, in 1532? His *Diſſertation on Duelling*, dedicated to Francis I, is dated from Avignon, March 1ſt, 1529. The Preface to his *Paradoxes* is dated from Bourges, Auguſt 24th, 1529. This is deciſive againſt Panzirolus. There remain two falſhoods more to remove: one of Moreri, the other of Paul Freher. The firſt ſays, that *the liberality of Francis I drew Alciat to France, where he taught at Avignon:* according to the other, Alciat went to teach in this city, at his firſt coming out of the ſchool of Parrhaſius (19). It is an abſurd falſhood, to ſay that the liberality of a King of France brought a Profeſſor into another Prince's country; and who does not know, that after Alciat had quitted the ſchool of Parrhaſius, he went to ſtudy at Pavia and at Bologna, and that he was received Doctor in 1517, and that he printed books before his being Profeſſor at Avignon?

[D] *He made uſe of a ſtratagem, to obtain an augmentation of his ſalary.*] By his intrigues he procured to himſelf the offer of an employment from the Univerſity of Padua. Voſſius, who informs me of that, was afraid, leſt by deferring an anſwer to thoſe who offered him a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of Cambridge he might render himſelf ſuſpected of a like management; for, adds he, moſt people do ſo. *Quis rerum mearum ignarus, aliud ſibi perſuaderi poſſit, quam diutinam hanc in reſpondendo ceſſationem inde duntaxat, aut potiſſimum ſaltem, promanare, ut vocatione Anglicana, aliquid mihi apud Batavos lucelli acquiram? ſcimus id pleriſque moris eſſe. Nec notam hanc effugit ſummus Juriſconſultus, Andreas Alciatus, cùm Biturigibus Patavium vocaretur. Et ille quidem callide hoc egerat ipſe, ut vocaretur. Mihi, ut ſcis, ne per ſomnium tale quid cogitanti ſponte apud vos profeſſio oblata eſt. Ille item, immane quantum aucto ſtipendio, apud Biturigas remanſit. Ego, uti hoc nunquam egi, ita nec quicquam acceſſionis (quam quidem ſcio mihi minimè invideres) conſequar remanendo, niſi ſimul acceſſio fiat fortè novi laboris* (20). i. e. "Who, that is ignorant of my affairs, can "be perſuaded to believe any thing elſe, than "that my long delay in anſwering, muſt only or "at leaſt chiefly ariſe from a deſire of gaining "ſome little profit to my ſelf amongſt the Dutch,

(5) Minos *in vita Alciati.*

(6) Tiraq. *de Jur. Primigen.* p. 158, quoted by Baillet, *Enfans celebres*, pag. 126, where you will find alſo quoted Ghilini, *Theatrum Litterat.* pag. 1. and Picinell. *Athen. Milan.* pag. 26, 28.

(7) Baillet. *Enfans celebres*, pag. 126.

(8) In the *Recherches de Paquier*, Book 9. ch. 39. p. 901.

(9) See the Preface of the *Paradoxes*, before the edition of 1529.

(10) Beginning the year with January.

(11) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. p. 76.

(12) Id. p. 78.

(13) Id. p. 96.

(14) Id. ib.

(15) Id. p. 106.

(16) He ſays in the firſt page of his *Calviniſme de Berri*, that Alciat read his firſt Lecture at Bourges, on Monday April 19, 1529.

(17) Panzirol. *de clar. Leg. Interp.* l. 2. c. 169.

(18) Minos, *in vita Alciati.*

(19) Freheri *Viror. illuſt. Theatrum*, p. 226.

(20) Voſſius, Epiſt. xlviii. pag. 91, 92. It is dated from Leyden, June 1, 1625.

Law, and happily drove out the barbarity of language, which till then had reigned in the Lectures and Writings of Lawyers. Thuanus highly praiſed him for it, Thuanus, I ſay, who in other reſpects was not well acquainted with his Hiſtory [*E*]. The Oration that this Profeſſor made *ex tempore* to Francis the Firſt who came to hear him [*F*] pleaſed that Monarch very much. Francis Sforza Duke of Milan thought himſelf obliged to bring back to his native country a Man who could ſhine ſo much in it; he compaſſed it at laſt, by giving

" by the call to England? We know that this is a cuſtom with moſt people. Nor did the great Lawyer Andrew Alciat eſcape this cenſure, when he was called from Bourges to Padua. And indeed it was out of cunning, that he procured this call for himſelf. But to me, you know, this Profeſſorſhip amongſt you was voluntarily offered, when I did not ſo much as dream of any ſuch thing. He alſo ſtaid at Bourges, with a large increaſe of ſalary. For my part, as I never did this, ſo I ſhall never obtain any addition (which I know you would not envy me) by ſtaying, unleſs there be an addition alſo of new labour." I ſhould feel ſome remorſes of conſcience, if I did not acknowledge in this place, that Mr. de la Monnoie pointed me out this paſſage of Voſſius. Beſides this, he has acquainted me with the following particulars. " It appears by the XIIth Letter of the II Book of *Sadolet's Letters*, that Alciat, from the firſt year of his ſtaying at Bourges, had or feigned to have a deſign of going to be Law Profeſſor at Bologna. Two Italian Letters of Bembo, one of the 7th of July 1532, and the other of the 23d of February 1533, ſhew a pretty many particulars concerning the deſign that the Republic of Venice had to draw Alciat to Padua (21). The Profeſſors of this Univerſity were in a dreadful apprehenſion of it: in which number was Franceſchin da Corta, in Latin *Franciſcus Curtius*, who to prevent the coming of ſuch a Collegue, ſpread a report, that the Duke of Milan, Francis Sforza, falſly called Francis Mary by Panzirolus, had forbidden him under very rigorous puniſhments to quit the chair of Pavia, *Sotto pena di confiſcatione*." That we may not be in too much confuſion, we muſt ſuppoſe, I fancy, that the 23d of February 1533 of Peter Bembus's Letter, belongs to the year 1534, beginning the year with the month of January; for otherwiſe we cannot comprehend that Alciat had been at Pavia, when this Letter was dated; he who had been Profeſſor five years at Bourges, and had not begun to read there till 1529. In conſulting the Latin Letters of the ſame Bembo, I have found that he wrote to our Alciat the 15th of July 1532, to exhort him to come and take poſſeſſion of the chair, that had been offered him in the Univerſity of Padua. He removes the difficulty that kept him in ſuſpenſe, which was that the Republic of Venice, had not promiſed the ſame ſort of crowns that were demanded (22). Bembo ſhews him, that for ſo ſmall a difference, he ought not to diſengage himſelf from his promiſe, and adds, *if you come, I engage you ſhall have in a little time the whole ſum you have mentioned, and other advantages.* He wrote to him again the 21ſt of April 1534. Alciat was at that time at Pavia, and did not live there to his mind. Bembo declares to him, that for his own part he approves of his excuſes; but that the Curators of the Univerſity of Padua were not ſatisfied with them, and were perſuaded, that his asking a Law-chair amongſt them was founded only upon a motive of intereſt; namely, that Alciat would not have deſired to be Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Padua, but only to make a handle of that ſtation, to procure a larger ſalary from the Duke of Milan. *Utinam tam æqui in te judices Præfecti Ludi Patavini eſſent, neque ſibi perſuaſiſſimum haberent, te propterea profitendi Jus Civile hac in urbe locum poſtulaviſſe, ut eo tradito apud Ducem iſtum tuum uterere ad largius atque uberius ab eo ſtipendium promerendum* (23).

Alciat had before made uſe of the ſame art, whilſt he was at Avignon. He employed one of his friends (24) to procure a call for him either to Bologna or Padua. He did not intend to accept theſe calls, but only to make a handle of them to encreaſe his ſalary. We know this by the Letters he wrote at that time, and which were printed at Utrecht, in 1697. *Si mille mihi aurei Ferrariæ conſtituerentur, eo non irem: & ſatis non poſſum non mirari, qui tibi in mentem venerit, hanc conventionem cum eo tractare; cum de Patavino aut Bononienſi Gymnaſio ſolum tibi mandata dederim: quamvis nec mihi diſpliceant tua iſta conſilia: non quod in has Academias venturus ſim, ſed quod Avenionenſes, ſi ſciverint ab aliis quoque me ſollicitari, ne eos deſeram, timebunt, & augebunt ſtipendia. Quare cum eis potiſſimum velim hæc diſſemines, quos conjectabis idoneos eſſe; ut in Avenionenſem Academiam literas harum rerum indices dent* (25). i. e. " If I was to have a thouſand crowns allowed to me at Ferrara, I would not go thither: and I am much ſurprized that you ſhould take it in your head to make this treaty with them; when I gave you commiſſion only for Padua or Bologna: tho' at the ſame time I am not diſpleaſed with what you have done: not that I would go to thoſe Univerſities, but becauſe they of Avignon, if they know that I am ſollicited by others, will be afraid of my leaving them, and will encreaſe my ſalary. Wherefore I deſire you would treat with thoſe chiefly, whom you ſhall judge likely to make a diſcovery of theſe tranſactions by letters to the Univerſity of Avignon." His friend made cabals at Padua, to get the German Students to deſire the Republic of Venice to get Alciat thither (26). They deſired him to ſave himſelf that trouble, ſeeing he was engaged for two years in the city of Avignon. His Letter is dated the 26th of September 1528. What baſeneſs! what ſordid love of gain is here!

(21) Theſe Letters of Bembo are in page 645 and 654 of the collection intitled *Lettere di xiii Huomini illuſtri*, printed at Venice in 1560, in 8vo. See alſo the xxixth and xxxth Letters, of the vith book of Bembo.

(22) *Cum tu nummos aureos, ſolares petieris illa tibi tantum aureos eſt pollicita.* Petrus Bembus, Epiſt. xxix. lib. 6. p. 634.

(23) Bembus, Epiſt. xxx. l. 6. pag. 635.

(24) Franciſcus Calvus.

(25) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. p. 79.

(26) Ibid. p. 78.

[*E*] *Thuanus... was not well acquainted with his Hiſtory.*] He ſuppoſes, I, that Alciat, after having taught a long time at Bourges, was Profeſſor at Avignon; it is quite the contrary: II, that Alciat went out of France in his declining age; he was but about forty, more or leſs: III, that Alciat, after his return from Italy, read firſt at Bologna, and afterwards at Ferrara; but he read at Padua before he went to Bologna: IV, that Alciat died in 1551, when his epitaph expreſſes the 12th of January 1550. It is true ſome authors relate, that it gives him 58 years, 8 months, and 4 days. But others ſay, it gives him but 57 years, 8 months and 4 days (27). Thuanus's miſtake is leſs than that of Forſterus, followed by Doujat (28), and than that of Imperialis. This laſt places Alciat's death in 1559 (29). Forſterus places it 1548 (30). But let us obſerve principally the falſity of an Aſtrologer, who having ſaid that Alciat died at Ferrara in 1546, adds that it was of a wound of Saturn and Sol. *Andreas Alciatus didicit literas Græcas à Pomponio Gaurico Patavii.... obiit Ferrariæ anno* 1546, *ex Saturno in oppoſitione Horoſcopi, & Sole Martis tetragono ſauciato. In converſione annua non ſolum directiones Aphetarum, ſed annuæ converſiones penitus commaculatæ interimunt* (31). i. e. " Alciat learned Greek of Pomponius Gauricus at Padua.... He died at Ferrara in 1546, of Saturn in oppoſition of the Horroſcope, and wounded by a ſquare of Sol and Mars. In the annual converſion not only the directions of the Aphetæ, but the annual converſions being quite commaculated, kill." This is what Lucas Gauricus ſets under the figure of the nativity of our Lawyer. He places his birth on the 8th of May 1492, at one hour and thirty minutes after Sun riſing. Is not this a fine art? it has rules, according to which a man muſt die ſeveral years before his death. I have read a Letter of Alciat, dated September 3, 1530, wherein he affirms he was but juſt entering his 37th year, or that he was ſcarce 37 years old. *Vix trigeſimum & ſeptimum annum attingenti* (32). That proves he was born in 1494, or 1493.

VARIATIONS in the age of Alciat.

(27) Ghilini, *Teatro de Letterati, Parte I.* pag. 11.

(28) Doujat, *Prænot. Canon.* p. 619.

(29) Imper. *in Muſæo Hiſtor.* p. 52.

(30) Forſteri *Hiſtor. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. c. 41. p. 542.

(31) Lucas Gauricus *in Schematib.* fol. 73.

(32) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. p. 106.

[*F*] *He made an* ex tempore *Oration to Francis* I, *who came to hear him.*] Minos relates this: Panzirolus ſays nothing of it; but, inſtead of that, he affirms that the Dauphin having been at one of Alciat's Lectures, made him a preſent of a medal, worth four hundred crowns. It was that which

giving him, beſides a great ſalary, the dignity of Senator. Alciat then went to teach the Law at Pavia, but he went ſoon after to the Univerſity of Bologna (*g*), and ſtaid there four years. Then he returned to Pavia, from whence he went to Ferrara (*h*), being drawn thither by the Duke Hercules d'Eſte, who was endeavouring to make his Univerſity famous. It returned to its ſplendor under a Profeſſor that was ſo much followed, but at the end of four years Alciat left it and returned to Pavia, where at laſt he found the true remedy for his inconſtant humour [*G*], I mean death, on the twelfth of January 1550 (*i*), he was not full fifty eight years old: Paul III gave him an honourable reception as he paſſed by Ferrara, and offered him a promotion in the Eccleſiaſtick dignities. Alciat was contented with that of Prothonatory, and would not renounce the profeſſion of the Law [*H*]. The Emperor created him a Count Palatine and a Senator; Philip King of Spain (*α*) as he paſſed by Pavia,

(*g*) He made his inaugural Oration there the 3d of Nov. 1537.

(*h*) He made his inaugural Oration there in 1543.

(*i*) *Ex* Panziroli *de claris Leg. Interpret.* lib. 2. cap. 169. See the note [*E*] at the end, for the time of his death.

the inhabitants had given to the Dauphin. I have already ſaid on other occaſions, that when a fact of this kind is variouſly related by authors, or is not mention'd by the greateſt part of thoſe who make a perſon's encomium, it deſerves to be accounted very doubtful. However we muſt except this from that rule; for we find amongſt Alciat's works (33) the Diſcourſe that he made when Francis I was preſent at one of his Lectures.

(33) In the 4th Vol. p. 870, of the Francfort ed. in 1617.

[*G*] *The true remedy for his inconſtant humour.*] If I had been willing to take advantage of all I have met with in authors concerning the different migrations of Alciat, I might have made him appear ſtill more inconſtant than he was; but I made a conſcience of laying any more to his charge. It is ſufficient that he went from Avignon to Bourges, from Bourges to Pavia, from Pavia to Bologna, from Bologna to Pavia, from Pavia to Ferrara, from Ferrara to Pavia; and all this before he was 60 years of age. Thevet is ſo confuſed in what he ſays of this learned Lawyer, that there is none of his readers, but muſt infer that Alciat returned to France, after the Duke of Milan had drawn him from Bourges. We have ſeen that Panzirolus ſends him from Pavia to Avignon. Moreri ſends him from Bourges to Orleans, and from Orleans to Padua. Mr. Teiſſier makes him Profeſſor at Milan (34). He quotes Pâquier, in the xxixth chapter of the ixth book of his *Recherches:* he ſhould have quoted the xxxixth chapter; but even there we find nothing of Milan. Theſe are Pâquier's words. *I heard three or four of Alciat's Lectures in the city of Pavia. Going from thence to the city of Bologna, where Marianus Socinus, the nephew of Bartholomæus read, I found all the Italian Students ſet a greater value on him than on the other. Even thoſe who pleaded, to make ſure of their cauſes, ſought more after Socinus, on this ſole conſideration* (ſaid they) *that he had never loſt any time in the ſtudy of Humanity, as Alciat had.* Mr. Teiſſier, quoting this paſſage, ſays that *Bartholomæus Socinus taught Law at Bologna, at the ſame time that Alciat was Profeſſor at Milan.* Theſe two facts are not in Paſquier. If I had had a mind to heap all this together, what a weather-cock ſhould I have made of our inconſtant Profeſſor? but I ſhould have been a thouſand times more to blame than the authors of theſe lies, if I had made uſe of them to his prejudice. He was not ignorant of his being blamed for all theſe frequent migrations from one univerſity to another: he would juſtify himſelf this way among many others; that no one is offended with the Sun's running over the whole globe, to animate all things with his heat and rays: he added, that when we praiſe the fixt Stars, we do not intend to condemn the Planets (35). There was an intolerable vanity in ſuch compariſons: it was looking on himſelf as a ſource of light, that was ſucceſſively to run through the whole commonwealth of learning; that ſo by his preſence the darkneſs of barbarity might be driven from all places where it had a mind to entrench itſelf. But let us admit of his compariſon, and tell him that he ought, like the Sun of Copernicus, keep in his own centre, and illuminate all thoſe that approached him. It is much more glorious to draw a great number of Scholars to the place of one's abode, as was done by Abelard the Philoſopher (36), than to tranſport one's ſelf to cities, where there are abundance of Scholars. And, without doubt, if the love of glory was by itſelf alone in a ſoul, if it was not mixed with a love of profit, or with a changeableneſs of humour, that makes one preſently diſreliſh the ſame things, we ſhould not ſee ſo many infected with Alciat's diſeaſe. The proſpect of true glory would inſpire a man with a reſolution, not to go and look for great theatres; but to convert that where he finds himſelf placed, how little ſoever it may be, into a great one; he would recollect the anſwer of Ageſilaus. He was ſeated one day of ceremony in a low place: Εὖγε, ſays he, δείξω γὰρ ὅτι οὐχ' οἱ τόποι τὺς ἄνδρας ἐντίμους, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες τὺς τόπους ἐπιδοξάζουσι (37). i. e. "It is very well, for I ſhall "ſhew that it is not the place that makes the man "honourable, but the man that ſets off the place." One may ſee under this conſideration, that it is much more noble to do a thing freely, than for wages, and ſo the nearer we approach to a free gift, that is, to a profeſſion without wages, the nearer we approach to the great and the noble; whereas we depart from it, and approach to a low and mercenary ſpirit, in proportion to the augmentation of wages which we extort. It is reducing the profeſſion of the ſciences to a level with the moſt mechanic arts. A ſhoemaker or a hatter, who makes one pay more for his work than another, gets by that means the reputation of a good workman. And when you pretend, that if you have a greater penſion for what you deliver from a chair, that you are a greater Preacher or a more learned Profeſſor, do not you judge of your trade, as one would of that of a ſhoemaker or a hatter? This is the ready way to run down the ſciences, and bring contempt on thoſe that profeſs them; for a falſe taſte of glory joined with avarice is uſually the cauſe of the fault that is cenſured in Alciat: I mean the deſire of running haſtily the round of the univerſities, of which I have ſpoken already in another place (38). It is certainly putting one's learning up to auction, and ſhewing the Public that we will give our ſelves up to the beſt bidder.

A REFLEXION on the humour of running from chair to chair in ſome Teachers.

(37) Plutarch. *in Apophth. Laconicis, init.* pag. 208.

(38) In the note [*A*] of the Article of (FRANCIS) ACCARISI.

[*H*] *He would not renounce the profeſſion of the Law.*] He rejoices on this account in a Letter that he wrote to Paulus Jovius, whom Pope Paul III had a long time amuſed with fallacious promiſes. *I am very glad,* ſays he, *that I did not ſuffer myſelf to be deceived by this Pope, who, under the promiſe of a great recompence, would have drawn me to Rome.* And then ſets forth the ſolid advantages of his profeſſion, and oppoſes them to the imaginary hopes of a Cardinalſhip. *Mihi gratulor, quod ab eo, (inveterati aſtus ſene Principe) me decipi non ſum paſſus, quum me, uti ſcis, magnis propoſitis præmiis Ticino, Ferraria atque Bononia, in urbem accerſeret. Tum enim ex jure meo, magis cautus fui, quam tu ex ſapientiæ præceptis prudens philoſophus. Cur enim pro inani aut incerta ſpe purpuræ hos tantum primi ſuggeſtus honores relinquerem, opimis præſertim firmatos ſtipendiis? Cur has tantas contemnerem circumfuſæ juventutis ſalutationes? Et hanc denique tot conſultoribus januam pulſantibus, exiſtimationem magno lucro, & non obſcura cum laude quæſitam, inepte ſtulteque deſererem* (39)? Obſerve by the way, that this confutes thoſe who ſay he refuſed the Cardinal's hat, which the Pope offered him (40). This ſtory is an hyperbole, the favourite figure of a vaſt many people. All that is true in this affair had been ſaid, if they had contented themſelves with affirming, that the Pope, to ſucceed the better in drawing Alciat to Rome, gave him to underſtand that it would be the means of opening himſelf a way to the ſacred College. Such a diſcourſe is very far from offering him a Cardinal's hat.

(39) Alciat. *Epiſtol. ad Paulum Jovium.* It is at the beginning of the firſt volume of Paulus Jovius's Hiſtories, and dated from Pavia the 7th of Oct. 1549.

(40) Teiſſier, *Elog.* tom. 2. p. 394, edit. 1683, and tom. 1. pag. 34, ed. 1696.

§. (*α*) Alciat, to whom Philip preſented a golden chain, as they would have it, died in 1550. Now this Prince came to the crown only by the abdication of the Emperor his father, in 1556. If Mr.

(34) Teiſſier, *Eloges des Hommes illuſt.* tom. 2. p. 395. Geneva edition in 1683.

(35) See the Oration that he made at Ferrara in 1543, *Oper.* tom. 4. p. 862. and Claude Minos, in his Life.

(36) See the note [*A*] of the article FOULQUES.

Pavia, preſented him with a gold chain. It is thought that the diſtemper of which he died was occaſioned by too much eating (*k*); for he not only had the vice of being very covetous, but alſo of being a great eater [*I*]. He was a fat man and very tall (*l*). After his mother's death, who died in a very advanced age, he deſigned to employ his wealth in the foundation of a College; but having received an affront from ſome inſolent ſcholars, he laid that deſign aſide, and choſe for his heir FRANCIS ALCIAT, a very hopeful young man that he had brought up (*m*), though they were very diſtant relations (*n*). This Francis Alciat ſucceeded Andrew in his eſtate and chair, and made himſelf famous at Pavia by his Law Lectures. Cardinal Barromeo, who had been his diſciple, ſent for him to Rome and brought him into ſuch favour with Pius IV, that he got him a Biſhoprick, the Office of Datary or Chancellor of Rome, and a Cardinal's Hat (*o*): There are ſome treatiſes of Law of this Cardinal Alciat who died at Rome in April 1580, being a little above fifty years old. See Nicius Erythreus in the xlviith chapter of the ſecond *Pinacotheca*. Thoſe who ſay that our Andrew paſſed his life in celibacy are miſtaken [*K*]. He ſet up very ſoon for an Author, as I have obſerved in the note [*B*]. He has publiſhed a pretty many *Law Books*, and ſome *Notes upon Tacitus*, whoſe Latin ſeemed to him extreamly harſh (*L*]. Muret railed very much againſt this delicacy in one of his harangues (*p*). Alciat was not at all affected by it, for he was already dead: But other Criticks, and particularly Floridus Sabinus, who attacked him whilſt he was alive, made him throughly feel their teeth and nails (*q*). His Emblems have been very much eſteemed, and have been thought by three or four learned men worthy to be adorned with their Commentaries [*M*]. They have praiſed his Poetry too much, as Mr. Baillet has wittilly obſerved in the third Volume of his *Judgments on the Poets*, *Jugemens ſur les poëtes*, num. 1286.

(*k*) *Ex cibo quem largiorem ſumere conſueverat morbum contraxit.* Id. ib.

(*l*) *Vir fuit corpulentus, proceræ ſtaturæ.* Panzir. *de claris Legum Interpretibus*, l. 2. c. 169. Mr. Teiſſier, tom. 2. p. 394 of his *Elogies*, gives him however a middling ſtature.

(*m*) It is not true then, that there was at Naples in 1686, a grandſon of the great Alciat. *See* Dr. Burnet's *Travels*, p. 339, of the Rotterdam edition in 1688. He muſt beſides have been very old.

(*n*) Moreri makes them uncle and nephew.

(*o*) Panzir. *de claris Leg. Interpret.* lib. 2. c. 169.

(*p*) It is the xviith of the 2d volume. See alſo Bodini, *Meth. Hiſtor.* c. 4. pag. 85.

(*q*) Cl. Minos, *in vita Alciati.*

He

Bayle had made this reflexion, he would have ſaid *Prince* and not *King of Spain*. However, this little inadvertency is properly Panzirolus's, whom Mr. Bayle does but copy in this place. REM. CRIT.

[*I*] *He was not only covetous, but alſo a great eater.*] Panzirolus expreſſes himſelf thus; *Avarior habitus eſt, & cibi avidior.* He adds, that Alciat having received three hundred crowns for an opinion, and knowing that more had been given to Marianus Socinus for the ſame affair, cried out, that they had found a better Merchant, but not a better Lawyer. Take this by the way for a confirmation of what has been quoted from Pâquier (41). We are going to learn ſome more news of Alciat's covetouſneſs. "He is "accuſed of two articles, one that his method ſa- "voured of I know not what doctoral oſtentation... "The other, that avarice had ſuch power over him, "that his tongue, his pen, and his learning ſeemed "to be at the command of the beſt bidder: And at "the ſame time, I remember that in the *Parerga*, "ſpeaking of Jaſon, he approves of preaching for "money, commending him, becauſe his ſalary as "a Teacher had been augmented. Of which "Alciat knew very well how to make his ad- "vantage, having drawn from the Univerſity of "Bourges twelve hundred crowns appointment, "beſides his licenſes and Doctor's fees, which he "made full treble, following the example of Doc- "tor Jaſon, who was the firſt, that for the degrees and "honours which he conferred on Lawyers, took fifty "and a hundred crowns, whereas before they uſed "to have them for three or four. It is owing to him, "ſays he, that Decius, Ruinus, and the other Doc- "tors are able to enrich themſelves with theſe fees, "that the ſtudents pay, without being liable to be "blamed. From thence it is not difficult to gather, "that he pleads Jaſon's example, againſt thoſe who "found fault with him for being ſo fond of money, "that a man, in order to have the dignity of Doctor, "Batchelor, or Licentiate conferred upon him, muſt "part with abundance of crowns. What makes me "perſiſt the more in this opinion, is, that in the laſt "chapter of the fifth book of his *Parerga*, reſum- "ing his ſubject of Jaſon, he complains of the "Princes and Lords, who give ſuch ſmall ſalaries to "learned and underſtanding men, whereas in former "times, particularly in the time of Veſpaſian, (ac- "cording to the relation of Suetonius) that Empe- "ror cauſed to be delivered out of his publick trea- "ſury fifteen hundred crowns to Greek and Latin "Orators and Rhetoricians; he adds at the ſame time "the authority of Eumenius the Rhetorician, who "exerciſed his vocation at Authun, to which, by "the order of the Emperors Diocleſian and Maxi- "mian, a penſion was allowed of fifteen thou- "ſand crowns a year." Theſe are Thevet's words, in the 279th page of the ſeventh Tome of the *Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men.*

(41) At the beginning of the note [*G*], after the quot. (32).

[*K*] *Thoſe who ſay that he paſſed his life in Celibacy, are miſtaken.*] See how he ſpeaks in a letter that he wrote to his friend Francis Calvus, after he had withdrawn himſelf from Milan to Avignon. *Vice verſa, & ego te rerum mearum admoneo; multis affectum me ærumnis patria exceſſiſſe, Uxorem vivam & ſoſpitem ibi reliquiſſe; cæteros fato functos* (42), *fortunis pleriſque amiſſis, virtuti ſolum innixum non omnino concidiſſe. Libros & Bibliothecam omnem conſervaſſe. In præſentia Jus Civile Avenione profiteor* (43) That is, "On the other hand, I alſo will give "you an account of my affairs; that I went out of "my country afflicted with many troubles; that I "left a wife there alive and ſafe; that the reſt were "dead, and that having loſt all my eſtate, but "confiding in my virtue, I am not entirely o- "verwhelmed." Let us correct then theſe words of Mr. Teiſſier, *He paſſed his life in celibacy* (44).

(42) He ſays however, in a letter written in 1522, that his mother and uncle were alive, *Epiſtolæ Gudii*, &c. p. 96.

(43) Ib. p. 75.

(44) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. p. 34.

[*L*] *The Latin of* Tacitus *ſeemed to him extremely harſh.*] It is in a Letter to Paulus Jovius, that this complaint dropped from him: *Alciatus non dubitat affirmare dictionem ejus præ illa Pauli Jovii eſſe ſenticeta* (45). i. e. "Alciat makes no difficulty to af- "firm that his ſtyle is a mere bramble in compariſon "of that of Paulus Jovius." On another occaſion, he had ſpoken quite otherwiſe: *Certat in Tacito ſermonis gravitas cum elegantia* (46). i. e. "In *Tacitus* "there is a gravity mixt with great elegance." I refer the diſcuſſion of this to the article of TACITUS.

(45) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* lib. 1. p. 160.

(46) *Vide Canonherii Diſc. Politic. in Tacit.* p. 3.

[*M*] *His Emblems have been very much eſteemed.... and adorned with ſeveral Commentaries.*] Scaliger the father, who was not prodigal of praiſes, as every one knows, ſpeaks thus of this work: *Alciati præter Emblemata nihil mihi videre contigit. Ea vero talia ſunt, ut cum quovis ingenio certare poſſint. Dulcia ſunt, pura ſunt, elegantia ſunt; ſed non ſine nervis: ſententiæ verò tales, ut etiam ad uſus civilis vitæ conferant* (47). i. e. "I have not happened to ſee any "thing of Alciat, except his Emblems. And they are "ſuch as may be compared with any work of genius. "They are ſweet, they are pure, they are elegant; "but not without ſtrength: and the thoughts are "ſuch as may be of uſe in civil life." Theſe Emblems have been tranſlated into French, Italian and Spaniſh (48). There are at leaſt three French tranſlations of them; that of Bartholomew Aneau, that of John le Fevre, and that of Claudius Minos (49). This laſt did not content himſelf with tranſlating them, but alſo commented on them. One of the moſt learned Profeſſors of Humanity in Spain (50) thought them worthy

(47) Jul. Cæſar *Scalig. de Poëtic.* lib. 6.

(48) Joh. Matthæus Toſcan. *in Pepło Ital.* l. 3.

(49) See the *Bib. de la Croix du Maine.*

(50) Sanctius, *Broſenſ.*

He is not one of thoſe who have perſiſted in their firſt ſentiments; for we find in his *Parerga*, which is a work he publiſhed in his latter days, that he retracted many things which the fire of youth had made him utter precipitately, and when his *Diſputationes* were reprinted in 1529, he gave to underſtand (*r*) that in retouching that book, he had not pretended to give his approbation to all that he had put in it in his younger years, nor to deprive himſelf of the liberty of changing his opinion. A like remark was made by an Apologiſt of the Emperor Juſtinian (*s*). They (*t*) printed at Leyden in 1695 a letter that Andrew Alciat did not intend for the publick; for he made in it too ſtrong a deſcription *of the Abuſes of the Monaſtic Life*. He wrote this letter to Bernard Mattius, who had been his Collegue, and who of a ſudden, and without conſulting his friends, became a Monk of the order of St. Francis. His imprudence was learnedly and eloquently repreſented to him. This diſcourſe of Alciat was compoſed in four days; they found it in the cabinet of Scriverius (*u*): it is dated the ſeventh of June 1553 [*N*].

(*r*) See the Preface of the book.

(*s*) Gabriel Trivorius, *Obſervat. Apologet. ad Inſcript. Orationis ad Anteceſſores*, p. 187. edit. Pariſ. an. 1631.

(*t*) Mr. Matthæus, Profeſſor of Law at Leyden.

(*u*) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of Mr. Matthæus.

worthy of a comment of his own. Pignorius, a learned Italian, has had the ſame opinion of them: and after all theſe a Profeſſor of Fribourg (51) has publiſhed them with their notes and his own, and has added at the end thoſe of Frederick Morel. This edition is very good; it is a misfortune that one cannot diſtinguiſh in it what belongs to each Commentator: it was printed at Padua, in 1661, in 4to. I do not ſpeak of Sebaſtian Stockhamerus, whoſe labour was not very much eſteemed. *Sebaſtianum Stockhamerum vix Commentatoris nomine dignor, quia in ſolâ Epigrammatis reſolutione occupatur, pauciſſimis, iiſque ſatis vulgatis ſententiis & fabulis additis; ad hæc vix mediam Emblematum partem hoc ſuo more explicat* (52). i. e. "I ſcarce think Sebaſtian Stockhamer "worthy of the name of a Commentator, becauſe "he is taken up wholly in the explanation of E-"pigrams, with the addition of a few ſentences and "fables, and thoſe very trite; beſides he explains ſcarce "half the Emblems, and that even after his own man-"ner." Neither do I ſpeak of the Jeſuit, who explain'd theſe very Emblems publicly at Paris (53); but I believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the title Bartholomew Aneau (*Bartholomæus Anulus*) made uſe of; it runs thus; *Les Embleſmes d'André Alciat, traduits vers pour vers jouxte la diction Latine, & ordonnez en lieux communs, avec ſommaires, inſcriptions, ſchemes, & briefves expoſitions epimythiques, ſelon l'allegorie naturelle, morale, ou hiſtoriale.* i. e. "The Emblems of An-"drew Alciat, tranſlated verſe for verſe according to "the Latin Diction, and diſpoſed in common places, "with ſummaries, inſcriptions, ſchemes, and brief "epimythick expoſitions, according to the natural, "moral or hiſtorical allegory." The editions of this work of Alciat are innumerable: in that of Thuilius, which I make uſe of, there are 212 Emblems; ſo I am ſurprized that Paulus Freherus ſhould affirm that this book contains but 100 Emblems (54).

(51) Joannes Thuilius, *Mariæmontanus Tirol. Phil. & Med. D. atque olim in Archid. Friburg. Briſgoiæ Univerſitate Human. Liter. Profeſſor ordinarius.*

(52) Thuilius, *in Præf.* Claudius Minos gives pretty near the ſame teſtimony in his Preface.

(53) Minos, ibid.

(54) Paul. Freher. *in Theatro.*

[*N*] *His diſcourſe of the* Abuſes of the Monaſtick Life *is dated the 7th of June* 1553.] If this date be right, we muſt reject all the Authors that place Alciat's death on the 12th of January 1550, or 1551, and quote his epitaph (55). But there is a miſtake in dating this diſcourſe; and I am of opinion it was compoſed before the year 1520, and that it is the ſame piece which Alciat was afraid Eraſmus would get printed. *Quod ut facias te quoque ipſe oro: nec minus ut de unguibus Eraſmi reglutines Orationem illam meam ad Matthiam Minoritam, cum id quæſo, ne ſi in cinerariorum iſtorum manus inciderit, parata ſint mihi cum eis æterna bella* (56). That is, "Which I deſire you alſo to do; and likewiſe to re-"cue out of Eraſmus's claws that oration of mine "to Matthias Minorita, for if it ſhould fall into the "hands of thoſe ſorry fellows, I ſhould be drawn "into an eternal contention with them." It is thus that he wrote to his friend Franciſcus Calvus the 26th of September 1520. There were publiſhed at Utrecht in 1697, ſome letters of the ſame Lawyer, from whence we learn a great many particulars, and eſpecially the praiſes that he gave himſelf with a bluſtering kind of vanity.

(55) See the note [*E*].

(56) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. p. 80. See alſo p. 81, 82. and Mr. Burman's Preface.

ALCIAT (JOHN PAUL) a Gentleman of Milan, was one of thoſe Italians who forſook their country in the ſixteenth Century to join with the Proteſtant church, and afterwards amuſed themſelves ſo much in refining on the myſtery of the Trinity, that they formed a new party, no leſs odious to the Proteſtants than to the Catholicks. Alciat had born arms: He began his innovations at Geneva, in concert with a Phyſician named Blandrata, and with a Lawyer named Gribaud, to whom Valentine Gentilis aſſociated himſelf (*a*). The precautions that were taken againſt them, and the ſevere proceedings that were exerciſed againſt this laſt, made the others more timorous, and even obliged them to ſeek another Theatre to act upon (*b*). They choſe Poland, where Blandrata and Alciat ſowed their hereſies with pretty good ſucceſs. They drew Gentilis [*A*] to them, who did not fail to go and join them (*c*). He was under an obligation

(*a*) See Aretius, in the *Hiſtory of the Condemnation of Gentilis.*

(*b*) Beza *in vita Calvini.*

(*c*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *They drew Gentilis to them.*] I have followed Aretius, and Theodorus Beza, who agree in relating that Gentilis did not go into Poland till after Blandrata and Alciat had ſpread their opinions there (1); I forſake the author of the *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, who affirms that Alciat and Gentilis went together into Poland, about the year 1562 (2). Staniſlaus Lubienietzki has ſaid pretty near the ſame thing. *Valentius iſte, & Paulus Alciatus Pedemontanus, cum Genevæ ob odia Calvini aterrima ſubſiſtere non poſſent, anno* 1563 *in Poloniam venerant* (3). i. e. "That "Valentine, and that Paul Alciat of Piedmont, when "they could ſtay no longer at Geneva, becauſe of "the bitter hatred of Calvin, came to Poland in "1563." But theſe authors are not exact enough, to deſerve the preference. Hornius deſerves it leſs, he, who has ſaid that George Blandrata and Paul Alciat, both Phyſicians, (he is miſtaken with regard to Alciat) eſcaped out of Switzerland into Poland, being terrified by the puniſhment of Servetus and Gentilis. In the ſame page of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he affirms that they followed the Tritheiſm of Valentine Gentilis (4). But it is certain that Alciat's hereſy was the true Socinianiſm. One cannot better confute Hornius's Chronology, than by a Letter of Peter Martyr, written at Zurich, the 11th of July 1558. He informs Calvin in this Letter, that Gregory the Phyſician had been ſeen, in company with John Paul of Piedmont; that they were exhorted not to break the unity of the Church, and to conform to the Formulary of the Italian Church at Geneva; that this was without effect; and that, by the advice of Bullinger, they were perſuaded to leave the city, which they did; that the Phyſician went into Tranſylvania, and that John Paul withdrew himſelf to Chiavenna. We muſt read in Peter Martyr, not *Gregorium Medicum*, but *Georgium Medicum*, who is no other than George Blandrata, as Joannes Paulus Pedemontanus is no other than our Alciat. If Calvin did not ſay expreſly that all

(1) Aretius, in the *Hiſtory of the Condemnation of Gentilis.* See alſo the 81ſt Letter of Beza.

(2) *Bib. Antitrinit.* p. 26, 27.

(3) Lubieniec, *Hiſt. Reformat. Polon.* p. 107.

(4) Theſe faults are found in the edition of 1687, augmented with the notes and the continuation of Mr. Leydecker.

tion to Alciat, for at his requeſt the Bailiff of Gex had releaſed him out of priſon [*B*]. They pretend that from Poland they went to Moravia. We ſhall ſpeak of the fate of Gentilis in its proper place. As for Alciat he retired to Dantzick, and died there in the ſentiments of Socinus [*C*], for it is not true that he turned Mahometan [*D*]. He had written two letters to Gregory Pauli, one in 1564, the other in 1565, dated from Huſterilts, in which he maintained that Jeſus Chriſt did not begin to exiſt before he was

all theſe heterodox Italians, and particularly John Paul Alciat, ſigned the Formulary; one would be tempted to think, that thoſe of whom Peter Martyr ſpeaks refuſed to ſubſcribe it. However that be, they had left Geneva, ſoon after the ſigning; for it was done the 10th of May 1558, and they were at Zurich the 11th of July following. Gentilis was not put to death till 1566. He had left Geneva ſome months after the ſigning, and withdrew to the country of Gex, where he conferred with Alciat: which ſhews, either that Alciat did not go to Chiavenna, when he went from Zurich; or that he ſtaid there but a little while. See the article BLANDRATA, where I endeavour to clear the order of time with regard to thoſe people.

[*B*] *At his requeſt the Bailiff of Gex had releaſed Gentilis out of priſon* (5).] It is not known whether requeſting was ſufficient. Sandius inſinuates that money was to be given: *In oppido nomine Gajum in carcerem conjicitur* (Gentilis,) *unde cum evadere non poſſet, quod eſſet pauper, à ſocio ſuo Paulo Alciato redimitur, quem utpote locupletem, præterea vero nobili gente ortum, immo & militem, ſimili modo non audebant aggredi* (6). i. e. "Gentilis was caſt into "priſon in a town called Gex, whence he could "not be releaſed, being poor, but was redeemed by his companion Paul Alciat, who was rich, "deſcended of a noble family, and alſo a ſoldier "for which reaſon they durſt not attempt to treat "him after the ſame manner."

(5) *Hiſtor. Reformat. Polon.* pag. 107; *Bibliot. Antitrinitar.* p. 28.

(6) *Bibliot. Antitrinit.* p. 26.

[*C*] *He died at Dantzick in the ſentiments of Socinus.*] One cannot reaſonably doubt of this, after the proofs that Martin Ruarus (7) has given of it. He ſays that this man, having lived ſome years at Dantzick, like a good Chriſtian, at his death recommended his ſoul to Jeſus Chriſt his Saviour: and afterwards adds (8), "Catherine Weimera my wife's "grandmother, who knew him familiarly, and was "preſent at his death, has often told this to David Werner Buttel her husband, who is ſtill alive, and it is "but three years ſince ſhe died. My mother-in-"law told me yeſterday that ſhe had often ſeen Alciat's widow in this city, who ſurvived her husband ſome years." He adds occaſionally, that he had heard from Andrew Woidovius, that Alciat, being in danger of being killed at Cracow, by ſome Scholars, becauſe he paſſed for an Arian, evaded their ill deſigns, by telling them that he believed in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of the living God and of Mary: this name of Mary ſaved him. *Ridiculo ſchemate evaſiſſe cum ſe non Arianum ſed Marianum eſſe diceret, quod cum illi quid ſibi vellet quærerent reſpondiſſe, credere ſe Jeſum Chriſtum Dei vivi & Mariæ filium. Illi non minore ſtupore quam malitia obſeſſi, audito venerando Mariæ nomine incolumem dimiſerunt.* i. e. "He eſcaped by a comical contrivance, "ſaying he was not an Arian but a Marian, and when "they asked what that meant, he anſwered, that he "believed in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of the living God "and of Mary. They being as ſtupid as malicious, "as ſoon as they heard the venerable name of "Mary, diſmiſſed him." Here was a caſe where the moſt extravagant devotees of the holy Virgin found it true, *That one is ſometimes ſaved more readily by invoking the name of Mary, than by invoking the name of Jeſus* (9).

(7) Read it thus, and not *Martin Bucerus*, in the *Bibliotb Antitrinitar.* p 27.

(8) In a letter written to Calovius, and dated from Dantzick a.d. III. non. Ap. 1640. It is the xlviith of the firſt Century of Ruarus's *Letters.*

(9) Velocior eſt nonnunquam ſalus invocato nomine Mariæ, quam invocato nomine Jeſu. S. Anſelmus de Excellentia Virginis, c. 6.

[*D*] *It is not true that he turned Mahometan.*] We have juſt given the proofs of it, and, upon that, who can forbear ſaying that it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe who maintain the truth were not ſubject to ſome faults, that reign eternally among the perſecutors of orthodoxy? An exceſſive credulity, a fund of ill-apply'd hatred, I mean a hatred that extends to the perſon of the heretick, no leſs than to the hereſy itſelf, make us ſwallow all the ſtories that are told to the diſadvantage of an hereſiarch. Let there but be a report that he has killed himſelf, that the Devil carried him away, that he died mad and blaſpheming, it is believed without ſtaying for its being confirmed; people write it to all their friends, wherever they have a correſpondence, and what is worſe they print it; and thence a lie is ſown, which falls into ſuch good ground, that it is never loſt. The firſt that ſpreads it is not long the only one that does it: they continue publiſhing it from book to book, as a grand motive of zeal, or as an object of reflexions.

The Proteſtants have been no leſs deceived than the Catholics in the pretended Mahometiſm of John Paul Alciat. And one has been no leſs careful to report it than the other.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra (10).
That is,
"Within and without the walls of Troy they ſin.

(10) Horat. Ep. 2. l. 1. ver. 16.

Spondæus has inſerted it in his *Eccleſiaſtical Annals*, and it is from thence no doubt that F. Maimbourg copied it (11), tho' he does not quote this author as Moreri quotes him. The famous Calovius had reported it: Ruarus wrote to him what has been ſaid above. His Letter had been printed two years, when there was a new edition made of Micrœlius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*: however he that has taken the pains to add a great many things to it, has not taken out the lie for which Calovius had been cenſured. I do not know whether Ruarus has rightly diſcovered the origin of this ſtory. He thinks a Letter of Theodorus Beza (12) has been the foundation of it. This Letter relates that Valentine Gentilis, being asked about his companion Alciat, had anſwered, *He is turned Mahometan, and I have not had any correſpondence with him a long time.* The two conjectures of Ruarus are not amiſs: I, Gentilis thought to oblige by this the Judges that proſecuted him. We learn every day (13) from our Gazettes ſomething like this, that deſerters tell a thouſand pieces of news to tickle thoſe who ask them queſtions. II, Gentilis who acknowledged a very ſingular generation or filiation in our Lord, was ſoon diſpoſed to place the Samoſatenians and Mahometans in the ſame category. Two Sectaries that fall out, hate one another at the beginning, more than they do the ſtock from which they have ſeparated themſelves: ſo that Gentilis was a bad witneſs with regard to Alciat, after the violent diſputes that had broke their union in Poland. Voetius (14), and Lætus (15) have quoted only this Letter of Theodorus Beza, when they ſaid that Alciat turned Mahometan. Hornius has quoted nobody, tho' he advances the ſame thing with the utmoſt confidence. *Alciatus*, ſays he (16), *tranſiit ad Turcas, ac Muhamediſmum amplexus, inter eos vitam finit.* Hoornbeek alſo cites no voucher in the Apparatus of his diſputes with the Socinians, where he ſays two or three times that Alciat embraced Mahometiſm. *Dignam pœnam dedit quando eum Deus ad Muhamedanos prolabi ſivit; nempe ne alibi quam inter infideles iſtos nomen ſuum ultra profiteretur* (17). i. e. "God inflicted an adequate puniſhment on him, "when he ſuffered him to ſlide away to the Ma-"hometans; that he might profeſs his name no "where elſe but amongſt thoſe Infidels." We might ſuſpect that this ſtory had not Theodorus Beza's Letter for its only foundation, if we conſidered but curſorily the *Hiſtory of the Poliſh Reformation*; for when we ſee there that the author, having ſpoken of one Adam Neuſſerus (18), who found himſelf at laſt forced to fly to Conſtantinople, adds that Alciat had a like fate, we cannot hardly forbear thinking the thing is true, when ſuch a Hiſtorian relates it. But when we examine this author's words a little more cloſely, we find that his teſtimony comes to nothing. See how he ſpeaks in the 200th page. *Exacto trimeſtri neceſſe habebat* (Adamus Neuſſerus) *periculo ſibi ab exploratoribus Cæſaris imminente ſolum vertere, & Conſtantinopolim (quam & Alciati fortunam fuiſſe ſupra vidimus, adeo Turcæ ante Chriſtianos æquita-*

(11) Maimbourg, *Hiſtoire de l'Ariani/me*, tom. 3. p. 344 of the Dutch edition.

(12) It is the lxxxi.

(13) This was writ in 1693.

(14) Voet. *Diſputat.* tom. 3. p. 781.

(15) Joh. Lætus, *Compend. Hiſt. Univ.* p. 436.

(16) Hornius *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 351. edit. an. 1687.

(17) Hoornb. *Apparatus*, pag. 29; *vide etiam* p. 23.

(18) It is printed *Neuſnerus*; but this book is very full of errors, and eſpecially in proper names.

was born of the holy Virgin (*d*). Moreri therefore is to be blamed who made him firſt an Arian, and afterwards a Mahometan (*e*). Perhaps before he retired to Dantzick he had made a tour into Turky, without deſigning to be a renegado, but only to be ſheltered there from perſecutions [*E*]; and that perhaps has given room to a report which has been ſo current, and is ſtill rife, of his pretended Mahometiſm. Calvin and Beza have ſpoken of him as of a raving mad man [*F*].

(*d*) *Bibliot. Antitrinit.* p. 28.

(*e*) See his Dictionary, at the word ALCIAT, where it is refuted.

te & humanitate longè ſunt!) confugere. i. e. "At "the end of three months being in danger from "the Emperor's ſpies, he found it neceſſary to "fly to Conſtantinople; which was Alciat's for- "tune alſo, as we ſaw above; ſo far do the Turks "then ſurpaſs the Chriſtians in equity and humani- "ty! Theſe words refer us to a preceding paſſage: I believe it is in page 109. Now if on one ſide we find in that page that ſome have writ that Gentilis turned Mahometan, we find there alſo on the other ſide, that they were his enemies who forged this impoſture. It is without doubt what the Sieur Staniſlaus Lubienietzki meant. One may perceive it through all the errors of the preſs that miſerably diſfigure his book. *De Alciato ſcriptum accepi*, ſays he (19), *eum in Epiſtolis ad Gregorium Pauli anno 1564 & 1565 Huſterlitzii datis diſſuaſiſſe ſententiam quod Chriſtus extiterit antequam ex Mariâ naſceretur, & acerrime dogmati vulgari de Trinitate reſtitiſſe, ita ut Mahometiſmum conſilii in primordio Reformationis ſat ancipiti & arduo ignarus ei prætuliſſe ſcribatur, ſed à Calvino & inventurum ejus æmulis, odio internecino iri eum & alios veritatis amantes flagrantibus* (20). i. e. "I have heard it is written of Alciat, that "in his Letters to Gregory Pauli in 1564 and 1565, "dated at Huſteriltz, he diſſuaded him from the opini- "on that Chriſt exiſted before he was born of the Vir- "gin Mary, and that he ſharply oppoſed the common "doctrine of the Trinity, ſo that he is ſaid to have "unadviſedly preferred Mahometiſm before the Re- "formation, in its dubious and difficult beginning; "but that it was invented by Calvin and others like "him, who burned with a deadly hatred againſt him "and other lovers of the truth.

(19) *Hiſt. Reformat. Polonicæ*, p. 109.

(20) I believe we muſt read, *a Calvino eſſe inventum & ejus æmulis, odio internecino in &c.*

[*E*] *Perhaps . . . he had made a tour into Turkey . . . to be ſheltered from perſecutions.*] This brings Father Abelard to my mind, who was juſt going to ſeek a refuge in the country of the Infidels, againſt the agents or promoters of orthodoxy. He had been alarmed, and was more upon the watch than any other; for every time he heard there would ſoon be an aſſembly of Eccleſiaſtics, he imagined it was to condemn him. Beſides he had experienced the great credit of thoſe agents, and it was not eaſy to eſcape them under Princes of their party. They write to every place; and before their enemy is arrived in a city, the repreſentation of his errors has already put it in a fright, and ſtirred up every ſpirit. There was a time, when thoſe who had the Pope's ear could make the beſt part of Europe uninhabitable to a man, whom they had taken ſtrongly in their heads to repreſent as a heretic; and this poor wretch might apply to them ſome parts of the cxxxixth Pſalm (21). We muſt not be ſurprized then that Peter Abelard had a mind to ſeek reſt in the midſt of Mahometans or of Pagans: He hoped that by paying tribute he might have the liberty of profeſſing Chriſtianity out of the reach of the *Odium Theologicum*; and he was afraid, that without coming there, he would always be encompaſſed within this ſphere. Theſe are his words: *Deus ipſe mihi teſtis eſt quotiens aliquem eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum conventum adunari noveram, hoc in damnationem meam agi credebam. Stupefactus illico quaſi ſupervenientis ictum fulguris expectabam, ut quaſi hæreticus aut profanus in Conciliis traherer aut Synagogis. . . . Sæpe autem (Deus ſcit) in tantam lapſus ſum deſperationem, ut Chriſtianorum finibus exceſſis ad Gentes tranſire diponerem, atque ibi quiete ſub quacumque tributi pactione inter inimicos Chriſti chriſtianè vivere* (22). Now as Alciat had yet more to fear from Popery than Abelard, and ſaw no ſecurity in the countries where other Chriſtians were maſters,

Tenent Danai qua deficit ignis (23).
That is,
"Where e'er the raging fire has left a ſpace,
"The Grecians enter, and poſſeſs the place.
Dryden.

his whims and his caprice might eaſily ſtir up in him a deſire of trying the toleration of the Turks, make him ſoon ſick of it, and drive him to Dantzick. Let us learn to diſtruſt ſome ſtories, notwitſtanding their being received by conſiderable authors.

(21) *Quo ibo a ſpiritu tuo, & quo a facie tua fugiam? . . . . Si ſumpſero pennas meas diluculo & habitavero in extremis maris . . . Illuc tenebit me dextera tua.* i. e. "Whither "ſhall I go from "thy Spirit? or "whither ſhall I "flee from thy "preſence? If "I take the "wings of the "morning, and "dwell in the "uttermoſt "parts of the "ſea . . . Even "there ſhall thy "right hand "hold me.

(22) Abælard. *Opera*, p. 32.

(23) Virgil. *Æneid*, l. 2. ver. 505.

[*F*] *Calvin and Beza have ſpoken of him as of a raving mad man.*] The firſt ſays, that on the day that a Formulary was propoſed to the Italians ſuſpected of heterodoxy, to ſign, Alciat raved after a furious manner: *Inter quos princeps fuit Joannes quidam Paulus Alciatus, homo non ſtolidi tantum ac veſani ingenii, ſed plane phreneticus ad rabiem uſque* (24). The other ſays he was a whimſical man and quite frantic; *Paulus quidam Alciatus, Mediolanenſis, homo jam antea plane phreneticus & vertiginoſus* (25).

(24) Calvin. *adverſ. Valent. Gentil.* p. 659. *Tractat. Theolog.*

(25) Beza, Ep. lxxxi.

ALCIAT (TERENCE) an Italian Jeſuit, deſcended of the ſame family with Alciat the Lawyer, was born at Rome in the year 1570. He ſtudied the Law five years before he turned Jeſuit; it was in the month of March 1591 that he entered into that Society. The functions he exerciſed there, witneſs that they conſidered him as a man of importance: He was for thirteen years Præfect of the College of Rome; he taught Philoſophy there five years, and Divinity ſeventeen: After that he was Director of Penitence in the Vatican, and Deputy Governor of the *Maiſon Profeſſe*. He was preſent at the ninth general Congregation of the Jeſuits, as Deputy of the Province of Rome; and when he died of an Apoplexy the 12th of November 1651, he was Sub-Provincial. He was as much conſidered out of the Society; for beſides his being a great while Qualificator of the Congregation of the Holy Office, and Counſellor of the Congregation of Ceremonies, he was choſen by Pope Urban VIII to confute Father Paul. He prepared an edition of the Acts of the Council of Trent, which would have been an apology for that Aſſembly againſt all ſorts of adverſaries, and particularly againſt that formidable Venetian. He had already collected a great many materials for this important and laborious work, when death made him leave this world (*a*); but although he ſpent many years on this work, he had hardly begun to put his materials in order. Father Sforza Palavicini, who was charged with the ſame deſign, informs us why Father Alciat was ſo ſlow in the execution of it [*A*]. If Moreri had only caſt

(*a*) *Ex Biblioth. Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu*, Nathanaëlis Sotuelli.

[*A*] *Father Alciat, who had undertaken a confutation of F. Paul, was ſlow in the execution of it.*] He had impoſed on himſelf a rule of denying nothing to his adverſary, without bringing proofs of his negative; ſo that he employed a good many years in ſearching for memoirs to furniſh him with theſe proofs. Cardinal Palavicini pretends it was a work of ſupererogation; becauſe there are no laws that oblige a man to prove a negative: it lies on the accuſer to prove; and if he does not do it, he deſerves the puniſhment

caſt his eyes on the Preface of Cardinal Palavicini, he would not have reckoned *the Acts of the Council of Trent* amongſt the works of F. Alciat. There ſhould only be reckoned among thoſe works a *Sermon on the Paſſion* preached before Pope Clement VIII in 1602, and the *Life of Peter Fabri*, companion of St. Ignatius Loyola. F. Alciat, diſguiſed under the name of Eminius (*b*) Tacitus, tranſlated it into Italian, from the Latin of Nicholas Orlandino (*c*). This tranſlation was printed at Rome in 1629. The Latin was printed at Lyons in 1617. Moreri obſerves that Pope Urban VIII ſaid that Father Alciat was worthy of the Cardinal's Cap. Nicius Erythræus mentions it (*d*). If it be aſked what was the reaſon that this Jeſuit had not what he deſerved? Was not Urban VIII the diſpoſer of theſe Caps? The anſwer is very eaſy: That this dignity muſt be conferred on ſo many men for political reaſons, that they cannot always admit thoſe that they think deſerve it.

(*b*) Leon. Allatius *in Apibus Urbanis*, p. 238, and Alegambe, ſay, Erminius.

(*c*) Sotuellus, *Bib. Societ. Jeſu.*

(*d*) Nicius Erythr. *Pinacth.* 2. cap. 47.

puniſhment of retaliation: but the perſon accuſed may content himſelf with a denial of the fact; that is ſufficient to acquit him, when there is no proof againſt it. *Là dove queſti s'era fatto lecito d'accuſare ſenza provare, il che dalle leggi è punito colla pena del talione; quegli non volle negare ſenza haver la prova della falſità; dal che ogni legge il diſobligava. Quindi fu che ſpeſe moltiſſimi anni in cercar memorie certe di que' ſucceſi* (1). With ſubmiſſion to this Cardinal, I do not think that on this occaſion it was ſufficient to deny what Father Paul affirmed. When one has to deal with an adverſary favoured by the public, he muſt have *a truth and a half*, and heap proof upon proof, if he would carry the cauſe. This Cardinal adds that Father Alciat compoſed very ſlowly, becauſe he would ſuffer nothing to ſlip, that fell ſhort of perfection: old age, and the affairs of the ſociety, were new obſtacles. *Dapoi, la fredezza dell' età decrepita, la natura perpleſſa, la penna altrettanto lenta, quanto eſquiſita, le occupazioni de' noſtri governi domeſtici, hanno cagionato ch' egli ſia morto con laſciar ſolo qualche veſtigio dell' opera conceputa in idea* (2). i. e. "Beſides, (2) Idem. "the coldneſs of decrepit old age, his irreſolute "temper, his pen as ſlow as it was excellent, his "being employed in the goverment of our ſociety, "was the reaſon that upon his death he left only "ſome traces of a work, of which he had but juſt "formed an idea." This gives us to underſtand, that there are ſome, who by taking pains to become good authors, never become authors at all.

(1) Pallavicini *Introduzione all' Hiſt. del Concilio Trident.* c. 5.

ALCINOE, daughter of Polybius the Corinthian and wife of Amphilochus, fell in love with one Xanthus of the Iſle of Samos, who lodged at her houſe. This is not the ſtrangeſt thing in the ſtory of her life; the greateſt ſubject of ſurpriſe is to ſee that it was Minerva, who inſpired her with this diſeaſe of love, to puniſh her becauſe ſhe had not paid all ſhe had promiſed to a woman who had worked for her. This woman prayed Minerva to avenge her, and behold how her prayers were accepted. Alcinoe, by the care of this Goddeſs, became ſo furiouſly in love with her lodger, that ſhe forſook her houſe and little children, and embarked with him. But during the voyage, ſhe reflected upon her conduct; ſhe wept for it; ſhe called to mind with cries and tears her young huſband and her children; in fine, all the good words of Xanthus, who promiſed to marry her, being too weak a conſolation, ſhe threw her ſelf into the ſea (*a*). A great exploit, and well worthy of the Goddeſs Minerva! See the note [*C*] of the article EGIALEA, and the note [*D*] of the article MYRRHA.

(*a*) Parthenius, *Eroticorum* c. 27.

ALCINOUS, King of the Phæacians, in the Iſland which is now called Corfu, was ſon of Nauſithous (*a*), and grandſon of Neptune and Peribea [*A*]. He married Arete, his niece, only daughter of Rexenor ſon of Nauſithous, and had five ſons by her, and a daughter named Nauſicaa, of whom Homer ſpoke very well (*b*). He praiſes his mother ſtill more, and makes a Heroine of her; he alſo gives a very long deſcription of the palace and gardens of Alcinous. According to him, there was the moſt excellent fruit of the world in thoſe gardens every month of the year, without viciſſitude of winter and ſummer. It is without doubt by his gardens that Alcinous has chiefly immortalized his memory [*B*]. He received Ulyſſes with much civility [*C*],

(*a*) Homer. *Od.* lib. 6, 7. We muſt not ſay *Naſitoüs* with Moreri.

(*b*) Homer. *Od.* l. 6. ver. 62.

[*A*] *He was grandſon of Neptune and Peribea*] Britannicus aſſures us that Alcinous was the ſon of Phæax, and that Phæax was the ſon of Neptune and Corcyra (1). I find in *Stephanus Byzantinus* the laſt of theſe aſſertions, but not that this ſon of Neptune and Corcyra was the father of Alcinous.

(1) Britann. *in Juvenal.* Sat. 5. ver. 151.

[*B*] *It is by his gardens that Alcinous has chiefly immortalized his memory.*] All the Poets ſpeak in raptures of his gardens. Mr. Lloyd quotes ſeveral paſſages from them; let us content ourſelves with this of Juvenal:

. . .

Illa jubebit
Poma dari, quorum ſolo paſcaris odore
Qualia perpetuus Phæacum autumnus habebat (2);

(2) Juven. Sat. 5. ver. 151.

That is,

"To him are order'd, and thoſe happy few,
"Whom fate has rais'd above contempt and you,
"Moſt fragrant fruits; ſuch in Phæacian gardens grew:
"Where a perpetual Autumn ever ſmil'd,
"And golden apples loaded branches fill'd.
Bowles.

And let us add the teſtimony of a Proſe-writer. *Antiquitas nihil prius mirata eſt quam Heſperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis* (3) *& Alcinoi* (4). i. e. "Antiquity "has admired nothing more than the gardens of the "Heſperides, and thoſe of the Kings Adonis and "Alcinous." Mr. Lloyd quotes Theophilus Patriarch of Antioch, who has ſpoken of theſe gardens in his third book *ad Autolicum*; but he obſerves that we muſt correct in it the reading *Antinoüs* and ſubſtitute *Alcinoüs*. He quotes alſo theſe words of St. Gregory Nazianzen;

——— Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα ἐ ἄλσε Ἀλκινόου
Τερπνοτέρη (5).

That is,

"Your table is pleaſanter than the garden of Alci-
"nous.

(3) I do not know whether Pliny rightly underſtood what he had read concerning the gardens of Adonis. They were not what he imagines. See above, pag. 271. Col. 2. ſome lines after the quot. 23.

(4) Plinius, l. 19. cap. 4.

(5) Greg. Naz. *Carm. ad Vitalian.*

I have not obſerved that the Poets have feigned this Prince to be *the keeper of the orchards*, as Moreri relates: Charles Stephens has led him into this miſtake; for in his Dictionary we meet with an Alcinous different from the King of the Phæacians, and characterized by the office of *Hortorum cuſtos*: which the author proves

civility [C], whom the ſtorm had caſt on the coaſt of Phæacia: he offered him his daughter, and conducted him to Ithaca loaded with preſents. And as during the feaſt to which he admitted him he told the company an hundred idle tales, it is thought this became the origin of ſome proverbs [D] in uſe among the Ancients. However it be, the kingdom of Alcinous was a true * *païs de Cocagne:* the people loved good cheer, and the conveniences of life [E], which did not hinder the men from being active and very good ſeamen (c), and Alcinous from being a very juſt Prince, as appears by theſe words. Ἀλκίνοος κραίνεσκε δικαιότατος Βασιλήων (d).

(c) Homer. *Od.* l. 6. ver. 270; lib. 7. ver. 35, 107; lib. 8. ver. 247, 253, and in many other places.

(d) Orpheus.

* *Cocagne* is the name given in Languedoc to the little cakes of woad made up for the uſe of the Dyers. This herb is cultivated only in the moſt fertile countries, and brings a very great profit. Hence the upper Languedoc is called by ſome *Païs de Cocagne*, and the ſame name is applied alſo to all fertile countries, where the inhabitants enjoy eaſe and plenty. Add. Rem.

proves by the 2d book of Virgil's *Georgicks*, and by ſome verſes of Ovid and Statius, where they do not ſpeak of this; but of the gardens of Alcinous only. Probably this blunder owes its original to the fault of ſome Copyiſt, or Printer, who may have put *cuſtos* inſtead of *cultor*.

[C] *He received Ulyſſes with much civility.*] Several authors, as Raviſius Textor (6) and Decimator (7) attribute this reception to Nauſicaa daughter of Alcinous, without giving any ſhare to the father. They do not conſider that ſhe gave only cloaths and advice to Ulyſſes without the city, and that ſhe had a father and mother who received him with civility and hoſpitality. See the article NAUSICAA.

(6) *In Epithet.*
(7) *In Sylva Vocab.* and *in Theſauro Linguarum.*

[D] *It is thought the ſtories that Ulyſſes told Alcinous were the origin of ſome proverbs.*] Moreri ſays *Ulyſſes told the fable of the Cyclops, of the Leſtrigonians* *, *and others, with their elbows upon the table, which gave occaſion to this proverb of the ancients, which Eraſmus has not forgotten,* "*The* "*Table of Alcinous,*" *or as Plato expreſſes it,* "*Would you have me tell you Alcinous's tale?*" All this is wrong: Firſt, the word *and others* are obſcure and inaccurate. In the ſecond place, the proverb of Alcinous's table does not come from theſe ſtories of Ulyſſes; but from the good cheer that Alcinous uſually made. See the following note. Beſides, it is not true, that Plato expreſſes himſelf by an interrogation: he only declares that he will ſay nothing of the Apologue of Alcinous (8). It is ſtill more falſe that what he ſays is in other terms the ſame thing with the table of Alcinous. It is certain that we find in the Index of Eraſmus's *Adagies*, *Alcinoi Menſa*, and *Alcinoi Apologus*, as two different proverbs. The firſt of theſe is not a capital proverb in the body of the book: but is only related as a little addition to the Adage *Sybaritica Menſa* (9); It is taken from theſe words of Gregory Nazianzen, Οὐκ ὡς λαϊοφάγε πενίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἀλκινόου τράπεζαν, i. e. "Not according to the penury of "the Lotophagi; but the table of Alcinous." Hadrian Junius, who has made a collection of proverbs after Eraſmus, where he has put *Alcinoi Horti* as a capital proverb, quotes in the explanation of it this other paſſage of the ſame father relating to the table of Alcinous:

* A barbarous people in Italy.

(8) Plato, *de Reipub.* lib. 10.

(9) It is the lxvth of the 2d Century of the 2d Chiliad.

Καὶ δόμον αἰγλήεντα καὶ Ἀλκινόοιο τράπεζαν.

"A ſplendid houſe and table of Alcinous.

Lloyd quotes another paſſage where this holy Doctor uſes the ſame phraſe. As to the *Alcinoi Apologus*, Eraſmus relates it twice. Firſt, he explains it as an old woman's ſtory, *de longis & anilibus fabulamentis*; and he builds upon the fables which Ulyſſes told at Alcinous's table. *Prodigioſas ac deridiculas fabulas & portentuoſa mendacia de Lotophagis, Læſtrigonibus, Circe, Cyclopibus, atque id genus aliis plurimis miraculis, fretus videlicet Phæacum inſcitiâ barbarieque* (10). "Prodigious and moſt ridiculous fables and monſtrous lies of the Lotophagi, Læſtrigonians, Circe, "Cyclops, and many other ſuch like wonders, knowing the ignorance and barbarity of the Phæacians." But in another place (11), he gives us to underſtand that he had found another ſignification of the ſame Adage in the 1vth book of Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric* (12), and that he will ſuſpend his deciſion till he be better informed, either by the Commentaries of St. Gregory Nazianzen on theſe books of Ariſtotle (13), or by ſome other means. I hardly ſee any one that gives attention to this laſt paſſage of Eraſmus. They ſtop at the firſt, as if the true ſenſe was found there: we are far from finding it there, for if we only caſt an eye upon what Eraſmus ſays upon the words of Ariſtotle, we muſt doubt of the explanation he had given of it in another place. I confeſs this paſſage of Ariſtotle is obſcure, that it is read differently, and that there is perhaps ſome *hiatus* in it; but there is no probability, that one muſt underſtand ſtories of Tom Thumb by the fable of Alcinous. Gilbertus Cognatus however, who has made a collection of Proverbs after Eraſmus, is of that opinion, tho' he does not conſider the thing but according to the quotation of Ariſtotle (14). There is a paſſage in Ælian, where *Alcinous's Apologues*, Ἀλκινόου Ἀπόλογοι, can be taken for nothing but the diſcourſes Ulyſſes had with that Prince in the Odyſſey (15).

(10) Eraſm. Adagior. Centur. IV. Chil. II. num. 32. p. 469.

(11) Idem. Centur. I. Chil. V. num. 82. p. 1057.

(12) It is in the 16th chapter of the 3d book, in the Geneva edition in 1605.

(13) I have never heard of theſe Commentaries.

(14) Cognat. *in Proverb.* num. 210; he quotes, like Eraſmus, the 4th book of Ariſtotle's *Rhetorick*.

(15) Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* l. 13. c. 13.

[E] *The people loved good cheer and the conveniencies of life in his kingdom.*] This is what Alcinous made no ſecret of to Ulyſſes: *We love*, ſays he, *feaſting, muſic, dancing, change of apparel, baths and beds.*

Αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαὶς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε, χοροί τε
Εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ, λοετρά τε θερμὰ, ἐ εὐναὶ (16).

(16) Homer. *Od.* lib. 8. ver. 241.

"To dreſs, to dance, to ſing our ſole delight,
"The feaſt or bath by day, and love by night.
Pope.

Horace expreſſes it in this manner:

——— *Alcinoique*
In cute curanda plus æquo operata juventus,
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire Dies, &
Ad ſtrepitum citharæ ceſſatum ducere curam (17).

(17) Horat. Ep. 2. lib. 1. ver. 28, *ſeq.*

——— "Whoſe whole deſign
"Was to get vicious pleaſure, and be fine:
"Who thought it virtuous to ſleep half the day,
"And lull their cares with dances, ſongs and play.
Creech.

I need not obſerve that by *Alcinoi juventus*, muſt be underſtood the young people of the kingdom of Alcinous. Athenæus ſpeaks ſometimes of the voluptuous life of the Phæacians.

ALCMAN, a Lyrick Poet, flouriſhed in the twenty ſeventh Olympiad (a). Some ſay he was of Lacedæmon, others that he was born at Sardis, a conſiderable city in Lydia. What we are ſure of is, that he was a Citizen of Sparta [A], and that the Lacedæmonians have taken to themſelves the honour of having furniſhed Greece with ſo

(a) Suidas, in Ἀλκμάν.

[A] *He was a Citizen of Sparta.*] This appears from an Epigram inſerted by Plutarch in his Treatiſe on Baniſhment (1). He has there made Alcman ſay, that if he had been brought up at Sardis, the country of his anceſtors, he would have been a poor Prieſt of the Goddeſs Cybele, deprived of his manhood;

(1) *Oper. Moralium.* p. 599.

ſo great a genius [*B*]. He compoſed ſeveral Poems, whereof there are none remaining but ſome fragments, quoted by Athenæus, or ſome other ancient writers. He was of a very amorous conſtitution, and is accounted the Father of Gallant Poeſy [*C*]. It ſeems likewiſe that he is ſaid to have been the firſt that introduced the cuſtom of ſinging love verſes in company (*b*). There has been preſerved to us the name of one of his miſtreſſes (*c*): ſhe was called Megaloſtrata, and dabbled a little in verſifying. If he had kept himſelf to her, he would not have given ſo much ground of complaint; but there is mention too of one Chæron, with whom he was enamoured (*d*). Alcman was one of the greateſt eaters of his age (*e*). That quality might have been grievouſly inconvenient, if Poetry had been at that time upon ſuch a foot as it has been often, not proper to find its maſter bread. He died of a pretty ſingular diſeaſe, for he was eat up with lice (*f*). We muſt not diſtinguiſh him from the Poet Alcmæon [*D*]; and I ſee no occaſion to acknowledge two Alcmans, the one of Lacedæmon, and the other of Meſſene [*E*].

(*b*) Athen. lib. 13. p. 600.
(*c*) Idem, ibid.
(*d*) Idem, l. 10. p. 416.
(*e*) Id. ibid. and Ælian *Var. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 27.
(*f*) Ariſtot. *de Hiſt. Animal* l. 5. c. 31; Plutarch *in Sylla*, p. 474.

hood; but that at preſent he ſees himſelf a Citizen of Lacedæmon, well inſtructed in the learning of the Greeks, which makes him ſuperior to the Kings of Lydia. The Latin interpreter has given an ill tranſlation of the firſt verſe of this Epigram,

Σάρδεις ἀρχαῖος πατέρων νόμος.

O! mea majorumque meorum patria Sardes;

"O! Sardes the country of me and my anceſtors;

For it muſt be concluded from that verſion, that Alcman was born at Sardes (2), which cannot be concluded from the Greek words: and thus one may ſee how a tranſlator is ſometimes a ſower of tares, when he does not in the leaſt deſign it. He that tranſlated the Greek Epigram into Latin, never dreamt that by adding the word *mea*, which he took to be of no conſequence, ſhould occaſion ſeveveral people obſtinately to maintain that Alcman was not born at Lacedæmon. How many authors are there, who conſult nothing but tranſlations, and that in Greek books take all the arguments with which thoſe verſions furniſh them, whether they be agreeable to the original or not? Salmaſius has learnedly corrected this Epigram (3); but I do not very well ſee what thoſe people mean who refer us to him, as to a Judge that has determined the diſpute about the country of Alcman. The queſtion in this diſpute is, whether this Poet was born at Lacedæmon, or at Sardis in Lydia. Suidas maintains the firſt opinion (4): Crates maintains the ſecond (5); Velleius Paterculus (6), and Ælian (7), deny what Suidas affirms. Of what uſe is the Epigram, to decide this controverſy, ſince it does not tell us where Alcman was born: but only that he was not brought up at Sardis, the Country of his anceſtors; that he was educated after the manner of the Greeks; and that he was a Citizen of Lacedæmon? It may equally prove theſe two things, either that Alcman was removed into Greece during his infancy, or that his father had ſettled himſelf there before this ſon of his was born. On the laſt ſuppoſition, nothing can be objected againſt Alcman's having drawn his firſt breath in the city of Lacedæmon. Scaliger was of this opinion; but he founded it upon a bad reaſon. *Ego*, ſays he (8), *Laconem fuiſſe arbitror, quum Laconicâ Dialecto uſus ſit.* i. e. "I take him to have "been a Lacedæmonian, becauſe he made uſe of "the Laconick Dialect." If he had remembered the Epigram which Plutarch has quoted, he muſt have ſeen the falſity of that reaſon. Alcman not having been brought up in Lydia, but in Greece, and dwelling at Lacedæmon, muſt needs uſe the Dorick Dialect which was that of Sparta. How rough ſoever it was, he uſed it nevertheleſs in ſome good Poems. Ὦ ποιήσαντι ἄσμαθα, ὑδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακώνων ἡ γλῶσσα, ἥκιστα παρεχομένη τὸ εὔφωνον (9). i. e. "To whom the Laconick Dialect was no "inconvenience in making verſes, though there be "no manner of ſweetneſs in the ſound of its "words.

(2) Amiot has been guilty of the ſame fault.
(3) Salmaſ. *Exercit. Plinian.* p. 885.
(4) He makes him to be born at Meſſoa, which was a part of Lacedæmon, according to Strabo corrected by Salmaſius, *Exercit. Plinian.* p. 885.
(5) *Apud* Suidam, in Ἀλκμάν.
(6) *Alcmana Lacones falſo ſibi vindicant.* Paterc. l. 1. *ſub fin.*
(7) Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 50.
(8) Scalig. *Animadv. in Euſeb.* num. 1360.
(9) Pauſan. l. 3. p. 96.

[*B*] *The Lacedæmonians have taken to themſelves the honour of having furniſhed Greece with ſo great a Genius.*] The paſſage of Paterculus which I have quoted proves that: and theſe words of Statius,

Et tetricis Alcman cantatus Amyclis (10),

"And Alcman ſung at cruel Amyclæ,

prove it further. Add to this the monument which they erected to Alcman near the temple of Helen (11).

(10) Stat. Sylv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 153.
(11) Pauſan. l. 3. p. 96.

[*C*] *He is accounted the father of gallant Poeſy.*] It appears from this paſſage of Athenæus (12), Ἀρχύτας ὁ Ἁρμονιακὸς, ὡς φησι Χαμαιλέων, Ἀλκμᾶνα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μελὸς, ἀκόλαστον ὄντα καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην Μοῦσαν εἰς τὰς διατριβάς. i. e. "Archytas Harmoniacus writes, as Chamæleon ſays, that Alcman was "the chief leader in making love verſes, being "very much given to women, and the firſt who "promoted ſuch kinds of verſes, to be ſung in the "public aſſemblies of the people.

(12) Athen. lib. 13. p. 600. *Vide etiam* Suidam, in Ἀλκμάν.

[*D*] *We muſt not diſtinguiſh him from the Poet Alcmæon.*] St. Jerome, in Euſebius's Chronicle, after having mentioned Alcmæon under the 30th Olympiad, ſpeaks of Alcman under the 42d, and cautiouſly guards himſelf with *ut quibuſdam videtur*, i. e. "as ſome think." Scaliger, in the firſt paſſage, has corrected Alcmæon by Alcman. It is evident, by the reign of Ardys, King of Lydia, under whom Crates has placed Alcman, that this Poet flouriſhed about the 30th Olympiad, the time in which Alcmæon is placed in Euſebius's Chronicle. If this reaſon be not ſufficient to ſhew that theſe two names ought to be reduced to one and the ſame perſon, it ſhall be undeniably proved that Alcmæon, Ἀλκμαίων, and Alcman Ἀλκμᾶν, differ in nothing but the Dialect; and that the firſt muſt be changed into the ſecond by the rules of the Dorick Dialect. See Salmaſius's Comment upon *Solinus*, page 885. The Alcman of the 42d Olympiad is a fiction. He has been placed there becauſe the authors that had blundered about the age of Alcman have been followed.

[*E*] *I ſee no occaſion to acknowledge two Alcmans, the one of Lacedæmon, and the other of Meſſenæ.*] Suidas is, I think, the only one that does it. But his authority is not very great, when he quotes no body, nor points out any circumſtances. This is the caſe of his Alcman of Meſſene, he ſays nothing of him. Let us remember that he has ſaid the true Alcman was born at Meſſoa, ἀπὸ Μισσόας. That place is not very famous; and this is the reaſon why ſome Copiſts are of opinion, that it ought to be read ἀπὸ Μισσήνης, in thoſe authors that had told the ſame tale with Suidas. By their pretended correction a new Alcman has been forged that has been tacked to the collections of Suidas. This conjecture appears to me more probable than that of Lilius Gyraldus. He allows but of one Alcman; but he will have him a native of Meſſene, and corrects in Suidas ἀπὸ Μισσόας by ἀπὸ Μισσήνης. Scaliger juſtly rejects this conjecture (13).

(13) Scalig. *Animadv. in Euſeb.* num. 1360.

ALCMENA, the daughter of Electryo [*A*], King of Mycenæ, was the wife of Amphitryo,

[*A*] *The daughter of Electryo.*] Aſius the Poet makes her the daughter of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle (1). Others ſay right, that Electryo was her father; but they give her for a mother Anaxo, the daughter of

(1) *Apud* Pauſaniam, lib. 5. pag. 165.

Amphitryo, and mother of Hercules. She bore this ſon during her huſband's lifetime; and nevertheleſs Hercules was not the ſon of Amphitryo, but of Jupiter, who taking upon himſelf the likeneſs of Alcmena's huſband [B], was admitted without ſcruple to the liberties of the marriage bed. The ſport pleaſed him ſo well, that he made that night laſt as long as three ordinary ones [C]. This was the origin of Hercules. The greateſt part of modern writers ſay that Alcmena was already with child by Amphitryo; but Apollodorus inſinuates plainly enough that ſhe was ſtill a maid [D], and that is giving the thing a turn the moſt for Jupiter's honour. However that be, Amphitryo returned to his houſe the very day ſucceeding the long night which the God

(2) Apollodor. *Biblioth.* l. 2. p. 96. Scholiaſt. *Homeri in Iliad.* Ξ, ver. 323.

of Alcæus, the ſon of Perſeus (2), and not Lyſidice the daughter of Pelops and Hippodamia, which Charles Stephens, Lloyd, Hofman, &c. give her (3). The Scholiaſt upon Pindar is for Lyſidice (4).

(3) See their Dictionaries.

(4) *In Olymp.* Od. 7.

[B] *Jupiter taking upon himſelf the likeneſs of Alcmena's husband.*] Diodorus Siculus obſerves that Jupiter took this method becauſe he would not make uſe of force; and that by the ſtrength of perſuaſion he could have no hopes from ſo virtuous a Lady as Alcmena (5). The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves that Jupiter was not actuated in this affair, by that laſcivious paſſion which he had ſo often felt for other women; and that he had no other motive to it but the begetting an illuſtrious infant. It is for that reaſon that he was not in a hurry about it, but took a great deal of time, even three ſucceſſive nights. Our Phyſicians laugh at this reaſon. I do not ſee why Plautus makes Jupiter talk thus to Amphitryo.

(5) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. cap. 2.

Tu cum Alcumena uxore antiquam in gratiam
Redi: haud promeruit quamobrem vitio verteres.
Mea vi ſubacta eſt facere (6);

(6) Plaut. *in Amphitr. ſub finem.*

" You with your wife Alcmena ſtrait return
" To former love: ſhe merits not your anger,
" Compell'd by my great pow'r to what was done:

Becauſe as Jupiter took upon him the form of her husband, there was no occaſion for compulſion; and we have juſt been told that he put on that form becauſe he would not make uſe of force. A modern author makes uſe of this example of Alcmena to prove that an honeſt ignorance takes away the ſinfulneſs of an action, and has quoted ſome beautiful verſes of Moliere (7). A thouſand things may be ſaid upon this head: it opens a large field for reflexions. Obſerve there are ſome people that would have Plautus's thought be underſtood thus: *Alcmena has been compelled to ſuffer me to enjoy her, becauſe I have had the power of putting on your form.* If it be ſo, it muſt be ſaid that the Poet's meaning was much better than his expreſſion.

(7) See the *N. Lettres contre le Calvin. de Maim.* p. 280, &c.

[C] *He made that night laſt as long as three ordinary ones.*] One may perhaps without diſguſt read the following old French. *Jupiter trouva une telle faveur en la Dame, qu'il prolongea cette nuit du jour & de l'autre nuit enſuivant, ce qui auroit mu Lycophron d'appeller Hercule* τρισίσπιρος λέων, *le lion de trois nuits, comme fait auſſi Lucien* (8). i. e. " Jupiter " found ſo great delight in the Lady that he length- " ened that night into the day and the night follow- " ing, which cauſed Lycophron to call Hercules " τρισίσπιρος λέων, the lion of three nights, as Lucian " has alſo done." Perhaps he had in his eye theſe words of Hyginus: *Qui tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum Diem uſurparet, duas noctes congeminaret* (9). That is, " Who enjoyed her with ſo much pleaſure, " that he made uſe of one day, and joined two " nights to it." Lucian's Dialogue, where he ſpeaks of the long night which Jupiter had with Alcmena, tells us that Mercury went to carry the Sun an order to keep himſelf quiet for three days, in order that Jupiter might have the time that was neceſſary to produce Hercules; one night not being ſufficient for the production of ſo great a warrior. Τοῦτον δὲ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀποτελισθῆναι, ἀδύνατον, i. e. " It cannot " then be finiſhed in one night (10)." It appeared that Jupiter was not at all ſparing of the ſtuff; for the weight of the infant had like to have made the mother burſt:

(8) Vigenere *ſur Philoſt.* tom. 2. fol. 17. edit. in 4°.

(9) Hygin. cap. 29.

(10) Lucianus, *Dialog. Merc. & Solis. See alſo* Diodorus Siculus, book 5. chap. 2.

Tendebat gravitas uterum mihi, quodque ferebam
Tantum erat, ut poſſes auctorem dicere tecti
Ponderis eſſe Jovem (11).

(11) Ovid. *Met.* l. 9. ver. 288.

" ——Ten accompliſh'd ſigns did now excite
" My travail to Alcides birth, whoſe weight
" My belly ſtretch'd; which bare ſo great a freight,
" That you might ſwear it was begot by Jove.
Sandys.

There are a good many Authors, who aſſure us that that night was not made up of three but only of two nights (12). Others ſay that it laſted nine times as long as uſual. St. Jerome, who might have read it in the writings of two of the Fathers of the Church (13), does not however give into that notion; he holds to the tradition of the double night: *In Alcmenæ adulterio duas noctes Jupiter copulavit.* i. e. " Jupiter put together two nights for his adultery " with Alcmena." Jupiter at that time took his leave of the women: Alcmena was the laſt mortal that he lay with. Niobe was the firſt; there had been ſixteen generations from the one to the other (14); ſuch was the duration of the love of Jupiter for women. But ſince the enjoyment of Alcmena was the laſt entertainment of that ſort he was to have in this world, was it not reaſonable that he ſhould make it laſt a long time? Alcmena wondered at the length of the night (15): it appeared long to her then; this makes for her character; and indeed ſhe was a very virtuous woman (16), and if ſhe had loſt her ſight, ſhe would not have deſerved ſuch a diſtich to have been made upon her as the following:

(12) Id. Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 13. Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 22; Capella, lib. 2. c. 39.

(13) Clem. Alexand. *in Protrept.* p. 20. Arnobius, lib. 4. p. 145, *cujus hæc ſunt verba: Quis illum in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilaſſe continuis?*

(14) Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. c. 2.

(15) Hygin. cap. 29.

(16) See the Note [B].

Cum longas noctes Moreta (17) *ab amore rogaret,*
Favit amor votis, perpetuaſque dedit.

(17) The *Comteſſe de Moret*, Henry the Great's miſtreſs.

" Moreta lengthen'd nights of love did crave,
" Love heard, and darkneſs everlaſting gave.

Sofia, the ſervant of Amphitryo, made an obſervation worthy of him, when he perceived that the night continued longer than ordinary. He congratulates thoſe gallants that had not had their game cheap.

Ubi ſunt iſti ſcortatores, qui ſoli inviti cubant?
Hæc nox ſcita 'ſt exercendo ſcorto conducto malè (18).

(18) Plauti *Amphitr.* Act. 1. Sc. 1. ver. 130.

" Where are thoſe whoremongers that lye alone
" Tho' ſore againſt their wills? this night is fitted
" To deal with high pric'd ſtrumpets.

[D] *She was ſtill a maid.*] Apollodorus relates that Electryo going to revenge the death of his ſons, committed his kingdom and his daughter Alcmena into the hands of Amphitryo, after having made him ſwear that he would not make any attempt upon Alcmena till his return (19). Not long after Amphitryo, having ſlain him by an accident, was obliged to ſeek for a retreat. He retired into Bœotia with Alcmena; and becauſe ſhe declar'd that ſhe would marry the perſon that ſhould revenge her brother's death, he engaged himſelf to proſecute that vengeance, and entring into an aſſociation with ſome others, he carried the war home to the Teleboes, who had ſlain the brothers of Alcmena (20). At his return to Thebes, victorious and triumphant, he learnt that another ſelf had been lying with his miſtreſs. It is evident that it was not he that had the firſt favour: Alcmena had undoubtedly deferred the nuptials, at leaſt the conſummation of the marriage till Amphitryo had vanquiſhed the Teleboes. Jupiter knowing that Amphitryo was coming back, and that, in order

(19) Apollod. *Biblioth.* lib. 2. p. 99.

(20) Ibid. p. 101.

God had paſſed with Alcmena. He did not find that his wife received him with thoſe tranſports which uſually accompany the firſt interview after an abſence; and he ſoon found the reaſon by the account which ſhe gave him of the laſt night. They that can put themſelves in his place may tell us the thoughts which he had thereupon. He went forthwith to a Soothſayer, and was informed by Tireſias, that Jupiter, in the likeneſs of Amphitryo, had enjoyed Alcmena's embraces. This gave him ſome conſolation; and it does not appear that his reſentment laſted long, becauſe on the following night he got a child upon his wife who was already pregnant by a God (*a*). Juno, by the uſual effect of her jealouſy, diſturbed as much as lay in her power the delivery of this woman; and it was only by the management of a ſervant, that the ill deſigns of Lucina were eluded [*E*], who obſtructed Alcmena in her delivery. She brought forth two ſons: that which Jupiter begat was named Hercules; that which was Amphitryo's ſon was called Iphiclus (*b*). It is ſaid that after the death of Amphitryo ſhe married Rhadamanthus, and that her tomb was near that of Rhadamanthus, hard by Haliartus in Bœotia (*c*). Others ſay that ſhe was buried at Megara, and that the Oracle appointed it, when the children of Hercules conſulted it upon a difference that was amongſt them; ſome being willing that ſhe ſhould be carried to Argos, the others deſiring that ſhe might be removed to Thebes (*d*). She died upon the road on the frontiers

(*a*) *Ex* Apollod. *Bibl.* l. 2. pag. 97, & *ſeq.* Hygin. chap. 29, ſays, he lay with her no more, and mentions only Hercules.

(*b*) Apollod. *Biblioth.* p. 103.

(*c*) Plutarch. *in Lyſandro*, p. 449. Antonini *Liberalis Metam.* cap. 33.

(*d*) Pauſan. l. 1. pag. 39.

order to crop this flower of virginity, there was no other time to be taken but that which Amphitryo ſhould ſpend in his voyage, got before him, and did what he had to do before the husband's arrival. Apollodorus adds, that Amphitryo having lain with Alcmena begot a child upon her, that was one night younger than Hercules. Ἀλκμήνη δὲ δύο ἐγείνατο παῖδας, Διὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέα μιᾷ νυκτὶ πρεσβύτερον. Ἀμφιτρύωνι Ἰφικλέα (21). i. e. "But "Alcmena brought forth two ſons: to Jupiter Hercu- "les, who was one night older, and to Amphitryo "Iphicles." Here is a new confirmation of what I have to prove. The Scholiaſt upon Homer is more particular than Apollodorus: he ſays plainly that the marriage was not till after Amphitryo's return (22). In Plautus's Comedy the things run otherwiſe. Amphitryo there leaves his wife with child when he goes to the war (23). A mighty repaſt for Jupiter! It would have been worſe if Plautus had obſerved the unity of time, as Mademoiſelle le Fevre (Dacier) would have had him. It muſt have been ſaid, upon that ſuppoſition, that in ſtopping the Sun, Jupiter interrupted the whole courſe of nature for the ſake of diverting himſelf a long time with a woman that was big with two children, and ſo near her reckoning, that if he had ſtayed a little longer, the midwife would have been obliged to have ſaid to him, *Make room for me.* Plautus has got but an unlucky alternative: either his piece muſt be ſuppoſed to laſt ſeveral months, or he muſt make a woman juſt ready to be delivered of twins, one of the moſt delicious morſels in the world for the greateſt of all Monarchs; and that by ſuppoſing that this Ruler of Gods and Men had already begot one of thoſe twins. Take care that this Poet does not pretend, that Jupiter diſguiſed himſelf like Amphitryo, that he might come like a good husband to Alcmena's aſſiſtance, whilſt ſhe was in travail of the infant: it was the viſit of a man thoroughly amorous. See how Mercury ſpeaks in the Prologue:

(21) Id. p. 103.

(22) Schol. *Homeri in Iliad.* ξ. ver. 323.

(23) *Gravidam ego illam hic reliqui cum abeo.* Plautus *Amphit.* Act. 2. Sc. 2. ver 34. I left her here big with child when I went away. *Et cum te gravidam, cum te pulchrè plenam adſpicio, gaudeo.* ibid. ver. 52. And I rejoice that I ſee you finely big. Mercury had affirmed the ſame in the Prologue.

Et meus pater nunc intus hic cum illâ cubat;
Et hæc ob eam rem nox eſt facta longior,
Dum ille qua cum volt voluptatem capit.

"Within my fire lies ſunk in her embraces;
"And that's the reaſon that this night's protracted
"Whilſt he enjoys the pleaſures he deſires.

And Sofia's bringing out theſe words,

Hæc nox ſcita 'ſt exercendo ſcorto conducto malè (24),

(24) Plaut. *Amphit.* Act. 1. Sc. 1. ver. 133.

"This night is fitted to deal with high-pric'd "ſtrumpets."

See how Mercury takes them up:

Meus pater nunc pro hujus verbis rectè & ſapienter facit,
Qui complexus cum Alcumena cubat amans, animo obſequens.

"According to this fellow's opinion my father is "doing what is right and prudent; for he is now "lying with Alcmena, in the full poſſeſſion of her "affections and embraces."

He congratulates himſelf that he has removed every obſtacle that might interrupt the pleaſure of Jupiter, and he prepares himſelf ſo to continue his good offices, till the Gallant be ſatisfied.

Benè & proſperè hoc hodie operis proceſſit mihi:
Amovi à foribus maximam moleſtiam,
Patri ut liceret tuto illam amplexarier.

"This day ſucceſs my labours has attended:
"I from the doors have mov'd each obſtacle,
"That Father Jove might kiſs his love in ſafety.

Erroris ambo ego illos & dementiæ
Complebo, atque omnem Amphitryonis familiam
Adeo, uſque ſatietatem dum capiet pater
Illius quam amat (25).

(25) Plaut. *Amphit.* Act. 1. Sc. 2. ver. 1, 2, 3, 5, & *ſeq.*

"With madneſs and miſtake I thus will fill
"Them both, and all Amphitryo's family
"Till Jupiter ſhall have ſatiety
"Of her he loves.

[*E*] *By the management of a ſervant, the ill deſigns of Lucina* (26) *were eluded.*] I follow Ovid in this narration: Alcmena had been ſeven days in labour with horrible pains. Galanthis one of her women, went backwards and forwards; and ſuſpecting ſome witchcraft, becauſe ſhe ſaw a woman ſitting at the gate muttering, with her hands croſſed upon her knees (α), ſhe went and told her that Alcmena was delivered. Lucina (for it was ſhe that had put herſelf in that poſture) had no ſooner heard thoſe words, but ſhe parted her hands and got up; which occaſioned Alcmena to be delivered.

(26) She was the Goddeſs that preſided over women in labour.

Subſedit in illa
Ante fores ara, dextroque à poplite lævum
Preſſa genu, digitis inter ſe pectine junctis,
Suſtinuit partus. Tacita quoque carmina voce
Dixit, & inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus.

"She ſate before the gate
"On yonder altar. Her right knee upholds
"Her croſs left hand, her fingers knit in folds
"Delay'd delivery: ſhe with mutter'd ſpells
"Of ſecret power, the preſſing birth repells.
Sandys.

Una miniſtrarum media de plebe Galanthis
Flava comas, aderat faciendis ſtrenua juſſis
Officiis dilecta ſuis. Ea ſenſit iniqua
Neſcio quid Junone geri, dumque exit & intrat
Sæpe fores, Divam reſidentem vidit in ara,
Brachiaque in genibus, digitis connexa, tenentem;

tiers of Megara, as ſhe was returning from Argos to Thebes (*e*). Hercules was already dead: ſhe had the affliction of ſurviving him; but on the other hand, ſhe had the ſatisfaction of holding the head of Hercules's perſecutor in her hands, and of plucking out his eyes [*F*]. It is related that her body diſappeared during the funeral ceremonies, and that a ſtone was found in her bed (*f*), which gave Pauſanias occaſion to ſay that ſhe was turned into ſtone (*g*). Antonius Liberalis relates, that whilſt the Heraclides were buſied about Alcmena's obſequies, Jupiter commanded Mercury to ſteal her away, and to tranſport her to the Elyſian Fields, in order to be married to Rhadamanthus. The order was executed, and a ſtone was put into the coffin. They who carried it, finding it very heavy, opened it, and there found inſtead of the body a ſtone, which they depoſited in a ſacred wood, where was afterwards the chapel of Alcmena at Thebes (*h*). Diodorus Siculus only obſerves that ſhe diſappeared, and that the Thebans paid her divine honours (*i*). They continued to ſhew her chamber in Pauſanias's time (*k*). Her altar was likewiſe to be ſeen at Athens at the ſame time (*l*). The preſent which ſhe received from Jupiter for that long night which he had paſſed with her, was ſhewn at Lacedæmon during ſeveral ages, as a very great rarity (*m*). Several very wonderful things are related concerning her tomb [*G*]. Conſult the article of AMPHITRYO.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Plut. *in Romulo*, p. 35.

(*g*) Pauſan. l. 9. p. 294.

(*h*) Antonini Liberalis, *Metam.* cap. 33. *ex Pherecyde.*

(*i*) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. cap 4.

(*k*) Pauſan. l. 9. p. 290. He lived about 150 years after the nativity of Chriſt.

(*l*) Idem, lib. 1, p. 17.

(*m*) See the note [*D*] of the article TELEBOES.

Et, quæcunque es, ait, dominæ gratare: levata eſt
Argolis Alcmene, potiturque puerpera voto.
Exſiluit, junctaſque manus patefacta remiſit
Diva potens uteri: vinclis levor ipſa remiſſis (27).

(27) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 9. ver. 298, *& ſeq.*

" Red-hair'd Galanthis, one of mean deſcent
" In all employments ſtoutly diligent,
" Beloved for her duty, doth miſdoubt
" Malicious Juno. Paſſing in and out,
" She ſaw the Goddeſs on the altar ſit;
" Her arms about her knees, her fingers knit.
" Whate'er you be, rejoice with us he ſaid;
" Joyful Alcmena hath her belly laid.
" The Goddeſs great in child-birth, ſtarting, roſe;
" And parting her link'd fingers, eas'd my throws.
Sandys.

Pauſanias does not tell the ſtory with the ſame circumſtances. He ſays that there were ſeen at Thebes the figures of certain women (28), which Juno had ſent to hinder Alcmena's delivery. The daughter of Tireſias (29) deceived them by ſaying that Alcmena was delivered (30). In Pliny's time, the poſture of which I have been ſpeaking, was ſtill taken for enchantment. *To ſit near a big-bellied woman, or any perſon that is taking a medicine, with fingers faſtned in form of a comb, is ſorcery; and this it is ſaid was experienced when Alcmena was in labour of Hercules. It is worſe if the hands are held acroſs one or both knees.* To this effect Vigenere (31) tranſlates theſe words of Pliny: *Adſidere gravidis vel cum remedium alicui adhibetur, digitis pectinatim inter ſe implexis, veneficium eſt: idque compertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus ſi circa unum ambove genua, item poplites alternis genibus imponi* (32). We ſhall ſee elſewhere (33) the liberty which Plautus has taken to ſuppoſe that Alcmena was delivered without pain.

(28) They were called φαρμακίδες. We ſhould call them witches now a days.

(29) Her name was *Hiſtoris.*

(30) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 290.

(31) Vigenere *ſur la Philoſtrate*, tom. 2. fol. 17.

(32) Pliny, lib. 28. c. 6. p. 579.

(33) In the note [*F*] of the article TELEBOES.

§ (*a*) RABELAIS B. 3. ch. 48. has rendred the text of Ovid and Pliny very well. If Mr. Bayle had been aware of it, it would have been a fit paſſage to have quoted here. REM. CRIT.

[*F*] *She had the ſatisfaction of holding in her hands the head of Hercules's perſecutor, and plucking out his eyes.*] Apollodorus tells us that the ſons of this Hero found at Athens a good refuge againſt Eryſtheus; and that Hyllus, one of them, having ſlain him, cut off his head, and gave it to Alcmena: Καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποστείλων Ἀλκμήνῃ δίδωσιν· ἡ δὲ κερκίσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξώρυξεν αὐτῆς (34). i. e. " He preſented the head " which was cut off to Alcmena. And ſhe dug the " eyes out of it with a weaver's ſhuttle.

(34) Apollodori *Bib.* l. 2. p. 151.

[*G*] *Several very wonderful things are related concerning her tomb.*] Ageſilaüs, King of Sparta, being deſirous to remove the relicks of Alcmena to Lacedæmon, ſent ſome people to Haliartus to open the tomb of this woman. There were found therein two earthen veſſels, a bracelet of copper, and a braſs plate on which were graven letters that no body underſtood. As they reſembled the Egyptian characters, Ageſilaüs had them copied, and ſent this copy to the King of Egypt; deſiring him to cauſe his Prieſts to explain the meaning thereof if they could (35). Plutarch adds that Agetoridas, Ageſilaüs's Deputy, went to Memphis, where the Prophet Chonuphis decyphered this inſcription. It contained an order directed to the Greeks, that they ſhould live in peace, honour the Muſes, and determine their differences according to the rules of equity. The letters of the inſcription were agreeable to the characters which Hercules learnt under the reign of King Proteus. What is the moſt remarkable is, that the inhabitants of Haliartus having had a very bad harveſt, and great inundations, believed that theſe evils were come upon them becauſe they had ſuffered Alcmena's ſepulchre to be diſturbed. One reads ſuch reflections in ſeveral Legends, on account of the diſmembring or removing the bodies of Saints.

(35) Plutarch. *in libr. de Socratis Genio*, p. 576, *& ſeq.*

ALCMEON. There have been ſeveral perſons of that name. The laſt perpetual Archon of Athens was called ALCMEON. After him other Archons were created, whoſe office laſted but ten years. This alteration happened during the ſixth Olympiad, a little before Romulus built the city of Rome (*a*). Herodotus mentions one Alcmeon who lived at Athens in the time of Crœſus, and who did a thouſand good offices to the Ambaſſadors whom that King ſent to Delphi (*b*). Crœſus being informed thereof, cauſed him to come to his court, and gave him leave to take from his treaſury as much gold as he could carry. One may read in Herodotus the expedients that Alcmeon made uſe of to get himſelf well loaden. Crœſus made him ſtill other preſents, inſomuch that he put him into a capacity of adding great luſtre to his family at Athens; it was one of the moſt conſiderable there. The Alcmeonides (that is to ſay the deſcendants of Alcmeon) diſtinguiſhed themſelves there on many occaſions; and, above all, in ſtoutly oppoſing the tyranny which Piſiſtratus and his ſons endeavoured in vain to perpetuate. I believe this is the ſame Alcmeon that was General of the Athenians in the war which was undertaken for the protection of the temple at Delphi by the ſollicitation of Solon (*c*). I find in Plutarch one Alcmeon that was a great enemy of Themiſtocles (*d*). There are in Moreri's Dictionary ſeveral miſtakes concerning

(*a*) Euſebii *Chronicon.*

(*b*) Herod. l. 6. cap. 125.

(*c*) Plut. *in Solone*, p. 84.

(*d*) Idem, *in Vit. Ariſtid. ſub finem*, p. 334 E.

cerning the word Alcmeon [*A*]. I am going to ſpeak ſeparately of two perſons who are of that name.

[*A*] *There are in Moreri's Dictionary ſeveral miſtakes concerning the word Alcmeon.*] I. It is not true that Alcmeon, the laſt perpetual Archon, lived about the 300th or 301ſt year of Rome. Euſebius, who quoted for this, places the laſt of the perpetual Archons before the foundation of Rome. II. Beſides, the 301ſt year of Rome does not anſwer to the year of the world 3300; but to about the year 3530, according to Petavius, or to the year 3498, according to Calviſius. III. Alcmeon, the perpetual Archon, is not the ſame Alcmeon that received ſo many preſents from Crœſus (1). He lived about 190 years before the firſt year of that Monarchs reign. IV. The laſt year of his reign anſwers to the 206th of Rome V. Herodotus, whom Moreri quotes, does not ſay that Alcmeon ſucceeded his father Megacles, in the office of Perpetual Archon; nor that the Embaſſadors of Crœſus asked Alcmeon, *if he was willing to join with their Maſter to go to Delphi*; nor *that after he had promiſed them to do it, the King made him a preſent of as much gold as he could carry*; nor that having perceived that Alcmeon had loaded himſelf with gold, *beyond his ſtrength, he cauſed him to be carried to his houſe with his burden, becauſe he was not able to walk by reaſon of his load.* I cannot conceive why he quotes Herodotus when he has ſo ſtrangely falſified what he ſays. VI. Alcmeon, the ſon of Amphiaraüs, did not marry Callirrhoe after the death of Alpheſibea his firſt wife: ſhe was alive during the ſecond marriage (2). VII. Plutarch does not ſay that the fable of Alcmeon ſignifies, *that he ſlew his mother, that is to ſay, his* privies, *to go and live in the country; which is expreſſed to us by the river of his father-in-law.* Would not any one think that Moreri had read in *Plutarch* that Alcmeon had gelt himſelf: it is what theſe words naturally import, *il tua ſa mere, c'eſt a dire ſa partie.* I am apt to believe that in the room of *partie*, our author had ſaid *patrie:* but that does not bring him out of the difficulty; for Plutarch has not ſaid that Alcmeon deſtroyed his country, or that he uſed it ill: He ſays on the contrary, that Alcmeon declining the Magiſtracies, and avoiding ſeditions, factions, and calumnies, choſe for himſelf a ſmall retreat, that he might live there in quiet; and that it is thus he had fled from the furies (3). VIII. Euſebius's Chronicle is ſtill more improperly quoted to explain what the fable has ſaid of Alcmeon; for of what uſe is it for the explication of this fable, to ſay that Thebes was plundered, that Tireſias was made a priſoner, and that his daughter Manto was conſecrated to the ſervice of Apollo? IX. It is not true that Euſebius refers theſe things *to the* 817 *year of Abraham.* He ſays nothing about the plundering of Thebes: He ſpeaks in general of the ſeven Captains that attacked that city, and of their deſcendants who renewed the war; he ſpeaks, I ſay, of the firſt of thoſe expeditions under the year 784, and of the laſt under the year 823. In the Xth place, neither Euſebius, nor any other Hiſtorian has related that Alcmeon's expedition againſt Thebes was unfortunate (4); for it was then that the *Epigoni* plundered the city, &c. XI. *They did not take along with them the poor blind Tireſias:* He fled along with the other Thebans before the enemy entred the city. XII. *They did not take a great booty, to revenge the diſhonour their father.* He ſhould have ſaid, that *to revenge the diſhonour of their fathers*, they undertook a ſecond expedition. XIII. It is not true that the Philoſopher Alcmeon *has demonſtrated that the Moon has one particular property, that it never comes to an end.* He has ſuppoſed the eternity of that Planet. It is a thing that can only be ſuppoſed; and it is a negligence more unpardonable in a Prieſt, than any other author, to ſay that any one *has demonſtrated* that the Moon is eternal, *and that the immortal ſoul turns always round like the Sun.* XIV. Euſebius ſays nothing of Alcmeon the Philoſopher. and it is undoubtedly the Poet that he meant, when he ſaid, *Alcmæon clarus habetur, & Leſches Lesbius qui parvam fecit Iliadem.* i. e. "Alcmeon flouriſhed then, "and likewiſe Leſches the Lesbian who compo- "ſed a ſmall Iliad." XV. He has mentioned him under the 31ſt Olympiad and not under the 69th. XVI. It is not true that Plutarch in his Life of Solon quotes an Hiſtorian called Alcmeon. Obſerve Plutarch's words: they will ſerve to ſhew how the Copyiſts plunge headlong into the groſſeſt blunders: Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς λέγων φησὶν Ἕρμιππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον. Οὔτε γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ' εἴρηκεν, ἔν τε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, ἀ Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται (5). i. e. "However he was not deſigned to be "the Commander in this war, as Hermippus ſays "Euanthus of Samos relates. Nor has even Æſchi- "nes the Orator ſaid ſo, and in the Delphic Com- "mentaries Alcmeon, and not Solon, was the Athe- "nian General." Lloyd and Hofman have found the pretended Hiſtorian Alcmeon in this paſſage of Plutarch: *In Delphorum Commentariis*, ſay they, *citatur à Plutarcho in Solone.* i. e. "In the Delphic "Commentaries he is quoted by Plutarch in his Life "of Solon." It is evident that theſe *Delphic Commentaries* are the work which they attribute to Alcmeon, and pretend to have been quoted by Plutarch. I am ſurprized that Voſſius is fallen into ſuch a miſtake. *Alcmæon*, ſays he (6), *in Delphorum Commentariis* Ἀλκμαίων ἐν τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασι, *citatur à Plutarcho in Solone.* i. e. "Alcmeon in his *Del-* "*phic Commentaries* is quoted by Plutarch in his "Life of Solon.

(1) It is ſaid ſo however in the Dutch edition. The ſupplement to Moreri ſaid only that Alcmeon had been annual Archon of Athens.

(2) Beſide Apollodorus, there is another witneſs, *Ovid de Remed. Amor.* ver. 455. *Amphilochi frater ne Phegida ſemper amaret, Callirrhoe fecit parte recepta tori.* i. e. "Calli- "rhoe being re- "ceived into "part of his bed, "kept the bro- "ther of Am- "philochus from "always loving "Phegis.

(3) Plutarch. *de Exilio*, p. 602.

(4) Obſerve how Moreri ſpeaks both in the Lyons edition in 1688, and in that of Holland, *Après ſa malheureuſe expedition de Thebes.* i. e. "After his un- "fortunate The- "ban expedition.

(5) Plutarc. *in Solone*, p. 84. *A.*

(6) Voſſius *de Hiſt. Græc.* pag. 501.

ALCMEON, the ſon of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle the ſiſter of Adraſtus, ſlew his mother in obedience to the command of his father. You ſhall know immediately the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a command. Amphiaraüs looked upon Eriphyle as the cauſe of his death. He would not go to war againſt the Thebans; for being a great Diviner he had foreſeen that if he went thither he ſhould there periſh. Beſides, he had promiſed with an oath, that in all the diſputes he might have with Adraſtus, he would be wholly guided by his wife's advice. They had a diſpute about an expedition to Thebes. Adraſtus was for having Amphiaraüs engage in it. Amphiaraüs would have nothing to do with it, and diſſuaded the others from it. Eriphyle decided the diſpute according to the deſire of Adraſtus, having been gained over by a fine necklace (*a*) which Polynices offered her (*b*), and ſhe accepted, without regarding the injunction that her huſband had laid upon her to receive nothing from Polynices. She is by that means become a great ſubject of common places, and moral reflections, in the hands of the cenſurers of the ſex. It is well known that Amphiaraüs, having betaken himſelf to flight after the defeat of his army, was ſwallowed up by a gulph which a thunderclap had opened in his way. He had given orders to his ſons, before he marched againſt Thebes, that as ſoon as their age would permit they ſhould ſlay Eriphyle. All the other Generals, except Adraſtus, periſhed in that war. Their ſons took a reſolution ten years after to go and revenge the repulſe, and they made choice of Alcmeon for their Generaliſſimo, Eriphyle, again won by preſents, ſollicited them to this war. Therſander the ſon of Polynices, had preſented her with a necklace (*c*), and a mantle (*d*). Whatever deſire Alcmeon might have to ſlay his mother before he accepted of the

(*a*) See the notes on the article CALLIRRHOE concerning the necklace.

(*b*) Hyginus, chap. 73 ſays, that Adraſtus gave the necklace, and that Eriphyle diſcovered the place where Amphiaraüs had hid himſelf.

(*c*) Rather believe Diodorus Siculus, who ſays, that Therſander gave her only the mantle. He could not give her the necklace, becauſe Eriphyle had it already.

(*d*) Called in Greek Πέπλος.

command of the army, he marched againſt Thebes, without having executed the order of Amphiaraüs. The expedition proved very fortunate: The Thebans, by the advice of Tireſias, abandoned their city, which was plundered and ruined. Alcmeon, tranſported with new rage, after having learnt that Eriphyle had ſuffered her ſelf to be corrupted by preſents againſt him alſo, made no further difficulty of ſlaying her when he had conſulted the Oracle. Some writers maintain that his brother Amphilochus aſſiſted him in the parricide; but a much greater number ſay otherwiſe. Alcmeon, haunted by the furies on account of that action, retired to Pſophis in Arcadia, where he expiated his crime in the hands of Phegeüs, according to the ceremonies in ſuch caſes appointed, and married Arſinoe (*e*) Phegeüs's daughter, to whom he made a preſent of the ſame necklace and mantle that had been given to Eriphyle. There ariſing a great famine, recourſe was had to the Oracle, who ordered that Alcmeon ſhould take refuge with Acheloüs. He arrived in his country, after much wandring; received afreſh the ceremonies of expiation; married Callirrhoe the daughter of Acheloüs, and ſettled upon a corner of land which the river had formed [*A*], by heaping up the ſand. Callirrhoe declared to him that ſhe would not bed with him, if he did not make her a preſent of Eriphyle's necklace and mantle. That obliged him to go back to Phegeüs, of whom he obtained the necklace, after having made him believe that he had learnt from the Oracle, that the perſecution of the Furies would not ceaſe, till he had offered up that necklace to Apollo. Phegeüs found out afterwards that Alcmeon intended that preſent for Callirrhoe, whereupon he ordered his two ſons to purſue and kill him, which they did; and, becauſe Arſinoe was offended at it, they carried her to Tegea in a cheſt, and charged her with the murder. Some ſay that Alcmeon diverted himſelf during his madneſs with the Propheteſs Manto, daughter of Tireſias, and that he had two children by her (*f*). See the ſequel of all this in the article of CALLIRRHOE. The Furies of Alcmeon made a great noiſe upon the ſtage of ancient Greece (*g*); but we have none of thoſe Tragedies now remaining [*B*]. What has been ſaid of his tomb deſerves to be conſidered [*C*]. The Oropians who were more forward than all other people to rank Amphiaraüs amongſt the Gods, excluded Alcmeon from thoſe divine honours which they conferred upon his father and brother: They excluded him from them, I ſay, becauſe of his parricide (*h*). It is remarked that a certain Perſian, named Orontes, very much reſembled him (*i*).

There are Hiſtorians who ſay that Alcmeon, after the ſecond Theban war, went into Ætolia, upon the perſuaſion of Diomedes; that he aſſiſted him to conquer that country and Acarnania; and that having been ſummoned to join in the Trojan expedition, Diomedes went thither, but that Alcmeon ſtaid in Acarnania, and to do honour to his brother (*k*), he built a city which he called Argos of Amphilochus (*l*). Obſerve that he propheſied in Acarnania (*m*).

(*e*) Pauſanias lib. 8 p. 255, calls her *Alphesibea.*

(*f*) Extracted from Apollodor. *Bibliothec.* lib. 3. p. 187, *& ſeq.* *See alſo* Diod. Sic. l. 5. ch. 6.

(*g*) *Alcmæon olim Tragicorum pulpita laſſavit furore ſuo, nunc nullam ſui nominis fabulam habet.* Barthius in Statium, tom. 2. pag. 449. i. e. "Alcmæon formerly ſurfeited the ſtages of Tragedians with his raving, but there is now no play remaining that bears his name.

(*b*) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 33.

(*i*) Plutarch *in Arato* p. 1028.

(*k*) He was called AMPHILOCHUS. See the notes on that article.

(*l*) Strabo lib. 7. p. 225. See alſo lib. 10. p. 318.

(*m*) Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* l. 1. p. 334.

[*A*] *He ſettled upon a corner of land which the river Achelous had formed.*] It will not be amiſs to explain Apollodorus by a paſſage of Pauſanias, which imports that Alcmeon, after having ſlain his mother, fled from Argos to Pſophis, where he married Alphesibea the daughter of Phegeüs (1). The marriage did not remove the diſorder of his mind; he had therefore recourſe to the Oracle, which ordered him to retire upon land that was quite new, and produced ſince the murder of Eriphyle. He was aſſured that the Furies would not purſue him thither. Having then found in the mouth of the river Achelous, a piece of land which the waves had carried thither, he there took up his abode, and married Callirrhoe.

(1) Pauſan. l. 8. pag. 255.

[*B*] *We have none of thoſe Tragedies now remaining.*] I do not queſtion but the two verſes, which Plutarch has inſerted in one of his books, were taken from ſome of thoſe pieces. The common place which Plutarch touches in that paſſage is more important than one is aware of: it regards a failing which is obſervable every where. I mean that of thoſe who reproach their neighbour with a vice which themſelves are guilty of, or which is not ſo great as their own. Alcmeon reproaches Adraſtus with being the brother of a woman that killed her husband; Adraſtus anſwers him, *And as for your part, you ſlew your own mother.* It is not proper to ſet up for a Cato or a Cenſor, when ones ſelf is full of faults.

Οὐκοῦν μηδὲ μοιχὸν λοιδορήσῃς, αὐτὸς ὢν παιδομανής.
Μηδ' ἄσωτον αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνελεύθερος,
Ἀνδροκτόνης γυναικὸς ὁμογενὴς ἔφυς:
Τὸν Ἀδράστον ὁ Ἀλκμαίων. Τί οὖν ἐκεῖνος; οὐκ ἀλλότριον ἀλλὰ ἴδιον ἑαυτῷ προσφέρων ὄνειδος,
Σὺ δ' αὐτόχειρ γε μητρὸς ἣ σ' ἐγείνατο (2).

(2) Plutarch *de capiendâ ex inimicis utilitate*, p. 88.

" Object not adultery to another, when you yourſelf " are a Catamite; nor accuſe him of profuſion, when " you are a ſordid niggard. Alcmeon threw this " taunt in the teeth of Adraſtus,

" The woman who killed her husband was your " ſiſter.

" But what ſaid Adraſtus? He did not retort upon Alc- " meon another perſon's but his own crime.

" You ſlew your mother with your own hand.

[*C*] *What has been ſaid of his tomb deſerves to be conſidered.*] This tomb was at Pſophis in Arcadia: It had hardly any magnificence or ornaments; but it was ſurrounded with cypreſs-trees, ſo high that they could cover with their ſhade the hill that overlooked the city. They were not cut down becauſe they were ſuppoſed ſacred to Alcmeon, and they were called the Virgins (3).

(3) Idem, ibid. Pauſan. l. 8. p. 255.

ALCMEON, a native of Crotona, and diſciple of Pythagoras. It is thought that he was the firſt that wrote upon natural Philoſophy (*a*). He held ſome very heterodox opinions, as that the Moon was eternal, and that our ſoul is in a perpetual motion like the Sun. This is what Laertius ſays of him. Cicero repreſents this Philoſopher's ſyſtem better; for what can be more inaccurate than to make choice, amongſt all the heavenly bodies, to whoſe nature Alcmeon attributed eternity, of that whoſe variations

(*a*) Phavorin. *in omnimoda Hiſt.* *apud* Laert. *in Alcmæone* l. 8. Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* l. 1. Theodoret. *Serm.* 1.

ons are moſt apparent, I mean the Moon? Therefore he ſhould have ſaid, like Cicero (*b*), that this Philoſopher attributed Divinity to all the Stars, and the ſame to our ſoul. But as it is the property of bad ſyſtems, not to hang well together, we ſee that our Alcmeon did not reaſon conſequentially, when he made a great diſtinction betwixt the knowledge of the Gods, and that of men. He ſaid that the Gods knew things manifeſtly, and that men could only conjecture (*c*). This is what they can ſay that acknowledge one only and true God; but thoſe who take Stars and human Souls for ſo many Gods, make themſelves ridiculous of courſe, if they pretend that human and divine knowledge differ any otherwiſe than in degree. It is not true that this Alcmeon died of the pedicular diſtemper [*A*].

(*b*) Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, l. 1. cap. 11.

(*c*) Laert. *in Alcmæon.* l. 8.

[*A*] *It is not true that he died of the pedicular diſtemper.*] Antigonus Caryſtius has miſtaken one perſon for another, when he ſaid that Alcmeon the Naturaliſt had that diſeaſe; he took, I ſay, Alcmeon the Diſciple of Pythagoras, for the Poet Alcman (1). Charles Stephens does not content himſelf with ſaying that Alcmeon the Philoſopher died of the pedicular diſeaſe; he ſays further that he was the firſt that died of it, and he had the authority of Ælian for it. Theſe are two falſhoods: Ælian ſays nothing about our Alcmeon; it is upon Alcman the Poet that he makes ſeveral obſervations: but having ſaid that Pherecydes the Philoſopher died of the diſeaſe of which we are here ſpeaking (2), he would undoubtedly have given him the priority before Alcmeon, if he had ſpoken of the latter, with relation to that ſort of diſeaſe. The errors of Charles Stephens are found in Father Leſcalopier (3).

(1) *Antig. Caryſt. Hiſt. Mirab.* c 95. Meurſius in his notes has pointed out that fault to him.

(2) Ælian. *var. Hiſt.* l. 4. c. 28.

(3) *In* Cicer. *de Nat. Deor.* p. 41.

☞ALCRED deſcended from King Ida by his ſon Etric (*a*), whom Rapin calls (*b*) Alaric, and ſays he was Ida's natural ſon. Moll Ethelwold (*c*), who was not of the Royal Blood, having been choſen King of Northumberland, his election cauſed great diviſions in that Kingdom, the Nobles thinking they had as much right as he to aſpire to the crown. Among them was Alcred, who having conſpired ſecretly againſt Moll found means to draw him into his ſnares, and having killed him, he was crowned in his ſtead in the year 765 (*d*). Moll's party, which had been reduced very low by his death, having gained ground again, all Alcred's friends left him, ſo that he was obliged to quit the throne, and to fly to Cynoth King of the Picts, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies (*e*), who would probably have treated him as he had done his predeceſſor: This happened in the year 774, ſo that Alcred reigned only about nine years; he had two ſons, Oſred and Alcmund. Oſred was made King in 789, after Elfwald (*f*) had been murthered; but he reigned only a few months [*A*]. We will ſay ſomething of Alcmund in the article of King ALDULF.

(*a*) Simeon Dunelmenſis, *apud* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Ang. Script.* 10. tom. 1. col. 11.

(*b*) *Hiſt. d'Ang.* tom. 1. p. 172.

(*c*) Rapin (ibid. p. 171) calls him Mollon-Adelwalt.

(*d*) *Chron. de Mailros, in Rer. Ang. Script. Vet.* tom. 1. p. 138.

(*e*) Rap. ibid. Sim. Dunelm. *ubi ſupra*, col. 107.

(*f*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 173, calls him Alphuald I. *See* Simeon Dunelm. *ubi ſupra*, col. 3.

[*A*] *Oſred reigned only a few months.*] Rapin ſays, he made himſelf ſo contemptible, that the very firſt year of his reign he was confined in a monaſtery. Simeon of Durham (1) tells us that Oſred, having been betrayed by his Nobles, was deprived of the crown, and thrown into a monaſtery at York, and that afterwards he was obliged to go into baniſhment. About two years after, viz. A. D. 792, he came back being invited by ſome Noblemen, who had promiſed upon oath to ſupport him; but his army having forſaken him, he was taken and killed the 14th of October 792, by order of King Ethelred. P.

(1) Sim. Dunelm. *Hiſt. de Geſt. Anglor. apud* Twyſden, tom. 1. col. 111.

☞ALCUINUS or ALBINUS (FLACCUS) a famous Engliſh writer in the eighth Century, was born in Yorkſhire (*a*), or, as others tell us, not far from London. He was at firſt a ſcholar of Venerable Bede, and afterwards of Egbert Archbiſhop of York (*b*). He was Deacon of the church of that city, and Abbot of St. Auguſtin's in Canterbury. He flouriſhed in the year 780. In 793 he was ſent for to France by Charlemagne, in order to oppoſe the hereſy of Felix Orgelitanus, and received by him with the utmoſt honour. The year following he attended that Prince to the council of Francfort, and was recommended by him as a perſon well ſkilled in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, upon which he was admitted a member of that council. Charlemagne gave him the Abbeys of Ferrara, St. Jodocus, and St. Lupus. In the year 796 he deſired leave of him to retire from ſecular affairs, which was refuſed him; however he had the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, and another Abbey given him. In the year 798 he wrote againſt Fælix Orgelitanus, whom he had before endeavoured to prevail upon by the moſt courteous and obliging letters imaginable. In the year 799 he was deſired by Charlemagne to attend him in his journey to Rome; but he excuſed himſelf on account of his weakneſs and old age. In 801 he congratulated Charlemagne newly declared Emperor upon his return from Italy, and importuned him ſo warmly for leave to retire from court, that at laſt he obtained it. He went immediately to his Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in devotion and ſtudy, and inſtructing the youth in the ſchool which he founded in that city, though the Emperor endeavoured frequently by letters to recall him to court (*c*). Voſſius tells us (*d*), that Charlemagne founded the Univerſity of Paris by his advice; and other writers inform us, that ſeveral other Univerſities, as that of Tours, Soiſſons, &c. owe their original or inlargement to him (*e*). In ſhort France was likewiſe obliged to him for the flouriſhing ſtate of polite learning in that and the following ages. He underſtood the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages extremely well, and was an excellent Orator, Philoſopher, Mathematician, and Divine (*f*), and the moſt learned of all the Engliſh writers after Bede and Adhelme (*g*). Voſſius ſays, that he was Almoner and Privy-Counſellor to Charlemagne. He died at Tours on Whitſunday the 19th of May 804, and not in 790, as Pit's

(*a*) In the notes of Mr. Tindal's tranſlation of Rapin's *Hiſtory of England*, vol. 1. B. 3. he is ſaid to be a Northumbrian.

(*b*) Cave, *Hiſt. Literar. Sæc.* 8. p. 420. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(*c*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *De Hiſt. Lat.* l. 2. c. 30.

(*e*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Voſſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Baleus, *de Script. Britann.* Cent. 2. c. 17.

Pit's falſely affirms (*h*). He was buried in the church of St. Martin in that city, and an epitaph of twenty four verſes of his own compoſition (*i*) was inſcribed upon his Tomb. His ſtyle is very neat and lively; he writes with a great deal of ſpirit, and his expreſſions are extremely pure conſidering the age in which he lived; and the turn which he gives to elegance in things is very agreeable. In ſhort, he wants neither eloquence, nor even politeneſs and elegance in his compoſitions (*k*). He wrote many books, the greateſt part of which are ſtill extant. We ſhall give a catalogue of them in a note [*A*].

(*b*) *Script. Ang. Illuſt.* p. 156.
(*i*) *Labbe in Theſauro Epitaph.* p. 82.
(*k*) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 6. p. 123. edit. de Mons, 1692.

[*A*] *We ſhall give a catalogue of them in a note.*] They were collected together, and publiſhed in one volume in folio, by Andrew du Cheſne at Paris in 1617. They are divided into three parts; the firſt contains the tracts upon Scripture; the ſecond thoſe upon Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Morality; and the third Hiſtorical Treatiſes, Letters, and Poems. The firſt part contains the following works: *Interrogationes & Reſponſiones; ſeu Liber Quæſtionum in Geneſin*; i. e. "Queſtions and Anſwers upon the Book "of Geneſis." *Dicta ſuper illud Geneſeos, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem noſtram*; i. e. "A Diſcourſe "upon theſe words in Geneſis, *Let us make man in "our own image.*" *Enchiridium ſeu Expoſitio pia brevis in ſeptem Pſalmos Penitentiales, in Pſalmum centeſimum octodecimum, & in Pſalmos graduales ad Arnonem Archiepiſcopum Salisburgienſem*; i. e. "An "Enchiridion, or a ſhort Expoſition of the ſeven Peni-"tential Pſalms, and the hundred and eighteenth Pſalm, "and the Pſalms of Degrees, dedicated to Arno "Archbiſhop of Saltzburg." It was printed ſeparately at Paris 1547 in 8vo; but without the Preface, which was firſt publiſhed by Lucas Dacherius (1). *De Pſalmorum Uſu Liber*; i. e. "Of the Uſe of "Pſalms," with divers Forms of Prayers fitted for daily uſe, dedicated to Fredegiſus his Scholar. *Officia per Ferias*; i. e. "Offices for the holy days." *Epiſtola de illo Cantici Canticorum loco,* Sexaginta ſunt Reginæ &c. i. e. "An Epiſtle concerning that "place in the Canticles. *There are threſcore Queens "&c.*" *Commentaria in Eccleſiaſten*; i. e. "Com-"mentaries upon Eccleſiaſtes," printed at Baſil 1531, 8vo. *Commentariorum in S. Joannis Evangelium Libri ſeptem*; i. e. "Seven Books of Commentaries "upon St. John's Goſpel," printed at Strasburg 1527. At the end of this part of Alcuinus's works it is obſerved, that he undertook by Charlemagne's order the correction of the whole text of the Vulgate Bible, and that this work is ſtill to be found in the Library of Vauxcolles, with his verſes upon it (2), intitled, *Epigrammata de Recognitione & Emendatione totius divinæ Scripturæ* (3).

(1) *Specileg.* tom. 9.
(2) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*
(3) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

The ſecond part contains the following Tracts: *De Fide S. S. Trinitatis, Libri III, ad Carolum Magnum; cum Invocatione ad S. Trinitatem & Symbolo Fidei*; i. e. "Three Books concerning the Faith in the "Holy Trinity, addreſſed to Charlemagne; with an "Invocation to the Holy Trinity, and the Creed." *De Trinitate ad Fridegiſum Quæſtiones xxviii, ſeu Confeſſio ſive Doctrina de Deo*; i. e. "Twenty eight "Queſtions concerning the Trinity, addreſſed to "Fridegiſus, or a Confeſſion or Doctrine concerning "God." *De Differentia æterni & ſempiterni, immortalis & perpetui, ævi & temporis Epiſtola*; i. e. "A Letter to explain what time, eternity and age, "&c. are." *De Animæ Ratione Liber, ad Eulaliam Virginem*; i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the Soul, "dedicated to the Virgin Eulalia." *Contra Fælicem Orgelitanum Epiſcopum, Libri VII.* i. e. "Seven "Books againſt Felix Biſhop of Urgel," who maintained that Jeſus Chriſt might properly be called the adopted Son of God with regard to his humun nature. This was written in 798, and is falſly aſcribed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* to Paulinus of Aquileia. *Epiſtola ad Elipandum*; i. e. "An Epiſtle to Elipan-"dus," Biſhop of Toledo upon the ſame ſubject." *Epiſtola Elipandi ad Alcuinum*; i. e. "An Epiſtle "of Elipandus to Alcuinus," in defence of his opinion, written with great virulence and in a very barbarous ſtyle (4). *Contra Elipandi Epiſtolam Libelli IV*; i. e. "Four Books in anſwer to Elipandus's Epiſtle," which are written with great candour and moderation (5). At the end of theſe four Books is an Advertiſement of Alcuinus concerning the origin of Felix's error, and the retractation which he made; *the Letter of Elipandus to Felix*; the Confeſſion of Faith, which he made after he had retracted; and a Letter of Alcuinus upon the queſtions, which might be raiſed concerning the Son of God. Theſe are the pieces contained in the ſecond part. The firſt work concerning Diſcipline is that intitled, *De Divinis Officiis Liber, ſive Expoſitio Romani Ordinis*; i. e. "A Diſ-"courſe concerning the divine Offices, or, an Expo-"ſition of the Roman Office." This is publiſhed with his name, but it was written by a later author; ſince it mentions Hilperic, who lived in the tenth Century, and contains many obſervations, which belong to a later age, than that of Alcuinus (6). *De Ratione Septuageſimæ, Sexageſimæ, & Quinquageſimæ Epiſtola*; which is an Epiſtle to Charlemagne concerning the *Septuageſima, Sexageſima,* and *Quinquageſima,* and the difference of the number of weeks in Lent, with that Emperor's Anſwer upon the ſame ſubject. *De Baptiſmi Ceremoniis ad Odvinum Presbyterum Epiſtola*; i. e. "An Epiſtle to Odwin "the Presbyter concerning the Ceremonies of Bap-"tiſm." *De iiſdem Ceremoniis alia Epiſtola*; i. e. "Another Epiſtle concerning the ſame Ceremonies." Father Sirmond very juſtly denies this to have been written by Alcuinus, ſince it belongs to Amilarius of Treves. *De Confeſſione peccatorum ad pueros S. Martini Epiſtola*; i. e. "A Letter to the youths of St. "Martin concerning the Confeſſion of ſins." *Sacramentorum Liber*; i. e. "A Book of Sacraments," or Maſſes for ſeveral holy days. *Homiliæ III.* 1. *De Silentio, in quo miſſum eſt incarnatum Verbum.* 2. *In Nativitate B. Mariæ.* 3. *In Feſto omnium Sanctorum.* i. e. "Three Homilies; the 1ſt upon the Incarna-"tion, the 2d upon the Nativity of the Virgin, "and the third upon the Feaſt of All-Saints." Theſe Homilies are taken from Paulus Diaconus's Book of Homilies, and very probably are not Alcuinus's. *Vita Antichriſti ad Carolum Magnum*; i. e. "The Life of Antichriſt, dedicated to Charlemagne." *De Virtutibns & Vitiis ad Widonem Comitem Liber*; i. e. "A Diſcourſe concerning Virtues and Vices, "dedicated to Earl Wido." *De ſeptem Artibus Liber imperfectus*; i. e. "An imperfect Book con-"cerning the ſeven Arts." There are only two chapters remaining, viz. of Grammar and Rhetoric, with a tranſition to Logic. *Grammatica*; i. e. "The "Grammar," was publiſhed ſeparately at Hanow. "1605. *De Rhetoricâ, & de Virtutibus Dialogus*; i. e. "A Dialogue upon Rhetoric and the Virtues," printed at Paris in 4to, 1599. *Dialectica*; i. e. "Lo-"gic," in a Dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus, printed with the Grammar at Ingolſtad in 4to, 1604. *Diſputatio Regalis,* being a Dialogue between Pipin afterwards King of Italy, and Albin or Alcuinus.

(4) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*
(5) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*
(6) Du Pin, and Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

The laſt part of his works contains the following: *Scriptum de Vitâ S. Martini Turonenſis*; i. e. "The "Life of St. Martin of Tours." *De Tranſitu S. Martini Sermo*; i. e. "A Sermon upon the Death of "St. Martin." *Vita S. Vedaſti Epiſcopi Atrebatenſis*; i. e. "The Life of St. Vedaſt Biſhop of Arras," written in the year 795. *Vita beatiſſimi Richardi Presbyteri*; i. e. "The Life of St. Riguier the Prieſt." *De Vitâ S. Willebrordi Trajectenſis Epiſcopi Libri II*; i. e. "Life of St. Willebrord Biſhop of Utrecht, in "two Books," one in proſe, and the other in verſe, with an Homily upon him. They are publiſhed in *Mabillon* (7) and *Surius* (8). *Epiſtolæ cxv.* i. e. "cxv Epiſtles," 67 of which are in *Caniſius. Poemata & Verſus de pluribus Sanctis*; i. e. "Poems "and Verſes upon ſeveral Saints." And ſeveral other Verſes collected from divers places. Since Du Cheſne's Edition of his works, there have been publiſhed ſeveral other Tracts of his; as particularly, *Commentarius brevis in Cantica Canticorum*; i. e. "A ſhort Commentary upon the Canticles," publiſhed by Patrick Young with the Commenrary of Gilbert Foliot at London, in 4to, 1638. *Breviarium Fidei adverſus Arianos*; i. e. "An Abridgment "of

(7) *Sæc. Benedict. III.* Par. 1. p. 601.
(8) 7 Novemb.

ALCYONIUS (PETER) was one of thoſe learned Italians who improved the *Belles Lettres* in the ſixteenth Century. He acquired a very reaſonable knowledge of Greek and Latin, and wrote ſome *Pieces of Eloquence*, which have deſerved the approbation of the Learned. He was corrector of the preſs for a long time at Venice for Aldus Manutius [*A*]; and by conſequence he ought to ſhare in the praiſes given to the editions of that learned Printer. He has tranſlated into Latin ſeveral *Treatiſes of Ariſtotle* (*a*), and has not very well ſucceeded in them. Sepulveda wrote againſt theſe verſions, and pointed out ſo many faults in them, that Alcyonius could find no better way to remedy his diſgrace, than by buying up as many copies as was poſſible of Sepulveda's work, to burn them [*B*]. Paulus Jovius accuſes him of a ſecond fault, which is more ſhameful than the firſt; that of being an impudent Paraſite [*C*], who made no difficulty of eating two or three times a day at other peoples houſes. I do not know whether we

(*a*) See the catalogue of them in Geſner's *Bibliotheca*.

" of the Faith againſt the Arians;" publiſhed by Father Sirmond at Paris 1630, without the author's name; but Father Chifflet (9) tells us, that the MSS. aſcribe to Alcuinus, *Homilia de Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis*; i. e. " An Homily concerning " the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary," printed without a name among St. Ambroſe's works, and reſtored to Alcuinus by Mr. Baluze (10). *Epiſtolæ II, & Sermo ad Carolum Magnum*; i. e. " Two E- " piſtles and a Diſcourſe to Charlemagne," publiſhed by Baluze (11). *Epiſtola & Præfatio in Libros VII, ad Fælicem Orgelitanum*; i. e. " An Epiſtle and Pre- " face to the ſeven Books againſt Felix Biſhop of " Urgel," which was wanting in the printed copies. Theſe two pieces were likewiſe publiſhed by Baluze (12). *Three Epiſtles* publiſh'd by Dacherius (13). *Twenty ſix Epiſtles*, publiſhed by Father Mabillon (14). *Carmen de Cuculo*, a Poem, in which he laments the irregular conduct of one of his friends, whom he conceals under the name of the Cuckow; and two other Poems, publiſhed by Mabillon (15), and others by Mr. Baluze (16). *Two Poems*, the firſt a ſhort one in heroic verſe, and the other a long one in elegiac verſe, both of them chiefly upon the argument of the books of the Old and New Teſtament. Theſe were publiſhed by Lambecius (17). *An Hymn, and three Epigrams upon St. Vedaſt*, publiſhed by the ſame (18), *Homilia in Die Natali S. Vedaſti*; i. e. " An Homily upon the Birth Day of St. Vedaſt," publiſhed by Bollandus (19). The *Homiliarium* of Paulus Diaconus is aſcribed in many MSS. to Alcuinus, and has been often publiſhed under his name, but erroneouſly. *Libri quatuor Carolini de Imaginibus*, againſt worſhipping of images, are ſaid by Roger Hoveden (20) to have been written by Alcuinus in the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. *Confeſſio Fidei*; i. e. " A Confeſſion of Faith," collected from the writings of St. Auſtin and other Fathers, and divided into four parts, publiſhed under Alcuinus's name by Chifflet at Dijon in 4to, 1656, among ſeveral Tracts of other writers. However it is not agreed among learned Men, whether this confeſſion is the genuine production of Alcuinus. Mr. Daillé endeavoured to prove it ſpurious in a poſthumous Tract of his publiſhed at Roan in 1675. But Father Mabillon has attempted to juſtify Alcuinus to be the author of it in a long Diſſertation, printed in his *Analecta* (21). However he owns very candidly, that he has not abſolutely demonſtrated that point, but only render'd it very probable. *Poema Heroicum de Pontificibus Anglis & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis*; i. e. " An Heroic Poem upon the Engliſh Biſhops and " the Saints of the Church of York." This Poem contains 1658 Verſes, and was copied from two MSS. one at Reims in France, and the other at St. Theodoric near Reims, and ſent by Father Mabillon to Dr. Thomas Gale Dean of York, who publiſhed it under Alcuinus's name in his edition of the *Rerum Anglic. Scriptores* (22). But Oudin (23) is not of opinion that this was written by Alcuinus, ſince the Poetry is ſo very barbarous, and infinitely inferior to his other Poems; and for other reaſons, which he alledges (24); but rather aſcribes it to Fridegodus, a Benedictine Monk, who lived about the year 960. Dr. Gale aſſured the world, that he had ſeveral Epiſtles of Alcuinus, which never were publiſhed. The works of that Writer, which are loſt, were his *Commentary upon the Proverbs, and four of St. Paul's Epiſtles, viz. that to the Epheſians, to Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews*; *A Book concerning Orthography*; *and another concerning Muſic* (25). Voſſius tells us (26), that ſome aſcribe to him the *Life of Charlemagne*, publiſhed under the name of Eginhart; but this is a very groundleſs opinion.

(9) *Præfat. in Opera Ferrandi.*

(10) *Miſcellan.* tom. 2. p. 382.

(11) Ibid. tom. 1. p. 365.

(12) Ibid. tom. 4. p. 413.

(13) *Spicileg.* tom. 9.

(14) *Analect.* tom. 4. p. 272.

(15) Ibid. tom. 1. p. 369. and tom. 2. p. 552.

(16) *Miſcell.* tom. 4.

(17) *Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob.* l. 2. c. 5. p. 403.

(18) Ib. p. 413.

(19) *Acta Sanctor. Menſe Feb.* p. 800.

(20) *Annal. ad ann.* 792.

(21) Tom. 1. p. 178, &c.

(22) Tom. 3. p. 703.

(23) *Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſiaſt.* Sæc. 8. tom. 1. Col. 1923. edit. Francofurt 1722.

(24) Sæc. 10. tom. 2. Col. 467, 468.

(25) *See* Cave, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 421.

(26) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He was Corrector of the preſs a long time, at Venice, for Aldus Manutius.*] Paulus Jovius does not ſay ſo much of him. *Cum diu in Chalcographorum officinis*, ſays he (1), *corrigendis erroribus menſtruâ mercede operam navaſſet, multa obſervatione ad præcellentem ſcribendi facultatem pervenit.* i. e. " When he had laboured a long time at correcting " in the Printers ſhops, for a monthly ſalary, he " came by much obſervation to an excellent faculty " of writing." It is from Mr. Varillas, that I draw what concerns Aldus Manutius; and I confeſs that I do it trembling, conſidering the great number of faults which this writer has committed, concerning the great wits he ſpeaks of in his Anecdotes of Florence. *The Public is indebted to him*, ſays he (2), *for Aldus Manutius's exactneſs in the printing of the beſt Greek and Latin Authors which we admire at preſent; for he was all his life corrector of this famous preſs.* This laſt particular is falſe; for Alcyonius was Profeſſor at Florence, under the Pontificate of Adrian VI.

(1) Paul. Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 123. pag. 265.

(2) Varillas, *Anecdot. de Florence*, p. 168.

[*B*] *He bought up as many copies as was poſſible of Sepulveda's verſion of Ariſtotle, to burn them.*] Paulus Jovius takes notice of that: *Quum aliqua ex Ariſtotele perperam inſolenterque vertiſſet, in eum Sepulveda vir Hiſpanus, egregie de literis meritus, edito volumine peracuta jacula contorſit ... tanto quidem eruditorum applauſu, ut Alcyonius ignominiæ dolore miſerè conſternatus, Hiſpani hoſtis libros in tabernis, ut concremaret, gravi pretio coëmere cogeretur* (3). i. e. " When he had given a wrong and unuſual verſion " of ſome paſſages of Ariſtotle, Sepulveda a Spaniard, " a man who has deſerved much of the learned " world, fell ſharply upon him in a book he " publiſhed ..., and that with ſuch approbation of " the Learned, that Alcyonius being grievouſly " ſmitten with the ignominy, was forced to buy up " his adverſary's books, at a great price, to burn " them." See the Letters of the Princes *, collected by Ruſcelli, and tranſlated by Belleforêt, folio 93. See alſo the xxviiith and laſt Letter of the iii book of Longolius. *Si benè te novi, ipſe tu denunciabis; ut hominis ad tantæ contumeliæ nuncium, vultum videas: quod unum ſanè ſpectaculum tibi magnopere invideo. Nunquam enim is ex oculis laborabit, qui tum ejus frontem ſpectârit* (4). i. e. " If I know you " well, you will denounce; *namely, that Sepulveda's* " *work was printed*, that you may ſee the face of the " man at the news of ſo great a reproach: which " one ſight truly I greatly envy you. For he will " never have his eyes ſore, who ſhall ſee his face " at that time."

(3) Paul. Jovius, *Elogior.* c. 123. pag. 265.

* *Les Epitres des Princes.*

(4) Longolius, *Epiſt. ultimâ* lib. 3. fol. 256 *verſo.*

[*C*] *He was accuſed ... of being an impudent Paraſite.*] Let us relate the words of Paulus Jovius. *Cum nulla ex parte ingenuis, ſed plane plebeis & ſordidis moribus fœdaretur, erat enim impudens gulæ mancipium, ita ut eodem ſæpe die bis & ter aliena tamen quadra cœnitaret; nec in ea fœditate malus omnino medicus, quod domi demum in lecti limine per vomitum ipſo crapulæ onere levaretur* (5). i. e. " Since he had nothing in him of a Gentleman, " but was of a low and ſordid behaviour; for he " was an impudent ſlave to his appetite, ſo that he " would eat two or three dinners in a day, but at " other mens tables; however in the midſt of all " this gluttony he was no bad Phyſician, for when " he went home he would empty himſelf of his

(5) Paul. Jovius, *Elogior.* c. 123. p. 265.

we muſt entirely believe Paulus Jovius, for he quarrelled with Alcyonius (*b*), as ſoon as he heard that he was his rival in the commiſſion of writing Hiſtory [*D*]. The Treatiſe that Alcyonius publiſhed *concerning Baniſhment* contained ſo many fine things mixt with others quite the reverſe, that it was thought he had tacked to his own thoughts ſeveral fragments of a Treatiſe of Cicero *de Gloria*, and that afterwards, to keep himſelf from being convicted of this theft, he burnt this manuſcript of Cicero [*E*], which was the only one extant (*c*). The two Orations he made after the taking

(*b*) See the *Letters of the Princes, Les Epirets des Princes* fol. 92 *verſo*.

(*c*) Jovius, *Elogior.* c. 123.

" load by his bed's ſide." Mr. Varillas ſpeaks only of the drunkenneſs of Alcyonius: he only accuſes him *of getting drunk as often as he had an opportunity*. Latomus, whoſe verſes are related by Paulus Jovius, makes mention of two exceſſes of this perſon, drinking and eating.

[*D*] *Paulus Jovius thought him his rival in writing Hiſtory.*] Where we learn this, it is added that it is not true that Alcyonius was to compoſe a Hiſtory; and that Paulus Jovius was told ſo, only to ſet them together by the ears (6). Cardinal de Medicis diverted himſelf with theſe quarrels of learned Men: he took a pleaſure in the uneaſineſs he gave Alcyonius, by protecting Sepulveda (7). Obſerve that Alcyonius made very great commendations on the firſt Decad of Paulus Jovius's Hiſtory, in the ſecond part of his Treatiſe *de Exilio*.

(6) *Lettres des Princes*, fol. 93.

(7) Ibid.

[*E*] *He was accuſed of having appropriated to himſelf ſome frugments of a Treatiſe of Cicero* de Gloriâ, *and of having afterwards burnt it.*] Paulus Jovius is not the only one that relates this fatal cheat. Paulus Manutius, in his Commentary on theſe words of Cicero, *Librum tibi celeriter mittam de Gloria* (8), i. e. "I will ſend you my Book on Glory," ſpeaks of it thus, *Libros duos ſignificat, quos* de Gloria *ſcripſit: qui uſque ad patrum noſtrorum ætatem pervenerunt. Nam Bernardus Juſtinianus, in Indice librorum ſuorum nominat* Ciceronem de Gloriâ. *Is liber poſtea, cum univerſam Bibliothecam Bernardus Monacharum monaſterio legâſſet, magnâ conquiſitus curâ, neutiquam eſt inventus. Nemini dubium fuit, quin Petrus Alcyonius, cui Monachæ Medico ſuo ejus tractandæ Bibliothecæ poteſtatem fecerant, homo improbus furto averterit. Et ſanè in ejus opuſculo de exſilio, aſperſa nonnulla deprehenduntur, quæ non olere Alcyonium Auctorem, ſed aliquanto præſtantiorem artificem videantur.* i. e. "He means his two books *Of Glory*, " which have laſted down to the age of our Fathers. " For Bernardus Juſtinianus, in the Index of his " books names *Cicero de Gloriâ*. That book after- " wards, when Bernardus left his whole Library, " which he had very carefully collected, to a Nunnery, " could no where be found. No body doubted, but " Peter Alcyonius, to whom being their Phyſician " the Nuns had given the uſe of their Library, had " wickedly ſtollen it. And truly in his treatiſe *Of* " *Baniſhment*, ſome things are found ſcattered here " and there, which do not ſeem to ſavour of Al- " cyonius, but of ſome better author." We learn from this paſſage that Alcyonius was a Phyſician by profeſſion. See the note [*I*]. But ſince he belonged to a Convent, it cannot be true, methinks, that he paſſed all his life in Manutius's printing-houſe. It is a new proof of Varillas's miſtaking.

(8) Cicero, *Epiſt. ad Attic.* xxvii. lib. 15.

REMARKS upon Varillas.

I have two things to obſerve againſt this Hiſtorian. The firſt is, that in the Fragment of his *Louïs XI*, he imputed to Philelphus the plagiariſm and deſtruction of the Treatiſe *de Gloriâ*, and quoted the little Elogies of Paulus Jovius. He was acquainted (9), that it was not there. He made uſe no doubt of this advice, in publiſhing his *Louïs XI*; for after having made the ſame obſervation concerning Philelphus as in the Fragment, he adds: *It is not certain however, that he was guilty of this crime, which is eſteemed one of the greateſt that can be committed in literature; and there are ſome authors, who impute it to a learned man of the ſame age, named Alcyonius, and affirm that he appropriated this book of Cicero to himſelf, after having changed the title, which was* of Glory, *into that* of Baniſhment (10). He applies the quotation of Paulus Jovius to this laſt fact. If he had entirely ſuppreſſed what regards Philelphus, he would have diſengaged himſelf much better; for where could he have found that Philelphus was guilty of this theft? Beſides, Alcyonius is not accuſed of having publiſhed Cicero's Book, and only changing the title: one might eaſily have pardoned his vanity, if he had been guilty only of that; the joy of having Cicero's work would make the fraud be forgotten: but he is accuſed of having taken a rich imbroidery out of it, to put upon his own rags, and afterwards burning the whole work of Cicero. *Ex libro* de Gloriâ *Ciceronis, quem nefaria malignitate aboleverat, multorum judicio confectum crederetur. In eo enim tanquam vario centone præclara excellentis purpuræ fila, languentibus cæteris coloribus, intertexta notabantur* (11). i. e. "It is thought by many to have been framed " out of Cicero's book *of Glory*, which he had wick- " edly deſtroyed. For it appeared like a piece of " patch-work, wherein were ſome beautiful well- " coloured pieces, mixt with others that were quite " faded."

(9) In the *Nouvelles de la Republiques des Lettres*, June 1685, Article I, towards the end.

(10) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Louis XI*, Liv. 1. pag. 39. of the Dutch edition.

(11) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 123. p. 266.

My ſecond remark is, that when Mr. Varillas makes mention of Franciſcus Philelphus, in the *Anecdotes of Florence* (12), he aſcribes nothing to him with regard to the book *de Gloria:* It is Alcyonius alone, that he accuſes of this crime. He ſays (13) that *the miſerable Plagiary was obliged to comfort the Proveditor Cornaro in the baniſhment to which he was condemned, for having been beaten in his war with the Turks, tho' it was not his fault. Algionus* (14) *ſent him the book* De fortiter toleranda exilii fortunâ: *and, as this Treatiſe was compoſed only of ill adjuſted ſentences of Cicero's book* of Glory, *it was nevertheleſs very well eſteemed, tho' the moſt judicious obſerved that there was no connexion in it. Algionus, fluſh'd with the ſucceſs of his work, changed his deſign of printing the piece of Cicero. And as he well knew that no body elſe had a copy of it, he threw it in the fire, for fear it ſhould be found ſome time or other among his papers, and ſo he ſhould be convicted of the theft.* If we compare this relation with that which is found in the *Life of Louis XI*, we cannot help being ſurprized that the very ſame man could relate a fact with ſo many incompatible varieties. As I have not this Treatiſe of Alcyonius, I cannot determine by myſelf, whether Mr. Varillas is right with regard to the ſubject and the occaſion. I can ſay only, that the title he gives it is not conformable to what Geſner has ſet down, *Medices Legatus, ſive de Exilio Liber*; and that a paſſage of this book (15) has ſhewed me that John de Medicis, who was Pope Leo X, ſpeaks in it. But what I cannot determine by myſelf, I can affirm upon the word of one of my friends, whoſe exactneſs and parts are very well known to me (16). This is the information he has given me. " The *Legatus Medices, ſeu de* " *Exilio*, of Peter Alcyonius, very far from being " written to ſerve as a conſolation to the pretended " Proveditor Cornaro, is addreſſed by the author *ad* " *Nicolaum Schonbergium, Pontificem Campanum* " (17), and in the whole book there is not one word " that can directly or indirectly regard Cornaro. This " work, printed at Baſil, in 1546, is divided into " two books, of which this is the title word for word: " *Petri Alcionii Medices Legatus, ſeu de Exilio, ad* " *Nicolaum Schonbergium, Pontificem Campanum.* It " is written by way of Dialogue, in which John " de Medicis, afterwards Leo X, Julius de Medicis, " and Laurence de Medicis, are the ſpeakers. This " is the reaſon that *Medices* was put in the title; and " becauſe the author ſuppoſes that theſe ſpeakers " diſcourſed ſoon after Pope Julius II had ſent John " de Medicis as his Legate at the head of the ar- " my, that was to retake Bologna, the word *Legatus* " is joined to that of *Medices*." Here follows moſt certainly a groſs fault. *He repented however towards the latter end of his* (*Alcionius*) *life, and made a ſort of* Amende honourable *at the beginning of two Orations which he had compoſed at Venice upon the deſolation of Rôme by the Lutherans* (18). We cannot queſtion but the author pretended to tranſlate theſe words of Paulus

(12) Page 169.

(13) Page 168.

(14) It is always put thus in the edition of the *Anecdotes*.

(15) It is curious; read it in the *Opuſcules de Colomiés*, ch. 15.

(16) Mr. *de Larroque*.

(17) He was afterwards a Cardinal: I ſpeak of him under SCHOMBERG (NICHOLAS).

(18) Varillas, *Anecdot. de Florence*, p. 168.

taking of Rome, in which he very eloquently repreſented the injuſtice of Charles the Fifth, and the barbarity of his ſoldiers, diſſipated a little the evil ſuſpicions that had been formed againſt him (*d*). They are two excellent pieces. There is an Oration mentioned that he made upon the Knights who died at the ſiege of Rhodes (*e*). He was Profeſſor at Florence, under the Pontificate of Adrian VI, and had beſides his penſion ten ducats a month from the Cardinal de Medicis, to tranſlate a work of Galen (*f*). As ſoon as he knew that this Cardinal was created Pope, he aſked leave of the Florentines to depart; and though he was refuſed it, he went nevertheleſs to Rome in full hopes of raiſing himſelf there (*g*). He loſt all his wealth during the troubles the Columna's excited in Rome; and ſome time after, when the Emperor's troops took the city, in the year 1527, he received a wound in going to take ſhelter in the Caſtle of St. Angelo. He entered it in ſpite of the ſoldiers who purſued him, and joined Clement VII. He was guilty of a baſe ingratitude towards this Pope; for, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed, he ſurrendered himſelf to Cardinal Pompeius Columna, at whoſe houſe he died of ſickneſs within a few months (*h*). His vanity hindered him from making greater progreſſes [*F*], and his railing drew upon him many enemies [*G*]. The ſupplement to Moreri is extremely bad upon this article [*H*]; it is only a faithful copy of the enormous faults of Mr. Varillas. However, there are very learned men who have highly praiſed Alcyonius, and his tranſlations [*I*].

(*d*) Jovius, ibid.
(*e*) *Letters of the Princes*, fol. 13.
(*f*) It is that *de Partibus Animalium.*
(*g*) *Letters of the Princes*, fol. 95.
(*h*) Pierius Valerianus *de Literat. Infelicitat.* p. 63.

There

Paulus Jovius: *Verùm non multo poſt confirmatæ ſuſpicionis invidiam duabus ſplendidiſſimis Orationibus peregregiè mitigavit, quum in clade urbis vehementiſſimè invectus in Cæſarem, populi Romani injurias & Barbarorum immanitatem ſumma perfecti Oratoris eloquentiâ deploraſſet.* i. e. "But not long after he "made conſiderable mitigation of the invidious ſuſ- "picion he lay under, by two very fine Orations, "wherein he inveighed moſt vehemently againſt the "Emperor, on account of the deſtruction of the city, "and deplored the injuries of the Roman people, "and the cruelty of the Barbarians, with the higheſt "eloquence of a moſt conſummate Orator." Is there the leaſt ſhadow of Lutherans in this paſſage? Is there any trace of repentance? any footſtep of puniſhment, on account of the book *de Gloria?* Had Paulus Jovius any other deſign than to ſhew that Alcyonius's Orations were thought ſo good, that he was leſs ſuſpected than before of being incapable of producing from his own brain the fineſt parts of the book *de Exilio?* It appears to me a great falſhood that theſe Orations were compoſed at Venice.

As to the reſt, I am ſurprized that Pierius Valerianus, who has regretted the ſuppreſſion of a work, with which he has taxed Alcyonius, has ſaid nothing of the Treatiſe *de Gloria*. Having related that Peter Martellus was not able to finiſh ſome works, becauſe of his ſickneſs, he adds: *Quatuor tamen libros exactiſſimæ interpretationis in mathematicas diſciplinas Braccius ejus filius ab interitu vindicarat, vel ipſius auctoris de ſe teſtimonio abſolutos, atque ii Barbarorum* (19) *manus effugerant, Braccii ipſius diligentia in arcem Æliam aſportati. Sed enim in Petri Alcyonii manus cum incidiſſent, ita ſuppreſſi ſunt, ut nuſquam amplius apparuerint* (20). i. e. "His "ſon Braccius had retrieved from deſtruction four "accurate Mathematical Treatiſes, which the author "himſelf teſtifies were finiſhed, and having eſcaped "the hands of the ſoldiers were carried into the "Ælian tower by the care of Braccius himſelf. "But when they had fallen into the hands of Peter "Alcyonius, they were ſo ſuppreſſed as never to appear "any more." After the firſt edition of this Dictionary, Mr. Bourdelot, Phyſician to the King of France and to the Ducheſs of Burgundy, did me the favour of ſending me his copy of Alcyonius's Treatiſe. It is a ſmall volume in 4to, printed at Venice, in 1522, *in ædibus Aldi & Andreæ Aſulani ſoceri.* Its title is, *Petri Alcyonii Medices Legatus de Exſilio*, and contains two parts (21), both which are dedicated *ad Nicolaum Schonbergium, Pontificem Campanum.* I have found the information that Mr. Larroque has given me concerning this work perfectly juſt. It contains nothing that relates to the baniſhment of a Venetian Proveditor. The three Speakers conſider only their own proper ſtate. They were all of them of the Medicæan family, and had the misfortune to be baniſhed. John de Medicis comforts himſelf and comforts them: it is he that is the principal perſonage of the piece, and delivers the reaſons and examples; it is to him, in ſhort, that the author lends his erudition, and elegant ſtyle. Obſerve, that this work of Alcyonius was reprinted at Geneva, in 1624, in 8vo, with two Treatiſes of Cardan (22).

(19) He ſpeaks of the ſoldiers of Charles V, who plundered Rome in 1527.
(20) Petrus Valerianus *de Literat. Infelicit.* p. 76.
(21) To the firſt, there is put at the top of the pages, *Medices Legatus prior*, and to the ſecond *Medices legatus poſterior.*
(22) That *de Sapientiâ*, and that *de Conſolatione.*

[*F*] *His vanity hindered him from making greater progreſſes.*] It is the opinion of Pierius Valerianus: *Non diſplicuiſſet mihi*, ſays he (23), *Alcyonius, ſi quantum ſtylo profecerat, amicorum conſilium de rebus adhibere voluiſſet, qui niſi ipſemet ſibi tantum arrogaſſet futurus omnino fuerat e primoribus, multam enim Græcis, Latiniſque literis operam impenderat, & diſciplinis variis oblectatus erat.* That is, "Alcyo- "nius would not have diſpleaſed me, if he would "have made as much uſe of the advice of his friends "in things, as he excelled in ſtyle, who if he "had not arrogated too much to himſelf, would "have been a man of the firſt rate, for he had taken "much pains about Greek and Latin, and delighted "in various parts of learning.

(23) Petrus Valerian. *de Literat. Infelicit.* p. 63.

[*G*] *His railing drew upon him many enemies.*] Let us hear the ſame witneſs again: *Is eo primum infelicitatis incommodo flagellatus eſt, quod dum de litteratis omnibus malè ſentit, dicaciſſima omnes obtrectatione lacerabat, unde omnium tam doctorum quam imperitorum in ſe odium concitârat* i. e. "He laboured under that great "unhappineſs of having an ill opinion of all learned "men, and ſlandering them in a moſt abuſive man- "ner, by which he drew upon himſelf the hatred "of all, both learned and unlearned" See the Note [*K*].

[*H*] *The ſupplement to Moreri is extremely bad upon this article.*] I. There is no notice taken that the Algionus of the Anecdotes of Mr. Varillas is a chimera of the Copyiſts. He had Alcyonius no doubt in the original of thoſe Anecdotes, and conſequently the pretended Algionus muſt not be diſtinguiſhed from Peter Alcyonius, whom Moreri had rightly placed in the ſixteenth Century. This brings to my remembrance that Claudius du Verdier, page 73 of his *Cenſura in omnes penè Auctores* ſays, that Petrus Avionius has pointed out a great many faults in Apuleius's book *de Mundo*. The errata corrects Avionius by Alcyonius. Avionius however is quoted in the fifty ſixth page of the *Plagiariorum Syllabus*, printed at Amſterdam in 1694, with the *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ* of Mr. Almeloveen. II. It ſhould have been conſidered, that according to Mr. Varillas, this pretended Algionus having deplored the ravage that Charles V made at Rome under Clement VII, ought to have been placed in the ſixteenth Century. III. What is taken from the Anecdotes has not been cleared from any fault.

[*I*] *There are very learned men, who have highly praiſed Alcyonius and his tranſlations.*] I ſhall content myſelf with relating what was written to Eraſmus by Ambroſe Leo of Nola, in 1518. This friend of Eraſmus, who was a very able Phyſician, gave him notice that the Senate of Venice had proclaimed with ſound of trumpet, that all thoſe who aſpired to the Greek Profeſſorſhip, vacant by the death of Marcus Muſurus, ſhould offer themſelves, and that two months were allowed to take their names, and ſee what

There is ſomething to be found concerning him in Longolius's Letters, which is not to his honour [K].

what they were capable of performing on the Greek Authors. *Statutum eſt tempus duorum menſium, quo competitores & nomina dent, & legendo & aperiendo Græcos Autores oſtendant qui viri ſint, & quantum lingua & ingenio polleant* (24). Ambroſe Leo adds that ſeveral of Muſurus's diſciples prepared themſelves to diſpute for his chair; and that Alcyonius, one of the moſt accompliſhed amongſt them, had made himſelf known by ſome admirable tranſlations. It will be better to expreſs the thing in the words of the original: *Inter eorum elegantiores unus Petrus Alcyonius multa è Græco in Romanum ſermonem elegantiſſimè vertit. Nam Orationes pleraſque Iſocratis ac Demoſthenis tanta Arpinitate expreſſit, ut Ciceronem ipſum nihilominus legere videaris. Ariſtoteliſque multa vertit tam candidè, ut Latium gloriabundum dicere poſſit, en Ariſtotelem noſtrum habemus. Idem ipſe juvenis, ut eſt litterarum optimarum utrarumque maximus alumnus, ita tui quoque amantiſſimus, ac ſtudiorum tuorum laudator ſummus* (25). That is, "One of the brighteſt of theſe was Peter Alcyonius, who tranſlated many things out of Greek into Latin very elegantly; for he expreſſed moſt of the Orations of Iſocrates and Demoſthenes in ſo Ciceronian a manner, that you would think you was reading Tully himſelf. And he turned many parts of Ariſtotle ſo well, that the Latins may boaſt and ſay, ſee we have our own Ariſtotle. And as that young man is an excellent Greek and Latin ſcholar, ſo he is a great lover of you, and an admirer of your learning." Eraſmus, in anſwer to this letter, the fifteenth of October, in the following year, made his compliments to Peter Alcyonius, and acknowledged that he had never heard of him. It were to be wiſhed, that in this difference of opinions concerning the nature of Alcyonius's tranſlations, the learned Mr. Huët had done him the honour to remember him when he compoſed his Dialogues *de Interpretatione*.

(24) Eraſmi, *Epiſt.* 28. l. 10. pag. 530.

(25) Id. p. 531.

Let us add now another teſtimony to that of Leo of Nola. I find that Gabriel Naudæus very much commends the verſions of Alcyonius. It is in his Treatiſe *de Fato & Vitæ Termino*. He, ſays this Tranſlator, having taken off three objections that might be made againſt thoſe who ſay that the Treatiſe *de Mundo* is a work of Ariſtotle's, ſhifts afterwards every way, to avoid being obliged to allow that it is a ſuppoſititious work. *Difficultates ejuſmodi amoliri tentat: atque ne ſuppoſititium hunc fœtum, quem una cum legitimis aliis* ELEGANTISSIME *de Græco Latinum fecerat, agnoſcere cogeretur, vertit ſe in omnes partes, tandemque his verbis concludit:* ſed moroſitatem ejus generis quæſtionem Grammaticis relinquamus (26). i. e. "He endeavours to remove "ſuch difficulties; and that he may not be forced "to confeſs this off-ſpring, which he had tranſlated "along with others that were genuine, to be ſuppoſititious, he turns himſelf into every ſhape, and at "laſt concludes in theſe words: *But let us leave the "tediouſneſs of ſuch queſtions to the Grammarians.*

(26) Gabriel Naudæus, *de Fato & Vitæ Termino*, p. 32.

[K] *There is ſomething to be found concerning him in Longolius's letters, which is not to his honour.*] We have already ſeen (27), that in Longolius's opinion, Alcyonius's countenance, at the new publication of Sepulveda's piece, would have been a diverting ſight. Here follows ſomething worſe. Alcyonius having paſſionately deſired to be the bearer of a letter of Longolius to Marcus Antonius Flaminius, went away without taking it; whereupon this reflexion was made: *Noſti hominis ingenium: ille enim & cœnæ quam ei opiparam hic dederamus, & laudum quibus à nobis ornatiſſimus diſceſſerat, & litterarum quas ſumma contentione ut feſtinanter ſcriberem pervicerat, oblitus, profectus eſſe dicitur. Quod vos idcirco ſcire volui, ut meis verbis hac de inhumanitate cum eo expoſtuletis* (28). i. e. "You know the "nature of the man: for he is ſaid to be gone, unmindful of the ſumptuous ſupper with which we "had entertained him, and of the large praiſes we "had given him, and the letter which he had with "ſo much earneſtneſs prevailed on us to write. "Which I was willing you ſhould know, that you "might expoſtulate with him concerning this incivility." It is added that there was a lucky hit in that, becauſe there were ſome things ſlipt into that letter, of which it was deſired he ſhould be as ignorant as any other. Is not this inſinuating that he was thought capable of opening a letter? *Quanquam id ipſum de quo queror non omnino incommodè nobis cecidiſſe videri poſſit, ea enim iis literis incaute commiſeram quæ illum in primis celatum eſſe cupiebam. Perfecerat ſcilicet priſtinæ noſtræ conſuetudinis uſus ut magis quibuſcum agerem in mentem mihi veniret, quam cui literas daturus eſſem ſatis meminiſſem* (29). i. e. "Tho' the very thing I complain of "may ſeem to have fallen out not unluckily, for I "had imprudently writ ſome things in that letter, "which I was very deſirous ſhould be concealed "from him. For our old friendſhip had made me "mind more the perſon with whom I correſponded, "than him with whom I ſent my letter." If he is the perſon intended in another of Longolius's letters (30), as a learned Man conjectures (31), what a deſcription is made of him! what diſhoneſty, what ſpirit of calumniating is not aſcribed to him, what contempt is there not ſhewn for his perſon! What would make one queſtion Longolius's ſpeaking of him in this place, is that he names Alcyonius ſoon after, without any ſign of an ill diſpoſition; but this is no convincing proof, becauſe at the ſame time this deſcription of him is conformable to the picture which another author of the ſame age has drawn of Alcyonius. He had juſt ſaid, that Pierius Valerianus was a man of ſincerity, and immediately after obſerves, *Diverſæ naturæ eſt Petrus Alcyonius, Venetus, mordax & maledicus, nec pudens magis quàm prudens .... mitto de hoc nebulone plura, qui bellum bonis omnibus indixit, flagris & fuſte coërcendus* (32), i. e. "Peter Alcyonius a Venetian, was of a different "temper, ſnarling and railing, and not more modeſt "than wiſe.... I paſs over ſeveral things concerning this knave, who has proclaimed war againſt all "good men, and deſerves to be anſwer'd with a cudgel "and a ſcourge." It is acknowledged by this Author that he made ſome good lyric and jambic verſes, and that he boaſted of having compoſed an excellent Tragedy on the Death of Jeſus Chriſt (33).

(27) In the note [B].

(28) Chriſtoph. Longolius, *Epiſt.* 21. lib. 2. fol. 203 *verſo*.

(29) Idem, ibid. fol. 204.

(30) It is the 20th of the 2d book.

(31) Mr. de la Monnoie; it is he that has pointed me out theſe paſſages of Longolius or Longueil.

(32) Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *de Poët. ſui temporis*, Dialog. 1. p. 542. ed. 1696.

(33) Idem, ibid.

☞ALDHUN or ALDUN, ſucceeded Elfig in the Biſhoprick of Holy-Iſland (a) in the year 990. That Iſland being very much expoſed to the invaſions of the Danes, Aldhun fled with the corps of St. Cuthbert, and ſettled at Durham, about the fifth year after he had been conſecrated Biſhop, namely A. D. 995. He built a church at Durham, and dedicated it to St. Cuthbert, and conſecrated it three years after. Thus the Epiſcopal See, which had been fixed by King Oſwald in Holy Iſland, at Aidan's (b) requeſt, was after three hundred and ſixty one years tranſlated to Durham (c), where it ſtill remains. Aldhun had a daughter called Ecgfrid, whom he married to Uctbred (d), a brave and valiant young man, ſon of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland. Aldhun gave his ſon-in-law ſeveral lands, which belonged to the church of St. Cuthbert at Durham [A], on condition that he would never ſeparate from his wife. It happened

(a) Lindisfarnia.

(b) See the article of AIDAN, p. 384.

(c) Simeon Dunelmenſis, *Hiſt. de Dunelm. Eccleſ.* l. 2. c. 20. l. 3. c. 1 and 4. *Ap. Reg.* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Angl. Script. Decem.* tom. 1. Col. 26. 29.

(d) Rapin calls him *Utbred, Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 1. p. 401.

[A] *Aldhun gave his ſon-in-law ſeveral lands, which belonged to the Church.*] We are not ſurprized to find a Biſhop married, eſpecially in the tenth Century, ſince it is well known that even after that time this was common enough among the Clergy in England (1): for we may ſuppoſe that Aldhun

(1) See the remark [B] of the article ALBERT, not. 6.

pened at that time, that Malcolm King of Scotland invaded the county of Northumberland, laid all the country waſte, and even beſieged Durham: Uƈthred having aſſembled as many forces as he could out of Northumberland and Yorkſhire, marched againſt the Scots and routed them: for which ſervice King Ethelred made him Earl of Northumberland, though his father was ſtill living, and added the county of Yorkſhire to the former. The young Earl thought himſelf now too great, to be but a Biſhop's ſon-in-law, ſo that he ſent Ecgfrid back to her father, and married Edgin King Ethelred's daughter (*e*), upon which Aldhun obliged him to reſtore all the lands he had given him. Ecgfrid was afterwards married to a certain Thane (*f*) called Kilvert, ſon of Ligulf, who diſmiſſed her, after he had had a daughter by her, who was named Sigrid. Ecgfrid being divorced from her ſecond huſband returned to her father at Durham, where ſhe took the veil, and led a holy life the remaining part of her days. We may obſerve, that ſhe had by her firſt huſband a ſon named Aldred, who ſucceeded his father in the dignity of Earl of Northumberland [*B*], after the death of Eadulf ſurnamed Cadel, his uncle (*g*). Aldhun died in the year 1018 (*h*). If what is ſaid to have been the occaſion of his death be true, it ſhews that he was a man of a very tender and compaſſionate temper [*C*]. Simeon of Durham gives him an excellent character. "He was of a noble family, ſays he, but more illuſtrious ſtill by his "behaviour, which could but be pleaſing to God; and by his manners and converſa"tion he was really a Monk who deſerved the higheſt commendation: His piety is "ſtill celebrated among the inhabitants of his dioceſe, tradition having brought down "the fame of his virtues to poſterity (*i*)." We muſt obſerve here, that Simeon of Durham, from whom we have extracted this article, is not very exact in his Chronology [*D*].

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) *Tein quidam; in Everwicſhire*, which I take to be Warwickſhire.

(*g*) Simeon Dunelm. *Epiſt. ad Hugon. Decan. Ebrac. apud* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 79, 80.

(*h*) Sim. Dunelm. *Hiſt. de Dunelmenſ. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. c. 5. *ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Idem, ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20. *ap. eund.* col. 26.

hun was married, tho' none of the authors we could conſult ſay it expreſly. But what is ſurprizing is, that a Biſhop ſhould diſpoſe of the church-lands, as of his own, and give them as a dowry to his daughter, and yet not be ſtyled a ſacrilege for ſuch an offence. For church-lands muſt by no means be alienated. I wonder Aldhun has not been branded for this with the moſt odious names, by the monaſtic writers. This action of his ſhews that he enjoyed a very great power and credit in his dioceſe.

[*B*] *Aldred ſucceeded his father in the dignity of Earl of Northumberland.*] Uƈthred having refuſed to aſſiſt King Canute againſt Ethelred his lawful King, the former reſolved to be revenged. After the death of Ethelred, he ſent for Uƈthred, who having obtained a *ſafe conduƈt* went to the King, in order to make a treaty of peace with him; but he was treacherouſly killed with forty of his attendants, by Turebrant ſurnamed Hold. His brother Eadulf ſucceeded him; but being a very puſillanimous man, he was fearful that the Scots might revenge upon him the death of his brother; and to appeaſe them he yielded to them the whole county of Lothien (2), which ever ſince remained in the poſſeſſion of the Scots. But Eadulf dying ſoon after, Aldred ſucceeded him, and to revenge his father's death, killed Turebrant. This occaſioned a great hatred between him and Carl, Turebrant's ſon; they often endeavoured to kill one another; but at laſt their friends reconciled them, and they ſeemed ſo well united in friendſhip that they reſolved to go together to Rome: but being detained by contrary winds, Carl entertained Aldred at his houſe, and after the entertainment he went with him into a wood, upon pretence only of walking there for pleaſure, and falling unawares upon him he murdered him (3).

(2) Lodoneium.

(3) Simeon Dunelm. *ap.* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Angl. Scrip.* 10. tom. 1. Col. 81.

[*C*] *The occaſion of Aldhun's death ſhews he was a man of a very tender and compaſſionate temper.*] A great number of people of Aldhun's dioceſe having been killed by the Scots, he took it ſo much to heart, that his grief threw him into a ſickneſs of which he died. As ſoon as he heard the misfortune of his people, he cried out in the deepeſt ſorrow, "O un"happy man that I am! Why have I been kept to "ſee theſe wretched days! Have I lived ſo long, to "be a witneſs of ſo dreadful an overthrow of my "people! No, this land will never be reſtored to "its peace and happy ſtate. O bleſſed Cuthbert, thou "friend of God, if ever I have pleaſed thee, re"ward me now; the reward I beg for, is not to "ſurvive any longer thy people (4) who have been kil"led." Thus ſpoke the Biſhop. His prayer was heard, and he died ſoon after (5).

(4) Cuthbert had been Biſhop of Holy-Iſland.

(5) Sim. Dunel. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm.* l. 3. c. 5. *ap.* Twyſden, Col. 30.

[*D*] *Simeon of Durham is not very exaƈt in Chronology.*] Having ſaid (6) that Aldhun was made Biſhop of Holy-Iſland in 990, he ſpeaks of the marriage of the Biſhop's daughter, when he relates what happened in the year 969, under King Ethelred; and he mentions there the invaſion of Northumberland by the Scots, under the command of King Malcolm, and the ſiege of Durham, adding that Aldhun was then Biſhop of that city. But I ſuſpect that there is an error in the number 969; for Simeon himſelf places the beginning of King Ethelred's reign in the year 978 (7). So that we muſt ſuppoſe, that this invaſion of the Scots happened ſeveral years later, tho' Rapin does not mention any ſuch invaſion between the years 990 and 1018, which is the time, during which Aldhun enjoyed his biſhoprick. However we find that about this time there was a great war between the Engliſh and the Scots (8).

(6) Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20. *ap. eund.* Col. 26.

(7) *Hiſt. de Geſt. Angl. ap. eund.* Col. 160, where he calls this King *Egelred.*

(8) *Chronica de Mailros, ad ann.* 1018. *in Rer. Anglic.* tom. 1. pag. 155.

P.

☞ALDRED Abbot of Taviſtock was promoted to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter [*A*] in the year 1046 (*a*). He was ſo much in favour with King Edward the Confeſſor, and had ſo much power over his mind, that he obliged him to be reconciled with the worſt of his enemies, particularly with Swane ſon of the Earl Goodwin, who had revolted againſt him, and came with an army to invade the Kingdom (*b*). Rapin ſays (*c*) it was Stigand Biſhop of Wincheſter who procured that reconciliation. Aldred alſo reſtored the union and friendſhip between King Edward and Griffin King of Wales. He took afterwards a journey to Rome, and being returned into England, in the

(*a*) Simeon Dunelm. *de Geſtis Reg. Angl. apud* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Angl. Script. Decem.* tom. 1. Col. 182.

(*b*) Tho Stubbs, *Act. Pontif. Ebor. ap.* Twyſden, ibid. Col. 1700.

(*c*) *Hiſt. d'Ang.* tom. 1. liv. 5. p. 434.

[*A*] *Promoted to the biſhoprick of Worceſter.*] This is what Simeon of Durham (1), Tho. Stubbs (2) and Henry de Knyghton (3) tell us; and we don't find that Aldred has been Biſhop of Glouceſter; therefore Rapin, who aſſerts it (4) muſt certainly be miſtaken. If he had quoted his vouchers, as all Hiſtorians ought to do, we might be able to know, whence this miſtake originally came; whether from Rapin's own overſight, or from ſome other author. But whenever he quotes no authority, he may juſtly be anſwerable for all the errors he commits; we'll take notice hereafter (5) of a more egregious blunder, of which he is guilty.

(1) *De Geſt. Reg. Angl. ap.* Twyſden, tom. 1. Col. 182, 184.

(2) *Ap. eund.* Col. 1700.

(3) *Ap. eund.* Col. 2333.

(4) *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 2. liv. 6. p. 153.

(5) In the Remark [*F*].

the year 1054 (*d*) he was ſent Embaſſador to the Emperor Henry II [*B*]; he ſtaid a whole year in Germany, and was very honourably entertained by Herman Archbiſhop of Cologn, from whom he learned many things relating to Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which on his return he eſtabliſhed in his own dioceſs. In the year 1058 he went to Jeruſalem, which no Archbiſhop or Biſhop of England had ever done before him. Two years after he returned to England, and Kinſius Archbiſhop of York dying the 22d of December 1060, Aldred was elected in his ſtead on Chriſtmas day following (*e*), and thought fit to keep his Biſhoprick of Worceſter with the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done (*f*). William of Malmeſbury ſays, that Aldred, abuſing King Edward's ſimplicity, kept the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, rather by the money he diſperſed, than by the force of the cuſtom which he alledged. This I take to be the ſenſe of the following obſcure words of the Author I have juſt mentioned. *Qui* (Aldredus) *ſimplicitati Edwardi illudens, moremque anteceſſorum magis* PECUNIA *quam ratione allegans Archiepiſcopatum Eboracenſe, non intermiſſa priori ſede, ſuſcepit* (*g*). Aldred went ſoon after to Rome, in order to receive the Pallium from the Pope: He was attended by Toſton Earl of Northumberland, Giſo Biſhop of Wells, and Walter Biſhop of Hereford. The Pope received Toſton very honourably, and made him ſit by him in the Synod, which he held againſt the Simoniſts. He granted to Giſo and Walter their requeſt, becauſe they were tolerably well learned, and not accuſed of Simony. But Aldred being by his anſwers found ignorant, and guilty of Simony, the Pope deprived him very ſeverely of all honours and dignities; ſo that he was obliged to return without the Pallium. On his way home he and his three fellow-travellers were attacked by ſome robbers, who took from them all that they had, though they did not offer to kill them. This obliged them to return to Rome; and the Pope, either out of compaſſion, or by the threatnings of the Earl of Northumberland [*C*], gave Aldred the Pallium (*b*). But he was obliged to reſign his Biſhoprick of Worceſter; however, as the Archbiſhoprick of York had been almoſt entirely ruined by the many invaſions of foreigners, King Edward gave the new Archbiſhop leave to keep twelve villages [*D*] or manors (*i*) which belonged to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter (*k*). Edward the Confeſſor dying in 1066 (*l*), Aldred crowned Harald his ſucceſſor. He alſo crowned William the Conqueror, after he had made him take the following oath, viz. that he would protect the holy churches of God and their leaders; that he would eſtabliſh and obſerve righteous laws; that he would entirely prohibit and ſuppreſs all rapines and unjuſt judgments (*m*). He was ſo much in favour with the Conqueror, that this Prince looked upon him as a father, and tho' imperious in regard to every body elſe, he yet ſubmitted to obey this Archbiſhop (*n*): John Bromton gives us an inſtance of the King's ſubmiſſion, which at the ſame time ſhews the Prelate's haughtineſs [*E*]. Tho. Stubbs, who relates it more fully, calls it the Archbiſhop

(*d*) Joan. Bromton *in Chron.* and Tho. Stubbs, *Actus Pontif. Ebor. Utrumque ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 950, and 1701.

(*e*) Sim. Dun. *ap.* Twyſden, ib. Col. 190.

(*f*) Tho. Stubbs, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Will. Malm. *de Geſtis Pontif. Anglor.* l. 3. *in Rer. Anglic. Script. poſt Bedam, edit. ab* Henr. Savile, Francof. 1701. fol. p. 271.

(*b*) Will. Malm. *ubi ſupra*, and Tho. Stubbs, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 1701.

(*i*) *xii villas.*

(*k*) Stubbs, ibid.

(*l*) *Chron. de Mailros.* But Rapin places his death in the latter end of 1059. *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 1. liv. 5. p. 445.

(*m*) Stubbs, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 1702.

(*n*) Joh. Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, Col 962.

[*B*] *He was ſent Embaſſador to Henry II.*] The reaſon of this Embaſſy was as follows. King Edmund II having left two ſons Edmund and Edward, Canute ſent them into Denmark, under pretence to make them travel; but really with an intention to have them killed, for fear they ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne. The perſon, whom he had truſted with the young Princes, knowing his deſign, inſtead of conducting them into Denmark, carried them to the King of Sweden, whom he acquainted with Canute's intention. The King received them very kindly, but being afraid to draw upon him the reſentment of Canute, he ſent them to Solomon King of Hungary, who willingly took upon him their education; he married afterwards one of his daughters to Edmund, and gave his ſiſter-in-law, who was the Emperor Henry II's daughter, to Edward. Edmund died ſoon after his marriage, but Edward had ſeveral children (6). Edward the Confeſſor deſigning to name this Prince Edward, who was his nephew, for his ſucceſſor, ſent Aldred to Henry II, with a letter, in which he deſired him to ſend Embaſſadors to the King of Hungary, in order to prevail with him to let Edward come over to England. The Emperor complied with his requeſt; and accordingly Edward arrived in England (in 1057, according to Rapin) with Agatha his ſpouſe, Edgar his ſon, and Margaret and Chriſtina his daughters: but he died ſoon after his arrival (7).

(6) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 1. liv. 5. p. 408.

(7) Joh. Bromton, *in Chron. ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 942. Rap. *ubi ſupra*, p. 438, 439.

[*C*] *By the threatnings of the Earl of Northumberland.*] Tho. Stubbs ſays, it was at the interceſſion of the whole Court. But William of Malmsbury (8), John Brompton (9), and Henry de Knyghton (10), relate this affair in quite another manner. They ſay, that the Earl of Northumberland plainly told the Pope, that his excommunications were not much to be feared far off, ſince the robbers, who were near him, laugh at them; he added that if the Pope did not reſtore to them, whatever they had been robbed of, they would conclude that he ſhared with the robbers: he further ſaid that the King of England, hearing the Pope refuſed the Pallium to Aldred, would not for the future pay the Peter-pence to the Pope. This laſt reaſon was no doubt the moſt powerful, as William of Malmsbury very juſtly obſerves. *Hoc minarum fulmine*, ſays he, *Romani territi, Papam flexerunt, ut Archiepiſcopatum reddant & pallium.*

(8) *De Geſtis Pontific. Anglorum*, l. 3. p. 271.

(9) *Ubi ſupra*, Col. 952.

(10) *De Eventibus Angliæ*, l. 1. c. 13 *ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 2336.

[*D*] *King Edward gave the new Archbiſhop leave to keep twelve villages.*] This is what Tho. Stubbs relates, who ſeems to write rather a panegyrick on Aldred, than an hiſtory of him. But Bromton and Knyghton tell us (11), that Aldred to whom the Pope gave leave to name his ſucceſſor to the ſee of Worceſter, choſe one Wolſtan, who was a very plain man, and whom Aldred for that reaſon thought a very fit perſon to hide his plunders and rapines, and who would not force him to reſtore the lands belonging to the biſhoprick of Worceſter, which he unjuſtly detained; by which it appears, that there is no reaſon to believe, Aldred had the King's authority for what he did: and indeed after his death Wolſtan cauſed all the lands, which Aldred had kept, to be reſtored to the Church of Worceſter.

(11) *Ap.* Twyſden, ib. Col. 952 and 2367.

[*E*] *An inſtance of the King's ſubmiſſion, which at the ſame time ſhews the Prelate's haughtineſs.*] Before we relate this, as we find it in Stubbs, we'll give the reader an inſtance of Aldred's liberty of ſpeaking. One Urſus or Urſe (12) having been made Governor of Worceſter, built a caſtle or fort ſo near the convent of the Monks of that city, that the walls of the caſtle were upon the church-yard of the convent. The Monks complained of this to Aldred, who though Archbiſhop of York, had nevertheleſs ſtill the care of the Church of Worceſter. The Prelate meeting with the Governor addreſſed him in this manner:

(12) That name ſignifies a *Bear* in Latin.

biſhop's conſtancy and magnanimity. The Danes having made an invaſion in the North of England in the year 1668, under the conduct of Harold and Canute, the ſons of King Swane (*o*), Aldred was ſo much afflicted at it, that he died of grief the 11th of September in that ſame year (*p*), having beſought God that he might not ſee the deſolation of his church and country. Rapin places the invaſion of the Danes in the year after Aldred's death, and tells us, that this Prelate had ſo great an eſteem for William the Conqueror, that he was always ſpeaking in his praiſe; but that he altered his opinion of him, when he ſaw this Prince began to act as a Tyrant, and would oblige the Engliſh to pay the ancient tax called *Dane-guelt*. He adds, that the Archbiſhop repreſented to the King what an injury he did to the nation by impoſing this tax, and the dreadful conſequences it might produce. The King was very angry at this remonſtrance, and treated Aldred extremely ill for it; which ſo offended the meek Prelate, that he could not forbear curſing the King and all his family. It was to be feared, ſays Rapin further, leſt the diſcontent of the Archbiſhop might produce dangerous effects upon the people; at leaſt the King ſeemed to fear it, but he was ſoon delivered of his fears by Aldred's death (*q*); this Prelate was buried in the church of St. Peter at York (*r*). Tho. Stubbs greatly extols Aldred's generoſity, and the proofs he gives of it are, that he bought ſeveral lands with his own money, and gave them to the church of York; that he built or finiſhed ſome Monaſteries, and enlarged their revenues: He alſo tells us, that this Archbiſhop reſtored the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline in his dioceſs, and obliged his Clergy, who uſed to live and be dreſſed like the Laity, to wear more decent garments, and lead a more exemplary life (*s*). Rapin was not well acquainted with Aldred's character [*F*]. This Archbiſhop was the laſt perſon of the Engliſh nation that was promoted to the See of York; his ſucceſſors were of Norman race, if we may believe Tho. Stubbs (*t*), and this is very probable, ſince Aldred died under William the Conqueror, who is well known to have advanced his countrymen, and to have oppreſſed the Engliſh, and kept them under as much as lay in his power.

(*o*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 2. liv. 6. p. 28, calls him *Svenon*.

(*p*) Joh. Bromton *in Chron. ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 965. Tho. Stubbs, *ap. eund.* Col. 1703. Henr. de Knyghton. *de Event. Angl. ap. eund.* Col. 2344.

(*q*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom 2. liv. 6. p. 22.

(*r*) Tho. Stubbs, *ubi ſupra.*

(*s*) Id. ib. Col. 1704.

(*t*) Ibid. Col. 1705.

manner: "*Hateſt thou Urſe* (13), *have thou God's* "*curſe*, and mine, and that of all the conſecrated "heads, (that is of the Prieſts and Monks,) if thou "doſt not demoliſh this caſtle (14)." This ſhews what a mild and Chriſtian ſpirit the Prelate had. The inſtance related by Stubbs is ſtill more remarkable. It happened one day, as the Archbiſhop was at York, that the Deputy Governor or Lord-Lieutenant (15) going out of the city with a great number of people, met the Archbiſhop's ſervants, who came to town with ſeveral carts and horſes loaded with proviſions. The Governor asked them to whom they belonged, and they having anſwered, they were Aldred's ſervants; the Governor ordered, that all theſe proviſions ſhould be carried to the King's ſtore-houſe. The Archbiſhop ſent immediately ſome of his Clergy to the Governor, commanding him to deliver the proviſions, and to make ſatisfaction to St. Peter, and to him the Saint's Vicar, for the injury he had done them; adding, that if he refuſed to comply, the Archbiſhop would make uſe of his apoſtolic authority againſt him, (intimating thereby, that he would excommunicate him). The Governor offended at this proud meſſage, uſed the perſons, whom the Archbiſhop had ſent him, very ill, and returned an anſwer as haughty as the meſſage was. Aldred thereupon went to London to make his complaint to the King; but in this very complaint he acted with his wonted inſolence; for meeting the King in the church of St. Peter at Weſtminſter, he ſpoke to him in theſe words: "Hearken, O William, when thou "waſt but a foreigner, and God to puniſh the ſins "of this nation, permitted thee to become Maſter "of it, after having ſhed a great deal of blood, I "conſecrated thee, and put the crown upon thy "head with bleſſings; but now becauſe thou haſt "deſerved it, I pronounce a curſe over thee, inſtead "of a bleſſing, ſince thou art become the perſecutor "of God's Church, and of his Miniſters, and haſt "broken the promiſes and the oaths which thou "madeſt to me, before St. Peter's Altar." The King terrified at this diſcourſe, fell upon his knees, and humbly begged the Prelate to tell him, by what crime he had deſerved ſo ſevere a ſentence. The Noblemen, who were preſent, were enraged againſt the Archbiſhop, and loudly cried out he deſerved to be killed, or at leaſt to be baniſhed, for having offered ſuch an injury to his Sovereign, and they preſſed him with threatnings to raiſe the King from the ground. But the Prelate unmoved at all this, anſwered calmly, "Good men, let him lie there, for "he is not at Aldred's but at St. Peter's feet; he "muſt feel St. Peter's power, ſince he dared to in"jure his Vice-gerent." Having thus reproved the Nobles by his Epiſcopal authority, he vouchſafed to take the King by the hand, and to tell him the ground of his complaint. The King humbly excuſed himſelf by ſaying, he had been ignorant of the whole matter, and begged of the Noblemen to entreat the Prelate, that he might take off the curſe he had pronounced, and to change it into a bleſſing; Aldred was at laſt prevailed upon to favour the King thus far, but not without the promiſe of ſeveral preſents and favours, and only after the King had granted him, to take ſuch a revenge on the Governor, as he thought fit. Since that time, adds the Hiſtorian, none of the Noblemen ever dared to offer the Prelate the leaſt injury (16). It may be queſtioned, what is more ſurprizing here, either the Archbiſhop's haughtineſs, who dares to treat his Sovereign after ſo unbecoming a manner; or the King's ſtupidity, who ſuffers this inſolence and audaciouſneſs from a Prieſt.

(13) That is, *Thou art called, or thy name is,* Urſe.

(14) Will. Mal. *de Geſtib. Pontif. Anglor.* l. 3. p. 271.

(15) Vicecomes.

(16) Stubbs, *ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 1703, 1704.

[*F*] *Rapin was not well acquainted with Aldred's character.*] After the facts we have related of him, is it not an egregious blunder to ſay, that he was *a good and pious Prelate?* This is however what Rapin ſays of him (17). Can a man be called good and pious, when he is guilty of ſimony; when againſt the Canons, he will keep two biſhopricks together; when to make a good bargain, he places in a biſhoprick a perſon, whom he thinks ſilly enough to yield him part of the eſtate of his church; when he miſuſes his ſacred character to act the tyrant over his own King? Rapin might have read all this of Aldred, in William of Malmsbury, and in John Bromton, whom he ſometimes quotes: it is therefore ſurprizing, that this judicious and accurate writer, ſhould be ſo groſly miſtaken, with regard to the character of ſo famous a Prelate, as Aldred was. P.

(17) *Hiſt. d'Ang.* tom. 2. liv. 6. p. 163.

ALDRINGER, a famous General under the Emperor Ferdinand II, raiſed himſelf by the ſole recommendation of his merit. He was of the country of Luxembourg, and of very obſcure birth [*A*]. In his early youth he got into the ſervice of ſome Gentlemen that were going to France: he applied himſelf with them to ſtudy, and rendered himſelf well accompliſhed. Being gone into Italy, he was made

made Chancellor to Count Madrucci. He went afterwards to Trent, and there had an honourable employment in the Chancery; but the jealouſy of his Collegues, and their conduct, raiſed in him ſo great a reſentment that he threw up his poſt, poſſeſſed of a ſpirit angry with fortune, and reſolved to embrace the profeſſion of the firſt man that ſhould fall in his way. He took the road to Inſpruk, and meeting near the bridge with a ſoldier who was returning into Italy, he reſolved to go into the army, and inliſted himſelf a common ſoldier. He was ſoon after made a ſergeant; and as he ſhewed that he could manage his pen very well, he was employed to keep all the accounts of the company, and to write the diſpatches which the Captain had to do. He gave ſuch inſtructions to the Captain, that it opened for him the way to greater employment. By the advancement of this Captain the Lieutenant of the Company was raiſed to his poſt, and Aldringer to that of Lieutenant. He defended himſelf ſo well with fifty men in a dangerous poſt, that he kept it in ſpite of the rough attacks of the enemy. From that time the reputation of his courage was not leſs ſpread abroad than that of his other accompliſhments: Several Colonels offered him a company; the nephew of the Archbiſhop of Saltſbourg was one of them. He wanted, by reaſon of his own youth, to have ſuch a man in his regiment: He ſought him out, he gained him, and he acquired to himſelf ſo much glory by the good counſels of Aldringer, that in teſtimony of his gratitude to him he made him his Sergeant-Major. Aldringer was afterwards Lieutenant Colonel, then Colonel; and he gave ſuch proofs of underſtanding his buſineſs thoroughly, that he was thought fit to command in chief in the expedition of Mantua (*a*). He joined very ſeaſonably to the ſhattered remains of the battle of Leipſick the troops which he brought from Italy (*b*); and, perhaps if Count Tilly had waited to give battle till thoſe troops were arrived, as he was adviſed to do, the event had not been ſo fatal to the Imperialiſts. Some time after, Aldringer parted from Tilly to retire into Bohemia, on account of the ſuſpicions which the ill ſtate of affairs had occaſioned betwixt the Imperialiſts and Bavarians (*c*); but that ſeparation did not laſt long. He was in the month of March 1632 with Tilli on the banks of the Leck, to diſpute the King of Sweden's paſſage over it. He was at that time Grand-Maſter of the Ordnance (*d*). The wound which he received in the head did not a little contribute to the advantage the enemies had in paſſing that river, but it did not hinder his ſerving the ſame campaign: He went and joined Walleſtein in Bohemia, notwithſtanding the efforts that the Swedes made to hinder their conjunction: He was obliged very ſoon to return into Bavaria to oppoſe the troops of General Horn. The ſucceſs varied from one ſide to the other in thoſe parts all the remainder of that year, and the beginning of the next. The moſt glorious exploit of Aldringer during that time, was his having contributed in 1633 to the raiſing the ſiege of the city of Conſtance. He afterwards joined the Duke de Feria, who had brought ſome Spaniſh troops from Italy. It is thought that Walleſtein had given Aldringer ſome ſecret inſtructions to diſappoint all the Duke's deſigns [*B*], and that this was the true reaſon and ſecret motive why Aldringer would never conſent to give battle. Nevertheleſs it muſt not be thought that he entered into all Walleſtein's ſchemes: He only complied with him in ſome things, which, without ruining the affairs of the publick, might very much advance the particular intereſts of that General. There are ſuch kinds of ſecret practices in almoſt all armies. He was ſlain in the year 1634 at Landſhut, a city of Bavaria; and it was never certainly known whether his own ſoldiers or the Swedes gave the blow. He had been promoted to the dignity of a Count (*e*). He was a man of excellent qualifications [*C*]; it is pity that they were accompanied with exceſſive

(*a*) In 1630, extracted from the Count Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, in the 9th book of *l'Hiſtoire des Guerres d'Allemagne.*

(*b*) In 1631.

(*c*) Priorato, liv. 9. ad an. 1631.

(*d*) Le Blanc *Hiſtoire de Baviere*, tom. 4. p. 374.

(*e*) Ib. p. 436.

[*A*] *He was of very obſcure birth.*] *Humili apud Lucenburgicos loco ortus*, ſays Mr. Puffendorf, who adds that he was firſt a Lackey to ſome French Noblemen, and afterwards Secretary (1). Another Hiſtorian does not give him ſo mean a condition: he makes him firſt a Student, next a Soldier, then a Secretary, and at laſt makes him return into the army. *Luxemburgi tenui ſed honeſto loco editus primam ætatem literis dedit* (2). He makes him a Boileau * as to his natural parts, *Ingenio prompto atque acri, & natura vini abſtinens* (3), i. e. "Of a "ready and ſatyrical Wit, and naturally abſtemious "from wine," which was a very bad and highly prejudicial quality in Germany for a Soldier.

(1) Puffendorf. *Rerum Suecicar.* l. 6. p. 157.

(2) Joh. Cluverius, *Epit. Hiſt.* l. 11. *Append.*

(3) Id. ibid.

* Mr. Bayle plays here upon the word *Boileau*, which in French, ſignifies a perſon who drinks water.

[*B*] *It is thought that Walleſtein had given Aldringer ſome ſecret inſtructions to diſappoint all the Duke of Feria's deſigns.*] The Bavarian Hiſtorian, whom I have quoted (4), allows that the Swedes *deſired nothing more than to come to a general battle, though they did not find themſelves ſo advantageouſly poſted as the Catholics. The Duke of Feria*, continues he, *ſeeing a good opportunity, made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to bring Aldringer to come to an engagement with the enemy; but he never could obtain any thing from a man who was under the direction of Walleſtein; and the Swedes having retired in a ſort of triumph towards the latter end of October, the wrong proceedings of Aldringer, which had been very prejudicial to the Catholic union, ſo much diſpleaſed the Duke of Feria, that it ſoon after broke his heart.* This Hiſtorian in the foregoing page, had ſaid, that Aldringer, truſty to Walleſtein, *would do nothing at all but by his orders, and that at that time a writing was publiſhed in which it was affirmed, that whilſt Walleſtein ſignified to the Emperor that he ſent Aldringer to the Duke of Bavaria to be entirely at his diſpoſal, he gave him private orders to ſerve him only on the defenſive with the ſmall ſupplies that he commanded: which Aldringer not having perpetually obſerved, Galas aſſured him by Walleſtein's order, that this General would pardon him that diſobedience.*

(4) Le Blanc, *Hiſt. de Baviere*, tom. 4. p. 424.

[*C*] *He was a man of excellent qualifications.*] He had a very lively and penetrating genius, much experience, a refined underſtanding, and a great courage: He made himſelf admired in the Councils of war by the force of his reaſoning, and the probability of his conjectures; beſides he was Maſter of a good pen, he underſtood ſeveral languages, he knew how to make a very good uſe of the maxims of the ſeveral countries. The Politics of a Spaniard Italianiſed could

ceſſive avarice and cruelty [D]. Such is almoſt always the fate of man. He reſembles thoſe ſoils that bring forth good and bad herbs promiſcuouſly.

could not ſurpaſs his: *Le da lui practicate varie nationi, l'oſſervate diverſe maſſime, e gli inveſtigati genii e inclinationi di molti popoli, lo reſero coſì accolto nelle attioni che alcuno Spagnuolo Italianato non lo avanzava* (5).

(5) Picorato, *History of the Wars of Germany* book 9 pag. 291. edit. in 4°.

[D] *His good qualities were accompanied with exceſſive avarice and cruelty.*] He was without compaſſion for the people, and he exacted contributions with the utmoſt rigour: he had no regard for the neceſſities of the ſoldiers; ſo that he was not beloved, either by the people or the army. He got a large booty in the ſacking of Mantua, and there was not an Officer in the Imperial Army that carried off ſo much as he (6). It is thought that his own people killed him upon the bridge of Landſhut, there being a favourable opportunity of doing it without its being known. *Fu colpito e fatto cader morto, non ſenza ſoſpetto cio diveniſſe dalla parte de ſuoi, per vendetta de' alcune ingiurie fatte loro, eſſendo egli per la ſua ſeverita piu temuto che amato dalla militia* (7). i. e. "He "received a blow that ſtruck him dead, not without "ſuſpicion of its coming from his own party, to re- "venge ſome injury done them, he being on ac- "count of his ſeverity more feared than beloved "by his ſoldiers.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ib. p. 289.

ALDROVANDUS (*a*) (ULYSSES) Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Phyſic at Bologna his native country, was one of the moſt curious men in the world with regard to natural hiſtory. His cares, his labours, and his expences upon that ſubject are incredible. He travelled into the moſt diſtant countries, with no other motive than to inform himſelf of their natural productions: The minerals, metals, plants, animals, were the objects of his reſearches and curioſity, but he applied himſelf principally to birds; and in order to have figures of them very exact and to the life, he employed for above thirty years, at his own expence, the moſt excellent artiſts in Europe [*A*]. Thoſe expences ruined him: He was at length reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity; and it is ſaid that he died in the Hoſpital of Bologna, full of years (*b*), and blind, anno 1605 (*c*) (*α*). This is an example that loudly complains againſt the ingratitude of the publick [*B*],

(*a*) Deſcended from the Counts of that name, as ſays Miræus *de Scriptoribus Sæc.* 16. p. 154.

(*b*) Bullart, *Academie des Scienc.* tom. 2. pag. 110, makes him eighty years old.

(*c*) Mercklinus, *Lindenii renovat.* p. 1047.

[*A*] *To have the figures of animals very exact he employed the moſt excellent Artiſts of Europe.*] See what Aubert le Mire has collected on this ſubject: *Pictori cuidam, eâ in arte unico, triginta & amplius annos annuum aureorum ducentorum ſtipendium perſolvit. Delineatores celeberrimos, Laurentium Beninum Florentinum, & Cornelium Suintum Francofurtenſem ære ſuo conduxit, nec non Jacobi Ligotii, ſereniſſimi Etruriæ Ducis Pictoris eximii, opera in hac eadem provincia Florentiæ quandoque uſus eſt, ut quo maximo fieri poſſet artificio aves eæ deſignarentur. Tandem ſculptorem habuit inſignem Chriſtophorum Coriolanum Norimbergenſem, atque ejus nepotem, qui eas adeo venuſtè adeoque eleganter exſculpſerat, ut non in ligno ſed in ære factæ videantur* (1). i. e. "He gave a "certain Painter who was ſingular in that art, for "thirty years and upwards, a yearly ſalary of two "hundred crowns. He employed at his own ex- "pence thoſe moſt famous Deſigners, Lorenzo Ben- "nini a Florentine, and Cornelius Suintus of Franc- "fort, and ſometimes he had at Florence the aſſiſtance "of Jacobus Ligotius the famous Painter of the "moſt ſerene Duke of Tuſcany, for the ſame "ſubject, that thoſe birds might be drawn with "the greateſt juſtneſs poſſible. Laſtly he had that fa- "mous Engraver Chriſtopher Coriolanus of Nurem- "berg, and his nephew, who engraved them ſo "beautifully and elegantly, that they ſeemed not to "be done in wood but in copper."

(1) Aubert. Miræus *de Scriptoribus*, Sæc. 16. p. 154.

(*α*) Mr. Monti (*a*) refutes this relation of Merklinus in the following words: *Longe magis à veritate abhorret id quod ſcriptis mandavit de Ulyſſe Aldrovando Merklinus nempe, ipſum Aldrovandum propter ingentes ſumptus factos in exſculpendis iconibus ſuorum operum ad extremam paupertatem redactum viſuque orbatum in Xenodochio Bononienſi obiit. Hunc ego falſum rumorem plurimis argumentis refellere ſuperfluum duco. Nam in primis nonne vos omnes perſpectum habetis quanto amore omni tempore, Ampliſſimus Senatus Bononienſis, quantoque ſtudio quoſcunque literatos viros amplectatur? Nonne teſtis eſt ipſa Aldrovandi conjux, quæ anno* 1606 *poſt dilectiſſimi viri mortem adhuc mœſtiſſima proprio ære typis evulgavit ejus volumen de Cruſtaceis, & in nuncupatoria Epiſtola Nobiliſſimi & Excelſi Senatus clientelam, ſummamque gratitudinem diſertis verbis declaravit: Vos enim (ſic ipſa Senatum alloquitur) cum vires mei conjugis tot impenſis ac ſumptibus plane eſſent impares, illum præ cæteris civibus, omni ſemper favore, honoribus atque ſuppetiis pro veſtra ſingulari benevolentia foviſtis: quæ verba quemadmodum apud me, voſque omnes Aldrovandi Concives ad falſitatis coarguendum præfatum Merklinum maximè valent, ita plurimum quoque valuerunt apud clariſſimum Garidellum* (*b*), *qui in re-*

(*a*) In a diſcourſe prefixed to his *Plantarum Varii Indices*, printed at Bologna in 1724.

(*b*) *Hiſtoire des Plantes*, xlvi.

cenſione ſcriptorum ſuæ Plantarum Provinciæ Hiſtoriæ præfixâ, quatuor abhinc annis (*c*) *Gallico ſermone editæ affirmat, ſe, quod olim audiverat de Aldrovandi veſtri egeſtate, nunquam fide dignum exiſtimaſſe. Re enim vera, quis unquam credet, Aldrovandum illum Patritium Bononienſem, Publicum Archigymnaſii Profeſſorem, Doctorem Collegiatum, Nobiliſſimi Senatoris Comitis Pompei Aldrovandi conſanguineum à Senatu ipſo, imò ab ipſa Nobiliſſima Domo ſua fuiſſe derelictum? Verum procul hæc figmenta & perpetuo involvantur ſilentio quæcunque de Ulyſſe illo Aldrovando naturæ miraculo, ut Anguiſolæ verbis utar* (*d*), *Viro nempe omni immortalitate digniſſimo nimis leviter & à veritate aliena præfatus Auctor memoravit.* That is, "Still more untrue is that, which Merklinus has "related concerning Ulyſſes Aldrovandus, namely, "that by the great expence he was at in engraving "figures for his works, he was reduced to a moſt "extreme degree of poverty, and died blind in the "hoſpital of Bologna. I think it ſuperfluous to con- "tradict this falſe rumour with many arguments. "For in the firſt place, do not you all evidently per- "ceive with much love and reſpect the moſt no- "ble Senate of Bologna ſhews to all learned Men? "Is not the wife of Aldrovandus herſelf witneſs "thereof, who in the year 1606, ſtill mourning "for the death of her husband, publiſhed his vo- "lume of cruſtaceous animals at her own expence, "and in the prefatory Epiſtle declared expreſly the "higheſt gratitude for their protection? *For you* (ſays "ſhe, ſpeaking to the Senate) *when my husband's "abilities were quite unequal to ſuch great ex- "pences, always aſſiſted him with your favours, "honours, and ſupplies.* Which words, as they are "of great weight with me and with you the fellow- "Citizens of Aldrovandus in proving Merklinus's aſ- "ſertion to be falſe, ſo have they alſo weighed very "much with the celebrated Mr. Garidel, who in "the Catalogue of authors prefixed to his Hiſtory "of the Plants of Provence, publiſhed in 1719 in "French, affirms that he could never give credit to "what he had formerly heard concerning the po- "verty of our Aldrovandus. For indeed who "can ever believe that Aldrovandus, a Patrician "of Bologna, public Profeſſor of the High-School, "Collegiat Doctor, and kinſman of the moſt no- "ble Senator Count Pompeius Aldrovandus, was "deſerted by the Senate itſelf, nay and by his own "illuſtrious family? Away then with theſe fic- "tions, and let all that this author has ſaid concern- "ing Ulyſſes Aldrovandus, that miracle of nature (to "uſe the words of Anguiſola) and a Man perfectly "worthy of immortality, be wrapped up in eternal "ſilence." CRIT. REM.]

(*c*) 1719.

(*d*) *Comp. Scrip. Medic.* 18.

publick [B], and alſo againſt the exceſſive curioſity of particular perſons. There might be a thouſand reflections, and a thouſand pretty common places advanced upon this accident: I leave them to whoever has a mind to make them, and content my ſelf with this little obſervation; that antiquity does not furniſh us with an inſtance of a deſign ſo extenſive and laborious, as that of our Ulyſſes with regard to natural Hiſtory. Pliny, I grant, has treated of more kinds of ſubjects, but he only touches them lightly, and ſays but little upon any thing, whereas Aldrovandus has collected all he could meet with (d). His compilation contains ſeveral large volumes in folio; but we muſt not give him the whole glory of them [C], for among the volumes that appeared after his death there are ſome, in which he is thought to have had no other ſhare than having formed the plan [D], or at moſt contributed ſome looſe memoirs. I explain that in the notes. It does not ſeem poſſible that he could compoſe ſuch a prodigious number of books as Imperialis has given a catalogue of (e); nor is it ſtrange that he, being entirely taken up with ſuch reſearches as engaged his whole attention, has often given us for verſe that which was quite contrary to the rules of Poeſy (f), and that he did not throughly underſtand Greek (g). A Poet, who was afterwards Pope, has celebrated his praiſes in a very elegant manner [E].

(d) See the note [D].

(e) *In Muſæo Hiſtorico.* See alſo *le Theatre de* Paul Freherus, p. 1317.

(f) Voſſius *de Origine Idolatr.* lib. 3. cap. 91. p. 1227.

(g) Ezek. Spanheim. *apud* Konig, *Biblioth.* p. 24.

[B] *This is an example that loudly complains againſt the ingratitude of the Public.*] We muſt not imagine that no body aſſiſted this Naturaliſt in the expences that he was at. *The Senate of Bologna, the Cardinal Montalto, Francis Maria Duke of Urbino and ſome other Nobles readily contributed thereto, by furniſhing money for the ſupport of the Painters and Engravers, which Aldrovandus employed..... After having dedicated twelve books of the Ornithology, or the Hiſtory of Birds, to Pope Clement VIII, and ſome others to ſuch as had favoured his labours with their liberalities, he bequeathed the remainder by his will to the magnificent Senate of Bologna... which aſſigned a conſiderable ſum of money to John Cornelius Uterverius, a native of Delft in Holland, Profeſſor in that Univerſity, and after that to Thomas Demſter, a Scots Gentleman, Profeſſor alſo at the ſame place, to collect together, and put to the preſs books ſo worthy of being publiſhed* (2).

(2) Bullart, *Académie des Scienc.* tom. 2. p. 110.

[C] *We muſt not attribute to him the whole glory of his compilation.*] It appears by the Catalogue of Phyſic-books, that the greateſt part of the volumes of Aldrovandus's Natural Hiſtory were printed after his death (3). The Ornithology (4), in three volumes in folio, and the ſeven books of Inſects, in one volume of the ſame ſize, are all that he publiſhed. The volume of Serpents, the three volumes of Quadrupeds, the volume of Fiſhes, that of exſanguious Animals, the Hiſtory of Monſters, with the Supplement to that of Animals, in twelve volumes, the treatiſe of Metals, the Dendrologie (5), were publiſhed at ſeveral times by the care of different perſons after the death of Aldrovandus. In truth, the volume of Serpents was put in order, and ſent to the preſs by Bartholomæus Ambroſinus (6). That of the Quadrupeds which divide the hoof was firſt digeſted into order by John Cornelius Uterverius, and afterwards by Thomas Demſter, and publiſhed by Marcus Antonius Bernia and Jerome Tamburini. That of the Quadrupeds which don't divide the hoof, and that of Fiſhes were digeſted by Uterverius, and publiſhed by Tambarini. That of the Quadrupeds with toes or claws was compiled by Ambroſinus. The Hiſtory of Monſters, and the Supplements were collected by the ſame Author, and publiſhed at the charge of Marcus Antonius Bernia. The Dendrologie is the work of Ovidius Montalbanus (7).

(3) Mercklinus, *in Lindenio renovato*, p. 1047

(4) That is, *The Hiſtory of Birds.*

(5) That is to ſay, *The Hiſtory of Trees.*

(6) *In Patrio Bononiæ Archigymnaſio Simpl. Med. Profeſſor Ordinarius, Muſæi illuſtriſſ. Senatus Bonon. & Horti publici Præfectus.*

(7) *Ex Lindenio renovato*, pag. 1047.

[D] *There are ſome volumes of his Compilation, of which he only formed the Plan.*] Mr. l'Abbé Gallois has ſo well explained the judgment that we ſhould form of this great work, that I thought it would be more acceptable to the reader, that I ſhould copy him, than abridge what he has ſaid. Here then are his own words: "Aldrovandus is not the author of that book (8), no "more than of ſeveral others, which have never-"theleſs been publiſhed under his name: but it has "happened to the collection of Natural Hiſtory, of "which thoſe books are part, as it does to thoſe "great rivers which retain during their whole courſe "the name they bore at their firſt riſe, tho' in the "end the greateſt part of the water which they "carry into the ſea does not belong to them, but "to other rivers which they receive. For, as the "ſix firſt volumes of this great work were Aldro-"vandus's, although the others were compoſed ſince "his death by different authors, they have ſtill been "attributed to him, either becauſe they were a continu-"ation of his deſign, or becauſe the writers of them "uſe his Memoirs, or becauſe his method was fol-"lowed, or perhaps that theſe laſt volumes might be the "better received under ſo celebrated a name (9)." They that would know the plan of this compilation need but look on the following words; they are Mr. l'Abbé Gallois's who proceeds thus: "Scarce any thing "has been written on thoſe trees, that may not be "found collected in this volume; for this author "does not content himſelf with relating all that he "has read thereupon in Naturaliſts: he remarks al-"ſo, following Aldrovandus's method, what the "Hiſtorians have wrote about them, what the Le-"giſlators have ordained, and what the Poets have "feigned of them. Further he explains the dif-"ferent uſes wherein theſe trees are employed in houſ-"hold-buſineſs, medicine, architecture, and other "arts. In ſhort he ſpeaks of morality, proverbs, "devices, riddles, hieroglyphics, and a great many "other things which relate to his ſubject (10)." He has not even neglected to conſult medals, and to draw from thence what might be of ſervice to him (11).

(8) Of the *Dendrologie.*

(9) *Journal des Savans* of Nov. 12, 1668, p. 425.

(10) Ibid.

(11) *See* Spanhem. *de Præſt. Numiſm.* Diſſert. 3. *ſub finem*, pag. 252.

[E] *A Poet who was afterwards Pope has celebrated his praiſes in a very elegant manner.*] I mean Mapheus Barberini, or Urban VIII. This is one of the Epigrams that he made in praiſe of Aldrovandus.

Multiplices rerum formas, quas pontus & æther
Exhibet & quicquid promit & abdit humus,
Mens haurit, ſpectant oculi, dum cuncta ſagaci
Aldobrande tuus digerit arte liber.
Miratur proprios ſolers induſtria fœtus
Quamque tulit mali ſe negat eſſe parem.
Obſtupet ipſa ſimul rerum fœcunda creatrix,
Et cupit eſſe ſuum quod vidit artis opus (12).

(12) Lorenzo Craſſo *Elogii d'Huom. Letterati*, tom. 1. pag. 137, 138.

"The various forms that ſwim the watry plains,
"Whate'er the earth's capacious womb contains,
"The trees and herbs that on her face appear,
"And all the wing'd inhabitants of air,
"In thy ſtupendous work collected lie,
"To feaſt the ſoul, and ſtrike th' aſtoniſh'd eye.
"Her own productions induſtry no more
"Dares own, but wonders at the fruit ſhe bore
"And fruitful nature at thy deeds amaz'd
"Wiſhes her own thoſe works thy art has rais'd.

Lorenzo Craſſo quotes another of that Pope's epigrams with this.

☞ALDULF, ARDULF, or EARDULF, one of the principal Lords of Northumberland, was choſen King of that country [A], and inaugurated in St. Peter's church

[A] *Was choſen King of that country*] His father, who was alſo called Aldulf, had been killed, by order of King Ethelred, and he himſelf ſent into baniſhment (1). This inſtance of arbitrary power gave the faction,

(1) Simeon Dunelm. *ap.* Twyſden, tom. 1. col. 111, 114.

church at York the 26th of May in the year 796 (*a*). Two years after the murtherers of King Ethelred entered into a conſpiracy againſt Aldulf, and attacked him, being headed by one Wada; but after a bloody engagement, they were vanquiſhed and routed (*b*). In the year 801 Aldulf intended to make war againſt Cenulf King of Mercia, becauſe he had given a retreat in his dominions to the rebels of Northumberland. But a peace was ſoon concluded between the two Kings [*B*], by the mediation of their reſpective Biſhops and Nobles (*c*). As Aldulf had been raiſed to the throne by the faction that was then uppermoſt, he was not without apprehenſion leſt the other party ſhould gain ſtrength, and depoſe him; and indeed that party, being headed by Alcmund, the late King Alcred's ſon, began to be formidable, ſo that Aldulf thought it neceſſary for his own ſecurity to have Alcmund put to death (*d*), which was done accordingly. Alcmund's party looking upon him as a martyr, ranked him amongſt the Saints. But his faction was not ſuppreſſed by his death, which only gave them a fair opportunity of riſing againſt the King, under the conduct of a certain Lord called Aldrick; but he being killed in a battle, his faction remained quiet for ſome time, till they could find a more favourable opportunity to execute their deſign: And indeed the ſtate of affairs was ſoon altered; the party againſt the King became ſo powerful in a little time, that he was glad to eſcape with his life. He took refuge at the court of Charlemagne, where the Engliſh were always very kindly received. Alphuald II ſucceeded him, who reigned but two years, leaving the crown to Andred, in whoſe reign the kingdom of Northumberland was made ſubject to Ecbert King of Weſſex, who put an end to the Heptarchy (*e*). Aldulf had a daughter called Edburga, who was an Abbeſs, but we are not told of what Monaſtery (*f*).

(*a*) Simeon Dunelm. *ap.* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Angl. Scrip. Decem.* tom. 1. Col. 113.
(*b*) Idem, ibid. Col. 114.
(*c*) Idem, ibid. Col. 117.
(*d*) A. D. 800.
(*e*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom. 1. liv. 3. pag. 174, 175.
(*f*) Joh. Bromton, *ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 797.

faction, that oppoſed the King, a fair opportunity to revolt; the civil war continued two years, and at laſt Ethelred was killed; but his faction was ſtill powerful enough to raiſe Osbald or Oſred to the throne; but he did not enjoy it long, for whilſt the people were rejoicing for his election, the oppoſite party took their meaſures ſo well, that they depoſed him, after he had reigned but ſeventeen days, and choſe Aldulf in his ſtead (2).

(2) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom. 1. l. 3. p. 174.

[*B*] *A peace was concluded between the two Kings.*] They entred into a treaty of friendſhip, and both ſwore upon the Goſpel, that as long as they lived and enjoyed their crowns, there ſhould be a perpetual and inviolable peace between them: which occaſioned univerſal joy to both their kingdoms. On which occaſion Simeon of Durham quotes the following verſes,

Gratius aſtra nitent, ubi nothus
Deſinit imbriferos dare ſonos;
Lucifer ut tenebras pepulerit,
Pulchra dies roſeos agit equos (3).

Imitated,

" The Sun a greater brightneſs yields
" After a rainy day;
" His rays much more adorn the fields,
" When clouds are chas'd away. P.

(3) Simeon Dunelm. *ubi ſupra*, Col. 117.

ALEANDER (JEROME) Archbiſhop of Brindiſi, and Cardinal, in the ſixteenth Century. Alexander VI wanted to have him in his ſervice [*A*], and would have made him Secretary to his ſon. He changed his mind ſoon after, and choſe rather to ſend him on a negotiation into Hungary; but Aleander was ſick at that time and could not leave Venice where he dwelt. Lewis XII prevailed with him to come to France in the year 1508 [*B*], to teach the *Belles Lettres* in the Univerſity of Paris. Aleander was at that time 28 years old. He made himſelf much eſteemed in that ſtation. He entered afterwards into the ſervice of Everard de la Mark Biſhop of Liege, who ſent him to Rome to facilitate his promotion to a Cardinalſhip notwithſtanding the oppoſition of France. Leo X found him of ſuch abilities that he deſired to retain him, to which the Biſhop of Liege conſented. Aleander was at firſt placed in the houſe of the Cardinal de Medici (*a*), to whom he was Secretary: He had afterwards the care of the Vatican Library, after the death of Acciaioli. But the grand theatre, where he began to appear with ſplendor, was Germany, at the beginning of the troubles which the reformation excited there. He

(*a*) Who was afterwards Pope Clement VII.

[*A*] *Alexander VI wanted to have him in his ſervice.*] I make uſe of this expreſſion, becauſe the author whom I have followed reduces the thing to a bare deſign that was never executed. According to what he ſays of him, Aleander was never actually in the ſervice of that wicked Pope. If that be ſo, we muſt reckon as nothing all the reflections that have been made to Aleander's diſadvantage, on account of that pernicious ſchool of Alexander VI, and Cæſar Borgia, where it is ſaid he was brought up. I determine nothing; I leave to the reader the trouble of ſifting a little into the matter: *Aleandrum (qui paulò ante Cancellarius Leodienſis, & olim famoſiſſimi Cæſaris illius Borgiæ ſeu Ducis Valentini Secretarius fuerat, famulus bero dignus, & pars aulæ Romanæ ſub Alexandro VI,) peſſime deſcribit Lutherus* (1). i. e. " Aleander (who a little before was " Chancellor of the Biſhop of Liege, and formerly Se- " cretary of the famous Cæſar Borgia, or Duke of " Valentinois, a ſervant worthy of his maſter, and one " of the Courtiers under Alexander VI,) has a very " bad character given him by Luther."

(1) Seckendorf, *de Lutheran.* l. 1. pag. 125. num. 3.

[*B*] *Lewis XII prevailed with him to come to France, an.* 1508.] Pallavicini does not ſet down this year; but ſince he ſays, that Aleander when he was 28 years old, was invited to Paris, I thought I could not be miſtaken in fixing upon that year; ſince Aleander's Epitaph relates that he died anno 1542, aged ſixty two years wanting thirteen days (2). He was therefore born Feb. 13, 1480, for they who record the day of his death, place it on the firſt of February (3). I am ſurprized at the negligence of the authors of his Epitaph. There they ſet down that he was born at la Motte, in the year 1479; and that he died at Rome in 1542, aged ſixty two years wanting thirteen days. That cannot be true but by ſuppoſing that the year 1479 did not commence in the month of January, and that the year 1542 did commence in that month: but it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe in an Epitaph ſo uniforming a way of recording time. I am ſurprized that the author of the *Nomenclator* was not aware of that falſe ſuppoſition. He has ſaid a thing that is incompatible with Father Pallavicini's aſſertion: viz. that Aleander was but twelve years old when he read Lectures in the univerſity of Paris.

(2) *In nomenclatore Cardinalium*, p. 132, and in *Iſtoria de' Poëti Græci di* Lorenzo Craſſo, pag. 278.
(3) Oldoïnus, *in Athenæo Romano*, p. 317.

He was ſent thither as Nuncio by the Pope, anno 1519. He there acted in the character both of Ambaſſador and of Doctor, as occaſion ſerved. He declaimed three hours together before the Diet of Worms, againſt the doctrine of Luther (*b*); but it is ſuppoſed that he did not repreſent it fairly (*c*). He could not prevent Luther from being heard in that Diet, and he refuſed to diſpute with him; but he obtained that his books might be burnt, and his perſon proſcribed; and he drew up himſelf the edict which proſcribed him (*d*). He reſided as Nuncio with Francis I, when he beſieged Pavia, anno 1525, and fell into the hands of ſome ſoldiers who abuſed him [*C*]. He was ſent a ſecond time into Germany in the year 1531, and there found a conſiderable alteration, if we are to believe what he is ſaid to have written. The people in the Proteſtant cities were no longer ſo animated againſt the Pope as formerly; but in the Catholick cities, they ſhewed an extreme deſire of ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, and enriching themſelves with the wealth of the church, as the Proteſtants had done. The alteration in the latter was owing to this reaſon, that having hoped for very great liberty, provided they could ſhake off the Papal yoke, they found by experience, that the yoke of the ſecular power, under which they were obliged to live, was not more eaſy. Aleander did every thing in his power, but without ſucceſs, to hinder Charles V from making a truce with the Proteſtants in Germany. He was created Cardinal by Paul III, and was intended to be Preſident of the Council of Trent, with two other Legates (*e*). In the mean time he went into Germany Legate from the Pope, anno 1538. That Legateſhip continued a year. His death, which happened February the firſt 1542, prevented his preſiding at the council. Some people ſay that he died by the blunder of his Phyſician [*D*]. I have not ſpoke all his Nunciatures. Moreri will furniſh what I have omitted. Aleander publiſhed ſeveral works [*E*]. He underſtood Hebrew and Greek very

(*b*) From Pallavicini *Hiſt. Conc. Trident.* it was in the year 1521

(*c*) Seckendorf, *Hiſtoria Lutheraniſmi*, lib. 1. pag. 149.

(*d*) Pallavicin. *Hiſt. Conc. Trid.* lib. 1. cap. 28. num. 5.

(*e*) The Cardinals Campegio and Simoneti.

[*C*] *He fell into the hands of ſome ſoldiers who abuſed him.*] See what appears on this ſubject in a Letter from Hieronymus Negro to Marcus Antonius Michieli, dated from Rome March 20, 1525. "The Archbiſhop of Capua relates a ſtrange adventure of Aleander, the Biſhop elect of Brindiſi, and Nuncio from his Holineſs to the moſt Chriſtian King: which is, that in the utmoſt fury of the battle, and in ſuch confuſion as you may imagine, the poor Gentleman, as he was running away dreſt in a manner ſuitable to his dignity of a Biſhop, fell into the hands of three Spaniards, who laying hold of him, without knowing him, conſtrained him by bullying and threatning, to promiſe a ranſom of three thouſand ducats, and they led him along in that dreſs through the camp, often turning back, and preſſing him with the moſt harſh expreſſions to follow them. The affrighted Biſhop ran after them like a lackey, without daring to ſay that he was the Apoſtolic Nuncio. But being got into Pavia he was known by the Vice-roy of Naples, and by the Marqueſs de Peſcara, who, with great trouble and difficulty, delivered him from that confinement and ſlavery: nevertheleſs to be releaſed from his oath, he was obliged to give the ſoldiers 200 ducats a man to make them eaſy. I hear he is going to Venice, he will give you himſelf an account of his diſgraces and misfortunes (4)."

(4) *Lettres des Princes*, tranſlated by Belleforet, fol. 96.

[*D*] *Some people ſay that he died through the blunder of his Phyſician* (5).] That does not at all agree with his Epitaph, which ſhews, that his death was occaſioned by a languiſhing diſeaſe, contracted by the fatigues of his embaſſies. *Mox, diverſis legationibus pro ſummis Pontificibus ad omnes ferè Chriſtianos Principes fideliter & diligenter perfuncto, &* IDEO IN TABEM DELAPSO. That is, "At length, having diſcharged with diligence and fidelity ſeveral Legateſhips for the ſovereign Pontiffs, to almoſt all the Chriſtian Princes, BY THAT MEANS HE FELL INTO A CONSUMPTION." A paſſage of Paulus Jovius, wrong underſtood at firſt, and afterwards metamorphoſed backwards and forwards into various ſenſes, has perhaps given room for the ſtory of the blunder of Aleander's Phyſician. However that be, we learn from Paulus Jovius, that Aleander ruined his health by the overcare he took of it, and that he was a very bad Phyſician to himſelf, by making uſe of too many unneceſſary medicines. *Lætatus eſt eâ purpurâ per annos quinque* (6), *pervaſurus haud dubie ad exactam ætatem, niſi nimiâ tuendæ valetudinis ſolicitudine intempeſtivis medicamentis, ſibi hercle inſanus & infelix medicus, viſcera corrupiſſet* (7). i. e. "He enjoyed the Purple five years, and would undoubtedly have arrived at a good old age, if he had not, through too great ſolicitude to preſerve his health, proved a mad and unſucceſsful Phyſician to himſelf, and corrupted his entrails by improper medicines."

(5) See *les Jugem. des Savans ſur les Poët.* tom. 3. num. 1273. p. 194.

(6) We muſt conclude from hence that he obtained the Cardinalſhip in 1537.

(7) Paulus Jovius, *Elog.* c. 98. pag. 231.

[*E*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] Mr. de la Rochepozai (8) gives me again a little reaſon to complain of his want of exactneſs. He ſays that Aleander, although very capable of treating the ſublimeſt ſubjects, has not diſdained to write upon polite Learning, and to publiſh ſeveral ſmall works, the ſubject whereof was very trifling: *De re literariâ licet inferiori bene mereri non dedignatus eſt, exilis argumenti operulis editis, quæ tamen autoris nomen & famam nec elevant neque imminutum eunt* (9). That is, "He deſerved well of Literature, though he condeſcended to write only upon trivial ſubjects, having publiſhed ſome inconſiderable works, which however neither raiſe nor depreſs their author's reputation." There is no body who does not on the reading of this, prepare himſelf to ſee nothing but ſmall Pamphlets in the Catalogue of Aleander's works, which is the ſequel of theſe words of the *Nomenclator*. Obſerve however the beginning of that ſequel. *Scripſit vaſtum opus adverſus ſingulos diſciplinarum Profeſſores, in quos cenſuram acerbius & felicem exercuit calamum. Tabulas in Grammaticam Græcam, ſeu potius Grammaticam ad literas Græcas. Dialogos duos feſtiviſſimos, quorum alter Cicero relegatus inſcribitur, alter verò Cicero revocatus* (10). *Carmina quædam illuſtrium Poetarum Italorum carminibus indita Epiſtolas multas, quarum quatuor habes inter Epiſtolas Federici Nauſeæ, & alias in quibus de rebus eccleſiaſticis agit. Annotationes item quaſdam in Bibliotheca Cardinalis Sirleti aſſervatas.* i. e. "He wrote a vaſt work againſt all the Profeſſors of Literature, upon whom he exerciſed his pen happily and beſtowed ſevere cenſures. Tables for a Greek Grammar, or rather a Grammar for the Greek language. Two very witty Dialogues, one of which is called *Cicero relegatus*, and the other *Cicero revocatus*. Some verſes which are put amongſt thoſe of the moſt celebrated Italian Poets. Several Epiſtles, four of which you have amongſt the Letters of Federicus Nauſea, and others in which he treats of Eccleſiaſtical affairs. Alſo ſome Annotations which are kept in the Library of Cardinal Sirleti." If any perſon be diſpleaſed at ſeeing a great huge work where he was to have found only a ſmall diſſertation, he will not recover his good humour at finding in the Catalogue of a man's writings no mark to diſtinguiſh betwixt what has and what has not been printed. That is a fault that reigns in the *Nomenclator*, in Oldoïni's *Athæneum*, and in ſeveral other Bibliographers.

(8) Biſhop of Poitiers, author of the *Nomenclator Cardinalium.*

(9) *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, p. 131. edit. 1614.

(10) I demonſtrate that to be falſe in the article of LANDO (HORTENSIO).

very well; and he is said to have had a surprizing memory [*F*]. I don't believe that there was any reason for saying that the Hebrew was his mother tongue, or, to speak more clearly, that he was born a Jew [*G*]. There was more reason to accuse him of being passionate (*f*). He made his own epitaph, which testifies that he did not repine at

(*f*) See the note [*G*] towards the end.

phers. Aleander's great work, wherein he censures all sorts of Professors, was never printed. He was putting, it is said, the last hand to it when he died. *Mentre andava compiendo una vastissima opera contra i Professori di tutte le scienze, fu assalito in Roma dalla morte* (11). That is what Moreri means by these words: *He died February the first* 1542, *at a time when he was going to publish a considerable work.* Paulus Jovius has been a guide upon this head to a great many people. *Quum vastum opus*, says he (12), *vastâ illâ memoriâ adversus singulos disciplinarum Professores agitaret, Romæ interiit.* The Continuators of Gesner knew none of all Aleander's works, but the tables of the Greek Grammar. Draudius knew nothing even of that. The Oxford Catalogue mentions nothing but a small Poem of this Author's.

(11) Lorenzo Crasso, *Istor. de' Pitti Greci*, pag. 277.

(12) Jovius *in Elogiis*, cap. 98. p. 231.

[*F*] *He is said to have had a surprizing memory.*] I don't know how to take what Paulus Jovius says of him for any thing but a poetic flight, though he gravely tells it us in prose. It is that Aleander could retain every thing that he read, and that he could recite it a long time afterwards, without making the least mistake, either with regard to the subject, or even in the words. *Detur hoc incomparabili inusitatæ memoriæ felicitati quæ in Hieronymo Aleandro supra cujusque vel antiqui seculi captum admiranter excelluit, ut ejus ex vero depicta facies vel in pudenda ingenii sterilitate inter fœcundissimas imagines conspiciatur, quando nihil eum cuncta volumina cupide perlegentem vel rerum vel verborum omnino subterfugerit, quin singula memoriter vel à multis annis longo sepulta silentio recitaret* (13). i. e. "Let thus "much be granted to that incomparable and unusual "happiness of memory, which in Hieronymus Aleander surprizingly excelled the capacity of any, "even the earliest, ages, that its picture taken from "the life, may be beheld amongst the most fertile images even in this present most shameful barrenness of "genius, since nothing of the subject or even of the "words, whilst he attentively read all sorts of books, "escaped him, but he would recite them all by "heart, after they had lain dormant in his mind for "several years." It is not an easy matter to believe this, if one did not see it; but as a memory may be a very good one, although it does not come up to the pitch that Paulus Jovius has just described, I do not question Aleander's being perfectly acquainted with the several languages that his Epitaph attributes to him: *Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, aliquotque aliarum linguarum exoticarum ita exacte docto, ut eas recte & apte loqueretur & scriberet.* i. e. "He was "so throughly acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek, "Latin, and several other foreign languages, that he "could speak and write them readily and exactly.

(13) Idem, ibid. p. 230.

[*G*] *I do not believe there was any reason for saying he was born a Jew.*] Luther, and his followers, gave it out as a thing certain, during Aleander's first nunciature in Germany; and this is what we read in Luther's works (14). *Venit his diebus Hieronymus Aleander vir sua opinione longè maximus, non solum propter linguas quas eximiè callet, siquidem Ebræa illi vernacula est, Græca à puero illi coaluit, Latinam autem didicit diutina professione, sed etiam mirabilis suis videtur ob antiquitatem generis. Nam Judæus natus est, quæ gens immodicè gloriatur de Abraham vetustissimo se originem ducere. An verò baptizatus est nescitur. Certum est eum non esse Pharisæum, quia non credit resurrectionem mortuorum, quoniam vivit perinde atque cum corpore sit totus periturus, adeo nullum à se pravum affectum abstinens. Usque ad insaniam iracundus est, quavis occasione furens. Impotentis arrogantiæ, avaritiæ inexplebilis, nefandæ libidinis & immodicæ, summum gloriæ mancipium, quanquam mollior quam qui possit elaborato stylo* (15) *gloriam parare, & pejor quam qui vel colorem in argumento honesto. At ne nesciamus, cessit felicissimè simulata defectio ad Christianos.* i. e. "There is now come hither Hieronymus Aleander, "a very great Man in his own opinion, not only "on account of the languages which he is perfectly "acquainted with; for Hebrew is his mother-"tongue, Greek he has made familiar to him from "a child, and he has learnt Latin by long professing "it, but he seems an extraordinary person to his "own friends on account of the antiquity of his "family. For he was born a Jew, which nation is "immoderately proud of deriving their original so "far back as from Abraham. It is not known whether "he be baptized or not. It is certain he is not a "Pharisee, because he does not believe the resurrec-"tion of the dead, but lives as tho' all of him was "to die with his body; wherefore he does not stifle "in himself any evil inclination. He is prone to "anger even to madness, and flies into a fury upon "every occasion. A man full of impotent arrogance "and insatiable avarice, scandalously and immode-"rately libidinous, a meer slave to glory, and yet "too indolent to gain a reputation by an elaborate "style, and too wicked to endeavour for it on an "honourable subject. But that we may omit no "part of his character, his pretended coming over "to the Christians has been of excellent service to "him." Here is a picture, which represents Aleander to us, not only as a Jew, who pretended to be a Christian, and even whose Baptism was a thing doubtful; but also as a man that did not believe the immortality of the soul, and who wallowed in the most infamous voluptuousness, passionate even to madness, covetous and proud in the highest degree. He answered to the accusation of being born a Jew, and declared before the Diet of Worms, that his ancestors had enjoyed the dignity of Marquiss in Istria, and that he had produced good proofs of his noble and illustrious extraction, when he was made a Canon of Liege. He called to witness several persons of probity who knew him, and were acquainted with his family. It is Mr. de Seckendorf that acquaints us with this particular. He found it in the Archives of the Dukes of Weimar, where are kept amongst several manuscripts of that time the Records of the Diet of Worms. Aleander's long Oration is abridged in those Acts, and it is thence that that illustrious Lutheran extracted what follows as he has translated it into Latin (16): *Tandem questus est à Luthero spargi quasi Aleander gente Judæus esset:* "*Deum immortalem!*" *dixit,* "*multi hic sunt boni viri, quibus notus sum ego & familia mea, & asserere ego verè possum, majores meos Marchiones in Istria fuisse* (17): "*quod verò parentes mei ad inopiam redacti sunt, fato tribui debet. Natales meos ita legitimavi, ut in Canonicum Leodiensem receptus sum, quod factum non foret, nisi ortus essem ex familia illustri vel spectabili.*" i. e. "Aleander at length complained that he was defamed by Luther as though he "was a Jew by nation: "Good God!" said he, "here "are many good men present, to whom both I and "my family are well known, and I can with truth "affirm that my ancestors were Marquisses in Istria; "but that my parents were reduced to poverty "must be attributed to fate. I have so well demon-"strated my pedigree, that I have been received a "Canon of Liege, which could not have been done, "if I had not come of an illustrious or eminent "family." What makes me believe that the imputation of his Jewish extraction was unjust, is no trifling reason. Ulric Hutten published an invective against Aleander, wherein he worked himself up into such a passion, that he threatned to kill him. *Omnem advertam diligentiam, omne adhibebo studium, omnia tentabo conaborque, ut qui furore, amentiâ, & iniquitate gravis accessisti, vita inanis hinc efferaris. Neque enim expectandum adhuc tibi est ut stilos doctorum hic virorum sentias, sed futurum crede ut fortium gladiis confodiare* (18). i. e. "I will apply my "utmost diligence, will leave no stone unturned, "will attempt and endeavour all methods, that you "who came hither full fraught with fury, madness, "and wickedness, shall be carried hence deprived "of life. Nor are you to expect to be attacked by "the pens of learned Men, but depend upon it "you

(14) Tom. I. fol. 496. *apud* Seckendorf *de Lutheran.* l. 1. p. 125. num. 4.

(15) Paulus Jovius testifies that Aleander only exercised himself in speaking; and that when he had a desire to write, he found out his weakness too late.

(16) Seckendorf *de Lutheran.* p. 149. lit. k.

(17) We are assured in his epitaph that he descended *e Comitibus Landri in Carnia Petræpilosæ in Histria.*

(18) Hulricus Huttenus *in Aleandrum.*

at his deſtiny [*H*], as he has been accuſed to have done. Eraſmus makes frequent mention of him in his letters, and generally to his diſadvantage [*I*]. He complains, amongſt

"you ſhall be ſtabbed by the ſwords of men of valour." He was not ignorant that the Nuncio had confuted, before the Diet, the reproach of Judaiſm, and had boaſted his being deſcended from a very illuſtrious family; but he was ſo far from engaging to maintain that reproach, that he denied its being objected to him. It is but little to my purpoſe to obſerve that he did wrong to deny it; the proof which I draw from his ſilence is not the worſe for that; for if he had ſeen any foundation for accuſing him, he would at leaſt have maintained that Aleander denied falſly his Jewiſh extraction. Does not Hutten maintain that the Counts, whom he had claimed as his relations, did not acknowledge him? *Nihil intellexiſti proximâ auditione cum multis quidem excuſares Judaïcam originem, nemo objiceret. Nam eſſe malum quâcunque etiam gente editum ſciebant omnes. Itaque nemo magnopere putabat generis pravitatem tibi objiciendam: adverſum mores fremebant infensè multi. Et poterat ſentiri jam manifeſtè quæ eſſet animorum commotio: tu tamen, quaſi illic potiſſimum expurgatione opus eſſet, multis tractabas locum eum ad faſtidium uſque audientium: ſed tantâ cum fiduciâ ut planè certus tibi eſſe videreris neminem intelligere, quam impudenter ibi mentireris omnia. Illo enim poſt multa erupiſti, ut ad nobiliſſ. comitum, qui te penitus ignorant, & quos tu haud ſatis nôſti, genus, originem tuam referres* (19). i. e. "You acted without under-
(19) Idem. ibid. "ſtanding at the next hearing when you uſed a great "many words to vindicate your ſelf from being a "Jew, whereas no body objected it. For all knew you "to be an ill man, let your origin be what it would. "So that no one thought it any mighty matter to "object your deſcent to you: it was againſt your "manners that many were incenſed. And it might "plainly be perceived how much their minds were "moved: but at the ſame time, as if your vindica-"tion was chiefly wanting there, you inſiſted upon "that ſubject, till the audience was quite tired: "and with ſo much confidence that you ſeemed to "be quite ſure in your own mind that no body "knew how impudently you lied. For at laſt you "roſe to that pitch as to claim a deſcent from a "moſt noble family, who are entirely unacquainted "with you, and whom you hardly know." But as there is nothing ſo trifling as not to grow conſiderable by paſſing from one to another, I would not deny, but that the ſlander which ran againſt the Nuncio had no other foundation than what Paulus Jovius has ſaid, that the Jews admired Aleander's skill in Hebrew, and could eaſily believe him one of their own nation: *Latinæ Græcæque literæ quum ſæpè alacriter jactabundo pro vernaculis haberentur, Hebraicas admirantibus Judæis & ſuæ ſtirpis eum*
(20) Jovius, *Elogiorum*, cap. 98. p. 231. *facilè credentibus, ſolertiſſime didicit* (20). I would obſerve to ſuch as have a mind to criticiſe upon me, that I do not pretend that Paulus Jovius's book has given occaſion to the ſlander; my meaning is, that others might have ſaid it long before Paulus Jovius.

"What Luther ſays, that Aleander was choleric is "very true: we may believe Joſſe Gentin Secretary "to this Cardinal, in a letter to Nauſea Biſhop of
* Lib. 8. *Ep. ad Nauſeam a variis Scriptarum*, p. 353. "Vienna *. He tells him, in the ſerioueſt manner "in the world, after having given him an account of "the death of Aleander, that he does not know "where to diſpoſe of himſelf after the death of his "Maſter, for fear of finding one ſtill more paſſionate. "*Hactenus*, ſays he, *alium Mecenatem Romæ non "quæſivi, eo quod immodeſtia & furor hujus mei "defuncti inculcat mihi timorem, ne faciam Glauci "cum Diomede permutationem.*" See the margin (21).
(21) This ſupplement comes from Mr. de la Monnoie. [*H*] *He made his own Epitaph, which ſhews he was not diſpleaſed with his deſtiny.*] It conſiſts of two Greek verſes, which ſignify that he died willingly, becauſe he ceaſed to be witneſs of ſeveral things, the ſight of which was more inſupportable than death.

Κάτθανον οὐκ ἄἰκων, ὅτι παύσομαι ἢν ἐπιμάρτυς
Πολλῶν, ὧπιφ ἰδιῖν ἄλγιον ἦν θανατῦ.

Such would be the diſpoſition of all men, if reflexion, if reaſon, if good ſenſe, were capable of ſurmounting the mechanical impreſſions that make us in love with life. But, laying aſide this profound moralizing, I muſt ſay it is very ſtrange that Paulus Jovius ſhould produce againſt himſelf ſo plain an evidence as this epitaph. He had ſaid that Aleander, being enraged with his deſtiny, that carried him off a year before the climacterick, gave up his breath, complaining of it: *Interiit fato ſuo vehementer indignatus, quum ſe præreptum anno uno ante climactericum inter anxia ſupremaque ſuſpiria quereretur* (22); and, immediately after he adds, that Aleander directed by his will that a Greek epitaph of his own compoſing ſhould be put over him, containing this thought:
(22) Jovius *Elog.* cap. 98. p. 231.

Exceſſi e vitæ ærumnis faciliſque lubenſque,
Ne pejora ipſâ morte debinc videam.

Lorenzo Craſſo ſays pretty near the ſame thing concerning this indignation of Aleander againſt his deſtiny. *Fu aſſalito in Roma dalla morte, contro la quale moſtroſſi anche negli ultimi ſoſpiri ſdegnato* (23). Paulus Jovius fell into another miſtake with regard to Aleander. He accuſes him of having preſaged new misfortunes ready to fall on our heads, *novas clades imminere nobis ominatur*; but nothing is more falſe than that: Aleander regarded futurity only by accident; all his views reſpected the time paſt; he imagined that the future was of no value in this world. Here then is a ſecond error of Paulus Jovius. As for the firſt, we cannot juſtify him in it, without charging him with a horrible ſlander, of having repreſented him as a dying impoſtor, who ordered by his will a lie to be tranſmitted to poſterity, that he did not die with regret. Lorenzo Craſſo relates, that Scraderus has inſerted in his monuments of Italy the monumental inſcription of Aleander, with the Latin tranſlation of the two Greek verſes (24). This tranſlation is the ſame that Paulus Jovius has related: it is not much worſe than this, *Non invitus obii; quia quieſco, teſtis multorum quæ videre pejus eſt morte* (25). See what one gains by making uſe of a language that is but little known: All the force and all the grace of the Greek diſtich have eſcaped the tranſlators.
(23) Lor. Craſſo, *Hiſt. de' Poëti Greci*, p. 297.
(24) Lor. Craſſo, *Hiſt. de' Poëti Greci*, p. 278.
(25) Chytræus, lib. 17. fol. 458, relates it. *See* Seckendorf, book 1. p. 128, let. b.

Let us add an obſervation here, that has been communicated to me by a learned man: *Joſſe Gentin, in his letter to Nauſea, ſays that Aleander, three days before his death, having put all his affairs in order,* ſervitoribus & aliis præſentibus, pronunciavit ſuum quod fieri cupiebat epitaphium, quod hoc diſticho clauſit, κάτθανον &c. *This ſhews that the epitaph did not conſiſt only of theſe two verſes, but that they were only the cloſe of it.* I am not of this opinion: I believe Gentin intended to ſay his maſter comprehended in this diſtich the whole inſcription that he ordered to be put upon his tomb.

[*I*] *Eraſmus made frequent mention of him in his letters, and generally to his diſadvantage.*] Aleander being naturally hot-headed, and intereſted alſo in the ruin of Lutheraniſm, being by his quality of Nuncio ſent into Germany to ſtrangle this infant in the cradle, could not bear the moderation of Eraſmus. This was not all: Eraſmus's enemies were continually defaming him as a favourer of Lutheraniſm; ſo that the reciprocal eſteem and friendſhip between him and the Nuncio was greatly diminiſhed by Aleander's firſt journey into Germany. *Hieronymum Aleandrum, Nuncium Apoſtolicum, hominem apprime doctum, mihique vetere ac jucundiſſima neceſſitudine conjunctum, miris mendaciis in me conati ſunt irritare... Quid multis? Perſuaſerant homini, ut acri ſimplicique ingenio prædito, ita credulo, me parum amicè de ipſo & ſentire & loqui. Nec defuerunt, qui coaleſcentem amicitiam novis ſubinde delationibus diſcinderent* (26). i. e. "They have endeavoured by ſtrange lies to irri-
(26) Eraſmi Ep. 24. l. 17. p. 767. "tate againſt me Jerom Aleander, the Apoſtolick "Nuncio, a man of great learning, with whom I "have long had an intimate friendſhip.... Why "ſhould I uſe many words? As he was not only of "a warm and ſimple, but alſo of a credulous diſpoſi-"tion, they had perſuaded him that I both thought and

amongſt other things, of ſome ill offices that had been done him with the Biſhop of Liege, in whoſe houſe Aleander had a brother, who was a much greater maſter in the art of diſſimulation than himſelf [*K*].

ALEANDER

" ſpoke of him in an unfriendly manner. Nor were " there wanting ſome to break off our friendſhip, that " was going to be renewed, with freſh ſlanders." This is ſpeaking very faintly of the ill diſpoſitions of Aleander, if it is true, as we cannot doubt, that it was he who was intended in another place (27) by the title of *Bull-carrier*, Διπλωματοφόρος; for this Bull-carrier did all he could to deſtroy Eraſmus; and it was well for the latter, that the Emperor would not do all that the ſomer deſired of him: *Me quo minus oppreſſerit per illum non ſtetit: perierat Eraſmus, ſi pronas aures Principum reperiſſet.* A letter that Eraſmus had writ to Luther, whoſe friends had publiſhed it, ſo irritated Aleander, that he endeavoured to ruin his old friend, as well with the Pope, as the Biſhop of Liege. *Hæc* (*Epiſtola*) *dedit anſam Aleandro jampridem inique in me animo ut me perditum iret, conatus Leonis animum irritare in me, ſimul Leodienſis Epiſcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, ut ita loquar, in Eraſmum. Nam ipſe Leodienſis oſtendit mihi literas, quas ad eum è Roma ſcripſerat Aleander ſatis odioſe me attingentes* (28). That is, " This letter gave a handle to Aleander, who was already offended with me, to endeavour to deſtroy me, endeavouring to incenſe Leo " againſt me, and alſo the Biſhop of Liege, who before was almoſt in love with me. For the Biſhop " ſhewed me a letter written to him by Aleander " from Rome, wherein he treated me after a ſpiteful manner," He affected to ſay, that the heretics had found in Eraſmus's works the foundation of all their falſe doctrines. *Jam audio multis perſuaſum ex meis ſcriptis extitiſſe totam hanc Eccleſiæ procellam. Cujus vaniſſimi rumoris præcipuus autor fuit Hieronymus Aleander; homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non ſuperſtitioſe verax* (29). i. e. " I hear now that many " have been perſuaded that all this ſtorm has riſen " upon the church out of my writings. Which " moſt idle ſtory was broached by Jerom Aleander; " a man, to ſay no worſe of him, not ſuperſtitiouſly " addicted to truth." He did not content himſelf with nibbling at Eraſmus's religion; he ſlandered alſo the learning and the works of that great man. This appears by a letter that Eraſmus wrote in 1524 (30), wherein he opens his mind to him. He looked upon him as ſo violent an enemy, that he took him for one of the principal promoters of the cenſures that the Sorbonne had publiſhed againſt his books, and for the true Author of the invective that went under the name of Julius Cæſar Scaliger. *Non tamen erant prodituræ cenſuræ, niſi quidam oleum camino addidiſſent. Lutetiæ fuit Eccius, & ut ſuſpicor Aleander, quem ſuſpicor hac de cauſâ præcipuè veniſſe, ut Eraſmo moliatur exitium. Julii Scaligeri libellum tam ſcio illius eſſe, quam ſcio me vivere. Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt, ne magis inſaniat prodito fuco* (31). That is, " But theſe cenſures would not have appeared, if ſomebody had not added oil to the flame. " Eccius was at Paris, and, as I ſuſpect, Aleander, " whom I imagine to have gone thither almoſt on " purpoſe to contrive Eraſmus's deſtruction. I am " as ſure that the book under Julius Scaliger's name " is his, as that I am alive. But this muſt be diſſembled, for fear he ſhould rage more when he " finds it is diſcovered." I have ſhewed elſewhere (32), that Eraſmus was miſtaken in this laſt fact; Scaliger's oration was the work of him whoſe name it bore; and to ſay, that in 1531, Aleander's chief occaſion of going to Paris was to contrive the ruin of Eraſmus, is thinking one's ſelf of too much conſequence, and not knowing the nature of the employments that the Pope gave this Nuncio. We ſhall ſee elſewhere (33) whether Eraſmus had any reaſon to aſcribe a book, that went under the name of Doletus, to Aleander. He ſeems to mean this Nuncio in the xxivth letter of the xxvth book. Aleander's paſſion then muſt have been very great; for he of whom Eraſmus complains diſperſed a writing (34) at the Court of Rome, wherein he told the Pope, he was aſtoniſhed that when ſo many perſons had periſhed in Germany in the peaſant's war, Eraſmus, the author and leader of this furious tumult, was ſtill alive. One cannot be ignorant who was the Author intended by Eraſmus, ſeeing theſe words are found in another letter: *In me impudentiſſimis argumentis cauſam agit (Albertus Pius) & agit hoſtiliter, docere laborans, me fuiſſe occaſionem, cauſam, autorem, & principem, totius hujus negotii. Quod idem agit Aleander in ſuo Racha, demirans me adhuc ſpirare, quum in Germania tot hominum millia ſint trucidata* (35). i. e. " Albertus Pius pleads againſt me " with moſt impudent arguments, and in a hoſtile " manner, endeavouring to prove me the occaſion, " cauſe, author, and principal of this whole affair. " The ſame has been done by Aleander in his *Racha*, " who wonders that I am ſtill alive, when ſo many " thouſand men have been killed in Germany." In another place, he deſcribes him under the name of VERPUS (36); which ſhews he was not quite unde-ceived concerning the ſlanderous report of his being born a Jew. If Aleander wrote this book, he had been very intimate with Eraſmus, had the ſame table, the ſame chamber, and the ſame bed, and had received good offices at his hands; for thus Eraſmus informs us: *Cum altero fui mihi olim non tectum modo ac menſa, verum etium cubiculum & lectus communis* (37), *adeoque a me nulla læſus eſt injuriâ, ut quum illi res eſſent anguſtiores commendatricibus literis meis nonnihil etiam adjutus ſit, nec uſquam illius in ſcriptis meis niſi honorifica mentio* (38). i. e. " We formerly " lived not only under the ſame roof, and at the " ſame table, but had alſo the ſame chamber, and the " ſame bed, and he was ſo far from being injured " by me, that when his circumſtances were ſtrait, " I gave him ſome aſſiſtance by my commendatory " letters, and I never made any but honourable men-" tion of him in my works." One cannot help owning that Aleander is meant here, when one recollects another letter (39) where are theſe words: *Ut video, tibi propemodum perſuaſit (Aleander): at ego, qui è domeſtico convictu ac lectuli quoque contubernio totum intus & in cute novi, tam ſcio eſſe ovum illius* (40), *quam ſcio me vivere.* That is, " I ſee that Aleander " has almoſt perſuaded you: but I that know him " throughly from a fellowſhip in bed and board, am " as ſure it is his production, as that I am alive." Let us conclude theſe diſadvantageous relations with a paſſage that concerns the morals of Aleander: He lived like an Epicurean at Venice in 1533, if we may credit Eraſmus: *Nunc Venetiæ plane vivit Epicureum, non ſine dignitate tamen* (41). i. e. " He lives now " at Venice like an Epicurean, but not without an honourable character." By this character no doubt he underſtands the double mitre, which he had mentioned in the lxth Letter. *Aleander gemina mitra inſignitus, nam Brunduſinus & Oretinus eſt, apud Cæſarem agit Legatum Anglicum* (42). This laſt word is equivocal, and perhaps Eraſmus had not writ *Anglicum*, but *Angelicum*, to ſignify the employment of Apoſtolic Nuncio, which Aleander had at that time in Germany. Be it as it will, there would have been no harm in noting in the margin, that he was not the King of England's Embaſſador at the court of the Emperor Charles V, for ſo the reader will immediately conclude. Mr. de la Monnoie has very happily conjectured that *Anglicum* was put, becauſe Eraſmus had writ ſhort *ãplicum* for *apoſtolicum*.

We muſt however in this place take a view of a paſſage of Eraſmus to Aleander's advantage: *Etiamſi nominaſſes iſtum, qui Aleandrum Eraſmo præfert in omnibus, nihil erat periculi. Nam & ipſe plurimum tribuere ſoleo Aleandro, præſertim in literis, nihiloque magis me lædi puto ſi doctior eſt, quam quod ditior eſt aut formoſior* (43). That is, " If you had " named him, who prefers Aleander before Eraſmus " in every thing, there would have been no danger. " For I my ſelf am wont alſo to allow a great deal " to Aleander, eſpecially in learning, and think my " ſelf not in the leaſt worſe for his being more learned, any more than for his being richer or handſomer." The letter, wherein Eraſmus ſpeaks thus, is dated Auguſt 31, 1524.

[*K*] *He had a brother who was a greater maſter in the art of diſſimulation than himſelf.*] Eraſmus, from whom we learn this particular, adds that this brother was

(27) In the 24th Letter of the 25th book, p. 1379.

(28) Eraſmi Ep. 113. lib. 19. pag. 949.

(29) Idem, Ep. 84. lib. 20, pag. 1040.

(30) The 53d of the 18th book.

(31) Eraſmus, Ep. 56. lib. 30. p. 1941.

(32) In the note [*M*] of the article ERASMUS.

(33) In the ſame Note.

(34) *In quo docebat quid ſignificet Hebræis Racha.* i. e. " In which " he ſhew'd what " was meant in " Hebrew by the " word *Racha*.

(35) Eraſmi, Ep. 99. lib. 20. pag. 1052: It is dated from Baſil, Dec. 23, 1528.

(36) In the 44th Letter of the 30th book, p. 1931. See alſo the 74th Letter of the ſame book.

(37) It was probably at Venice, when Eraſmus was employed by Aldus Manutius.

(38) Ep. 24. lib. 25. p. 1379.

(39) The 58th Letter of the 30th book of Eraſmus, p. 1945.

(40) He ſpeaks of Scaliger's Oration.

(41) Ep. 62. lib. 30. p. 1949.

(42) Eraſm. Ep. 60. lib. 30.

(43) Ep 4 l. 21. p. 1053. *Vide etiam* p. 814.

ALEANDER (JEROM) of the ſame family with the former (*a*), and grandſon by the mother's ſide of Jerom Amaltheus, was one of the learned men of the ſeventeenth Century. As ſoon as he quitted Friuli, his native country, to go to Rome, he met with the employment of Secretary under Cardinal Octavius Pandini, which he filled with honour for near twenty years. He had begun betimes to venture upon printing; for he had hardly received his degrees in Law, when he publiſhed a *Commentary upon the Inſtitutions of Caius*. He did not ſuffer his pen to reſt at Rome, for, being one of the firſt that were received into the riſing Academy of the Humoriſts, he had always ſome compoſition to ſhew them; and even made a very learned treatiſe in the Italian tongue upon the device of this aſſembly. The fruitfulneſs of his genius and ſtudies appeared by ſeveral writings upon different ſubjects. He explained ſome antiques [*A*]: He wrote on the queſtion of the * *Suburbian Churches*, and publiſhed a work againſt that which an anonymous Author (*b*) had compoſed on that ſubject in favour of the Proteſtants. A volume of his *Verſes* came from the preſs, and was followed with a *Vindication of the Adonis of the Cavalier Marino*, againſt the vigorous attacks of the Cavalier Stiliani. Urban VIII ſhewed his eſteem for him in a very advantageous manner: For he took pains himſelf to draw him from the ſervice of Cardinal Bandini to attach him to that of the Barberini, ſo that Aleander became Secretary of Cardinal Francis Barberini, this Pope's nephew. He accompanied this Cardinal when he went into France with the character of *Legat à latere*. He did not ſink under the fatigues of this long journey, but bare them couragiouſly, and got very well through it, notwithſtanding his weak conſtitution, and the ill ſtate of his health. He did not eſcape ſo well from the entertainments. He had made an agreement with ſome of his intimate friends to treat one another by turns every three days: He could not refrain, where there were ſo many delicate diſhes before him, from eating more than agreed with ſuch a weak ſtomach as his was; this occaſioned the diſeaſe of which he died (*c*). The Cardinal his maſter made a magnificent funeral for him at the Academy of the Humoriſts; and the Academiſts, his fellow members, carried his body to the grave (*d*). Gaſpar de Simeonibus made the Funeral Oration there the 31ſt of December 1631; it was printed at Paris in 1616. Aleander had ſo neat and ſo eaſy a way of writing, that the compliment which one of his friends made him upon it deſerves a reflexion [*B*].

(*a*) They are diſtinguiſhed, by calling the other *Aleander Senior*, and this *Aleander Junior*.

(*b*) This was Salmaſius.

(*c*) Monſ. Baillet, *Jugem. ſur les Poëtes*, num. 1420, and Witte, in his *Diarum Biograph.* Part II. p. 40, place his death in 1631. Witte calls him Alexander.

(*d*) Extracted from Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth 1. *See alſo* Allatius *in Apibus Urbanis*, p. 123, 124, 125.

* The *Suburbian Churches* are the Provinces of Italy which compoſed the dioceſe of Rome. The word is alſo extended to ſignify all the Weſtern Churches.

was in this reſpect a great deal more dangerous than Aleander, who did not know ſo well how to conceal his deſigns. Let us relate it in his own words: *Habet fratrem apud Leodienſ. hoc perniciоſiorem, quod omnia poteſt diſſimulare, id quod non poteſt Aleander* (44). "He has a brother at Liege more pernicious "than himſelf, for he can diſſemble every thing, "which Aleander cannot do.

(44) Eraſmi, Ep. 51. lib. 20. p. 1011.

[*A*] *He explained ſome antiques.*] They were two marbles, a table and a ſtatue. The table contained the figure and ſymbols of the Sun; the ſtatue was girt with a zone full of ſculptures. The title of Aleander's work is as follows: *Explicatio antiquæ tabulæ marmoreæ ſolis effigie ſymboliſque exſculptæ: Explicatio ſigillorum zonæ veterem ſtatuam marmoream cingentis.* It is one volume in 4to, printed at Rome in 1616, and at Paris in 1617. I make no doubt but that by this work he came acquainted with Father Morin. It appears by the book intitled *Eccleſiæ Orientalis Antiquitates* (1), that they ſometimes correſponded together.

(1) Printed at Lond. 1682, and at Francfort in 1683, in 12°.

[*B*] *His way of writing procured him a compliment which deſerves a reflexion.*] Nicius Erythræus often uſed to ſay to him; *When I read your works I think myſelf a learned man, but when I read thoſe of other authors, who would be thought eloquent, I think myſelf very ignorant, for I do not underſtand one word they write.* How few modern Latin authors are there, who can have this compliment paid them. I do not ſpeak of thoſe who write in a law or ſcholaſtic ſtyle, but ſuch as would write like Orators, and who labour their phraſes. They only ſerve for the moſt part to mortify the preſumption of their readers, who continually find themſelves ſo perplexed by ſome dark alluſion, or confuſed metaphor, that they cannot ſee where they are. The misfortune is, that they fail of mortifying their readers by this means, provided ſelf-love induces them to impute the reaſon of this obſcurity, not to their own ignorance, but to the nonſenſe of the author. I fancy however it will not be amiſs to give the reader the ingenious remark of Nicius Erythræus, as it ſtands in the original. *Scribendi ejuſdem ratio tum in ſolutâ oratione tum in verſibus adeo erat pura, adeo elegans, adeo perſpicua, ut ſæpe ex me audiret, tum demum me mihimet doctum eruditumque videri, cum ſua legerem; cum autem in aliorum ſcripta, qui ſe eloquentes dici vellent, incurrerem, tum plane me indoctum omniumque rerum rudem agnoſcere, eò quod verbum prorſus in illis nullum intelligerem* (2). This, one would think, ſhould have proved a ſtrong motive to him againſt leaving any obſcurity in his Elogies, and yet we meet with ſome therein. Some think it is not expreſſed plain enough, whether it was at Rome or at Paris that high living was fatal to Aleander: they think it was at Paris (3). For my part I make no doubt of the contrary: for ſet times of feaſting by turns, and that two or three times a week, ſuit much better with people that live quietly at home than travellers. Beſides the journey that the Legate Francis Barberini made to France in the year 1625, was but for a few months, whereas Aleander did not die till 1631.

(2) Nicii Erythræi Pinacoth. 1. p. 46.

(3) See *Jugemens des Sçavans ſur les Poëtes*, tom. 4. num. 1420, p. 54.

ALEGAMBE (PHILIP) a Flemiſh Jeſuit, was born at Bruſſels the 22d of January 1592. He ſtudied polite Literature in his own country; after which he went to Spain, and was taken into the Duke of Oſſuna's family. He followed him into Sicily, when that Duke went thither as Viceroy. Finding in himſelf an inclination for a religious life, he took upon him the habit of a Jeſuit at Palermo, the 7th day of September 1613. He went through his probation, and read his courſe of Philoſophy in the ſame city, and followed his ſtudy of Divinity at Rome, from whence he was ſent into Auſtria, to teach Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Gratz. Having diſcharged the duties of this function to the ſatisfaction of his ſuperiors, he was advanced to be

be Profeſſor of School Divinity, and ſolemnly promoted to the Doctorſhip in 1629. During theſe tranſactions, the Prince of Eggemberg, favourite of the Emperor Ferdinand II, reſolved that his ſon ſhould travel, and would have him attended by a learned and prudent Jeſuit for his Confeſſor. F. Alegambe was thought a fit perſon for this employment: They took him from the ſchools in order that he might travel with this young Lord. He was with him five years, and ſaw Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Being returned to Gratz he taught moral Divinity, and acted under the character of ſpiritual father to the youth. In the year 1658 the young Prince, whom he had accompanied in his travels, was named by the Emperor Ferdinand III to the embaſſy of obedience to Pope Urban VIII. He had a mind to take F. Alegambe with him: ſo this Jeſuit travelled to Rome in quality of Confeſſor to the Ambaſſador. When this function was finiſhed, the General of the Jeſuits retained him for his Secretary of Latin diſpatches for Germany. Alegambe having ſpent four years ſucceſſively in the duties of this difficult office, was obliged to leave it, becauſe the continual application to writing weakened his ſight too much: Then they gave him the preſidentſhip of ſpiritual affairs in the Profeſſed Houſe, and the office of hearing people's confeſſions in the church, of which he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf admirably well. He died of the dropſy at Rome the ſixth day of September 1652 (*a*). He has not compoſed many books [*A*]; but that does not hinder him from deſerving the praiſe of being a very good Author; for the *Bibliotheque of the Writers of his Order* is in its kind a very uſeful book, and much better than all the works of that nature which had appeared before that time. He muſt have taken a great deal of pains to gather materials for it, which requires two talents that hardly ever meet, much patience and much activity. Afterwards he muſt have put the collected Memoirs in order, which is the hardeſt thing in this ſort of works, becauſe one is no longer animated by that eagerneſs and ardour with which one ſeeks for materials that are wanted. It was at Rome that Alegambe laboured to form the catalogue for which he had gathered ſo many memoirs (*b*). It was printed at Antwerp in 1645. He augmented ſo much what the Jeſuit Ribadeneira had begun [*B*] upon that ſubject, that whereas the work of the latter is but a very ſmall Octavo, his is a Folio of a reaſonable ſize. We ſhall relate in the notes the different characters that have been given of it [*C*]. He had intended to make a new edition of his work; and during the nine years

(*a*) Taken from Sotuel, *Bibliothec. Script. Societatis Jeſu*, Romæ, 1675, in folio, pag. 706, 707.

(*b*) Sotuel, ibid.

[*A*] *He did not write many books.*] All that the Jeſuit Sotuel allows to be writ by him are theſe: *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu, Antverpiæ*, 1643, *in folio*; *Vita P. Joannis Cardin, Luſitani, ex Societate Jeſu, Romæ*, 1649, *in* 12; *Heroës & Victimæ charitatis Societatis Jeſu, Romæ* 1658, *in* 4*to*; *Mortes illuſtres & Geſta eorum de Societate Jeſu, qui in odium fidei ab hæreticis vel aliis occiſi ſunt, Romæ*, 1657, *in folio*.

[*B*] *He augmented the Catalogue of the writers of his Order, begun by the Jeſuit Ribadeneira.*] That the reader, who is deſirous of knowing the hiſtory of the Catalogue we are ſpeaking of, may not have the trouble of going from one volume to another, I will take notice here, that Father Ribadeneira, in the year 1602, began the *Catalogue of the Writers among the Jeſuits*. This at firſt contained but a few ſheets: afterwards he augmented it, made it a volume, and publiſhed it at Antwerp in the year 1608. It was reprinted the following year at Lyons with ſome additions and corrections touching ſome things concerning the French Jeſuits, which the authors had not been well acquainted with. Father Julius Nigroni found that this work wanted ſtill ſome further emendations in ſeveral places, eſpecially with regard to the Italian Jeſuits; therefore a new edition of it was printed at Antwerp in the year 1613. Father Andrew Schott undertook the care of it, and made ſome conſiderable additions to it (1); however the work was ſtill defective, and therefore Alegambe undertook to correct it, and to make it the more fit to give an advantageous idea of the learning of the ſociety. He publiſhed it in the year 1643. It has been ſtill very much augmented by the Jeſuit Sotuel, whoſe edition appeared at Rome in 1675; and they will be obliged doubtleſs to augment it afreſh, as well by reaſon that the ſociety of the Jeſuits is continually furniſhing out new authors, as becauſe many things eſcaped the laſt Continuator, which will be of uſe to make the Catalogue of the Order more perfect. The ſecond tome of the Roman Catalogue (2) gives us to underſtand that the Jeſuit Bonanni is now employed on the catalogue of ſuch writers of his ſociety as have publiſhed any thing ſince the year 1675.

(1) *Præfatione Alegambe.*

(2) Printed at Rome 1692, the Author Proſper Mandoſio.

Alegambe is without diſpute wonderfully exact, but nevertheleſs his book is not without faults both of omiſſion and commiſſion. He has not always given us the firſt edition of books, which is a very material neglect, and which all the compilers hitherto have been guilty of: nor has any perſon as yet undertaken to give us an exact collection of all the editions, and to mark out carefully the firſt: Geſner and his continuators have been extremely negligent in this reſpect. Father Sotuel endeavouring to avoid the fault of being over particular, which Alegambe ſometimes is a little too much addicted to, has fallen into the contrary extreme of being too dry; it is certain he had not a genius for ſuch a work equal to that of Alegambe. The curious, I ſpeak of thoſe who excuſe him on account of the orders he might have receiv'd from his Superiors with regard to anonymous and pſeudonymous writers, are of opinion that his work, in this reſpect, falls ſhort of the former's, in which we find an account of ſo many authors who lay concealed.

[*C*] *We ſhall relate the different characters that have been given of his* Bibliotheca, &c.] Mr. Baillet will furniſh us with a remark on this head. To begin with the favourable ſide.

He ſays (3), that *the* Bibliotheca of the Writers among the Jeſuits .... *is a large collection, which far ſurpaſſes any thing that was ever writ in the ſame way, and that we are to look upon it as the moſt finiſh'd piece of its kind:* that according to Nicholas Antonio (4), *the Jeſuits have given us in this work a ſpecimen of their great curioſity and induſtry in things which relate to themſelves, and that having built on the foundation of Ribadeneira, they have raiſed this grand edifice, whoſe beauty more particularly conſiſts in the juſtneſs and proportion of its parts, all the glory of which is due to Alegambe, an author ſo unerring and ſo juſt, that there is not the leaſt room to fear being miſled by him, not only becauſe he is clear and never confounds one Author with another: but alſo becauſe he never aſcribes to the Jeſuits any books which they did not really write, and is very exact and faithful in his repreſentations of thoſe, which were actually publiſhed by any of the Society.* Mr. Baillet adds, *that it is no mean praiſe ... to have the reputation of having carefully avoided a fault, which the greateſt part of the Regulars have been guilty of, who have given any account of the illuſtrious Men of their reſpective Orders, who thinking that it was doing an honour to their Societies to ſwell the number of their learned*

(3) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. num. 112, pag. 130.

(4) *Præfat. Bib. Script. Hiſpanic.*

years that he lived after the publication of the first, he collected many things which might serve, either for corrections or additions. Father Sotuel made use of them, when he published at Rome in 1675 a new edition of this catalogue (*c*).

(*a*) Sotuel, ibid.

It cannot be denied but that there are in this book many indifferent Authors, and many of the first rank. But some pretend, that if one should continue it, there will be found a very sensible disproportion, that is, that the great men will be incomparably more scarce in the continuation of it, than in that which has hitherto appeared. This gives me an opportunity of communicating to the publick what passed in a conversation of some persons of learning in 1697 [*D*].

ALES

Men, and of their Saints, tho' without choice or distinction, have given a place in their fraternity to a great number of authors who never belonged to it; whereas we scarce see a single one in the Bibliotheque of the Jesuits, *who had not been a Jesuit:* nay further that he does not so much as mention even those writers who had belonged to the society, but afterwards quitted it; as for instance Papyrius Masso, Gaspar Scioppius, Mark Anthony de Dominis, Christian Franken, &c. or that if we do find any such taken notice of, it is only upon account of the books which they wrote before they quitted the Order; and that for no other reason we find mention made of *Francis de Macedo, a Portugueze, who from Jesuit turned Cordelier, and Claudius Dausquey, a Fleming,* who left the Society to be made Canon at Tournay. In short Mr. Baillet remarks that according to the author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (5), Alegambe *has critically hit the taste of our age, that is to say, of all persons of good sense; that this taste consists in seeing every thing, as far as it bears any relation to History, in an exact, chronological view; that it is this which has stamped a reputation on the Elogies of Alegambe, who throughout the whole gives the time when, and place where, his authors were born, the age in which they commenced Jesuits, their employments, and most remarkable actions, in the order of time they succeeded; and that this order hath something in it very entertaining.* Mr. Baillet adds (6), that *as the Society of Jesuits has been hitherto the most learned of all the Societies of Regulars, or at least the most productive of writers of all kinds, (excepting in Physic) we are from thence to judge of the advantage which may be drawn from this copious Catalogue, which is very well writ, without affecting any particular style, and without laboured beauties, digested into a very beautiful method, and embellished with a great number of very exact tables.* So much for the favourable side; let us now pass on to the other. Mr. Baillet says (7), that *as the best shaped bodies are not without some defects and blemishes, seeing their beauty consists in nothing but symmetry and proportion of parts, so neither ought we to be surprized to find that this beautiful Catalogue has met with its censures, as well as others; that some have thought the Author guilty of so much partiality to the Society as to make him almost always shew its writers in the most favourable light; that throughout the whole of this large volume, we find little else than encomiums, and that in so vast a number of authors and books neither* ALEGAMBE *nor Sotuel allow a single one to be bad, unless such as were either put into the inquisition or index;* that *others have further observed, that there is scarce one writer in all this Catalogue, who is not represented as a Saint.* It is true, all reasonable persons ought to rest satisfied with seeing both at the beginning and end of the book a solemn declaration, that *he does not take upon him to answer for every thing that is advanced concerning the sanctity and virtues ascribed to his brethren, any more than for the other elogiums which are given them.* It is a harder matter, according to Mr. Baillet (8), *to acquit him of two other articles he stands charged with.* The first is, that *Alegambe being imposed upon by false memoirs sent to him by ill designing people, has branded as heretics Mr. Marion, and Mr. Servin, and some other illustrious Magistrates and good Catholics.* The second is, that *he has been too indiscreet in revealing certain matters which the Society was nearly concerned in having concealed and kept secret; as for example, when he assures us that the* Amphitheater of Honour (α); *which was wrote against the Royal authority by one Bonarscius, was the work of a celebrated Jesuit, tho' Father Coton had satisfied Henry the Great of the contrary; and that some other Books, which were written against Episcopacy and the Hierarchy in general, and against the Clergy of France and the Sorbonne in particular, were composed by some Fathers of the Society, though the Heads of the Jesuits of France, who were the Principals of the religious houses in Paris, being cited upon this occasion, had protested, and given it under their hands and seals, that the Jesuits were not the authors of those libels.* Mr. Baillet adds, that *Sotuel has been more discreet than Alegambe in this point; for in his edition we have none of the writings of the pretended Smith, and the spurious Of Jesu, which have given so much offence; nor likewise the books of Guimenius, of Vernant, nor of the Apologist of the Casuists: and he has also taken care to inform us previously, that his passing over such kind of books in silence is to be looked upon as disallowing them to be genuine, and as a tacit sentence of condemnation passed on them by the Society. But then on the other hand we can't deny but that he has, in several other places, left the faults of Alegambe untouched; or that his edition is less exact and beautiful than Alegambe's.* See the foregoing remark, towards the end. I will just take notice hereafter, at the end of the remark [*C*] of the article ANNAT, of a small defect in this Catalogue.

(5) For the month of July 1684, Art. V, where he condemns indirectly those who content themselves with describing in a florid style the qualities of a man, without taking notice either of his country, family, or different employments, in which place he says very expressly, *That one can't without indignation, and complaining of the negligence of the Historian, read the life of many of the Roman Emperors, seeing it neither acquaints us with the place of their birth, their family, their age, nor the manner how they advanced themselves.*

(6) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. num. 112. pag. 135.

(7) Idem, pag. 133.

(8) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. pag. 139.

§ (α) This book is ascribed to the Jesuit Carolus Scribonius of Antwerp, in the Catalogue of Ribadeneira, printed at Lyons, in 8vo, for Pillehotte, and at Antwerp, *ex officina Plantiniana*, 1613, in 8vo. CRIT. REM.]

[*D*] *I shall remark what passed in a conversation of some persons of learning*, on the subject of this Catalogue, *in the year* 1697.] Some Gentlemen, who came to Delft with the Plenipotentiaries of France, were in company one day with some French Refugees, and with some of the natives of the country; and as is usual where Men of Letters meet together, the conversation ran chiefly on books and learned Men. They almost all agreed that learning was now in a declining state, and they observed more than once, with an air of triumph, that the Society of Jesuits could no longer produce ingenious Men. *The Bellarmins, the Sirmonds, the Petavius's,* added they, *have not left behind them their equals: their places, as well as those of many other less illustrious persons are still vacant.* Mr. *** was almost the only one who did not approve this reflexion, and who desired the company to consider, that those who delight in advancing every where such assertions as these, were guilty of a double fault; "for in the first place, "*says he,* they make but slight mention of what e- "qually concerns other orders and communities, and "insist altogether upon this one: this partiality to "persons is without dispute very unfair. Can the "Universities of France at present shew any Pro- "fessors in Physic as famous as the Fernelius's and the "Silvius's, or any Professors of Law to be compared "to the Donellus's, the Duarenus's, the Hofmans, and "the Cujas's? Shew us if you can amongst the Pro- "testants a Casaubon, a Scaliger, or a Salmasius. "Name us in Holland a Grotius, a Heinsius or a "Vossius. Are not all these great Men dead with- "out leaving any rivals in fame; are their places "yet supplied with equal successors? We must al- "low then that the defect which you would fix "upon the Jesuits, is common to all bodies and so- "cieties of men in Europe; it is a defect of the age "and not of their particular order. Do not "think, continues he, and this was his second re- flexion, "that I am of opinion that the part of the "seventeenth

Whether the Jesuits are as able Men now as formerly.

ALES (ALEXANDER) in Latin *Aleſius*, a celebrated Divine of the Confeſſion of Augſbourg, and author of many books (*a*), was born at Edinburgh in Scotland, the 23d of April 1500. He made an admirable progreſs in the ſchool Divinity, and entered the liſts very early againſt Luther. It was then the controverſy in faſhion, and the grand field of battle, wherein all Authors, young and old, endeavoured to give proofs of their merit. He bore a part a little afterwards in the diſpute that Patrick Hamilton maintained againſt the Eccleſiaſticks [*A*], in favour of the new faith which they had given him a taſte of at Marpurgh. He endeavoured to bring him back to the Catholic religion, but he could not prevail upon him, and only began to doubt himſelf about his own religion, by the diſcourſe of this Gentleman, and more ſtill by the conſtancy he ſhewed at the ſtake, where David Beton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, cauſed him to be burnt. The doubts of our Ales would perhaps have had no conſequence, if they would have let him enjoy peaceably the Canonſhip he poſſeſſed in the Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, but they perſecuted him with ſo much violence, that he was obliged to retire into Germany [*B*], where he was at laſt perfectly inſtructed. He wavered a little in the beginning between the two religions, as may be ſeen by his *Anſwers to Cochleus*; but after all his doubts he embraced Lutheraniſm and perſevered in it till his death. It is true, that in the different parties which were formed, he ranked himſelf ſometimes on the ſide of thoſe who appeared the leaſt Orthodox. Thus, in 1560, he maintained the doctrine of George Major, concerning the neceſſity of good works [*C*]. I forgot to ſay, that the change which was made in England, with

(*a*) See the note [*C*].

" ſeventeenth Century, in which we live, enjoys a " leſs ſhare of learning than the laſt; for on the " contrary I am perſuaded, all things conſidered, it " has the advantage over it, and that you miſtake " the difference of taſte for what you call a decay " of learning. The ſtudy of Criticiſm is declined, " mankind have turned their genius to exact reaſon- " ing (9), and have ſtudied to improve their mind " more than their memory, to be maſters of fineneſs " of thought, and elegance of expreſſion. An ap- " plication of this nature does not produce large vo- " lumes, nor impoſe upon the Public in folio, to " raiſe a great name, but in reality makes greater " men, and furniſhes a ſagacity, which is more to be " valued than the deep learning of the Grammari- " ans and Philologiſts. The Jeſuits have come into " this new taſte, and this is the reaſon that their " learned Men are not of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe " of former days. Have you conſidered, as I have " done, adds he, the conſiderable number of fa- " mous Men there are at this time in their college at " Paris? Father Bernier is ſo compleat a Maſter of " the languages, that all the foreigners both of Eu- " rope and Aſia reſort to him, and converſe with " him as if he was of their own nation. Can one find a " greater treaſure of polite Literature than Father Har- " douin? Is not Father Commire one of the great- " eſt Latin Poets of the age? Where is the man that " for the French tongue, and a true taſte for com- " poſition, ſurpaſſes Father Bouhours; or, in claſſical " learning, Father Juvency; or, in fine Latin, Father " de la Beaume, who has juſt publiſhed the works " of Father Sirmond? Are there any better writers " in all France than Father le Tellier, Father Daniel, " Father Doucin, &c.? I only mention ſome few, " though without any deſign of doing injuſtice to a " great many others which I forbear naming." Theſe were the words of Mr. ***, if the perſon I had the converſation from did not deceive me. I leave every one to his own thoughts upon them.

(9) See the remark [*D*] on the article ACONTIUS.

[*A*] *He bore a part in the diſpute of Patrick Hamilton with the Eccleſiaſtics.*] Beza hath given in a few words the Elogy of this Proteſtant Martyr, who was of the blood of the Kings of Scotland. He places his martyrdom in the year 1530 (1). Buchanan places him in 1528 (2), and makes him the ſon of the Earl of Arran, by the ſiſter of the Duke of Albani. He takes notice that a little after his ſuffering, the death of a Dominican, who had been his accuſer, very much ſhocked the minds of people. This Dominican was by name Alexander Campbel. He was a young man, of great natural parts, and a great deal of learning. He had often diſcourſed with Hamilton upon the interpretation of Scripture, and he had confeſſed to him, that he aſſented to the truth of the greateſt part of thoſe doctrines, which were then look'd upon as paradoxes. Hamilton remembring this confeſſion, when he ſaw him to be his accuſer, called him a wicked man, and cited him to appear before the Throne of God. Theſe words troubled him in ſuch a manner, that he loſt his ſenſes, and died mad ſoon after (3). Ales gives a long account (4) of the execution of Patrick Hamilton, which Rabus has inſerted in his *German Hiſtory of Martyrs*.

(1) Beza *in Iconibus.*

(2) Louis Rabus, in his 4th book of the *Hiſtory of Martyrs*; Budæus, Σαγατολ. p. 38. Hondorf, *Prompt.* p. 64. Juſtus *de Academiis*, pag. 45, place him in the ſame year that Buchanan does. *See* Jacobi Thomaſii *Oration. de Alexandro Aleſio*, pag. 307.

(3) Buchanan. *Rerum Scoticarum*, lib. 14.

(4) *Expoſit. in Pſalm.* 37. folio 164. See alſo his *Anſwer to Cochleus*, p. 9.

[*B*] *He was perſecuted with ſo much violence that he was obliged to retire into Germany.*] This perſecution was raiſed againſt him becauſe he had preached before the Provincial Synod, in 1529, a very ſevere Sermon againſt Prieſts who were guilty of fornication: Now the Provoſt of St. Andrews, whoſe lewd intrigues were known to every body, knew that he himſelf was laſhed in this diſcourſe, and imagined it was on purpoſe to expoſe him to all the audience; he therefore reſolved to revenge himſelf the firſt opportunity, and being of a diſpoſition a thouſand times fitter for a ſoldier than a Canon, he choſe to make uſe of violent means. Being informed that the Chapter was aſſembled in order to ſend complaints againſt him to King James V, he repaired to the Aſſembly with a great number of armed men, and ordered them to ſeize Ales, who deſired him to moderate his paſſion; but he anſwered this juſt remonſtrance no otherwiſe than with ſword in hand. This poor Canon was ſtruck with ſo much terror, that he caſt himſelf at the Provoſt's feet, and beſought him to ſpare his life. He eſcaped with his life, but received ſuch a kick that he remained ſenſeleſs for ſome time; after which he was conducted to priſon, as were all the other Canons; but the King hearing of the matter ordered them to be ſet at liberty; Ales was the only one who was not diſcharged, but on the contrary ſhut up in a diſmal dungeon for twenty days. After this he was ſet at liberty, but he did not continue ſo long; for having acquainted the Magiſtrates with his hard treatment, which he thought he ought not to conceal, the Provoſt, who had forbid him to mention the thing to them, ſent him again to priſon, and repreſented him to the Archbiſhop as a man who had broached his hereſy in a Sermon before the Synod, and well deſerved ſuch puniſhment. He was ſo enraged once, becauſe they had releaſed Ales out of priſon while he was abſent upon a journey, that he had deſigned to force him back again, without ſo much as permitting him to finiſh a Maſs that he had begun; but he was ſoftened by the prayers of the Canons, and prevailed upon to ſtay till Maſs was over before he ſhould recommit him; but as they were ſatisfied he deſigned to have him put into the dungeon the next day, they adviſed him to flee all night, and to leave Scotland. He took their advice and fled into Germany in the year 1532 (5).

(5) Jacob Thomaſius, *in Oratione de Aleſio.*

[*C*] *He maintained the doctrine of George Major, concerning the neceſſity of good works.*] The title of his work is, *De Neceſſitate & Merito bonorum Operum Diſputatio propoſita in celebri Academia Lipſica ad xxix Novemb.* 1560. This Diſpute is the fifth

inter

with regard to religion, after the marriage of Henry VIII with Ann of Bolen, was the reaſon that Ales went to London in 1535. He was very much eſteemed by Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by Latimer and Thomas Cromwel, who was at that time in great favour with the King, and he even taught his opinions publickly. The fall of theſe favourites obliged him to return to Germany, where the Elector of Brandenburg, made him Profeſſor of Divinity at Franckfort upon the Oder in 1540. Ales had a diſpute there two years after, upon the queſtion *whether the Magiſtrate can and ought to puniſh Fornication* [D]? He maintained the affirmative with Melancthon. I do not know whether he

inter Anti-Tapperianas; and here then is an *Anti* to be added to the Collection of Mr. Baillet. To ſave the trouble of doing it again, we will here ſet down the titles of his principal works: *Commentarii in Evangelium Johannis, & in utramque Epiſtolam ad Timotheum*; *Expoſitio in Pſalmos Davidis*; *De Juſtificatione contra Oſiandrum*; *De Sanctâ Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini Gentilis*; *Reſponſio ad triginta & duos articulos Theologorum Lovanienſium, &c.*

[D] *He had a diſpute upon the queſtion, Whether the Magiſtrate can and ought to puniſh fornication?*] It is obvious that this diſpute did not turn upon adultery, but only ſimple fornication; for though the puniſhment of adultery is a thing as uncommon, as the crime is frequent, yet nevertheleſs it paſſes for lawful with the Chriſtian Doctors. So that Ales had nothing to do but contend with an antagoniſt, who maintained that the Magiſtrate neither can nor ought to puniſh fornication; they deferred pronouncing upon this queſtion; and it is very probable that this delay gave ſuch diſguſt to Ales, that he would not ſtay any longer amongſt a people that declared themſelves ſo favourable to the impunity of fornicators. *Cum A.* 1542, ſays Thomaſius, *inter ipſum & alium quendam exorta eſſet controverſia de queſtione, poſſitne ac debeat Magiſtratus Politicus ſcortationem punire? veramque ſententiam, hoc eſt affirmantem, ac Philippi quoque Melancthonis calculo approbatam* †, *defendente Aleſio, nihilominus hujus diſputationis deciſio juberetur differri. Offenſus, ut apparet, hâc bonæ cauſæ procraſtinatione Aleſius, non expectato Principis adventu diſceſſit.* i. e. "There was a con-
"troverſy (6), in 1542, between Aleſius and another
"perſon on the queſtion, Whether the Civil Magi-
"ſtrate can and ought to puniſh fornication? Ale-
"ſius defended the true ſide of the queſtion, that is,
"the affirmative, and which Philip Melancthon had
"declared to be his* opinion; however the deciſion
"of the diſpute was ordered to be put off. Ales,
"as appears, was ſo offended at the protracting ſo
"good a cauſe, that he went away without waiting
"for the coming of the Prince." Indignation did not ill become a Profeſſor of Divinity on ſuch an occaſion, who had ſeen the birth of the Reformation, and conſequently ought to hope never to live to ſee morality reaſſume its former ſlackneſs. Nothing could do more honour to the Proteſtant Religion, than the ſeverity of its maxims with regard to chaſtity; for the obſervance of theſe maxims is the moſt difficult victory to be obtained over nature, and that which the beſt teſtifies our union to God by the reciprocal ties of his protection and of his love. It was therefore one great ſubject of ſcandal, that ſo early as the year 1542, a Proteſtant Divine, who maintained that Magiſtrates both might and ought to puniſh fornicators, ſhould meet with any oppoſition, and in ſome ſenſe be cruſhed under it: but now-a-days we are ſo accuſtomed to the toleration of this crime, that ſcarce any one is offended at it. A man of great probity aſſured me lately, that the Magiſtrates of Strasburg ſhew ſo much indulgence to any young woman that has been got with child, that provided ſhe comes to them and pays the fine at which all ſuch ſort of crimes are taxed, they reſtore her to her former reputation, and fix puniſhments for all ſuch as ſhall dare to reproach her the leaſt with it. This is without all doubt a more ſingular privilege, than that of giving letters of reinveſtment to families which have diſgraced their nobility; and if it were allowable to be merry on ſo important a ſubject, one might ſay that the Magiſtrates of Strasburg ought expreſly to have ſtipulated for the conſervation of this privilege, when they capitulated with France; and again after the peace of Ryſwick, when they demanded a renewal of their capitulation (7). I am very well aſſured that they don't think that by this prerogative of theirs they give the lie to that certain and inconteſtable axiom of the ancients,

——*Nullâ reparablis arte,*
Læſa pudicitia eſt; deperit illa ſemel.

"No art can chaſtity once loſt reſtore
"The ſpotted maid muſt ne'er be virgin more.

Indeed they don't pretend to reſtore loſt virginity, phyſically ſpeaking; for this would be contradicting the true ſenſe of the axiom; but morally ſpeaking they do pretend to it, ſeeing they take the reputation of a lewd woman into their protection, and skreen her from ſcandal, ſo that ſhe may be allowed to go any where as fearleſs of ſhame as the moſt virtuous: nay they ſay farther that the efficacy of their ſentence is ſo great, that women, who have had children and obtained a grant to enjoy their former privileges by paying the tax, find it as eaſy a matter to match themſelves, and as advantageouſly as if they had never treſpaſſed this way. But I ſhould impute this to the want of delicacy of taſte in the men, rather than to their being perſuaded of the efficacy of the ſentence (8). However, we may apply to thoſe, who ſuppoſe that crimes of this nature may be atoned for by paying a fine, what was once ſaid to them, who imagined that a little fair water could wipe away the ſtains of homicide.

Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli poſſe putatis aquâ (9).

"Fond men to fancy that the cryſtal flood
"Could waſh away the crimſon ſtains of blood.

The ſame honeſt man has aſſured me, that what he knew for certain of the cuſtoms of Strasburg, he had heard ſpoke of a great many other places in Germany. Such Laws as theſe might well provoke the rage of the Divine, who is the ſubject of this article; for ſo far is this from being a puniſhment for fornication, that it is in ſome meaſure rewarding it, if we conſider that the advantage of being allowed to appear in all places without any fear of ſcandal and reproach, is far ſuperior to the puniſhment of paying a fine, which ſometimes does not amount to one half of the profit gained by proſtitution.

I have heard it ſaid by perſons of very good judgment, that the cuſtom of a vaſt number of countries rather gave a reward than inflicted a penalty on fornication; and the cuſtom is that they who father the child are ſentenced to keep it, and to pay the mother a certain ſum of money. Now the obligation to provide for the child can in no wiſe be looked upon as a puniſhment, ſince even the law of nature has evidently founded this obligation; nor can we judge the money which is given to the woman to be a puniſhment, or if it may be called a ſlight one on the father's ſide, it is properly ſpeaking a recompence with regard to the mother. "Now
"it is ſurprizing, ſaid theſe Gentlemen, that
"Chriſtian Courts of Judicature ſhould aſſign re-
"wards to women for having loſt their honour by
"ſcandalizing the Public." One might reply, that the loſs they had incurred by having brought themſelves into a condition wherein they would find it ſo difficult a matter to get husbands, ought, in juſtice, to entitle them to ſome reparation. "No, replied they, "it is not a point of juſtice, but mere favour
"and grace: Juſtice is not concerned in indemniſying
"perſons who have ſuffered by a voluntary tranſ-
"greſſion

† Phil. Melancht. *Epiſt. ad Camerar.* pag. 413, 414.

(6) Ibid. p. 318.

* *In Epiſt. Reſponſoriâ ad Academiam Francofordianam, quam leges*, Part. 1. *Conſil. Theol.* Phil. Melancth. p. 523.

(7) See the *Hiſtorical Mercury* for the month of June 1698.

(8) I have been aſſured that they are the foremoſt in ridiculing, and don't ſtick to ſay that offences of this kind are very harmleſs and innocent; probably in imitation of thoſe who begin firſt with themſelves, in order to ward off the raillery of others. See the beginning of the remark [B] on the article AGESILAUS II.

(9) Ovidius, *Faſt.* lib. 2. ver. 45.

he was offended that they deferred deciding this diſpute, and whether this diſcontent was the cauſe of his going from Franckfort in a hurry, but it is certain that the Court of Brandenburg complained of him and wrote to the Univerſity of Wittemberg, to have him chaſtiſed. His attachment to Melancthon had made it believed that he was retired to Wittemberg [*E*]; however he choſe rather to go to Leipſic; whilſt he was there he refuſed in 1543 a Profeſſor's Chair in the Univerſity, which Albert Duke of Pruſſia deſigned to erect at Koninſberg, and which was erected the year following. It is not well known, whether about that time he had a Profeſſorſhip at Leipſic, or whether they only promiſed him that of Divinity, which he afterwards

" greſſion of the laws of God and of honour plain-
" ly promulgated; and if the Sovereign pleaſe to
" diſpenſe his favours, let him make choice of more
" worthy objects. Can there be any obligation on
" men to make a woman ſatisfaction who had maim-
" ed a leg or an arm in committing a robbery for
" their ſake, and at their inſtigation? ſo far would
" the Judge be from allowing her any damages,
" that he would ſentence her to corporal puniſhment.
" The caſe would be the ſame in all puniſhable acti-
" ons in which ſhe ſhould chance to loſe a limb in
" carrying on any man's deſigns: " Fornication is
" the only exception to this rule, let us ſtyle it
" therefore, *The common Treſpaſs and the privileged*
" *caſe*. Terms ſeparately appropriated to other
" things (10), upon which was printed a book at Paris
" in 1611 (11)." A certain perſon upon that alledged that the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam were peſter'd with ſuch numbers of women ſervants, who were continually laying their big bellies to ſome young man in the family, that they made a law, that for the future this ſort of creatures ſhould be allowed no more than 25 Guilders, upon the payment of which they ſhould be obliged to keep the child; that they deſigned by this to curb debauchery, for they ſaw that the profit they drew from their looſe courſes inticed them to make advances, or at leaſt to comply with the firſt importunity, and that in ſhort their lewdneſs ought to be ſuppreſſed by cutting off all proſpect of gain, and not encouraged by the hopes of ſuch ſums as were adjudged them by the Courts. But there were ſome who made anſwer, that it was not certain that ſuch laws were enacted at Amſterdam, altho' it was very much talk'd of in the other cities of the country. Whether this be true or falſe, this is a certain proof that the world is not ignorant that the laws are too favourable to fornication, and that they rather encourage than lay a reſtraint on debauchery; and it appears very plain that Sovereigns whoſe buſineſs it is to provide puniſhments for the violators of the Decalogue, don't make the anger of God, but the temporal prejudice of the ſtate, the rule of their conduct. For this reaſon they puniſh robbers and homicides; but becauſe fornication ſeems rather ſerviceable than prejudicial to the State, they connive at it, and give one reaſon to think by their conduct that they are not at all diſpleaſed that their towns ſhould be peopled tho' *per fas & nefas*. If they had at heart the practice which the Law of God enjoins upon this head, they would rather heighten the fear of diſgrace than make it leſs; they would impoſe heavy fines not to be applied to the uſe of the women who were joint offenders, but to the hoſpitals; they would brand with infamy as well him who had been the tempter, as her who had weakly reſiſted the temptation: and becauſe ſhame amongſt people in low life, is not of force ſufficient to reſtrain a certain wantonneſs, which animates the tempter, encourages him, and aſſures him of finding an eaſy conqueſt, they would make uſe of a more effectual puniſhment, which they might eaſily find ways to do.

Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is almoſt fallen into as great a degree of remiſsneſs. It is but a few years ago (12), that a Tutor to a Gentleman in a town of... laid ſiege to a young coquette, and carried his point. When her relations perceived that ſhe was big with child, they ſet their heads to work how to oblige her gallant to marry her; but he was very ſhy of coming into the propoſal, for beſides that the eaſineſs of his conqueſt proved no great charm to allure him to matrimony, he believed himſelf not to be the only perſon who (as we ſay) had had a finger in the pye, and that he had no greater ſhare in the child than ſome body elſe. The only way left to bring him to the lure was to threaten him, that unleſs he married the woman he ſhould loſe the benefice which he had in England; with that he married her, and kept his benefice. We ſee in this inſtance how wantonneſs was rewarded, and that in the higheſt and moſt ſcandalous degree of it. What would the ancient Fathers ſay were they at this time to riſe from the dead? How could they forbear crying out, when they caſt their eyes upon the church, *O domus antiqua, quam diſpari dominaris Domino!* It is the fate of all Religions as well as of all bodies politic to grow worſe as they grow old. Men are more corrupted in their youth, than in their old age; but it is quite otherwiſe with Commonwealths. There is nothing like new laws (13). Laws are like bread and eggs, *pan d'un di, ovo d'un' hora*, i. e. " bread one day old, an egg one " hour." The flouriſhing ſtate of a code, (I mean the practice and obſervance of it) is that of its infancy. The Poet's complaint, who had been ſpeaking of the corruptions of the age in Auguſtus's time, is very pertinent, and is not unlike what was ſaid by Jeſus Chriſt, *From the beginning it was not ſo* (14).

Non ita Romuli
Præſcriptum & intonſi Catonis
Auſpiciis, veterumque norma (15).

" Far otherwiſe it was ordain'd,
" When Romulus the ſcepter ſway'd.
" Theſe vices Cato's rules reſtrain'd,
" When his unpoliſh'd maxims were obey'd.

In this reſpect, Sects and Communities, &c. may be compared to a man who is only innocent in his cradle and hanging ſleeves.

It muſt be obſerved that there are notwithſtanding ſome Proteſtant countries (16), where there are kept up ſome remains of ſeverity againſt fornication as well with regard to the women as the men: But I am very ſure that our Alexander Ales would deſire that they were ſtill more rigorous; and what would he ſay then of other countries?

We muſt not diſmiſs this remark without obſerving, that the Legiſlators who adjudge a pecuniary profit to lewd women, or condemn thoſe who debauched them to be their husbands, have done this in order to avoid further inconveniences; but notwithſtanding the goodneſs of the deſign, it is certain that ſuch a conduct tends to the ſpreading the contagion of laſciviouſneſs, for every ſentence they pronounce upon a caſe of this nature is doing a real piece of ſervice to one perſon, and encouraging twenty others to hope for the ſame; and every wench that gets herſelf a husband by theſe means, raiſes a curioſity in many more to try the ſame experiment. They have been ſenſible of this abuſe in France, nor is the new Code there ſo favourable in this reſpect as the old, to that ſort of women who make a gain of the privileges of matrimony. It is a Sacrament which has in it retroactive virtues, and like that of penitence is a ſafety after ſhipwreck: It conducts us back again to the port of honour, it repairs old breaches, and confers legitimacy on children which were not entitled to it (17); not to ſpeak of the thick veil it caſts over new tranſgreſſions, current faults, and daily treſpaſſes.

[*E*] *His attachment to Melancthon had made it believed that he was retired to Wittemburg.*] Melancthon in his 290th Letter to Camerarius, ſeems to doubt if Ales did not diſtruſt his friendſhip; and in his 288th Letter he confeſſes that he had obſerved in him ſome ſudden ſtarts and ſallies, παραβόλως & παραλόγως ὁρμάς.

(10) *Common Treſpaſs* is when the miſdemeanors of an Eccleſiaſtick are judged by Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and a *Privileg'd Caſe* is when the faults of an Eccleſiaſtick are ſubmitted to the Secular Juriſdiction.

(11) It was written by Benjamin Millet Counſellor in the parliament of Dijon.

(12) This was written in 1698.

(13) See the Remark [*M*] on the article Neſtorius, at the beginning.

(14) Matth. xix. 8.

(15) Hor. Od. 15. lib. 2. ver. 10.

(16) At Geneva, and ſtill more in the Canton of Berne.

(17) See the remark [*A*] on the article ARIOSTA.

terwards exerciſed till his death, which happened on the 17th of March 1565 [*F*]. His life had been miraculouſly preſerved in his youth [*G*]. The eſteem and authority he enjoyed may be known by the number of conferences at which he was preſent [*H*]. He married an Engliſh woman, by whom he had two daughters and one ſon. He had but one daughter alive when he died. This was taken from an oration of James Thomaſius Profeſſor at Leipſic, printed there with many others, in the year 1683 in 8vo. All that he ſaid here is accompanied with quotations, but I did not think there was any occaſion to copy them, becauſe thoſe who will have recourſe to originals, may very eaſily find the oration which refers to them.

[*F*] *He died the 17th day of March* 1565.] Paul Eber in his Calendar places the death of Ales the 18th day of March 1565, aged 75 years. The firſt error is very ſmall being but of one day, but the ſecond being of ten years is very conſiderable. Ales wrote himſelf, in the Matriculation book of the Univerſity of Leipſic, born in 1500. Bucholcer (18), and Reuſnerus (19), make him as old as Paul Eber. All this remark has been taken from Thomaſius. One might blame Bucholcer alſo for another thing, for having ſaid Ales lived and taught in Germany after his arrival at Wittemburg, which was after the year 1533.

(18) *Chronolog.* p. 613.
(19) Iſagog. *Hiſt.* p. 636.

[*G*] *His life was miraculouſly preſerved in his youth.*] He tells us in one of his books (20), that he often calls to mind, though not without a ſhivering over all his body, that as he was once rolling upon a very high mountain near the brink of a precipice, he found himſelf tranſported to another place without knowing either by whom or how; which he attributes to the faith of his parents and not to any virtue of the amulets which he carried about him, containing ſome verſes of St. John, according to the cuſtom of children in thoſe days.

(20) *Epiſtola Dedicatoria Commentar. in Joannem. Vide & Præfat. in alteram ad Timotheum, apud* Jacobum Thomaſium, *in Oratione de Aleſio.* p. 305.

[*H*] *He was preſent at a great number of Conferences.*] When Melancthon was deſired 1555 by the people of Nurenberg to come and put an end to the diſſenſions which the diſciples of Andrew Oſiander created in their city (21), he brought Ales with him, who maintained his ground very well in the diſputes he engaged in (22): Melancthon was well acquainted with his abilities in this way, for he had already had him for his aſſeſſor, in 1554, in the Conference of Naumbourg, where they met to appeaſe ſome troubles occaſioned by theological differences in Pruſſia. Camerarius upon this occaſion gives Ales a very great encomium. *Alexander Aleſius, patriâ Scotus, valde charus Philippo Melanchthoni, rei theologicæ intelligentiſſimus, & artifex excellens congruentium diſputationum, & vir dignitate atque doctrinâ exquiſitâ præſtans* (23). i. e. "Alexander Ales, a Scot, was highly in favour with Philip "Melancthon; he was a very great Divine, a ſubtle "Diſputant, and a Man of great worth and learning." He has remarked in another place, that Granvelle, who was appointed by Charles the Fifth to preſide at the Conference of Worms, in 1541, would not allow Ales, who was Deputy there from the Elector of Brandenbourg, to ſpeak. *Qui quidem & paratus erat & cupidus conflictûs: ſed huic obſtitit juſſum Præſidis, qui & Aleſium ad pugnam inſtructum ſciret, & talem adminiſtrationem rei vicioſam eſſe animadverteret.* i. e. "Who came both armed and eager to "enter the liſts, but was excluded by an order of "the Preſident, who knew that he came prepared "for the fight, and foreſaw that ſuch a conduct "would ruin his cauſe.

(21) Camerar. *in vitâ Melancthonis.* Thomaſius *in Oratione de Aleſio*, p. 321.

(22) Beza *in Iconibus.*

(23) Camerar. *in vitâ Melanct.*

☞ALEXANDER NECKAM, an Engliſh eminent writer in the 12th and 13th Century, was born at St. Alban's in Hertfordſhire. Having finiſhed his ſtudies in his own country he went abroad, according to the cuſtom of that age, to the Univerſities of France and Italy, where he applied himſelf to learning with prodigious vigour (*a*). He reſided particularly at Paris, which was the moſt celebrated Univerſity of Europe at that time, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he was eſteemed a prodigy for genius and learning. He was conſidered as an excellent Philoſopher, a profound Divine, and a polite Rhetorician and Poet for the age he lived in. He read Lectures at Paris about the year 1180 with ſuch general applauſe, that his ſchool was not large enough to contain the number of his ſcholars (*b*). About the year 1186 he returned to England, and the year following deſired Guarinus Abbot of St. Alban's to give him the care of the ſchools belonging to that Abbey, having left that which he had before taught at Dunſtable. He was afterwards made Canon of Chicheſter, and then removed to Exeter, where he became a Canon-Regular of the order of St. Auguſtin, In 1215 he was made Abbot of Exeter, and died in 1227. We ſhall give his Epitaph in a note [*A*]. He wrote ſeveral works which were never publiſhed, but continue in manuſcript in the Libraries of England and other countries, eſpecially France. We ſhall mention ſome of them [*B*].

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Literaria*, Sæc. 13. p. 623. edit. Coloniæ Allobrogum. 1720.

(*b*) Oudin. *Comment. de Script. & Scriptis Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 3. Sæc. 13. col. 4. edit. Francofurti 1722.

ALEXANDER

[*A*] *We ſhall give his Epitaph in a note.*] John Bale has mentioned it in his book *De Scriptoribus Britanniæ*; and it is written after the old monkiſh manner in Latin rhimes.

Eclipſin patitur ſapientia, Sol ſepelitur;
Cui ſi par unus, minus eſſet flebile funus.
Vir benè diſcretus, & in omni more facetus.
Dictus erat Nequam, vitam duxit tamen æquam.

It is no eaſy matter in a tranſlation to do juſtice to theſe verſes, becauſe the ſtupidity of ſome performances is as difficult to be expreſſed as the elegance of others. But the ſenſe of it is to this purpoſe:

Learning's eclips'd, the Sun himſelf's obſcur'd.
Our loſs were leſs, had he left one ſuperior.
Accompliſh'd was his mind, his manners pleaſing;
And tho' his name (1) *was ill, his life was good.*

(1) *Nequam*, as his name is ſometimes written, ſignifies a *Wicked Man.*

[*B*] *We ſhall mention ſome of his works.*] *Comment. ſuper quatuor Evangelia*; i. e. "Commentaries up-"on the four Goſpels (2)." *Expoſitio ſuper Eccleſiaſten*; i. e. "An Expoſition of Eccleſiaſtes (3)." *Expoſitio ſuper Cantica*; i. e. "An Expoſition of the "Canticles." *Elucidarium Bibliothecæ*, containing an explication of ſeveral difficult paſſages of Scripture; and among the reſt that of St. John chap. vi. ver. 51. *If any man eat of this bread, he ſhall live for ever*: upon which place he has ſome remarkable words, quoted by Dr. Cave, which ſeem inconſiſtent with the modern notion of Tranſubſtantiation. *Laudes Divinæ Sapientiæ*; i. e. "The Praiſes of the Di-"vine Wiſdom." This work is the ſame with that *De Naturis Rerum*; i. e. "Of the Nature of things," as Oudin aſſures us from his own reading (4). It is a large poetical work, and treats of various ſubjects as well profane as ſacred; of Angels, the heavens, of natural things, particularly birds, beaſts, trees and plants,

(2) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*
(3) Id. ibid.
(4) Ibid. Col. 5.

ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO [*A*], a Neapolitan Lawyer of great learning, flouriſhed towards the end of the fifteenth Century, and the beginning of the ſixteenth [*B*]. He applied himſelf ardently to the bar, firſt at Naples, and afterwards at Rome (*a*); but he devoted to the ſtudy of the *Belles Lettres* all the time he could ſpare from his Law buſineſs: and at laſt he entirely forſook the bar, that he might lead a more eaſy and agreeable life with the Muſes. The reaſon he gave for renouncing the profeſſion of the Law is as follows [*C*]: He ſaid it was becauſe of the ignorance or iniquity of thoſe who adminiſtred juſtice, and becauſe he had rather live in quiet, than take a great deal of pains to ſtudy the Law well, ſince this trouble was of no uſe againſt the raſhneſs of a bad Judge (*b*). He had ſeen at Rome a great many examples of this diſorder, as he told Raphael Volaterrani, who had aſked him the reaſon of his retreat. It is a little ſtrange that among the great number of learned men who lived in his time, or who have praiſed the learned men of that age, there is hardly

(*a*) Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. Dier.* lib. 2. cap. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7.

plants, which are diſcourſed of in a phyſical and moral way. It was intitled *Of the Nature of things*, becauſe it treats for the moſt part of the nature of created things; it was likewiſe called *The Praiſes of Divine Wiſdom*, becauſe the explication of the natural world ſhews the infinite wiſdom of the Deity. This work conſiſts of a great many verſes, which have no ſmall ſhare of elegance and harmony, if we conſider the barbarous and Gothic age, in which they were written. In this piece the author gives a large account of the three cities, which were moſt eminent for learning, Athens, Rome, and Paris. John Brompton, or rather the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Jorevallanſe*, has tranſcribed a great many things from this work, where he ſpeaks of Alfred, the Founder of the Univerſity of Oxford; and ſays, that "the riches of every kingdom were prodigiouſly "great, as long as arts and ſciences flouriſhed in "them; and that ſuch nations were able to repel "the moſt formidable enemies, as appears from "Greece, while learning was cultivated at Athens, "and from Rome, and the kingdom of the Franks, "ſince learning flouriſhed in them. For victory in war "and the glory of Philoſophy concurred as it were "together; and there is the greateſt reaſon for this, "ſince true Philoſophy teaches men to govern in "the beſt manner." *Cujuſlibet regni opes creviſſe in immenſum, quamdiu artium ingenuarum in ipſo floruerunt ſtudia, & hoſtibus regni reſtitiſſe; ut patet de Græciâ, quando floruerunt ſtudia Athenis; de Româ; de Regno Francorum, ex quo floruerunt ſtudia in illo. Victoria enim militiæ & gloria philoſophiæ quaſi ſimul concurrerunt; & hoc meritò, quia philoſophia vera docet juſtè & verè regulare.* The reader may ſee the titles of the reſt of his works, and the Libraries where they are to be found in MS. in Oudin's *Commentarius* (5).

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

T.

[*A*] *Alexander ab Alexandro.*] I give him his Latin name according to the rule of the Grammarians. They who tranſlate it *Alexander of Alexandria* (1), commit a miſtake. Our author was of a Neapolitan family, the name of which was Alexander. It is ſaid to have produced other illuſtrious men before, as Moreri relates after Lorenzo Craſſo. Every one knows the banter of Balzac. *Was there not once*, ſays he (2), *in the kingdom of Naples a Grammarian and Civilian who called himſelf* ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO? *Can any thing be imagined more grand and noble than to be doubly Alexander, to have Alexander for his name, and alſo for his title* (3)?

(1) Simon Goulart has done it in the verſion of Philip Camerarius.

(2) Balzac, Preface to the *Socrate Chrétien.*

(3) To ſpeak properly he ſhould have ſaid, that *Alexander* was both his chriſtian and ſirname. We ſee inſtances of the ſame in other perſons. See Mollerus in his treatiſe *De Scriptoribus Homonymis.*

[*B*] *He flouriſhed about the end of the 15th Century, and beginning of the 16th.*] What makes me ſay thus, is that our author, ſpeaking of the calamities of the kingdom of Naples, has brought them down to the death of Frederic, ſon of Ferdinand I (4), that is, to the year 1504; beſides he mentions Jovianus Pontanus, as one that was dead (5). Now Jovianus Pontanus did not die before 1505. They who place the death of our Alexander in 1494, have not took notice of this, in which point Moreri rather approves their account, than doubts of it.

(4) Alex. ab Alex. *Genial. Dier.* lib. 3. cap. 15. *ſub fin.* pag. 736.

(5) Id. ibid. l. 1. cap. 1.

[*C*] *This is the reaſon that he alledges for renouncing the profeſſion of an Advocate.*] I believe that in order to ſhew the full force of this reaſon, I muſt relate it in the author's own words: *Quæ cum viderem*, ſays he (6), *patroniſque contra vim potentiorum aut gratiam nihil præſidii eſſe, nihil opis, fruſtra nos in legum controverſiis & ediſcendis tot caſuum varietatibus tam penſiculate editis, tantum laboris & vigiliarum ſuſcipere, tantoque nos ſtudio fatigari dicebam, cum ad ignaviſſimi impuriſſimique cujuſque temeritatem, qui juri dicendo præſideret, quem leges virum bonum eſſe volunt, non æquo jure ſed ad gratiam & libidinem judicia ferri, decretaque legum tanto conſilio edita convelli & labefactari viderem.* i. e. "When I ſaw "that the advocates could not defend nor aſſiſt any "one againſt the power or favour of the mighty, I "ſaid it was in vain we took ſo much pains, and "were fatigued with ſo much ſtudy in controverſies of law and learning ſuch variety of caſes ſo "exactly reported; when I ſaw the judgments given, according to the temerity of every blundering "and corrupt perſon, who preſided over the laws, and "ought by the laws to have been a good man, and not "according to equity, but by favour and affection; and "the decrees which were made with ſo much conſideration, ſtrained and weakened." He did much better in forſaking the bar, than he would have done in imitating ſome other Advocates, who having loſt ſeveral good cauſes, reſolved to undertake the worſt. I read the other day, that *one of the moſt famous Advocates of this age, whom his brethren asked why he took bad cauſes in hand, anſwered them laughing, that it was becauſe he had loſt many good ones. It is a ſorry excuſe*, continues the author: *an Advocate, who, after having examined a cauſe, finds it not juſtifiable, ought to give it up* (7). I have found another place in the *work of Alexander ab Alexandro*, that ſhews the uprightneſs of his heart (8). One of his friends, ſeeing that he did not puſh his fortune, adviſed him to make uſe of expedients, which had ſucceeded ſo well with ſuch and ſuch as he named; they were all perſons, who had been raiſed by favour, to honours and prelacies, notwithſtanding the merit of their opponents, and who had obtained thoſe favours by unlawful means. Our author was no ſtranger to theſe examples, and he knew ſome ſtill worſe. He had ſeen, in his youth, a very honeſt man, learned both in Latin and Greek, who having done nothing but ſtruggled with an extreme poverty whilſt he truſted to his virtue and learning, took a reſolution of trying another way: he fell into a ſhameful employment, not fit to be named; and ſoon after grew rich and powerful, and obtained good benefices. *Eo veſaniæ proceſſit, ut coactus inopiâ obſcœnis & libero homine indignis artibus vacaret, (quibus verò artibus non libet dicere: ita fœdæ & pudendæ ſunt,) confectaque fuit ſibi res ex ſententia, namque haud multo poſt & ſacerdotio & opibus auctus, affluens & beatus tranquilliſſimè vitam egit* (9). But theſe examples could not ſhake our Advocate: he choſe rather to be contented with his mediocrity, than to risk his conſcience. *Longè igitur multumque præſtat, ſatiuſque fuit uti ingenio meo, vacuumque his moleſtiis modico civilique cultu contentum eſſe, neque in ambitionem non neceſſariam incurrere, quam bona animi, ſi qua ſibi homo ſtudio & labore paravit, ea turpi quæſtu peſſimo exemplo fœdare* (10). i. e. "It was "a great deal better to follow my own inclination, "and being free from theſe troubles to live con"tented with a moderate fortune, and not run into an "unneceſſary ambition, than to defile, with ſordid "gain, the goods of the mind, if a man has obtain"ed any by ſtudy and labour." The advice which was given him, is very like this:

(6) Id. ibid. l. 6. cap. 7.

(7) *Journal des Savans* 1690, p. 301 of the Dutch edition.

(8) Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. Dier.* lib. 6. cap. 16.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris & carcere dignum,
Si vis eſſe aliquis. Probitas laudatur & alget (11).

(11) Juven. Sat. 1. ver. 73.

"Would'ſt

hardly one who mentions him [*D*]. We ſhould know very little of his life, if he had not related himſelf ſome particulars of it in his work (*c*). We read that he lodged at Rome in a houſe which was haunted (*d*). So that here we have a witneſs to quote to our unbelievers; a witneſs, I ſay, who boaſts of having ſeen, and who relates ſurpriſing particulars of the ghoſt that haunted this houſe; he ſays alſo, that when he was very young, he went to the Lectures of Philelphus, who explained at Rome the Tuſculan queſtions of Cicero (*e*). We may gather from the 21ſt chapter of the 4th book that he was at Rome when Nicholas Perot and Domitius Calderinus read their publick Lectures upon Martial [*E*]. I do not remember that he ever mentions the office of Protonotary of the kingdom of Naples, which ſome pretend he exerciſed with great reputation (*f*). I do not know when he died, but I know that they buried him in the Monaſtery of the Olivets (*g*). Every body has blamed him for the affectation he has ſhewed in not quoting the Authors who furniſhed him with what he wrote (*h*). Tiraqueau has remedied this defect by a learned Commentary which was printed at Lyons in 1587 (*i*). It was reprinted at Leyden in two volumes 8vo in 1673, with the notes of Denis Godfrey, Chriſtopher Colerus, and Nicholas Mercerus, upon the ſame text. I learn from Geſner's *Bibliotheca* that the edition which was printed at Paris of this work of Alexander ab Alexandro in 1532, was more correct than the others, and that Gerrard Morrhius of Campen who corrected it had collated the places, which the Author had taken from others, with the original. He muſt then have collated a great many things; for the ſix books of *The Genial Days* are hardly any thing but patched-work. It is a mixture of a multitude of collections concerning the hiſtory and cuſtoms of the ancient Greeks and Romans: There are alſo many grammatical queſtions in it: exactneſs is not there in its perfection [*F*]. I believe the French tranſlation which Bernard de la Roch made of it (*k*), has never yet been printed. The Author of the *Bibliotheca Neapolitana* has by no means ſucceeded in the article of our Alexander [*G*]; but the additions of Leonard Nicodemus are very curious upon this ſubject [*H*].

(*c*) Intitled, *Genialium Dierum*, lib. 6.
(*d*) Alex. ab Alex. *Dier. Gen.* lib. 5. cap. 23.
(*e*) *Eum ego adoleſcentulus ſenem inter cæteros coævos meos colui & obſervavi.* ib. lib. 1. c. 23.
(*f*) Panzir. *de claris Leg. Interp.* lib. 2. cap. 122.
(*g*) Leand. Albert. *De Script. Ital.* p. 277.
(*b*) Barclaius, *de Regno*, lib. 6. cap. 5. Cypræus, *de Sponſal.* cap. 13. num. 61; Voſſius *de Hiſt. Lat.* p. 609. Meibomius, *de vitâ Mæcenatis*, pag. 138.
(*i*) Under the title of *Semeſtria in Genialium Dierum Alexandri ab Alexandro* lib. 6. It is a folio. It was reprinted at Francfort in 1594, in folio.
(*k*) La Croix du Maine, p. 476.

Alciat

"Would'ſt thou to honours and preferments climb,
"Be bold in miſchief, dare ſome mighty crime,
"Which dungeons, death, or baniſhment deſerves:
"For Virtue is but dryly prais'd and ſtarves.
Dryden.

He dedicated his book to the Duke of Atri. This Duke was very learned, as we ſhall ſee under AQUAVIVA.

[*D*] *There is hardly any author of his time that makes mention of him.*] However, if we may believe Moreri, all the great men of that age, as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Domitius Calderinus, Pontanus, &c. *were his friends and admirers.* All that we can gather from his own book, is that he heard in his youth the Lectures that Philelphus, who was then old, read at Rome (12); and that he was ſometimes with ſeveral learned men at the table of Jovianus Pontanus (13), Hermolaus Barbarus (14), Sannazarius (15), Gabriel Altilius (16), &c. It requires a more ſolid foundation than this to affirm that ſome perſons admire others. See the following note.

(12) Alex. ab Alex. l. 1. c. 23.
(13) Id. ib. l. 1. c. 1. *See alſo* lib. 3. c. 8.
(14) Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1.
(15) Ib. l. 2. c. 1.
(16) Ib. lib. 5. cap. 1.

[*E*] *He was at Rome, when Nicholas Perot and Domitius Calderinus read public Lectures there upon Martial.*] This is all we can gather of what he reports concerning Nicholas Perot and Domitius Calderinus; for as to the great familiarity, that Panzirolus pretends he had with them (17), we muſt look for it elſewhere: and I cannot tell whether it is poſſible to find proofs of it. I queſtion if Panzirolus did not ſay it at random and upon his memory, without being aware that the memory is a mould wherein objects change their form very eaſily.

(17) *Admodum familiaris fuit.* Panzirol. *de Claris Leg. Interp.* lib. 2. cap. 122.

[*F*] *The exactneſs of his work is not in its perfection.*] I had rather ſay it on the teſtimony of one of his Commentators, than on my own word. Here follows what Nicholas Mercerus ſays: *Eſt profectò, mi Linoceri* (18), *verum quod aiunt. Fuit Alexander vir eruditus & multæ lectionis: multa ad utilitatem publicam ſcripſit eleganter, multa tamen, ut hominum eſt infirmitas, minus accuratè vel memoriæ vitio, vel imprudentia lapſus. Quæ lectoribus indicari magni interfuit.* i. e. "What they ſay, dear Linocer, is "true; Alexander was a learned man and of much "reading: he wrote many things elegantly for the "public good, but at the ſame time in many things, "as human nature is weak, he failed in accuracy, "either thro' the fault of his memory, or inadvertently, which it was neceſſary to apprize the reader of."

(18) This is he to whom he dedicated his notes.

I am not the only one, that finds fault with thoſe who give us *Variorum* editions, for retrenching the dedicatory Epiſtles and Prefaces (19). They ought all to do as is done in the laſt edition of Diogenes Laërtius (20). If this had been done in that of Alexander ab Alexandro, I could have given a better account of this author and his book.

(19) See Crenius, in the 1ſt chapter of the 1ſt Part of the *Animadverſiones Philologicæ*, and the note [*R*] of the article MAROT, at the end.
(20) That of Amſterdam in 1672. There are in it moſt of the Prefaces, &c. of the foregoing edition.

[*G*] *The author of the* Bibliotheca Neapolitana *has not ſucceeded in the article of our Alexander.*] He has contented himſelf with referring his readers to three or four other books (21); and did not know that Alexander Juriſconſultus Neapolitanus, author of the four Diſſertations of which he gives the title (22), is the ſame with Alexander ab Alexandro: ſo that he ſpeaks twice of the ſame man, without knowing that he is but one author. This is the title of the four Diſſertations: *Alexandri, Juriſconſulti Neapolitani, Diſſertationes quatuor de Rebus admirandis, quæ in Italia nuper contigere: id eſt, de ſomniis, quæ à viris ſpectatæ fidei prodita ſunt, inibique de laudibus Juniani Maii ſomniorum conjectoris: de umbrarum figuris & falſis imaginibus: de illuſionibus malorum Dæmonum, qui diverſis imaginibus homines deluſere: de quibuſdam ædibus, quæ Romæ infames ſunt, ob frequentiſſimas lemures, & terrificas imagines, quas author ipſe ſingulis ferè noctibus in urbe expertus eſt: Romæ in 4to, abſque anno, nec apud quem.* i. e. "Four Diſſertations on the wonderful things that have lately happened in Italy, viz. the dreams which have been related by credible perſons, and therein of the praiſes of Junianus Maius the Expounder of dreams: of the forms of ghoſts and of falſe apparitions: of the illuſions of evil Dæmons, that have deluded mankind with various apparitions: of ſome houſes at Rome, that are remarkable on account of frequent ghoſts, and terrible ſpectres, which the author himſelf has been witneſs of almoſt every night: printed at Rome in 4to, without any date or Printer's name." We ſhall ſee in the following note, that they are pieces which have been incorporated with the *Dies Geniales*.

(21) Nicolo Toppi, *Bib. Napolet.* pag. 6.
(22) Ib. p. 7.

[*H*] *The additions of Leonard Nicodemus are very curious on this ſubject.*] It is proved there that Alexander ab Alexandro is the author of the four Diſſertations, becauſe the greateſt part of the things they contain are to be read in the *Dies Geniales*: for example, what concerns the praiſes of Junianus Maius, and the preſages of dreams (23), is in the 11th chapter of the 1ſt book, where this Junianus is

(23) Its title is, *Miracula de Somniis apud nonnullos cognita & comperta, & quæ ipſe expertus fui.* i. e. "Miraculous dreams known and diſcovered by "my ſelf and "ſome others.

Alciat was of opinion that Alexander ab Alexandro was alive in 1521. I ſhall give his words, becauſe they contain the judgment that he made upon this writer [*I*].

is repreſented as a man, that had a croud of dreamers every day at his houſe, to whom he explained their dreams; and that after a very intelligible manner, that cauſed ſeveral to eſcape death, or great troubles. Read the 23d chapter of the 5th book (24), where you will find what regards the ſpectres and hobgoblins that tormented the author's own houſe. We have in Nicodemus's Additions the title of an edition in folio of the *Dies Geniales*, which I ſhould take for the firſt, if a paſſage of Alciat (25) did not hinder me. This is the title: *Alexandri ab Alexandro Dies Geniales. Ne quis opus excudat denuo infra ſeptennium, ſub diris imprecationibus Apoſtolica autoritate interdictum eſt.* At the end is, *Romæ, in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, Rom. Academiæ Bipliopolæ. Anno Virginei partûs* 1522. *Kalend. April. Pontif. S. D. N. de cujus nomine pontificali adhuc non conſtat, anno primo.* Nicodemus relates a fragment of a letter of Jerom Niger (26), which is not very obliging, either to the Neapolitans in general, or our Alexander in particular. *Quel libro d'Aleſſandro de gli Aleſſandri è intitolato* Dies Geniales, *a ſimilitudine delle Notti Attiche d'Aulo Gellio, e dè Saturnali di Macrobio, coſe cavate di quà e di là. Ed in vero ha molto del Napoletano, con ſopportazion del Sannazaro parlando. Vendeſi ſei carlini, al parer mio troppo caro.* i. e. "Which book of Alexander ab Alexan- "dro is intitled *Dies Geniales*, in imitation of the "*Noctes Atticæ* of Aulus Gellius, and of the *Satur-* "*nalia* of Macrobius, compoſed of things pickt up "here and there. And in truth it has much of the "Neapolitan in it, to uſe Sannazarius's expreſſion. "If they are ſold for ſix Carlini*, in my opinion they "are too dear. I ſhall make an article of JUNIANUS MAIUS, the Artemidorus of his age.

(24) Leonar. Nicodem. has the 9th, which is wrong.

(25) I quote it in the note [*I*].

(26) This letter is dated from Rome, the 26th of June 1522.

* *Carlino* is a Neapolitan piece of money, whereof nine make four ſhillings ſterling.

[*I*] *I ſhall give Alciat's words, becauſe they contain the judgment that he made of Alexander ab Alexandro.*] I take them from a Letter, which was written from Milan the 6th of May 1521, and was printed in 1697 (27). *Alexandri Juriſconſulti Neapolitani librum, quem ad nos miſiſti, diligenter legi. Vir eſt doctus & diligens, & non parum ſtudioſos adjuvabit. Suſpicor tamen eum quandoque falli..... Si is aliqua tecum familiaritate junctus eſt, velim ab eo exquiras, ut Alpheni juriſconſulti vetuſtiſſima ſcripta, commentarioſque ſenatus conſultorum, quæ vidiſſe ſe, emiſiſſeque Romæ ait, commodato det. Eorum autem mentionem facit capite quarto & ſeptimo primi libri: ſuſpicor enim neſcio quid Parrhaſianum, quem ſcis eos authores plerumque adducere ſolitum, quos nunquam viderat.* i. e. "I have read diligently the book of "Alexander the Neapolitan Lawyer, which you "ſent me. He is a learned and diligent man, and "will be of no ſmall uſe to the ſtudious: I ſuſpect "however that he is ſometimes miſtaken.... If you "are acquainted with him, pray deſire him to lend "me Alphenus the Lawyer's moſt ancient writings, "and the Commentaries of the Senate's decrees, "which he ſays he has ſeen and put out at Rome. "He mentions them in the fourth and ſeventh chap- "ters of the firſt book; for I ſuſpect Parrhaſianus a "little, who you know is accuſtomed to quote au- "thors whom he has never ſeen.

(27) *Epiſt. Gu- dii, &c.* p. 91.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, King of Macedon. See MACEDON.
☞ALEXANDER VI, Pope. See BORGIA.
ALEXANDER VII, Pope. See CHIGI.
ALEXANDER VIII, Pope. See OTTOBONI.

☞ALEXANDER (NOEL or NATALIS), a Dominican Friar, and one of the moſt laborious writers of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Roan in Normandy the 19th of January 1639. His parents, who were more remarkable for their probity, than for the circumſtances of their fortune, obſerved in him even from his infancy ſuch a ſtrength of judgment and memory, and ſo ſerious a turn of mind, as induced them to give him a learned education. After he had compleated his firſt ſtudies at Roan, he entered himſelf into the order of Dominican Friars, and was profeſſed there on the 9th of May 1655 (*a*), when he was but ſixteen years of age. Soon after this he was ſent to Paris in order to go through a courſe of Philoſophy and Divinity there in the Great Convent, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo particularly, that when he had compleated theſe ſtudies, he was appointed to teach Philoſophy in the ſame Convent. His merit now became known abroad; for being obliged to preſide in public acts and diſputations, he raiſed himſelf a reputation, which grew every day more illuſtrious. His employment in teaching Philoſophy and Divinity for twelve years together, did not ſo abſolutely engage his attention, as to make him neglect that of preaching, which is the chief deſign of the order he profeſſed. Several ſermons which he preached procured him no inconſiderable character; they were ſolid and extremely well compoſed; but as he had not that eaſe and volubility of ſpeaking which is expected in a Preacher, he ſoon diſcontinued his exerciſe of that function. His ſuperiors were of opinion, that it would be more proper for him to apply himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the Scriptures and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He fixed upon this employment, and was created Doctor of Sorbonne the 21ſt of February 1675, and the year following was choſen one of the Conventuals of St. James. Mr. Colbert gave him a conſiderable ſhare of his eſteem; and as that great Miniſter omitted nothing to compleat the education of the Abbé Colbert his ſon, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Roan, he formed an aſſembly of perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed learning, whoſe conferences upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory might be of advantage to him. Father Alexander was invited to this aſſembly, and exerted himſelf ſo eminently in it, that he gained the particular friendſhip of that Prelate, who ſhewed him the utmoſt regard as long he lived. Theſe conferences give occaſion to our Author's deſign of writing an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. For being deſired to reduce them to writing, he performed it with ſo much accuracy, that the learned men, who compoſed that aſſembly, adviſed him to undertake a compleat body of Church Hiſtory. This he executed without any aſſiſtant or amanuenſis; he collected the materials and digeſted them himſelf, and wrote even the tables with his own hand. His firſt work was that in which he endeavours to

(*a*) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 3. edit. *de Paris* 1727, p. 339.

prove againſt Mr. de Launoi, that St. Thomas Aquinas is the real Author of the *Sum* aſcribed to him, and attacked ſeveral of that Divine's maxims concerning uſury. This was printed at Paris 1675 in 8vo. The year following he publiſhed in Latin the firſt volume of a large work upon the principal points of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [*A*]. It is intitled, *Selecta Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Capita, & in loca ejuſdem inſignia diſſertationes Hiſtoricæ, Chronologicæ, Dogmaticæ.* This work contains twenty ſix volumes in 8vo, the

[*A*] *The principal points of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*] The firſt volume of this work contains the Hiſtory of the firſt age of the Church, and gives an account of the perſecutions, which it ſuffered, the ſucceſſion of Popes, the hereſies which aroſe, the Councils which condemn'd them, the writers in favour of Chriſtianity, and the Kings, and Emperors, who reigned during the firſt Century. To this are ſubjoined Diſſertations upon ſuch points as have been the occaſion of diſpute in Hiſtory, Chronology, Criticiſm, or Doctrine. The author writes in an eaſy ſtyle; the paſſages are quoted at length, and the objections propoſed and reſolved by arguments and diſtinctions after the ſcholaſtic manner. And he has obſerved the ſame method in all the reſt of his work. There are twenty eight Diſſertations in the firſt volume. Some of them are hiſtorical, upon the Birth, Baptiſm, Life, and Death of our Saviour. He aſſerts that St. Paul planted the firſt Church in Spain, and proves that St. James was never in that country. But he maintains the arrival of Mary Magdalen, and Martha, and Lazarus in Provence, and the miſſion of St. Dionyſius the Areopagite in France, either becauſe he had not yet diveſted himſelf of thoſe popular opinions, as Mr. Dupin obſerves (1), or becauſe he did not think proper to declare himſelf. In his critical Diſſertations he rejects the Liturgies of St. Peter, St. James, St. Matthew, and St. Mark, and the falſe Decretals of the Popes, and ſeveral ſpurious writings, and even the Sibylline Oracles, which we have at preſent, but not thoſe quoted by the Fathers, which he ſuppoſes to have been different from ours. The laſt ſix Diſſertations are a collection of what the Fathers wrote againſt the errors of Simon Magus, Saturninus, Baſilides, Cerinthus, Ebion, and the Nicolaitans. The Hiſtory of the ſecond Century was publiſhed the ſame year 1677, in two volumes. He has employed three Diſſertations in confuting what Mr. Daillé has written with regard to faſting, lent, confirmation, and the uſe of the Fathers. He examines in another Diſſertation what relates to the famous queſtion concerning the time of celebrating Eaſter, which began in this Century. He affirms that Montanus and the pure Montaniſts never advanced any thing contrary to the orthodox notion of the Trinity. He defends the doctrine of Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, and Clemens Alexandrinus. He owns that Tertullian was a Montaniſt. He treats of the verſion of the Septuagint, and approves of the opinion of thoſe, who affirm, that tho' theſe interpreters were confined to different cells, yet their ſeveral verſions agreed in all reſpects. The third Century was not publiſhed till 1678. We find there a defence of Pope Zephirin againſt thoſe, who have accuſed him of favouring the Montaniſts. The author treats very largely of public penance, and is of the ſame opinion with Father Morin, that it was uſed even for private faults in the firſt ſix ages of the Church, and never diſcontinued till the ſeventh Century. He likewiſe anſwers the authorities, which Mr. Petit had alledged to prove the contrary in a Diſſertation, which he had ſubjoined to his edition of the *Penitential* of Theodorus. He examines into the origin and progreſs of the famous diſpute between Pope Stephen and St. Cyprian concerning the rebaptizing of thoſe, who had been baptized by heretics. He ſhews that St. Cyprian and the Biſhops of Africa never conſidered this queſtion as a point of faith, and affirms, that Pope Stephen never pretended to authorize the validity of the Baptiſm of Heretics, when it was adminiſtred in a different form from that preſcribed in the Goſpel. He has collected in three Diſſertations what relates to the life, manners, ordination, fall, errors, and Defenders of St. Cyprian. The Hiſtory of the fourth age is ſo very extenſive, that it is no wonder that our author could find matter ſufficient to compile three volumes, and ſubjects for five and forty Diſſertations printed at Paris in 1679 (2). In the three following years he publiſhed his Hiſtory of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Centuries, and that of the 11th and 12th Centuries in 1683. In theſe volumes are ſeveral Diſſertations againſt Mr. Daillé. He treats in ſome of them of thoſe queſtions, which relate to the diſputes between the Princes and the Popes, and he rejects the opinion of Cardinal Baronius and Bellarmin in thoſe points, and adheres to the ſentiments of the Divines of France. This expoſed him to the reſentments of the Court of Rome, which iſſued out a Decree againſt his writings in 1684. However he publiſhed the ſame year in three volumes the Hiſtory of the 13th and 14th Centuries, in which he continued to defend the rights of Kings againſt the pretenſions of that Court; but he declares himſelf very ſtrongly in favour of thoſe Princes, who employed fire and ſword againſt the Albigenſes. Our author at laſt compleated this work in 1686 by publiſhing four volumes, which contain the Hiſtory of the 15th and 16th Centuries. He appears in theſe volumes equally averſe to the pretenſions of the Court of Rome, and attached to the maxims of France, as in the former. He obſerves, that Pope Julius II paſſed the limits of his authority, when he put the city of Lyons under an interdict on account of the Council of Piſa, and endeavoured to remove the fair, which was kept in the city of Geneva. He pretends, that this Pope never made any Decree for diveſting John d'Albret of the kingdom of Navarre; and tho' he had done it, yet that would not be a juſt title for the Kings of Spain to claim it. He ſhews likewiſe, that no advantage can be drawn in favour of the Pope's power over the temporalities of Kings from the conduct of Paul III againſt Henry VIII of England, that of Pius IV againſt Joan of Navarre, that of Pius V againſt Queen Elizabeth, and that of Sixtus V againſt Henry * then King of Navarre; nor from the Monitory of the ſame Pope againſt Henry III of France, nor the Acts of Gregory XIV againſt Henry the Great. He mentions the Edict, which the Emperor Sigiſmond gave in the general Diet at Ulme in 1534, by which he declared, that the Church, even when it is aſſembled in a general Council, has no right of judging cauſes relating to Fiefs. He applies this to the queſtion concerning the Regale, and defends Lewis XI againſt Gobelin, who accuſes that King of having incroached upon the juriſdiction of the Church. He gives likewiſe an account of the doctrines of the Huſſites, Lutherans, Calviniſts and Socinians. The ſubject of his moſt conſiderable Diſſertations is the ſchiſm of the Popes, which gave occaſion to the Councils of Piſa and Conſtance, with the Hiſtory of theſe Councils and thoſe of Baſil, Florence, the Lateran, and Trent, and an account of the pragmatic Sanction and Concordat. He pretends that during the ſchiſm of the Popes, thoſe, who obeyed one or other of the parties, were not ſchiſmatics any more than the Popes of the two Sees. He commends the zeal and endeavours of the Gallican Church, and eſpecially of the Sorbonne, for the extinction of the ſchiſm. He proves that the Councils of Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, were general. He treats of the authority and ſenſe of the 4th and 5th ſeſſions of the Council of Conſtance concerning the authority of general Councils; and adhering in that point to the ancient doctrine of the Gallican Church and that of the Sorbonne, as Mr. Dupin obſerves (3), he refutes what had been advanced upon that ſubject, not only by Bellarmin and his followers, but likewiſe by the anonymous author of the book intitled *De Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, printed at Liege in 1624. He maintains the independence of the power of Kings with regard to the temporalities of their kingdoms; and he explains the opinion of the Council of Conſtance upon that point, and anſwers a book, which a Licentiate of Lovain, whoſe name was Enghien, and

(1) *Bibl. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 19. p. 194. edit. Amſterd 1715.

(2) Dupin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 95.

* He is the ſame with Henry the Great mentioned hereafter.

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 97.

the four laſt of which were not publiſhed till 1686. There have been ſeveral editions of it (*b*). In 1689 he publiſhed a work of the ſame kind upon the Old Teſtament [*B*], in ſix volumes in 8vo. While he was engaged in theſe works, there was a Critique upon

(*b*) The P. 345.

and who was a Monk of his own Order, wrote againſt him, intitled *De Auctoritate Sedis Apoſtolicæ in Reges*, i. e. "Of the Authority of the Apoſtolical "See over Kings." The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent takes up a great part of the laſt volume. He endeavours to prove it to have been an œcumenical or general Council, and to anſwer the objections of Father Paul and Du Moulin.

[*B*] *Upon the Old Teſtament.*] This work extends from the Creation of the world to the Birth of Chriſt. He divided this period of time into ſix ages; the two firſt of which he treats of in the firſt volume. The firſt age extends from the creation to the deluge. Father Alexander gives the Hiſtory according to three different ſchemes, that of Moſes, Joſephus, and the Heathen Writers; but the firſt is the only true one, the other two having been mixed with the ridiculous imaginations of the Jewiſh Doctors, or the groſs errors of the Pagan Theology. To this he has ſubjoined ten Diſſertations. In the third Diſſertation he confutes the ſyſtem of Peyrere, who affirmed that there were men and women before Adam: in the fourth he vindicates the polygamy of the Patriarchs: in the fifth he ſhews in oppoſition to ſome Rabbins, that Enoch's tranſlation is not to be underſtood of death; and he mentions the book aſcribed to that Patriarch. In the 8th he prefers the Chronology of the Hebrew text to that of the Septuagint, and defends it againſt the author of the book entitled, *The Antiquity of Times reſtored.* He ſhews in the laſt Diſſertation, that according to the dimenſions which Moſes has given to the Ark, it was capable of containing all the ſeveral ſpecies of animals, with the food neceſſary to ſupport them during the flood. The ſecond Age extends from the flood to the calling of Abraham. The author gives the Hiſtory of it in the ſame method as in the former, and ſubjoins ſix Diſſertations. But he has not obſerved exactly the ſame method in the ſecond volume as in the firſt. He gives in the firſt chapter the Hiſtory of the 430 years, which followed the calling of Abraham to the Iſraelites departure from Egypt, as it is repreſented in the Scriptures; and he endeavours to reconcile Moſes's account with what St. Stephen ſays in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* concerning Abraham's ſepulchre. In the ſecond chapter he repreſents the changes and alterations, which the Jews and Heathens made in the Hiſtory of that Age. He ſhews the error of Juſtin the Hiſtorian, who ſays that Abraham reigned in Damaſcus. The account, which the Jewiſh Doctors give of his ſacrificing Iſaac is full of prodigious fables. They tell us, that while Abraham was leading his ſon to offer him up, the Devil ſtood by Iſaac's ſide, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from ſubmitting to death; but that Iſaac in order to expiate the crime, which he had committed, of diſobedience to his parents, reſigned himſelf to that puniſhment, and that his ſubmiſſion in ſuffering his father to bind him, was conſidered as very meritorious in him before God. They add, that when Sarah heard, that Abraham had carried away her ſon in order to ſacrifice him, ſhe expired with grief. They imagine likewiſe, that the ram, which was offered in the room of Iſaac, was as old as the world, and was created the evening of the ſixth day. The Pagans, ſays our author, ſeem to have had ſome knowledge of this ſacrifice, and to have copied it in their ſtories of Iphigenia, Helena, and Valeria Luperca. The Mahometans have alſo mentioned Abraham in their manner, and pretend that he was born in a miraculous way, and profeſſed their Religion, and diſputed with Nimrod concerning the Unity of God, and the reſurrection of the body; and at laſt he left his own country and ſettled at Mecca, where he laid the foundations of a temple. The ignorance of the Heathens with regard to the father and mother of Melchiſedeck, occaſioned them to affirm, that he was the ſon of Heracloes and Aſtarte, that is, of the Sun and the Earth, of whom all mankind are in ſome meaſure the offſpring. They had likewiſe heard ſome account of the burning of Sodom, and the change of Lot's wife into a pillar of ſalt, which ſeems to have given riſe to the fable of Niobe. In the third chapter he treated of the origin of thoſe kingdoms, which were raiſed during the third Age of the world. He enlarges much more upon that of Egypt, than thoſe of Greece. He gives an ample account of the Studies, Religion, and Government of the Egyptians. They applied themſelves particularly to Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy, and Phyſic. Their Religion was full of exceſſive ſuperſtitions, which prevented their form of government from being very exact and rational, and render'd the adminiſtration of juſtice among them not ſo equitable as it ſhould be. Their Judges uſed to wear an image of truth in a diamond, which hung upon their necks by a gold chain. In treating of the Theology of the Egyptians, he rejects the opinion of a learned man, who affirms, that Moſes was rank'd by thoſe people among the Gods, under the name of Oſiris and Apis; and he thinks there is no foundation for ſuppoſing with other writers that Apis and Serapis were the ſymbols, under which the Egyptians honoured Joſeph as a God. Theſe three chapters are followed by ſixteen Diſſertations upon ſeveral queſtions relating to the ſacred Hiſtory of that time. He endeavours to confute the opinion of thoſe who follow Herodotus, and aſcribe the origin of Circumciſion to the Egyptians; and he affirms, that we are not to aſcribe to the cuſtoms of the Canaanites Abraham's reſolution to ſacrifice his ſon, or the law, which obliged a man to marry his brother's widow, when he died without children. He likewiſe refutes Rabbi Maimonides and Sir John Marſham, upon the ſubject of fornication, which he ſhews to have been always prohibited among the Jews. The following volumes upon the Old Teſtament were publiſhed in 1689. The 3d and 4th contain the Hiſtory of the *fourth* Age of the world, with ſeveral Diſſertations. This Age begins with the Jews departure from Egypt, and ends with the building of the temple. He gives firſt the Scripture Hiſtory of this Age, and then ſhews the alterations, which the Jews have made in it. Joſephus ſeems to doubt whether the paſſage thro' the Red Sea is to be aſcribed to the miraculous interpoſition of God, or to mere natural cauſes. Some of the Rabbins were of opinion, that the Jews did not croſs the ſea, but only juſt enter'd it, and then took a circuit about, and ſo gained the oppoſite ſide. Aben Ezra imagined, that the ſea open'd twelve different paſſages thro' it for the twelve tribes. Joſephus takes no notice of the Jews worſhipping the golden calf; and Philo extenuates the crime as much as poſſible, by transferring it from the people in general to a ſmall number of them. Rabbi Solomon aſcribes it to the Egyptian proſelytes alone; and Tanchuma accuſes only Jannes and Mambres. The Life of Joſhua, and the Hiſtory of the Judges and Kings, have received no leſs alterations from the Jews, than the Life of Moſes, as Father Alexander ſhews in many inſtances. The changes, which the Heathens have made in this Hiſtory, are ſtill more enormous. The departure of the Jews from Egypt is ſurprizingly diſguiſed in the accounts of Manetho, Appion, Symmachus, Juſtin, Tacitus, and other profane Hiſtorians. Some of them tell us, that the Jews were baniſhed by the King of Egypt on account of the leproſy. Appion writes, that after ſix days journey they found ſuch dreadful ulcers in their lower parts, that they were obliged to ſtop and reſt themſelves; and from thence came the day of reſt, and the inſtitution of the ſabbath. The Heathens have likewiſe applied what the ſacred writings ſpeak of Moſes to Mercury, Bacchus, Typhon, and their other Heroes. Our author has alſo given us the profane Hiſtory of this fourth Age: and particularly the Chronology and Hiſtory of the Kings, who reigned at thoſe times in Egypt, Phenicia, Aſſyria, Argos, and Crete. He fixes the time, when letters were firſt introduced into Greece; when the Iſthmian games were inſtituted; when the Amazons diſtinguiſhed

on the firſt volumes of his *Selecta Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Capita* undertaken, which was afterwards ſuppreſſed [C]. He met likewiſe with another difficulty from the Court of Rome, which publiſhed in 1684 a decree againſt his writings [D]. In 1678 he publiſhed

ſtinguiſhed themſelves by their prodigious exploits; when Troy was taken; and when Carthage was founded, which ſhews that Æneas and Dido never ſaw each other. He has given us likewiſe twenty ſix Diſſertations; in the third of which he endeavours to prove in oppoſition to Sir John Marſham and Dr. Spencer, that the Jewiſh ceremonies were not derived from the Heathens, and that the Urim and Thummin were not Teraphim. He treats at large in another Diſſertation upon the Government, Laws, Judgments and Magiſtrates of the Jews; and in others he examines who were the authors of the Pentateuch, the Pſalms, and other ſacred books, which were written in that Age, and he attempts in two others to adjuſt the points of Chronology, which relate to the books of Joſhua and Judges. The fifth volume contains the fifth age of the world, which begins with the building of the temple, and ends with the captivity of the Jews in Babylon. He endeavours to reconcile as far as poſſible the ſeeming contradictions in the Scriptures with regard to the years of the reigns of the Kings of Iſrael and Judah. He mentions the fictions of the Egyptians concerning the Queen of Sheba, who, as they affirm, had a ſon by Solomon, whoſe name at firſt was Nulich, and afterwards David, and who founded the kingdom of the Abyſſins. He likewiſe quotes another Fable concerning that Queen from Peter Comeſtor's Hiſtory, which is to this purpoſe; that this Queen having informed Solomon that there was a tree in a foreſt in Paleſtine, upon which a man was to be fixed, whoſe death would occaſion the deſtruction of the Jewiſh nation; Solomon, in order to avert this misfortune, ordered this tree to be buried very deep under ground, where it communicated to the water of the pool a ſecret virtue of healing diſeaſes; and that it is thought, our Saviour's Croſs was made of this tree. Solomon's letters to Vafres King of Egypt, and Suren King of Phenicia, with their anſwers, are ſpurious, as appears from the difference of the times, when Solomon and Vafres lived, ſince the latter was contemporary with Zedekiah. Father Alexander has given a ſhort account of the Hiſtory of the World, with the ſucceſſion of the Kings of Egypt, Aſſyria, Chaldea, and Tyre, and of the Archons of Athens, Corinth, Lacedemon and Argos. We are informed there of their wars, and eſpecially of thoſe, which ſome of theſe Princes had with the Jews, with the different ſucceſs of their arms, and the progreſs and decay of their ſtates. The origin of the Olympiads is diſcovered, with a diſtinction of the true Olympiads, the Epocha of which is the ſame with that of Iphitus, who inſtituted the Olympic games, from the Vulgar, the Epocha of which is taken only from the time when the Chronologiſts begun to reckon by Olympiads. The laws of Solon are explained in a very ample manner, with the motives, which induced him to compile them. As the Roman Empire eſtabliſhed itſelf upon the ruin of that of the Greeks, our author has only given an account of the riſe of the Romans, and the firſt attempts of their arms under five of their Kings, the laſt of whom was Tarquin the Elder, who reigned at the end of the fifth Age, when the Jews were carried into captivity. To this Hiſtory are ſubjoined eleven Diſſertations. In the firſt he endeavours to ſhew againſt a modern writer, that Solomon in building of the temple, did not imitate the Egyptians or other idolatrous Nations, but followed the expreſs command of God. St. Chryſoſtom in one of his Homilies does not ſcruple to ſay, that God permitted Solomon to take his model from the temple in Egypt, in order to accommodate himſelf in ſome meaſure to their weakneſs. But our author rejects this opinion. He examines in the ſecond the queſtion concerning Solomon's ſalvation; and in the third what the books are which he was the author of. He proves in the fifth Diſſertation that the golden calves were not either ſymbols of the true God, or monuments erected in honour of Joſeph's memory, but idols formed upon the model of thoſe in Egypt. In the ninth he reconciles the Books of Kings and Chronicles with the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St Luke with regard to the Genealogy of Chriſt. The tenth is employed in giving an account of the lives of the Prophets, eſtabliſhing their authority, and explaining the accompliſhment of their propheſies. The laſt volume is upon the ſixth Age of the world. It contains the Hiſtory of the ſeventy years of the Jewiſh captivity, and of what paſſed till the time of the Maccabees, and under the Maccabees and Herod till our Saviour's Birth. Our author has purſued the ſame method as in the former volumes, and added ten Diſſertations. The firſt is upon the Prophets, who wrote in this ſixth Age, and particularly upon Daniel, whom he proves to be the author of the book under his name, of which he pretends the *Hiſtory of Suſannah and of Bel and the Dragon* are genuine parts. In the ſecond he explains the prophecy of the ſeventy weeks of Daniel, and endeavours to ſhew its accompliſhment in the perſon of Chriſt. In the third he fixes the beginning and the end of the ſeventy years captivity. In the fourth he treats of three queſtions concerning Eſdras. 1. Whether he renewed the ſacred writings? 2. Whether he was the Author of the points in the Hebrew language? and 3. Whether the *Cabala* was invented by him? With regard to the firſt he is of opinion, that Eſdras did not compile the ſacred books anew, but only reviſed and corrected them. As for the ſecond queſtion, he ſuppoſes that the points are much later than him, and were invented by the Maſſorites. And with reſpect to the third, that Eſdras underſtood the *Cabala*, if we mean by it the myſtical ſenſe of the Scripture; but if we mean the Cabaliſtic art of the modern Jews, which conſiſts in changing and throwing together in their manner the different letters of the ſacred writings, it is ridiculous to aſcribe the invention of it to Eſdras. He treats in the other Diſſertations of the Authors of the books of Scripture which were written in the ſixth age, and of the verſion of the Septuagint. In the ninth he treats of the country of Herod, and aſſerts that he was an Idumean, and therefore might be conſidered as a ſtranger among the Jews. He ends with a criticiſm upon the paſſage in Joſephus concerning Chriſt, which he affirms to be genuine.

[C] *A Critique upon the firſt volume of his* Selecta Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Capita, *undertaken, which was afterwards ſuppreſſed.*] Several perſons had a deſign to make critical remarks upon this work, and to treat of the greateſt part of the ſame queſtions, but in a more conciſe manner, and with greater freedom, and without any ſcholaſtic terms, retrenching what ſeemed to them of leſs importance. A Doctor of Paris and a young Gentleman, who was then but a Batchelor of Divinity, but very converſant in the ancient Fathers and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the firſt ages, proceeded upon this ſcheme; and having finiſhed the three firſt Centuries, and begun the fourth, gave their copy into the hands of a perſon who begun to print it at Roan, with the approbation of the Doctors and the permiſſion of the Magiſtrates, under this title, *Animadverſions upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Father Noel Alexander.* This being known alarmed Father Alexander's Bookſeller much more than the Author himſelf. He applied to ſeveral perſons in power, in order to prevent this work from being publiſhed and continued. There was no refuſing them a thing which they had a right as it were to demand; and the Bookſeller took upon him the payment of the charges of the impreſſion. All the ſheets which were printed, and which made a moderate volume in 8vo, were deſtroyed in his preſence, and the work ſo effectually ſuppreſſed, that there remained only one or two imperfect copies, which were ſaved by ſome curious perſons from the ſheets which had been given to the Grocers (4).

(4) Dupin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 95.

[D] *A decree againſt his writings.*] Theſe books of his being publiſhed at a time when there were great conteſts between the Court of Rome and the King of France, concerning the *Regale* and the propoſitions

ed three Diſſertations, the firſt concerning the ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters againſt Blondell; the ſecond concerning the celibacy of the Clergy, and reconciling the hiſtory of Paphnutius with the Canon of the Council of Nice; and the third concerning the vulgate verſion of the Scriptures. The ſame year he printed a diſſertation concerning ſacramental confeſſion againſt Mr. Daillé in 8vo. In 1682 he wrote an apology for his Diſſertation upon the vulgate tranſlation abovementioned againſt father Claudius Fraſſen. He publiſhed likewiſe in 1680 three Diſſertations in defence of St. Thomas Aquinas, the firſt againſt Henſchenius and Papebroch, to ſhew that the *Office of the holy Sacrament* was written by him; the ſecond in the manner of a Dialogue between a Dominican and a Franciſcan, to confute the common opinion, that Alexander of Hales was St. Thomas Aquinas's maſter, and that the latter borrowed his *Secunda Secundæ* from the former; the third is a Panegyric upon Aquinas. In 1693 he publiſhed his *Theologia Dogmatica & Moralis ſecundum ordinem Catechiſmi Concilii Tridentini in quinque libros tributa.* i. e. "Poſitive and moral Divinity according to the "Order of the Catechiſm of the Council of Trent in five books," printed at Paris in ten volumes in 8vo, and at Venice in 1698. But the Author having added in 1701 another volume, they were printed together at Paris in two volumes in folio in 1703, with a collection of Latin Letters, which had been printed ſeparately. In 1703 he publiſhed a Commentary upon the four Goſpels [*E*] in folio, and in 1710 he publiſhed at Roan another upon St. Paul's and the ſeven Canonical Epiſtles. He wrote likewiſe a Commentary of the ſame kind upon the Prophets Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Baruch, which was never printed (*c*). We ſhall mention the reſt of his works in note [*F*]. In the year 1706 he was made Provincial for the Province of Paris. His whole life was ſpent in the moſt intenſe application to his ſtudies, ſo that he very ſeldom went out of his Convent upon any occaſion. Towards the latter part of his life, he was afflicted with the loſs of his ſight, a very diſtreſsful circumſtance to a man, whoſe whole delight was in ſtudy, yet he bore it with great calmneſs and reſignation. He died merely by a decay of nature the 21ſt of Auguſt 1724, in the eighty ſixth year of his age (*d*). His piety, humility, and diſintereſtedneſs rendered him the object of general eſteem. He

(*c*) Ibid. p. 351.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 343.

poſitions of the aſſembly of the French Clergy in 1682, it is no wonder that writings, which aſſerted ſo openly the rights of France, that they would undoubtedly have been put into the *Index Expurgatorius* at another time, ſhould be condemned by a decree of Pope Innocent XI dated the 13th of July 1684. No particular error is pointed at, but all the writings of Father Alexander in general are condemned with a prohibition againſt reading, keeping, or printing them, &c. under pain of excommunication *ipſo facto*, reſerved to the Pope. What is moſt extraordinary is, that the Court of Rome was not ſatisfied with condemning only thoſe volumes of his hiſtory, which might appear offenſive to it, and even all the ſixteen volumes intirely, from the firſt to the twelfth Century inclufively, but it likewiſe fulminated its cenſures expreſly againſt ſix other Diſſertations, and even that which he had written in favour of that Court againſt Mr. de Launoi's book concerning Simony (5). However we find that his Hiſtory was eſteemed at Rome, and the Cardinals Cibo, d'Eſtrees, Urſini, Noris, and ſeveral others wrote to him letters in very obliging terms, and full of the higheſt commendations. And this cenſure did not hinder his works from being extremely valued and read in Italy (6).

(5) Id. ib. p. 96.

(6) Id. ib. p. 97.

[*E*] *A Commentary upon the four Goſpels.*] Upon every chapter he gives the literal and the moral ſenſe ſeparately. His method is to compare theſe paſſages which have relation to each other, and to give from the Fathers the explication of thoſe paſſages. He pretends to advance nothing of his own. He follows the vulgate tranſlation, and never quotes any profane Authors, or even any Catholic writers, who have given a new ſenſe to any paſſages of Scripture. He dedicated this work to the Pope, and ſubmitted in his preface to the judgment of the holy See all the works which he had hitherto written.

[*F*] *We ſhall mention the reſt of his works in Note* [*F*.] *Statuta Facultatis Artium Thomiſticæ in Collegio Pariſienſi Fratrum prædicatorum inſtituta*, at Paris, 1683, in 12o. *Inſtitutio Concionatorum tripartita, ſeu præcepta & regulæ ad prædicatores informandos, cum ideis ſeu rudimentis concionum per totum annum.* This piece concerning rules for preaching was enlarged and corrected from the firſt edition in 1701, and publiſhed at Paris 1702 in 8vo. *Abregé de la Foy & de la Morale de l'Egliſe tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte*; i. e. "An Abridgment of the Faith and "Morality of the Church taken from the holy Scrip-"tures." Paris 1686, in 12mo, and 1688 in two volumes. *Eclairciſſement des pretendues difficultez propoſees a Monſeigneur l'Archevêque de Rouen ſur pluſieurs points importans de la Morale de Jeſus Chriſt*, 1697 in 12mo. Mr. Colbert Archbiſhop of Roan having recommended to his Clergy among other books, the *Theologia Dogmatica & Moralis* of Father Alexander, a Divine of his dioceſs propoſed ſome objections to him relating to that work, which obliged our Author to publiſh an explanation of his doctrine in the book abovementioned. He wrote likewiſe ſix Letters in anſwer to ſix others written by Father Daniel, in which he drew a parallel between the doctrine of the Jeſuits, and that of the Thomiſts concerning morality and grace. *A Letter to a Doctor of Sorbonne upon the diſpute concerning probability, and the errors in a theſis in Divinity maintained by the Jeſuits in their College at Lyons the 26th of Auguſt*, printed at Mons 1697, in 12mo. *A ſecond Letter upon the ſame Subject* 1697, in 12mo. *An Apology for the Dominican Miſſionaries in China, or an Anſwer to a book of Father Tellier the Jeſuit intitled, A Defence of the new Chriſtians, and to an Explanation publiſhed by Father Gobien of the ſame Society, concerning the Honours which the Chineſe pay to Confucius and to the Dead*, printed at Cologne 1699, in 12mo. With a Latin Tract intitled, *Documenta controverſiam Miſſionariorum Apoſtolicorum Imperii Sinici de cultu præſertim Confucii Philoſophi, & progenitorum defunctorum ſpectantia, ac Apologiam Dominicanorum Miſſionis Sinicæ Miniſtrorum adverſus R. R. P. P. le Tellier & le Gobien, Societatis Jeſu confirmantia.* i. e. "Inſtructions relating to the Contro-"verſy of the Apoſtolical Miſſionaries in the King-"dom of China, concerning the worſhip of Confu-"cius the Philoſopher and their dead anceſtors, and "confirming the Apology of the Dominican Miſſi-"onaries in China, againſt the books of Father le "Tellier, and Father le Gobien, of the Society of "Jeſus." This work was tranſlated into Italian, and printed in that language at Cologne in 12mo the ſame year. *The Conformity between the Chineſe Ceremonies and the Greek and Roman idolatry, in order to confirm the Apology of the Dominican Miſſionaries in China*, 1700, in 12mo. Tranſlated into Italian, and printed at Cologne in 8vo. He wrote likewiſe ſeven Letters to the Jeſuits Le Comte and Dez upon the ſame ſubject, which were tranſlated into Italian, and printed in that language at Cologne in 1700, in 8vo, with this Title, *Lettere intorno alle Idolatrie & Superſtizioni della Sina*; i. e. "Letters "concerning the Idolatry and Superſtitions of "China. T.

He was honoured with the friendſhip of the moſt learned Prelates of France. His opinion was always conſidered as of great weight upon the moſt important ſubjects, which were debated in the Sorbonne. He was likewiſe highly valued at Rome; the learned Cardinals Noris and Aguirre diſtinguiſhed him upon ſeveral occaſions. Pope Innocent XI ſhewed the regard which he had for his works, by a letter which Cardinal Cibo wrote to him in his name. There were likewiſe preſerved fourteen letters from Pope Benedict XIII, which he wrote when he was Cardinal; in one of which he tells him, that the earthquake, which happened at Benevento the 5th of June 1688, had demoliſhed his archiepiſcopal palace, and deſtroyed his Library; but that he had very fortunately recovered father Alexander's works, which were worth a whole Library to him (e).

(e) Ib. p. 343, 344.

ALEXIS, a Piedmonteſe. There is a book of *Secrets*, which for a long time has gone under the name of this Alexis. It was printed at Baſil in 8vo in the year 1563, tranſlated out of Italian into Latin by Wecher (a). It has alſo been tranſlated into French, and printed ſeveral times with additions. There is a preface to it, where Seigneur Alexis ſhewed the publick that he was born of a noble family, that from his childhood he applied himſelf to ſtudy; that he had learnt Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabick, and ſeveral other languages; that having had above all an extream paſſion to know the ſecrets of nature he had gathered as many of them as he could during his travels, which laſted fifty ſeven years; that he piqued himſelf upon not communicating his ſecrets to any body, but that when he was eighty two years and ſeven months old, having ſeen at Milan a poor ſick man die, whom he could have cured, if he had communicated his ſecret to the Surgeon who took care of him, he was touched with ſo great a remorſe of conſcience, that he became almoſt an Hermit; and it was in this ſolitude that he placed his ſecrets in ſuch an order as to make them fit to be publiſhed. The Hawkers carried them through the country fairs, with their other little books covered with blew. It is true they have only the ſelect remedies of Seigneur Alexis of Piedmont; the entire collection would be too big a volume for them.

(a) Mercklin. in *Lindenio renovato*, p. 23.

☞ALEXIIS (ALEXIUS DE) an eminent Phyſician in Italy in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Rome, and educated in polite Learning; after which he applied himſelf to Philoſophy and Phyſic, which latter art he ſtudied under Marſilius Gagnatus, an excellent Phyſician. Having finiſhed his ſtudies, he obtained a licence to practiſe Phyſick from the College of Phyſicians at Rome, which employment he proſecuted with great vigour. However he was diverted from it not long after by an accident, which gave an unaccountable turn to his mind. He had received a conſiderable injury from one of the Pope's guards, which he reſented ſo highly, that he threw off the habit and practice of a Phyſician, aſſumed a military dreſs, in which he went about the country, and committed a thouſand ſtrange frolicks [A]. Janus Nicius Erythræus (a) who relates this ſtory, has a remarkable obſervation upon it [B]. But at laſt he broke through this extravagant humour, and returned to his former employment, which he proſecuted with ſo much application, that he aton'd for the intermiſſion which the fire of his youth had occaſioned. He became ſo eminent in the art of Phyſic, that he had a great many ſcholars, who afterwards were celebrated in that faculty. He always carried them with him when he viſited the ſick, that they might learn from experience as well as from precept, and ſee the practice, which is infinitely more inſtructive than the theory alone. He lived in a very noble and ſplendid manner;

(a) *Pinacotheca* III. c. 60. pag. 767. edit. Lipſ. 1712.

[A] *Committed a thouſand ſtrange frolicks.*] He collected a company of young fellows of proſtitute characters, and became their Captain. He went with them from Rome, and ranged all the country round; and when he came to any town, he immediately called the people together, and made a ſpeech to them; being Maſter of a copious and flowing eloquence, and an exquiſite talent of wit and humour. By this means he ſo highly charmed the populace, in every place which he went to, that they crowded to hear him, and never left him, till he was tired of haranguing them. He uſed likewiſe to entertain them with acting of ſeveral low characters; which he performed ſo naturally, that he was eſteemed ſuperior to the beſt mimicks of that time. Beſides he was endowed with a prodigious memory; which was of great advantage to him in repreſenting the characters, which he thought proper to act; ſo that he could eaſily repeat any ſpeech which he had heard, with the utmoſt exactneſs, even to a word. Of this he afterwards gave a remarkable inſtance in the convent of the Capuchins, when he was Phyſician to them. A Father of that Order had preached that year at Rome, and was frequented by multitudes of people of every age and rank, who were charmed with his ridiculous manner of ſpeaking and his geſtures, which were copied from the theatre. Alexius had been preſent at one of the moſt remarkable of his ſermons, which he ſoon after repeated to the Fathers of that convent for the ſake of diverſion; and this he did to ſuch perfection, that he not only preſerved the order, method, and even the words of his diſcourſe, but likewiſe repreſented the very voice, and look, and action of the Preacher; ſo that every one was aſtoniſhed at his memory, and applauded his wit. *Conciones, eo anno Romæ ad populum habebat F. Cappuccinus quidam Aquilanus, magno hominum omnis ætatis atque ordinis concurſu; quem concurſum & dicendi ridiculum genus & geſtus ab ſcenâ & hiſtrionibus faciebat. Hujus cum inſignem quandam concionem auribus accepiſſet, paulo poſt, joci & hilaritatis causâ, eandem patribus illis habuit; in quâ referendâ non ſolum rerum ordinem ac numerum, iiſdem planè verbis, quibus ille, ſervavit, verum etiam ita Aquilanum ipſum oculis, voce, geſtu, imitando effinxit, atque ita expreſſit, ut memoriam admirarentur omnes, ingenium agnoſcerent* (1).

(1) J. N. Eryth. *ubi ſupra.*

[B] *A remarkable obſervation upon it.*] It ſeldom or never happens, ſays he, according to Petronius's remark, that diſtinguiſhed wits are exempt from ſome little mixture of folly. By folly I do not only mean ſuch expreſſions or actions, which are ridiculous on account of the extravagancies of them, but even real defects and vices. For the wiſe man, who is oppoſed to the fool, never recedes in the leaſt from the path of right reaſon; as thoſe do, who give up themſelves

ner; he was a perſon of great humanity, politeneſs and generoſity, of a gay, facetious temper, and agreeable converſation [C]. He was prodigiouſly converſant in the writings of Hippocrates, from whoſe method he never in the leaſt receded in his practice. He was always cautious of pronouncing upon the event of his patient's caſe, unleſs upon ſome very probable conjecture; though he ſeldom failed in the cure of thoſe whom he undertook. He died in the forty ſecond year of his age (b).

(b) Eryth. *ubi ſupra.*

themſelves to vicious purſuits. But where do we find a man of an excellent and lively genius, eſpecially if he be poſſeſſed with the poetical faculty, who does not generally involve himſelf in the moſt abandoned and irregular conduct? So that Ludovico Arioſto had the greateſt reaſon in one of his Satyrs, where he laments the miſerable condition of the age he lived in, to ſay, that virtue is very rarely found pure and not tainted with the mixture of ſome vice or other. And this complaint is equally true of almoſt every age as well as his. There is ſomething ſo ſevere in this reflection of Erythræus upon the men of wit, that we ſhall give his own words, to ſhew, that we have not the leaſt aggravated it. *Admodum raro, vel nunquam, ut Petronius ait, præclara ingenia ab aliqua ſtultitiæ admiſtione ſejuncta cernuntur; ſtultitiæ autem nomine, non ſolum hominum ineptias, eorumque omnia dicta vel facta, quæ ob deformitatem aliquam rideantur, intelligo, verum etiam vitia atque peccata complector. Nam ſapiens, qui opponitur ſtulto, nunquam à rectâ rationis viâ deflectit; quod faciunt ii, qui vitiis poſſidendos ſe tradunt. Quemnam enim præſtanti ingenio virum invenias, ex Poëtis præſertim, in quibus ingenii vis major elucet, qui turpiſſimis plerumque vitiis obligatus conſtrictuſque non detineatur? Ut non immerito Ludovicus Areoſtus in quadam Satyra, deplorans miſeram temporum ſuorum conditionem, dixerit, raro virtutem à vitiorum flagitiorumque ſocietate diſtractam inveniri. Verum hæc querela non magis ſuorum erat temporum, quam noſtrorum, atque ætatum fere omnium.* One of our Engliſh Poets has likewiſe a reflection upon the extravagance of conduct, which men of genius are ſometimes guilty of;

Great Wits to madneſs ſure are near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

[C] *Agreeable converſation.*] He was a man of extenſive knowledge, and maſter of all the topics of converſations; and this, added to the native ſprightlineſs and gaiety of his imagination, neceſſarily rendered him a perfectly pleaſing companion. The qualifications of good ſenſe and learning, without the more engaging ſallies of wit, however valuable they may be, do not appear to the ſame advantage, as when they meet together in the ſame perſon, and the latter give a luſtre to the former. But our Alexius was accompliſhed in both theſe reſpects; and Erythræus relates a ſtory of him to this purpoſe. A man of great quality and fortune and merit, had one evening invited to his houſe a company of both ſexes, who were perſons of the higheſt rank; Alexius who was preſent, was ſilent at firſt, out of regard perhaps to their ſuperior quality, and did not exert himſelf with his uſual freedom; but at laſt being urged to entertain the company, he did it with ſuch incomparable fluency and wit, and run thro' all the various ſallies of his boundleſs imagination, that he diffuſed the utmoſt mirth and gaiety over the whole aſſembly, and ſtruck every one with admiration of his agreeable talents. *Narrat vir quidam genere, opibus, divitiis, ac præſtantiâ dignitatis, longè multis excellens, nocte quadam, domum ſuam, multas mulieres nobiles, ac præſtantes dignitate viros, animi ſcilicet causâ, conveniſſe, adfuiſſe etiam Alexium, qui aliquandiu, credo, ob eorum, qui aderant, dignitatem, non erat auſus ſermones cum illis miſcere, neque ullam partem orationis perſequi ea libertate, qua ſolitus erat; ſed tandem provocatum illum vel potius coactum, ex tempore, eâ facundiâ, eâ venuſtate atque lepore, cœpiſſe dicere, ut omnium, qui audierant, admiratio conſequeretur, ac nobiliſſimus ille conventus redundaret hilaritate & joco.* T.

ALFENUS VARUS (PUBLIUS) a native of Cremona, firſt a ſhoemaker, and afterwards a diſciple of the celebrated Lawyer Servius Sulpicius (a), and at laſt Conſul, was a very ſkilful man in Law affairs [A]; his funeral was made at the expence of the publick. This is all that one of Horace's old Scholiaſts tells us of him, in his notes upon a paſſage which relates to our Alfenus [B], whoſe Conſulſhip ſome pretend fell on the 754th year of Rome (b). I would not ſwear to it. Alfenus had writ *forty Books of Digeſts*, of which mention was made in the Index of the *Pandect*, and ſome books of Collections, *Collectaneorum*. Aulus Gellius quotes both theſe works, and although he refutes what he quotes of them, he nevertheleſs aſcribes to the Author a genius for ſearching into antiquities [C]. Paulus the Lawyer has made an abridgment

(a) Acron calls him *Marcus*, but it muſt be *Servius*, according to William Grotius, *Vit. Juriſc.* p. 86. *See* Aulus Gellius, l. 6. cap. 5. and Pomponius in lib. 2. D. *de Orig. Juris.*

(b) See *Cruquius in Horat.* Sat. III. lib. 1.

[A] *He was a very ſkilful man in Law affairs.*] The following paſſage of Ammianus Marcellinus againſt the Lawyers of his time, *Hi ut altius videantur jura callere, Trebatium loquuntur, & Caſcellium, & Alfenum, & Auruncorum Sicanorumque jamdiu leges ignotas* (1), i. e. "Theſe, that they might appear to have a higher knowledge of the laws, ſpeak of Terbatius, and Caſcellius, and Alfenus, and the long forgotten laws of the Aurunci and Sicani," is ſufficient to convince us of the great authority the name of Alfenus had in law. Add to this the teſtimonies alledged by Bertrand in his firſt Book of Law (2).

(1) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 30. c. 4. p. 594.

(2) Pag. 56, 57, edit. Lugd. Bat. ann. 1675.

[B] *There is a paſſage in Horace relating to our Alfenus.*] The words of Horace are worth ſetting down;

Alfenus vafer, omni
Abjecto inſtrumento artis, clauſâque tabernâ,
Sutor erat: ſapiens operis ſic optimus omnis
Eſt opifex, ſic Rex ſolus (3).

(3) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 130.

"Shuffling Alfen, tho' he loſt his awl,
"And threw away his laſt, and ſhut his ſtall,
"And broke his threads, yet was a cobler ſtill.
"Thus ev'ry tradeſman, if he hath but skill,
"Is wiſe, and therefore only King. Creech.

[C] *Aulus Gellius who refutes it, ... praiſes him nevertheleſs for his careful inquiries into antiquity.*] This relates to the ſignification of theſe words, *Argentum purum putum*, which were in the treaty of peace concluded between the Roman and Carthaginian Republics. The Romans were to receive annually a certain tribute of ſilver *purum putum*, that is, of good alloy. Moreri imagines, that the proper name of this tribute was *purum putum*; which is a very pleaſant fancy. Aulus Gellius does not without reaſon contemn the ſenſe that Alfenus has given to theſe words (4); and if we were thence to form our judgment of the lights which this Lawyer has given the world, we might juſtly degrade him from the firſt rank. He thought that *purum putum* had been derived from *purus*, as *novicius* and *propicius* were from *novus* and *proprius*, to give the greater force to the ſignification of the primitive word. Aulus Gellius refutes this opinion ſolidly, and ſhews that *putum* ſignifies what has had all its ſuperfluities retrenched. He does not quote the ſame book with Moreri, namely the four and thirtieth of the *Digeſts*; nor that to which Bertrand refers, namely the thirtieth of the ſame *Digeſts*; but the thirty fourth. As to the other work that he quotes, it is entitled *Conjectaneorum*, in Henry

(4) Aulus Gellius, l. 6. c. 5.

ment of the books of Alfenus (*c*). If it were true, that amongſt the Counſellors of the Emperor Alexander Severus, there was an Alfenus [*D*], a diſciple of Papinianus, as ſome ſay relying upon a very intricate paſſage of Lampridius, he might have been of the poſterity of the other; although it muſt be confeſſed that there were ſome Alfeni different from the diſciple of Sulpitius. There is an ALFENUS of whom Cicero ſpeaks in his oration for Quinctius, and an ALFENUS VARUS, General under Vitellius, and *Præfectus Prætorio*, who did not ſhew the reſolution of a brave man, when his party was conquered by that of Veſpaſian (*d*). Donatus in the life of Virgil, ſpeaks of an ALFENUS [*E*], who, with ſome others, exempted this Poet's lands from the fate to which thoſe of the neighbours were expoſed, when after the defeat of Brutus they were aſſigned to the ſoldiers. Some very able men are of opinion that he who did this good office to Virgil, is the ſame Alfenus who had been a ſhoemaker; and the ſame Alfenus of whom Catullus ſpeaks (*e*). This is not without difficulty [*F*]. See our notes where Moreri is ſometimes corrected in his miſtakes.

(*c*) Guil. Grotii *Vitæ Juriſconſ.* p 86.

(*d*) Tacit. *Hiſtoriar.* lib. 2. cap. 29. and 42. lib. 3. cap. 36, 55, and 61; lib. 4. cap. 11.

(*e*) Dacier *ſur Horace*, Sat. 3. liv. 1.

Henry Stephen's edition; but I perceive that Bertrand and William Grotius have read *Collectaneorum*. This laſt title ſeems to agree better with the paſſages of the Pandects, where Servius is quoted upon the teſtimony of Alfenus: *Servius apud Alfenum notat, putat.* But it would be very wrong on this account to prefer the laſt title to that in Henry Stephens. Bertrand puts words in Aulus Gellius's mouth that he did not ſay, namely that the work intitled *Collectanea* comprehended four books. But the words of Aulus Gellius are: *In libro Digeſtorum trigeſimo & quarto, Conjectaneorum autem ſecundo, in fœdere, inquit, &c.* (5). I make no doubt but that, ſeeing Bertrand has ſaid that Aulus Gellius has quoted the thirtieth book of the *Digeſts*, he thought that the words *& quarto* belonged to the following word; and that, without minding what followed, he concluded that the fourth book of the *Collectanea* was quoted: from whence however he had no room to conclude that the work contained but four books, and that Aulus Gellius had ſaid ſo. Neither the critical remarks upon this work of Bertrand, inſerted in the Leyden edition, nor William Grotius have given us notice of theſe little miſtakes. I have put in the margin the good that Aulus Gellius has ſaid of Alfenus (6).

(5) Aulus Gellius, l. 6. c. 5.

(6) *Alfenus Juriſconſultus, Servii Sulpicii diſcipulus, rerumque antiquarum non incurioſus.* i. e. "Alfenus a Lawyer, diſciple of Servius Sulpicius, and not unacquainted with antiquities," Aulus Gell. l. 6. cap. 5.

[*D*] *It is not certain whether there was not an Alfenus among the Counſellors of the Emperor Alexander Severus.*] The paſſage of Lampridius, as it is printed, is ſo falſe in ſome reſpects, that one can conclude nothing from it for the exiſtence of an Alfenus under Alexander Severus. See Caſaubon upon this paſſage. But however, Moreri ought not to have quoted Horace to us, nor Aulus Gellius, for his Alfenius ſurnamed Junior, who *lived*, ſays he, *under the reign of the Emperor Alexander Severus*,

[*E*] *Donatus .... ſpeaks of an Alfenus.*] Moreri, making an article of him, in pag. 170, calls him *Alphenius Varus a Roman Knight*, and quotes *Donatus in vita Virgilii*; but Donatus does not advance him to that dignity; and, beſides, the beſt editions (7) have it *Alphenus*, *Varius*, as two perſons, and not Alphenius Varus, as one. However, it muſt be acknowledged that theſe verſes of the 9th Eclogue of Virgil, ver. 26.

(7) That of Hackius at Leyden, in 1680.

Immo hæc quæ Varo necdum perfecta canebat,
Vare tuum nomen (ſuperat modo Mantua nobis,
Mantua væ miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ)
Cantantes ſublime ferent ad ſidera cygni;

" Or what unfiniſh'd he to Varus read;
" Thy name O Varus (if the kinder pow'rs
" Preſerve our plains, and ſhield the mountain tow'rs,
" Obnoxious by Cremona's neighb'ring crime,)
" The wings of ſwans, and ſtronger pinion'd rhyme,
" Shall raiſe aloft, and ſoaring bear above
" Th' immortal gift of gratitude to Jove.
Dryden.

are applied by Servius the Grammarian to an Alfenus Varus, who was ſent by Auguſtus beyond the Po, to command there, after Pollio had loſt that government. The ſame Grammarian obſerves that there are ſome who have applied to the Lawyer Alfenus Varus, the ſucceſſor of Servius Sulpicius, theſe other verſes of Virgil;

Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna
Digna, ſed argutos inter ſtrepere anſer olores (8).

(8) Virgil. Eclog. 9. ver. 35.

" I nor to Cinna's ear, nor Varus dare aſpire;
" But gabble like a gooſe, amidſt the ſwan-like quire.

Their reaſon was, that Alfenus Varus the Lawyer had compoſed ſome verſes. Servius refutes them, by ſhewing that this elogy muſt be applied to the Poet Varius, whom Horace has ſo much extolled.

[*F*] *It is thought that the Alfenus of Virgil, ... Catullus, and the ſhoemaker are the ſame. This is not without difficulty.*] A man who applies himſelf to the Law with ſo much ardour, that he not only wipes off by his progreſs the ſhame of the mechanical trade that he had followed in his native country; but ſucceeds alſo the greateſt maſter of the Law that was at that time in the Roman Republic, is probably too grave, to enter into the ſtricteſt ties of debauchery with a Catullus, and ſuch other effeminate gallants. But the Alfenus, of whom Catullus ſpeaks, was one of this immodeſt band,

Alphene immemor, atque unanimis falſe ſodalibus (9);

(9) Catull. Epigram 31. Dacier upon Horace, Sat. 3. book 1. quotes the 27th Epigram of Catullus.

" O Alphenus, unmindful of your unanimous com-
" panions, and falſe to them.

He carried Catullus to his wench:

Varus me meus ad ſuos amores
Viſum duxerat, è foro otioſum,
Scortillum ut mihi tum repente viſum eſt
Non ſane illepidum nec invenuſtum (10).

(10) Catul. Epig. 10.

" As I was loitering in the market place
" My Varus met me, and conducted me
" To ſee his love, as ſoon as I beheld
" The little wench, no froward aukward thing.

It is not very probable therefore that he was the diſciple of Sulpitius. Muretus has been cenſured, for ſaying that the Varus, who carried Catullus to his miſtreſs, was Quintilius Varus; and this cenſure is founded upon there being at leaſt fifty ſeven years between the defeat of Varus's three legions, and the viſit mentioned by Catullus (11): Here follows my proof. There muſt have been between this viſit and the Conſulſhip of Alfenus (12) fifty years more or leſs; therefore it is not very probable, that if the ſhoemaker of Cremona was Conſul in the 754th year of Rome, he had ſo ſtrict an alliance in pleaſures and debauches with Catullus fifty years before; for a country ſhoemaker, who renounces his trade to go and ſtudy in the capital city, can be no young boy, when he is an intimate friend of people of conſequence. Add to this, that he who did ſo good an office to Virgil, commanded beyond the Po forty years before the Conſulſhip in queſtion (13). There is room then to queſtion whether Alfenus, who was Conſul in the 754th year of Rome, is the ſame with Virgil's benefactor; for it is a rare thing for a man to arrive at great dignities, when the uſual time of obtaining them has been long paſt. Such was the caſe at Rome with thoſe, who, after having governed a Province, ſpent forty years without obtaining the conſular dignity.

(11) Scalig. *in Catull.* Epig. 10.

(12) It is put in 754th year of Rome.

(13) Servius in Ecl. 9. ver. 29.

ALFONSUS. See the Kings of this name under that of their Kingdom.

☞ALFRED or ÆLFRED the Great, the glory of the Saxon Kings, was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of Æthelwolf King of the Weſt-Saxons by Oſburg daughter of the famous Earl Oſlac, whoſe anceſtors were made Governors of the Iſle of Wight by Cerdic, firſt King of the Weſt-Saxons (*a*). He was born in the year 849 at Wantage in Berkſhire. The ſweetneſs of Alfred's diſpoſition and the pregnancy of his wit even in his infancy endeared him highly to his parents, who educated him at court, contrary to the general cuſtom of the Saxons, who in imitation of the Gauls (*b*), never uſed to admit their children to their preſence, till they were able to bear arms. Æthelwolf, who by his natural diſpoſition and education had a great regard for religion, and was extremely devoted to the See of Rome, thought proper to ſend his ſon thither, when he was but about five years old, in order to receive the Pope's benediction (*c*), who, according to ſome writers, gave him the Royal Unction [*A*]. Soon after his return home, Æthelwolf reſolved upon a voyage to Rome in perſon, and took Alfred with him, who was not then above ſeven years old. They continued there the ſpace of a whole year, employed in exerciſes of devotion, according to the genius of that age (*d*). In their return through France Æthelwolf married Judith (*e*) the daughter of Charles the Bald, a young Princeſs of twelve years of age. This conduct of his occaſioned great diſcontent among his own Nobility, and was made a pretence for a conſpiracy, which was formed againſt him. Æthelbald his ſecond ſon, who became heir apparent of the crown upon the death of Æthelſtan his elder brother, obliged him to deliver up the Kingdom of Weſt-Saxony, and to content himſelf with that of Kent. He died about two years after, and left his Kingdom to his two eldeſt ſons, and his private inheritance among his children and near relations. Æthelbald, after a ſhort reign of five years and a half died a violent death, and left his part of the Kingdom to his next brother Æthelbert, who being poſſeſt of the other part from his father, the Weſt-Saxon Kingdom and that of Kent were united again. Having reigned about five years he died, and the Kingdom came to Æthelred, the fourth of Æthelwolf's ſons (*f*). With regard to Alfred, the greateſt part of his minority was ſpent in hunting and other diverſions of the field; which exerciſes were very cuſtomary to the Saxon Nobility; becauſe by ſuch a diſcipline the youth were trained up to fatigue and hardſhip, and rendered more reſolute and enterpriſing. Alfred having paſſed through this courſe of education, was thought qualified to make a campaign at eighteen years of age. His brother, King Æthelred, having a great opinion of his courage and conduct, perſuaded him to ſerve under him; and in order to encourage him propoſed, that all the country recovered from the enemy ſhould be equally ſhared between them. Theſe articles were accepted by Alfred, who made it his buſineſs to deſerve the reward, and ſerved the King with the utmoſt hazard and application. However theſe employments

(*a*) See the *Life of Ælfred the Great* by Sir John Spelman, publiſh'd by Thomas Hearne, M. A. Oxon. 1709, p. 16.

(*b*) Cæſar. *Comment. de Bello Gallic.* l. 6.

(*c*) Rapin, *Hiſtory of England*, l. 4. *See* Aſſerius Menevenſ. p. 7. edit. Oxon. 1722.

(*d*) Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 23.

(*e*) She is called *Leatheta* in the *Saxon Annals*.

(*f*) Spelman, p. 28.

[*A*] *In order to receive the Popes benediction, who, according to ſome writers, gave him the Royal Unction.*] Sir John Spelman (1) tells us, "that Leo IV, "then Pope, whether carried with the reverence "of the thing, (he underſtanding it an eſpecial miſ"ſion from God, which the extraordinary ſpirit "and genius of the child, promiſing a fortune be"yond the condition of a common perſon, did con"firm him in,) or whether moving upon advice, "that the favour ſued for (were it available to the "ſuit or not) did well enough conduce to his own "affairs, his authority receiving more in conferring "the honour, than the party himſelf in accepting "of it, in thoſe his tender years, in his father's life"time, and while three of his elder brothers were "yet living, anoints him for a King, crowns him, "ſtiles him his Adopted Son, and plentifully beſtows "his apoſtolic bleſſings on him." He then obſerves, that ſome writers have been of opinion, that this unction was not the ſame with the ceremony of anointing Kings at their coronation, but the chriſm uſed in confirmation, and by miſtake of the Monks repreſented as the Regal Unction. But he thinks it very improbable, that Aſſerius Menevenſis (2), a Biſhop of conſiderable learning then living, and William of Malmesbury (3) a judicious Monk ſhould not diſtinguiſh between the Regal Unction and the Chriſm, which was a ceremony of the church at that time very common. Beſides it was by no means agreeable to the practice of the Church, that Alfred, who was ſo very young, ſhould receive confirmation, which was never adminiſtred but to thoſe, whoſe age enabled them to give a diſtinct account of their faith. Nay Ethelwerd expreſly tells us (4), that after "Leo had conſecrat"ed him for a King, he from that act ſtiled Al"fred his Son, as we after confirmation uſe to "call the children our Sons:" *Quem & ſanctificat in Regem, & Filium a chariſmate nominavit, ut modo ſub manu Epiſcopi ſolemus accipientes parvulos filios nominare.* So that this Hiſtorian takes expreſs notice of both ceremonies, and comparing them, concludes that Alfred's anointing was regal. However Mr. de Rapin Thoyras (5) ſeems to pay no manner of regard to theſe authorities, and others, which might be urged (6), and declares, that this appears to have no foundation, unleſs it is pretended, that the Pope knew by revelation, that Alfred ſhould ſome time or other come to the crown, tho' he was the youngeſt of four brothers. Beſides he had not the title of King till long after, when the crown devolved to him by the death of his three elder brothers. If the remark of the annotator upon Sir John Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, publiſhed in Latin at Oxford in 1678, be admitted, the difficulty may be tolerably well removed (7). In theſe notes (8) it is obſerved, that Æthelwolf making a conqueſt of the greateſt part of North Wales ſettled thoſe new acquiſitions with the county of Suſſex upon his youngeſt ſon Alfred. It is true, this ſettlement was not to take place, till after the death of his elder brother Æthelſtan; but then this Prince dying in 852, Alfred was in poſſeſſion of this royal inheritance a year before his firſt voyage to Rome. From hence it is ſuppoſed that Æthelwolf ſent his ſon Alfred to Rome to be anointed King of South-Wales, and to receive the ſolemnity of coronation from the Pope. This ſuppoſition is confirmed by Alfred's having the command of the Welſh in the reign of his brother (9). Nay ſome writers, as Rudburn reports, make the rebellion againſt Æthelwolf to proceed from Æthelbald's being offended with his youngeſt brother Alfred's coronation, which was performed by the Pope at his father's deſire.

(1) *Life of Ælfred*, p. 19.

(2) *De Rebus Geſt. Ælfredi*, p. 7. ed. Oxon. 1722.

(3) *De Geſtis Reg. Anglor.* l. 2. c. 2. fol. 20.

(4) *Chronic.* l. 3. fol. 478.

(5) *Hiſtory of England*, lib. 4. vol. 1.

(6) See Mr. Hearne's notes upon Spelman, p. 19, 20.

(7) See Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſtory of Great Britain*, vol. 1. lib. 3. p. 161.

(8) Pag. 3.

(9) *Saxon. Chron.* and *Ælfredi Magni Vita*, p. 3. edit. Oxon. 1678.

ments did not extinguiſh his love for learning [*B*]. In the year 866 a great Fleet of the Danes under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, ſons of Lodebroch, a Daniſh King, came to invade England, and the next year ſeized York, and in 871 marched to Reading in Berkſhire, where they were reinforced by another conſiderable body of Danes under the conduct of Bagſeg and Haldone, and took that town and caſtle. But Æthelred and his brother Alfred came with an army to Reading within ſeven days after it was taken, and killed a great number of the enemy: however the latter obliged the beſiegers at laſt to retire, who rallying their forces again at Aſhdown near Reading, reſolved to engage the Danes in battle. Æthelred divided his army into two bodies, the one for himſelf to lead againſt the Kings, the other for his brother Alfred to conduct againſt the Daniſh Earls. But while the King was employed in his devotions (*g*) in his tent, Alfred being provoked by the Daniſh army joined battle with them, and though he was very diſadvantageouſly poſted, yet he alone maintained his ground againſt them for a conſiderable time. However he was at laſt obliged to give way to the ſuperior force of the enemy, when Æthelred arrived to his aſſiſtance, and defeated the Danes with prodigious loſs. But the Saxons ſoon after met with an overthrow at Baſing in Hampſhire, and at Mertune (*h*) or Merden by the Deviſes in Wiltſhire. And to add to their misfortunes Æthelred died of a wound which he received at Merden, after he had reigned five years, and exerted all the qualities of a brave and magnanimous Prince, joined with the warmeſt devotion and piety (*i*). Upon his death Alfred ſucceeded to the crown, by the will of King Æthelwolf his father, and likewiſe by the appointment of Æthelred [*C*]. This happened in the year 871, and

(*g*) Aſſerius Menevenſis, *Annal. Rerum Geſt. Ælfredi Magni.* edit. Oxon. 1722. p. 22.

(*h*) Some ſay at Merton in Surrey, and others at Mertune in Oxfordſhire. *See* Hearne's notes upon Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, p. 43.

(*i*) Spelman, p. 44.

[*B*] *Did not extinguiſh his love for learning*] He had a ſtronger inclination for Literature, than to all the ſplendor and magnificence of ſovereign power. But he ſecretly lamented the unhappineſs of the country and age which he lived in, and which were ſo barren of Men of letters, that he could not procure a ſingle perſon to inſtruct him in the liberal arts and ſciences (10). Britain at that time was ſunk into the loweſt barbarity and ignorance, ſo that we can find but eight writers, which it produced in that Century, as appears from Bale and Pits. But what gave Alfred the greater regret, was to compare the ſtate of his own country with regard to learning, with that of Rome, which he had ſeen, where letters at that time ſeemed to have fixed their ſole reſidence; for in imitation of the old Romans, who were eminent for their great reſpect to learning, (and after the decay of it in Egypt and Greece were only celebrated for it,) there were in that city divers ſtatutes for encouragement of all thoſe, whether natives or ſtrangers, who were ſtudiouſly inclin'd. Upon which account we do not find, that there was ever any great interruption ſince it was firſt profeſſed; however ſome of the Emperors and Popes were enormouſly ignorant, and made it their buſineſs to deſtroy Literature (11). Aſſerius Menevenſis tells us (12), that Alfred had the ſtrongeſt inclination to learning even from his infancy, but that thro' the neglect of his parents, and thoſe who had the care of him, he was at leaſt twelve years of age, before he could read. However he uſed to commit to memory the Saxon Poems, which he heard repeated by others. The occaſion of his learning to read was this: His mother one day ſhewing him and his brothers a book of Saxon Poetry beautifully adorned, and telling them, that ſhe would give that book to him, who ſhould firſt get it by heart, Alfred applied himſelf ſo vigorouſly to the book, that he never left off till he could read and repeat it to his mother. We ſhall give this ſtory in Aſſerius's Latin, that the learned reader may form an idea of that Hiſtorian's ſtyle. *Cum ergo quodam die mater ſua ſibi & fratribus ſuis quendam Saxonicum poematicæ artis librum, quem in manu habebat, oſtenderet, ait*: "*Quiſquis veſtrum* "*diſcere citius iſtum codicem poſſit, dabo illi illum*:" *quâ voce, immo divinâ inſpiratione inſtinctus, & pulchritudine principalis litteræ illius libri illectus, ita matri reſpondens, & fratres ſuos ætate, quamvis non gratiâ ſeniores anticipans, inquit*; "*Verene dabis* "*iſtum librum uni ex nobis*: *ſcilicet illi, qui citiſſi-*"*mè intelligere & recitare eum ante te poſſit?*" *Ad hæc illa arridens & gaudens, atque affirmans*, "*Da-*"*bo, inſit, illi*:" *tunc ille ſtatim tollens librum de manu ſuâ, magiſtrum adiit & legit; quo lecto matri retulit & recitavit.* But the author of the notes upon Sir John Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, who was the famous Obadiah Walker, Maſter of University College in Oxon (13), obſerves (14), that there muſt be ſome miſtake in Aſſerius's account, that Alfred was 12 years of age before he learned to read, ſince his mother died before his ſecond journey to Rome, when his father married another wife, and Alfred was but ſeven years old at that time. Beſides Ethelred or Ailred Rhievallenſis affirms, that he was fond of reading and learning even from his infancy.

(10) Spelman, *Life of Alfred*, p. 29.

(11) *See* Middendorp, *de Academiis*, l. 3. p. 415. edit. Colen. 1694. *apud* Hearn, *Notes upon Spelman*, pag. 29.

(12) Pag. 16.

(13) *See* Mr. Tho. Hearne's Appendix to his edition of Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 225.

(14) *Not. in Vit. Ælfredi Magni*, p. 10.

[*C*] *By the will of King Æthelwolf his father, and likewiſe by the appointment of Æthelred.*] Before Æthelred came to the crown there had been a treaty between him and Alfred concerning their reſpective eſtates. And Æthelred in the preſence of divers of the Nobility, acknowledging Alfred's right to certain demeſns left him by his father, which were then, as it appears, withheld from him, promiſed him in a ſolemn manner, that if ever he came to be King, he would not only permit Alfred to enjoy quietly the lands bequeathed to him, but likewiſe give him a ſhare of all the territories which they ſhould gain from the enemy. But when the crown fell to Æthelred, and he by Alfred's aſſiſtance had recovered ſeveral lands, being required to perform his agreement, he abſolutely refuſed, alledging that he could not divide his dominions, but would leave them entire to Alfred, if he ſhould ſurvive. Alfred, tho' prevented from enjoying his right, yet notwithſtanding afforded his brother all the aſſiſtance in his power; and upon his death, was deſired by the Archbiſhop, and Nobles, and Commons of Weſt-Saxony, to take the government upon himſelf; which he would willingly have avoided, but at laſt preferring the neceſſity of the ſtate to his own particular inclination, he accepted of it; and was crowned at Wincheſter *. Malmesbury tells us, that "the Engliſh vo-"luntarily gave the government to Alfred, being "glad, that they had ſuch a man amongſt them, "who was able to aſſert their liberties." *Volentes Angli in poteſtatem Ælfredi conceſſerant, gaudentes ſe talem virum edidiſſe, qui poſſet eos in libertatem evehere* (15). And Goodricius (16) informs us, that "the kingdom being freed from civil contentions "by the coming of a more formidable enemy, and the "reſt of the competitors being either deſtroyed in the "common fate, or voluntarily reſigning their pre-"tenſions, and thinking Alfred to be the only fit "perſon to reſcue their country from its calamities, "he took upon him the government as King:" *Regnum malis civilibus hoſtis potentioris acceſſu jam liberum, æmulis cæteris vel fato communi abſorptis, vel ſponte cedentibus, ſolumque Ælfredi dominatum rebus ſuis afflictis utiliorem cenſentibus, Ælfredus monarchico prorſus jure adiit.* But Mr. Walker (17) is of opinion, that Spelman has deduced Alfred's title to the crown much more juſtly from his father's will, and his brother's appointment. And this is confirmed by Alfred's own will, which is publiſhed at the end of the edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis,

* Spelman, p. 44.

(15) *Vide Notas in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 19.

(16) Ibidem.

(17) *In Notis in Vitam, &c.* ibid.

and in the 22d year of Alfred. Having thus accepted of the Kingdom, he found himſelf involved in a dangerous war with the Danes, and placed amidſt ſuch circumſtances of diſtreſs, that he had the greateſt occaſion imaginable for the valour, reſolution, and all the other virtues which he was adorned with. The Danes were already maſters of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, and had penetrated into the very heart of the Kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons; and notwithſtanding the battles which Æthelred had given them, they had got poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, and had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to hope they ſhould ſoon complete the conqueſt of that country. Alfred was obliged before he had been a month upon the throne to take the field againſt theſe formidable enemies, who were advanced as far as Wilton. Thither he marched to attack them for the firſt time after his brother's death (*k*), but he was defeated. However the Danes having loſt a conſiderable number of men, he endeavoured immediately to rally his army in order to give them battle. They were aſtoniſhed at his expedition, and ſued for peace, offering to depart out of his dominions. Upon this they retired to London, and then to Torkſey in Lindſey in the North-part of Lincolnſhire, within the Kingdom of the Northumbrians; and in the year 874 they went to Repton in Darbyſhire, and expelled Burrhed King of Mercia from his Kingdom. They purſued their conqueſts ſo vigorouſly, that they became maſters of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, and being ſtrengthened with freſh troops from Denmark under the command of Halfdene in 875, they reſolved to attack Weſt-Saxony, and accordingly ſeized upon Warham Caſtle in Dorſetſhire. This reduced the King to ſo dreadful an exigence, that he was obliged to ſue for a peace with them, which they granted, and ſwore to him by the holy relicks of the church [*D*], that they would depart out of his Kingdom, and never enter it again. But they broke through this treaty immediately; and as they were marching towards Mercia, they met a body of Engliſh horſe who were advancing in a careleſs manner, by reaſon of the treaty being concluded, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, and ſurpriſed Exeter [*E*]. Alfred finding it was in vain to truſt ſuch a perfidious people, was reſolved to take more effectual meaſures to ſecure himſelf. For which purpoſe he conven'd a general aſſembly, and in a pathetic ſpeech ſhewed them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their valour, and therefore there was a neceſſity of venturing their lives in defence of their country, and of ſacrificing part of their eſtate to preſerve the reſt. Theſe remonſtrances having produced the effect he expected, an army was levied, with which he engaged the enemy ſeven times in one campaign, and obliged them at laſt to ſubmit to this article among others; that the Danes ſhould permit no more of their nation to enter into the Iſland (*l*). In 876 [50].

(*k*) Æthelwerd lib. 4. c. 3. ſeems to intimate, that Alfred, being employed about his brother's funeral, was not in this battle.

(*l*) Spelman, p.

nevenſis, wherein, having called together the Nobles of all Weſt Saxony, he explains his title both to the kingdom and to his private inheritance. Our ancient Kings held their crown as in Fee-ſimple, and had a full right of diſpoſing of it as they thought proper. In conſequence of which, a brother often ſucceeded his brother, and excluded the ſon of the former. So Æthelred the brother of Wulfer ſucceeded before Kenred the ſon of Wulfer; and Kenred before Alred the ſon of Æthelred: Bertulph before Weſtan the grandſon of Withlaf; Eadred the brother of Edmund before Eadwig the ſon of Edmund; and Edward the Confeſſor took the government upon him, during the life of Edward the ſon of his elder brother, and of Edgar the ſon of the former, whom he had notwithſtanding brought up with hopes of the kingdom. We have many inſtances of this kind among the Saxons, eſpecially in caſe they were unqualified for the crown by their minority or any other defect (18). Thus the younger ſon was ſometimes preferred to the elder; as Ercombort the ſon of Rudbald or Edbald mounted the throne, tho' his elder brother Ermenred and his two ſons were living. Nay ſometimes the natural ſon had the advantage over the lawful ſon. Thus Edward the ſon of our Alfred preferred Æthelſtan, whom he had by the daughter of one Berker, to his legitimate ſon. Upon which account, as Malmesbury tells us, Æthelred raiſed a ſedition againſt Æthelſtan. But to return to Alfred, the people were extremely rejoiced to ſee him accept of the crown; but as for his own part he conſidered it as no other than an inevitable diverſion from the ſatisfactions of a calm and ſtudious life, and the cultivation of his nobler faculties in profound contemplation. A kingdom in itſelf had no charms for him, much leſs ſuch a kingdom, as was involved in all the circumſtances of diſtreſs imaginable. For conſidering the ſtrength of the enemy, the poſſeſſion of it was more to be expected from his virtues, than from the favour and election of the people. However when the public good called upon him, he diveſted himſelf of all private and ſelfiſh conſiderations, and exerted that invincible reſolution and magnanimity, and all thoſe other virtues, which have made his name venerable to all future ages.

(18) *See Radulph. de Diceto.* p. 454, quoted in the notes *in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 19.

[*D*] *Swore to him by the holy relicks of the Church.*] It ſeems a little ſurprizing, that Alfred ſhould inſiſt upon their ſwearing by theſe relicks, who, being as yet Pagans, could not think themſelves more firmly bound by that, than by the oath they uſed to ſwear *by their bracelets*. For the moſt ſolemn manner of ſwearing amongſt the Danes, and other Northern Nations, was by their arms, as appears from M. Adamus (19), and Olaus Magnus (20), and the Annals of Fuld (21). Theſe relicks, ſays Aſſerius Menevenſis (22), were the great confidence of the King; and tho' he did not imagine, that the Infidels would pay much regard to them, and had never till then admitted them to ſwear upon them; yet being now in ſo dreadful an exigence, and not expecting any other help, his only hope was, that if they broke their faith with him in this, God himſelf would puniſh ſuch a ſolemn perjury even in them (23).

(19) *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 33.
(20) L. 8. c. 2.
(21) *Ad ann.* 873. p. 73.
(22) P. 28.
(23) Spelman, p. 48, 49.

[*E*] *Slew the greateſt part of them, and ſurprized Exeter.*] Aſſerius Menevenſis (24) and Florence of Worceſter relate the ſtory in the manner abovementioned; but Huntingdon (25) and the Saxon Annals give us a more true relation, and inform us, that in the year 876 that part of the army, which conſiſted of cavalry, rode to Exeter, and the reſt, which remained at Wereham, were in the beginning of the year following for the moſt part deſtroyed by ſhipwreck at Swanawie, now Sanwick in Hampſhire; and the reſt eſcaped on foot to Exeter, whither they came before the King could overtake them. But upon his arrival he laid cloſe ſiege to the city, which reduced the Danes to ſuch extremity, that they were forced to ſurrender and retire into Mercia, which they took poſſeſſion of, and gave part thereof to Ceolwolf. Yet they did not keep the articles long; for immediately after the feaſt of Epiphany, they encamped at Chippenham, one of the King's ſeats, and laid waſte almoſt all Weſt-Saxony.

(24) P. 28.
(25) Fol. 200. b.

876 a new ſwarm of Danes arrived under the command of Rollo, the famous Norman General, who became afterwards the ſcourge of France; but meeting with a vigorous oppoſition from Alfred, he went into that Kingdom, in order to ſettle himſelf there. After his departure Alfred began to fit out a good fleet to engage the Danes before they landed; for which purpoſe he cauſed a conſiderable number of long boats and gallies proper for ſervice to be built along the coaſt. This gave him a prodigious advantage over the Daniſh ſhips, which were only tranſports, and of little uſe in ſea fights. Alfred animated by this, reſolved to attack the Danes in the Weſt; which deſign was executed with ſuch vigour, that he obliged them to give him hoſtages, and entirely abandon Weſt-Saxony. Upon this they retired into Mercia, and incorporated themſelves with their countrymen, who were in poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; and others of them had the year before ſeized upon the Kingdom of Northumberland, and divided the land among themſelves. But tho' the Danes were in poſſeſſion of three of the antient Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, yet there was not room enough for all thoſe who were already in England, and for thoſe who were continually coming over with a deſign to ſettle. They formed therefore a reſolution to invade Weſt-Saxony, and carried on their deſign with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition. On a ſudden there appeared in the field a more formidable army of Danes than had ever yet been ſeen, before Alfred could poſſibly put himſelf into a poſture of defence. They marched directly to Chippenham in Wiltſhire, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of the Kingdom at that time, and they took it in a few days; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Weſt-Saxons, as deprived them of all courage to defend themſelves. Some fled into Wales or beyond Sea, while others revolted to the Danes, and ſwore allegiance to them. Alfred was entirely abandoned, except by a few of his domeſticks, who were unwilling to forſake him in his diſtreſs. But as they were chargeable to him, and could do him but little ſervice, he diſmiſſed them all, that he might with the greater eaſe ſhift for himſelf. He concealed himſelf in the Iſle of Æthelingey or Athelney in Somerſetſhire [*F*]. Theſe misfortunes were conſidered by ſome writers as a judgment of God upon him [*G*]. However

[*F*] *He concealed himſelf in the iſle of Æthelingey or Athelney in Somerſetſhire.*] Alfred ſeeing his ſubjects fly, the enemy in the midſt of the country, and no means left either to unite or ſollicit the few that remained, diveſted himſelf of all his regal ornaments, and diſpoſed of his family according to the preſent exigence, and taking the diſguiſe of an obſcure and common ſoldier, he at firſt committed himſelf to the care of one, who, agreeably to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had the charge of keeping the King's cows. It does not appear whether he diſcovered himſelf to this man, or not. The place where he lay concealed was ſurrounded with a large moraſs, thro' which there was no paſſage but one narrow foot-path leading to the Neat-herd's cottage, which was hid by briars and thorns. The iſle was formerly called Athelingey, or the Iſle of Nobles, and it lies near Taunton, where the Thone and Parret join. The firm ground is not above two acres. In this place the King concealed himſelf for ſome time from his ſubjects as well as his enemies, without being ſo much as known to the Neat-herd's wife, who employed him about her little houſhold-affairs. With regard to which we have an agreeable ſtory related by Aſſerius Menevenſis (26). She having one day ſet a cake before the fire where the King ſat fitting his bow and arrows and other weapons, the cake happened to be burnt; upon which ſhe fell into a paſſion with the King for his careleſsneſs in not looking after it, which ſhe told him he could eat faſt enough:

(26) P. 30, 31.

Heus homo!
Urere quos cernis panes gyrare moraris,
Quum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes?

[*G*] *Theſe misfortunes were conſidered by ſome writers as a judgment of God upon him.*] Sir John Spelman tells us (27), that "upon this great depreſſion of "ſovereignty in ſo brave a Prince, the religious of "thoſe times have given their judgments, as if it "had not befallen him without his apparent deſert, "and that God, having been greatly offended by "him, and therefore in juſtice neceſſitated to call "him to account for it, out of an eſpecial mercy "toward him, took in this ſort that ſevere account "here by way of acquittal in the world to come." For, as Aſſerius Menevenſis informs us (28), tho' he was a man of diſtinguiſhed virtues and merit, yet as he had no ambition for the crown, he would not in the beginning of his reign attend ſufficiently to the execution of that important charge. His ſtrong inclination to learning, his deſire of knowledge and experience in all the branches of Literature, and his indulging himſelf in the exerciſes of hawking and hunting and in other ſports, to which his youth and the vigour of his mind rather than of his body inclined him, and in which he was ever inventing or experimenting ſomething or other; theſe avocations of his ſo much engaged his mind during that interval of eaſe, which he had enjoyed for a year or two after the battle of Wilton in the beginning of his reign, that he attended but very little to the affairs and complaints of his poor ſubjects. *Quam ſi quidem adverſitatem præfato Regi illatam non immerito ei eveniſſe credimus, quia in primo tempore regni ſui, cum adhuc juvenis erat, animoque juvenili detentus fuerat, homines ſui regni ſibique ſubjecti, qui ad eum venerant, & pro neceſſitatibus ſuis eum requiſierant, & qui depreſſi poteſtatibus erant, ſuum auxilium ac patrocinium implorabant; ille verò noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium impendebat, ſed omnino eos nihili pendebat* (29). And tho', as Aſſerius tells us, he was often admoniſhed concerning this by one Neotus, a kinſman of his, very eminent for his exemplary character and ſanctity, yet this had ſo little effect upon him, that Neotus having extremely lamented the King's averſeneſs, his ſorrow reſolved itſelf into a ſpirit of prophecy, and he foretold Alfred what a ſeries of calamities he ſhould inevitably ſuffer on that account; that he ſhould be deprived of his kingdom, and live as it were an exile in his own country (30). But ſome writers are of opinion, that Alfred received this reproof of Neotus, before he was King, and while he acted under his brother, having been a little remiſs in his duty. Others refer it to the time, when he was appointed King of North-Wales and Suſſex by his father. But if it happened after his brother's death, as Sir John Spelman thinks, when Alfred was engaged in eight or nine battles in one year, and conſequently had very little opportunity for hunting; we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that his negligence could not have been very conſiderable; and that Neotus only endeavoured to urge him to the utmoſt degree of perfection, which he was capable of, in order that he might diſcharge the important office, which he was inveſted with in the beſt manner poſſible (31). However in the midſt of all his diſtreſſes, while he was obliged to ſhelter himſelf from the ſuperior force of the enemy, he ſhewed

(27) P. 55.

(28) P. 31.

(29) Aſſer. *ubi ſupra.*

(30) *See* Spelman p. 55.

(31) *Vide Not. in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 27.

However he had not been a year in this retreat, before a more happy ſcene began to open itſelf; for being informed of the defeat of the Daniſh troops under Hubba, and the death of the General, he ſent word to his friends where he was, that they might come and conſult together what was to be done in this juncture. After he had conferred with them, he gave them orders to draw together in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom ſmall bodies of troops, which at a minute's warning might be ready to join each other. And in order to gain intelligence of the poſture of the enemy, he put himſelf into the diſguiſe of an Harper, and went upon the diſcovery. This appearance made him paſs without ſuſpicion, and procured him admittance even into the Daniſh King's tent, and gave him the opportunity of a full information (*l*). Having ſtaid in the enemy's camp ſeveral days, he returned to his troops at Æthelingey; and at a council of war made a report of the negligence and ill condition of the enemy. He appointed the Great Wood (now Selwood Foreſt) in Wiltſhire for the general rendezvous of all his troops. This affair was tranſacted ſo ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that in a little time the King at the head of an army appeared near the Danes before they had the leaſt intelligence of it. They were in the utmoſt conſternation, when they ſaw on a ſudden the Engliſh army approaching to attack them. Alfred was unwilling to give them time to recover out of their ſurprize, and therefore drew out his ſoldiers, and made a ſpeech to them [*H*], and gained an entire victory over the enemy at Eddington. The few forces that eſcaped fled to a caſtle, where they were immediately beſieged, and obliged to capitulate. The terms he granted them were more advantageous than they had reaſon to expect. He agreed to give up the lands of Eaſt-Anglia to thoſe who were willing to turn Chriſtians, but required the reſt immediately to quit the Iſland, and never to return to England; and to give hoſtages for the performance of theſe

(*l*) Malmsb. *de Geſtis Reg. Ang.* l. 2. Aſſerius and Æthelwerd do not mention this ſtory.

ſhewed himſelf as inexhauſtible in courage, as they were in numbers, and very frequently ſallied out upon them ſecretly, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another. "Alfred, ſays William of Malmesbury, even when he was overthrown and caſt down, was ſtill to be encounter'd with again; ſo that when he might have been imagined entirely deſtroyed, like a ſnake ſlipping out of the hands of thoſe who held him, he would on a ſudden from his hiding-places fall upon the enemy in the midſt of their triumphs; and even after an overthrow his fury was for the moſt part inſupportable." *Cum Ælfredo enim victo, etiam jacente, luctandum; adeo ut, quum omnino contritum putaris, velut anguis lubricus de manu tenentis elapſus, è cavernis ſubitus emergebat, ſponte inimicos inſultantes adoriens; plerumque poſt fugam importabilis, &c.* His ſituation likewiſe gave him great advantage over the enemy; for the country at that time abounded with vaſt woods and fens, the paſſages of which were ſcarce known to any but the natives, and the iſle of Ethelingey, where he lay concealed, was ſcarce acceſſible but in boats. This place he found ſo fit for his purpoſe, that with ſome little help, he made himſelf a ſmall hold, from whence he iſſued out privately upon the Danes (32), and performed ſuch actions, as deſerved to have been delivered down to poſterity, if they had not been loſt with many other particulars of his life; becauſe they were in the opinion of the Monks *inextricabiles laborum labyrinthi*, as Malmesbury expreſſes it, which it would be in vain to attempt to give a diſtinct account of. We may obſerve however, that ſince all writers generally follow the firſt, and yet not one of them but has ſome particulars not mentioned by others, many more of his actions ſurvived for a long time in fame and tradition, than what are contained in all their writings together (33). How much is it to be regretted, that the Alexanders and Cæſars, the tyrants and oppreſſors of mankind, ſhould meet with ſuch noble writers to perpetuate their memory, when an Alfred, whoſe ſuperior abilities were entirely directed to the good of the world, has the misfortune to be recorded by the loweſt and moſt inſufficient of all writers!

(32) Aſſer. Men. p. 33.

(33) Spelman, p. 57.

[*H*] *Made a ſpeech to them.*] We are told in a MS. Collection of Aſſerius (34), that the night before this battle of Eddington, St. Neotus his friend and kinſman appeared to him in a dream, and bid him not be afraid of the multitude of the Barbarians, becauſe God would aſſiſt him on the morrow; that he had ſuffered ſuch a variety of afflictions, on account of his arrogance in his youth; but he aſſured him, that the next day he ſhould march before his ſtandard, that Alfred might fight more ſecurely againſt his enemies, and that God would fight for him and his people. We have not this account in any of the MSS. of Aſſerius; and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that there were formerly ſome of them different from what we have at preſent; or elſe, that the writers of *Annals* having extracted ſome things from Aſſerius, publiſhed others under his name; or that the modern writers have falſely put his name to what they had taken from other authors. Brompton (35) has quoted many things from Aſſerius concerning Offa King of Mercia, which are not to be found in the preſent MSS. of that Hiſtorian. But with regard to the dream abovementioned, we find the Monks ſo exceſſively fond of intermixing miraculous ſtories in all their accounts of things, that very little regard can juſtly be paid to them. To return to Alfred's ſpeech to his ſoldiers; when he had drawn them out, he told them, "How thankful they ought to be to God for affording them patience and courage to ſtruggle with ſo great difficulties, and continue reſolute after ſo long a trial; that they ought to look upon their misfortune as a puniſhment for their misbehaviour; that it was their ſins, that had given their enemies this advantage over them; and that reforming their lives would undoubtedly alter the face of affairs. That God had not dealt with them otherwiſe than as a kind and indulgent father, whoſe chaſtiſements once over, he would the readier receive them into his favour. That he had already begun to lay his hand upon the enemy, and confounded them with fear and amazement. That they ought to recollect the juſtice of their cauſe, and depend upon the protection of heaven; that they were to conſider the advantages of their own ſide, and the neceſſity of engaging; that Chriſtians were to encounter Heathens, and honeſt men pirates and robbers; men, who without any provocation had deſtroyed their country, ſeized their fortunes, and murthered vaſt numbers of their friends and relations, without any regard to age, ſex, or condition. We are to fight thoſe, continued he, who have nothing of faith or juſtice in their character; who have violated the moſt ſolemn engagements, and frequently broken their articles. That this was no conteſt of ambition, or for the enlargement of Empire; that their ſwords were drawn for no other reaſon, but merely to ſecure themſelves, and recover their rights; to preſerve their parents, their wives and children from the hardſhips of ſervitude, and from all the barbarous inſults of an haughty and licentious enemy; and, which was a ſtronger motive than all this, they fought for the honour of God, and to prevent the Chriſtian Religion from being extirpated to make room for Pagan impiety (36)."

(34) In the Cotton Library, *Vit. E.* 14. *Vide Notas in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 34.

(35) *Vide* p. 753

(36) Malm. *de Reb. Geſt. Reg. Ang.* l. 2. fol. 23. and Harpſfield *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ang. Sæcul.* 9. c. 4.

theſe articles. Guthrum the Daniſh General, with thirty of the chiefeſt of the army, and many of the common ſoldiers, were ſoon after baptized, and Guthrum received the name of Æthelſtan from Alfred his godfather, who in order to oblige that General, gave him the Kingdoms of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, to hold of him by fealty and homage. The gift of theſe Kingdoms occaſioned a treaty and articles to be drawn up between the King and Guthrum, for the regulation of the government of them, part of which are ſtill extant [*I*]. Several years after this pacification the Danes returned from their depredations in France, and landed in England. During this interval, the country had been very happy and undiſturbed under the government of Alfred, who had now all England for his dominions, except that part of the country aſſigned to the Danes by the treaty abovementioned. But now the war revived, and a new ſcene of blood began to open. However the caſe was ſomewhat altered, and the Engliſh had the advantage in this new quarrel. The King was always in the heat of action, and exerted himſelf with the utmoſt bravery and reſolution. A defeat ſerved only to awaken his caution, and make him more impatient for revenge. His ſucceſs was chiefly owing to his fleet; and his ſtrength at ſea was an advantage of his own creating. The gallies invented by him were longer, and more manageable by the helm than thoſe of the enemy (*m*). Having ſecured the ſea-coaſts, he fortified the reſt of the Kingdom with caſtles and wall'd towns, and beſieged and took the city of London [*K*]. He entirely ſubdued the Danes; and that nothing might be wanting to render him abſolute Monarch of England, the Welſh ſubmitted to his government. To proceed now from his martial to the civil part of his adminiſtration; he drew up an excellent body of Laws for the government of the Nation [*L*]; he

(*m*) Spelman, p. 151.

[*I*] *Part of which are ſtill extant.*] They are publiſhed among the Laws of the Saxon Kings by Mr. Lambard, in two diſtinct capitulations. The firſt of theſe, which is entitled *Fœdus Aluredi & Guthrumni*, is only a ſhort proviſion for the preſent ſtate of affairs, until ſome further regulation might be fixed upon for a more compleat union and ſecurity between their people. Having mark'd out the bounds and diviſion of their diſtinct territories it provides then, that there ſhall be but one and the ſame eſtimation of the perſons of the Engliſh and Danes, and the mulct for killing of them both alike. That a Thane or Baron belonging to the King being queſtioned for man-ſlaughter, or any offence above four marks, ſhall be tried by twelve of his Peers, and others by eleven of their Peers and one of the King's men. That no purchaſe of men, horſe, or oxen ſhall be juſtifiable without a voucher of the ſeller, and his acknowledgment of the ſale. And laſtly that there ſhall be no licentious intercourſe between the ſoldiers of one army, and thoſe of the other. The other capitulation, which ſoon followed the former, is called by Mr. Lambard, *Fœdus Edovardi & Guthrumni*. The deſign of it is chiefly to give Laws to the Danes, and to oblige them to obſerve the rules of Chriſtianity; tho' (as the great licentiouſneſs at that time required) they were made general, including the Saxons as well as the Danes, and the former for the moſt part in a greater penalty. The ſum of them is to this purpoſe; that abandoning Heatheniſm, they ſhould worſhip one God, and him alone. That the peace of the Church ſhall be inviolate, and the King's peace unbroken. That if any perſon ſhall renounce Chriſtianity, or promote Heatheniſm, he ſhall according to the offence be puniſhed with a fine, ranſom, or confiſcation. Then follow ordinances againſt miſdemeanours in the Clergy, againſt inceſt, refuſing the payment of tithes, buying, ſelling, or working on ſundays, breach of the faſts of the Church, trials of men on holy-days and ſolemn faſts, and executing of men on ſundays, againſt witchcraft, perjury, &c. (37). Tho' this ordinance is called by Lambard *Fœdus Edovardi*, yet it is Alfred's Law, and not Edward's, tho' for giving it a greater ſanction and authority Edward joined in making it. For the title in the Saxon Original is, *The Ordinance that firſt K. Elfred and K. Guthrum, and then K. Edward and K. Guthrum made &c. when the Engliſh and Danes united in perfect peace and friendſhip*. This was in Alfred's life-time, and Guthrum died at leaſt ten years before Edward came to the crown; whoſe joining in this Ordinance occaſioned the miſtake (38).

(37) Spelman, p. 67, 68.

(38) Id. ibid.

[*K*] *Beſieged and took the city of London.*] We have no certain account of the original of this city. But as it does not appear, that there was any ſuch place in Cæſar's time, though it was a great town in Nero's, it is probable, that it was founded in the reign of Claudius, and inhabited by the Britons and Romans together, being a trading tho' not a military Colony from the very beginning. The walls are ſaid to be built by Conſtantine the Great, at the requeſt of Helena his mother, containing within them an oblong ſpace of three miles. Cæſar's telling us, that the Britons called the places which were fenced round with woods and groves, cities or towns, occaſioned Cambden to conjecture, that London was named ſo from *Llhron*, which ſignifies in Britiſh ſuch a town, as if we ſhould ſay by way of eminence, *The City* (39). This city having in Æthelwolf's time been taken and laid waſte by the Danes, and now oppoſing Alfred, he recovered it by a vigorous ſiege; and judging it to be a proper bulwark to his dominions againſt the rovers, who came up the river, or being extremely pleaſed with the advantageous ſituation of it, he added very much to its ſtrength and beauty. The Government of it he committed to Æthelred, who had married his daughter Elfleda, or rather gave it him in fee with the title of Earl of Mercia. Some writers tell us, that he conferred upon him the title of King; but this is advanced upon very little grounds.

(39) Cambden, *Addit. to Middleſex.*

[*L*] *He drew up an excellent body of Laws for the government of the Nation.*] He made an enquiry into the conſtitution of foreign countries, collected thoſe of his predeceſſors Ina, Offa, and Æthelbert, and inſerted ſeveral of the judicial Laws of the Old Teſtament, with the Decalogue at the head of them. To theſe he added ſeveral of his own, adapted to the circumſtances of thoſe times. John Harding in his Chronicle (40) gives the following account of his Laws, upon the authority of Geoffry of Monmouth. We ſhall give it the reader in his old Engliſh:

(40) Fol. III. b. *See* Hearne's Notes upon Spelman, p. 96, 97.

King Alurede the Laws of Troye and Brute,
Laws Moluntynes and Mercians congregate,
With Daniſh Lawes, that were well conſtitute,
And Grekiſhe alſo, well made and approbate.
In Engliſhe tongue he did them all tranſlate,
Which yet bee called the Lawes of Alurede,
At Weſtmynſter remembred yit indede.

He is ſuppoſed to have drawn up a complete body of Law; but if ſuch a ſyſtem was compiled, it is now loſt, for the Fragments in Lambard, Spelman, and the Engliſh Hiſtorians, and thoſe lately publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins, (who has given us all the Laws extant from Æthelbert, the firſt Chriſtian Lawgiver in England, down to the *Magna Charta* of Henry III.) fall ſhort of an entire ſyſtem of the Law. But if we may credit the *Mirrour of Juſtice* written by Andrew

drew Horne *, who lived in the reign of King Edward I, not only his Laws, but an Hiſtory of his Judgments likewiſe were extant in that King's time; and it appears from the paſſage of John Harding quoted above, that his Laws were made uſe of at Weſtminſter in the reign of Edward IV. Thoſe Laws of Alfred, which are extant, are rank'd under three heads; the firſt of which only in Mr. Lambard's Collection bear the title of Alfred's Laws. The other are the abovementioned conſtitutions entitled *Fœdus Ælfredi & Guthrumni*, & *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrumni*. Theſe Laws, tho' in compariſon of later ages they ſeem plain and ſimple, yet are of the ſame tenour and as elaborate as any of the Laws of the times, in which they were made, as appears from thoſe of the ancient Saxons, Goths, Longobards, and other Northern Nations inhabiting the Weſtern parts of Europe (41). "And this we muſt note by "the way, ſays Sir John Spelman (42), that the cu"riofity and intricacy of Laws grew not till ſettled "peace and increaſe of falſhood and contention ex"tended the Laws to the regulating of the courſe "of ſuits, and to the determination of divers things "concerning intereſt, whether poſſeſſory or of in"heritance; whereas at theſe times the Laws for "the general extended only to manners, to matters "criminal, to force, and to treſpaſs. And certainly "as to that point, the rule of equity has in theſe "been well purſued; neither have ſucceeding ages "receded from them, (for they were once the Laws "of this kingdom) upon any better advice of what "was more equal, but rather upon the ſole conſi"deration of the conſequence of things; wherein "fear being the agent has for prevention ſake often"times enacted more ſeverely, than equity for mere "puniſhment of the fact would of itſelf have done." We may obſerve therefore in theſe Laws, that a greater regard was had of life, than in thoſe of later ages, which for a remedy of ſmall offences have too ready a recourſe to blood; whereas in the former the ſevereſt puniſhments were the cutting out the tongue for falſe and ſeditious ſpeeches, the loſs of the hand for ſacrilege, the loſs of life for the attempts of treaſon, whether it were high treaſon againſt the Prince, or inferior treaſon againſt the perſon of an Earl or a Lord of a lower rank. Fighting or drawing a weapon in the King's hall was forfeiture of life unto the King's mercy. But the puniſhment of all theſe offences might be commuted for a ranſom. For the rule of juſtice in thoſe times was this: The perſon of every one from the King to the bondman, and every limb and member of every perſon, was valued at a certain eſtimation. Whoever therefore killed a man, or offered violence to him, was obliged to make recompence according to the valuation of the perſon killed or injur'd. And in caſe of ſlaughter that recompence or mulct was called *Weregild*, which if the murderer paid, the King had the firſt part, which was called *Frith-bote*, for the breach of his peace, and the loſs of his ſubject. The Lord had another for the loſs of his man, which was called *Man-bote*. And the relations of the perſon who was killed, the third part, for their loſs, call'd *Mag-bote* or *Cengild*. If this was not paid, the life of the delinquent was expoſed to the kinſmen of the perſon killed, as to the avengers of blood, according to the Law of Moſes. And as the kindred had reparation for their loſs, ſo they were obliged to pay for their kinſman, if, when he had killed a man, he was not able to pay the *Weregild*; for then he fled for his own ſafety, and the kindred, or ſometimes, as the caſe ſtood, the neighbourhood or houſhold paid the relations of the perſon killed a third part of the Weregild, and ſometimes the half. If the forfeiture of an inferior offence, which was leſs than manſlaughter, was not paid, the final puniſhment was, according to the Law of Taliation, limb for limb, and tooth for tooth; and ſometimes impriſonment; and the moſt frequent, or rather only puniſhment for bondmen was the whip (43). There is but one Law, which relates to right or inheritance, and that is the 37th, which ſecures the entail of eſtates, and enacts, That thoſe, who had book-land or eſtates in land left them by their parents or relations, ſhould not alienate them from their heirs, provided there could be proof made, that he, who firſt granted the eſtate, ſettled it upon condition of non-alienation. Another Law forbids the buying of a man, an horſe, or an ox, without a voucher, to warrant the ſale (44). From hence we may conclude, that villainage was in the height of diſadvantage in Alfred's time, and that a man's ſlave was as much his property, as his cattle. He, who perjur'd himſelf, and refuſed to make good the obligation of a lawful oath, was to deliver up his arms, and ſurrender his eſtate into the hands of ſome of his friends. After this he was to be impriſoned forty days, and ſubmit to the penalty impoſed on him by the Biſhop. If he made any reſiſtance, and refuſed to ſubmit, he was to forfeit his whole eſtate. If he fled from juſtice, he was to be deprived of the protection of the Law, and excommunicated. And if any perſon had been ſurety for his good behaviour, the ſurety, in caſe of failure, was to be puniſhed at the Biſhop's diſcretion (45). If any perſon debauched a man's wife, the valuation of whoſe eſtate amounted to twelve hundred ſhillings, he was obliged to pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the huſband. If the fortune of the perſon injured was leſs, the fine was ſet ſomewhat lower. And here, if the adulterer happened not to be rich, he was obliged to ſell his eſtate to make ſatisfaction. From Alfred's inſtitution likewiſe is the original of obliging men to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and of committing them to priſon for want of ſureties. We may obſerve, that in the Laws, which were made upon occaſion of the Daniſh ſubjections, which in every article are religious, as particularly for maintaining the true worſhip of God, the peace of the Church, and the rights of it, it is ordained, that if any perſon in holy Orders ſhall fight, perjure himſelf, or commit fornication, beſides his penance and ſpiritual ſatisfaction according to the Canons, he ſhould make temporal ſatisfaction according to the Law by *Weregild*, *Fine*, and *Law-ſlight*, as the caſe required, and ſhould find ſureties for his good behaviour, or elſe be committed to priſon. And if a Prieſt committed any abuſe in bidding of faſts or holy-days, or failed in preparing the Chriſm, or denied Baptiſm, if he was an Engliſhman, he was obliged to pay a conſiderable Fine to the King, and if a Dane, to pay his *Law-ſlight*. It appears from theſe Laws, that even in thoſe times the Saxon Kings, Alfred and Edward conſider'd themſelves as the proper Sovereigns of the Clergy as well as of the Laity, and that the Church in their dominions was not conſidered as a diſtinct body, ſubject only to an univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Sovereign abroad, and exempt from the juriſdiction of the State at home, as Anſelm, Becket, and others afterwards contended; but that as the Clergy were part of the King's ſubjects, ſo their perſons and fortunes were under his protection only, and anſwerable to the King for the breach of his Laws. They did not imagine, that to queſtion a Clergyman according to the King's Law, was the leaſt infringement of the peace of the Church. For in the firſt article of their Law they ſolemnly confirm the peace of the church, and yet in the ſubſequent articles ordain what we have mentioned above (46). Beſides he and his ſucceſſor Edward were ſufficiently convinced of the incroachment of the Pope in claiming a ſuperiority over the Emperor and all other Chriſtian Princes, there being no ground for it in Scripture, and the pretended donation from Conſtantine the Great being a mere forgery, and never inſiſted upon till after the time of Gregory VII. This has been evidently proved by ſeveral eminent Proteſtant Writers; and Cardinal Bellarmin himſelf after all his great learning ſhewn in behalf of the Pope, has been obliged in divers places to acknowledge the ſovereign power of Kings and Princes over the Biſhop of Rome as well as over other Biſhops (47). The original of the Law, that perſons excommunicated ſhould not be permitted to ſue or claim property, is aſcribed to Alfred by Hollingſhed (48). And there are many other particulars in the forms of the Law, and the Government of the kingdom, which had their firſt inſtitution from his Ordinance. "And I know not, ſays Sir John Spelman "(49), whether I may well omit, that in all proba"ble conjecture, the very name of *Common Law* "originally ſprung from his conſtitutions. For whe"ther it were ſo called, becauſe it was made a com"mon Law to all the inhabitants of the ſeveral "kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, now expired and "grown into one kingdom, or whether it was ſo "called, becauſe it was made a common Law to "the two ſeveral Nations then reſiding in the King"dom,

* Some writers tell us this book was written in the Saxon times, and was reviſed, and had ſome things added to it by Andrew Horne.

(41) A body of theſe Laws was publiſhed in folio, firſt by Heroldus at Baſil in 1557, and afterwards by Lindenbrogius at Francfort in 1613.

(42) Pag. 100.

(43) Spelman, p. 101, 102.

(44) Lambard. *Archaionom. Fœdus Alur. & Guthron.* p. 36.

(45) Lambard, *Leges Alut.* fol. 22, 23.

(46) Spelman, p. 103, 104.

(47) Hearne's Notes upon Spelman, p. 103.

(48) *Deſcription of Britain.* fol. 121.

(49) Pag. 107.

he inſtituted the method of trials by Juries [*M*], which is beſt fitted for the impartial adminiſtratoin of Juſtice; he divided the Kingdom into Shires, or Counties, Hundreds and Tythings [*N*]; he regulated the Militia in ſuch a manner, as was moſt proper for the ſecurity of the Nation [*O*]; he gave all imaginable encouragement to Trade

" dom, that is to ſay, the Saxon and the Dane, Æl-
" fred (that was the Lawgiver) was in both caſes the
" author of that common Law. And tho' the Danes
" had Laws, that endured to the Confeſſor's time,
" to which the Saxons were not ſubject, and was
" therefore called *Dane-Law*, yet was that Law of
" an after-growth, and differing but in ſome things;
" for the main they had one common Law given to
" them." Alfred was very exact in obſerving, that the Magiſtrates adminiſtred juſtice impartially; and it is ſaid, that within the compaſs of one year he executed four and forty Judges for not doing juſtice *.

* *Miroir aux Juſtices*. c. 20. & *alib.* Malmesb. l. 2. fol. 25.

[*M*] *He inſtituted the method of trials by Juries.*] This valuable branch of our Engliſh Law we derive from him. Being ſenſible that the ſpirit of oppreſſion naturally grew upon men in authority, he ſought for means to prevent the effects of it. For which purpoſe he ordered that the Kings Thanes or Barons ſhould be tried by twelve of their Peers, and other Thanes by eleven of their Peers, and one of the King's Thanes, and a Borſholder by twelve Borſholders (50). Tacitus obſerves (51), that among the Germans, and conſequently our old Saxons, judgment was given by the Prince with the aſſiſtance of an hundred men of the ſame town, who gave their opinion *vivâ voce*, or by rattling of their arms. But this method was diſcontinued by degrees, or by the command of ſome of our Kings, after the Chriſtian religion was received among them. And at firſt the number was reduced from an hundred to twelve, though they retained the ſame power and juriſdiction, and were equal in authority to the Governor and Biſhop. The ſame cuſtom was obſerved among all the northern people. But afterwards the men of buſineſs and quality, as the twelve men generally were, very often not finding any thing worthy of their labour and attention, grew negligent of their office, and ſo the cuſtom gradually declined. But Alfred ſubſtituted in the room of it that method, which is ſtill maintained among us; that twelve freemen of the neighbourhood having taken a ſolemn oath, and heard the depoſitions of the witneſſes, ſhall give judgment, whether the perſon accuſed is guilty or not (52). Alfred ſeems to have extended this form of trial, which was before uſed only in criminal cauſes, to diſputes concerning property.

(50) Spelman, p. 106.
(51) *De Moribus German.*
(52) See Alfred's Law, *Si quis Miniſter Regius.* Camb. *Britan.* fol. 499. Lambard fol. 45. *ap.* Walker *in Notis in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 72.

[*N*] *He divided the Kingdom into Shires, or Counties, Hundreds and Tythings.*] The wars had cauſed ſuch diſorders and licentiouſneſs in the Kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants every where abounded, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition ſcreening them from juſtice. To prevent theſe inconveniences, he divided the Kingdom into *Shires* or *Counties* (53), the *Counties* into *Hundreds* or *Wapentakes*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings* (54). He likewiſe made a diviſion of the *Counties* into *Tribings*. For ſuch matters as could not be adjuſted in the *Hundred* or *Wapentake* Court were referred to a ſuperior one, conſiſting generally of three *Hundreds*, the Heads of which were named *Tribingerefas*. This diviſion indeed was almoſt diſcontinued upon the Norman Conqueſt; however there are ſome remains of it to this day in the *Ridings* of *Yorkſhire*, *Lathes* of *Kent*, and the three parts of *Lincolnſhire*, viz. *Lindſey*, *Reſteven* and *Holland* (55). Theſe diviſions were made, that every man might be more directly under the notice and juriſdiction of the government, and more certainly anſwerable to the Law for any misbehaviour. The *Tythings* were called ſo, becauſe ten houſholders and their families were formed into a diſtinct body. Theſe ten men were all bound to the King for the good behaviour of each other. The more particular circumſtances of this proviſion were theſe: the Lords were to anſwer for their ſlaves; husbands for their wives; fathers for their children till fourteen years of age. And generally the maſter of the family was to be ſecurity for thoſe who lived with him. If any one of the ten fell under ſuſpicion of any treſpaſs, he was obliged to give ſecurity for his good behaviour; but if he could find none, the *Tything* committed him to priſon, to prevent their being liable to the puniſhment he ſhould incur by his faults (56). Thus the *Houſeholders* being reſponſible for their *Families*, the *Tything* for the *Houſeholders*, the *Hundred* for the *Tythings*, and the *Counties* for the *Hundreds*, every one was watchful over his neighbour's actions. If a ſtranger guilty of any crime made his eſcape, information was taken of the houſe where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the maſter of the family was condemned to pay the fine. But in caſe he had not ſtaid ſo long as three days, the Houſeholder was acquitted upon the oath of himſelf and two of his neighbours, that he was not privy to his crime (57). Some writers have been of opinion, that Alfred was not the firſt who divided the Kingdom into Shires, but that it was done by others before his time. But Sir John Spelman rejects this notion upon very ſtrong and convincing reaſons, and particularly the expreſs authority of Ingulphus, Huntindon, and William of Malmesbury, which is much ſuperior to that of any later writers (58). When the King had diſtributed the Kingdom into diſtinct Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings, and by that means taken a ready method to diſcover delinquents, he took away the *Vidomes* or *Vice-domini*, who were deputies to the Earls, and inſtead of them ſubſtituted the Sheriff or Reeve of the Shire, who from that inſtitution have ever ſince continued, firſt as a deputy to the Earl, and ſince as an immediate officer of the Crown. And beſides the Sheriff he appointed in every Shire peculiar Juſtices, whoſe name and juriſdiction are not at preſent very certainly known, but Sir John Spelman (59) ſuppoſes them to have been the ſame with the *King's Aldermen*, and *Aldermen of the Shire*, who as Mr. Hearne is of opinion (60) were thoſe who were ſtiled in the Saxon Laws *Wites* or *Wiſemen* (61). Theſe were the ſupreme Judges in the *Shire-Gemot* or County-Court, and took cogniſance of the greater cauſes, which were not determinable in the Hundred Courts. By this means he divided the juriſdiction of the *Vidome* into the offices of a Judge and a Sheriff; the firſt of which ſeems to have had a mere juridical function, the other only a miniſterial or mixed one. When he had thus reduced the quality of the officer to a condition more agreeable to the due execution of juſtice, he ſettled likewiſe the method of ſuit, and ready proſecution of right; ordaining, that for the better eaſe of the ſubject (62), original writs ſhould, without any ſpecial petition to the King, be of courſe granted by the Officer, as things of duty and not of favour (63). Theſe inſtitutions produced ſo ſurprizing an alteration in the Kingdom, that though before there was no poſſibility of travelling without arms, all places became now ſo ſecure, that when the King for the trial ſake cauſed golden bracelets to be hung up in the croſs-ways, no man ventured to touch them. Virgins might ſafely travel every where alone (64); nay Ingulfus tells us, that if a perſon left his money all night in the highway, he might find it untouched the next morning.

(53) Ingulph.
(54) Malmeſbury, lib. 2.
(55) Hearne's Notes upon Spelman, p. 108. and Walker's *Not. in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 74.
(56) There is much the ſame regulation in China. See the *Hiſtory of Menaca.*
(57) Spelman, p. 109, 110.
(58) Id. p. 111, 112, 113.
(59) P. 114.
(60) Notes upon Spelman, p. 114.
(61) See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, Spelman's *Gloſſary* in the word Aldermannus, Dr. Brady's *Gloſſary* at the end of his Introduction to the *Old Engliſh Hiſtory*, p. 66. and Mr. Tyrrel's *General Hiſtory of England*, vol. 1. in Introd.
(62) *Miroir aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir Edw. Coke in his Preface to the 9th Report.
(63) Spelman, *ubi ſupra.*
(64) Speed.

[*O*] *He regulated the Militia in ſuch a manner, as was moſt proper for the ſecurity of the Nation.*] In order to prevent the kingdom from being infeſted any more by foreign enemies, he diſpoſed the Militia in ſuch a manner, as enabled him to oppoſe any invaſion, if the Danes were inclined to renew their incurſions. He kept in each county a body of troops, and appointed ſeveral Prefects or Commanders, and ordered ſome of the ſoldiers to garriſon the forts and caſtles, which he built, and others to the ſervice of the field, as occaſion required. Theſe being divided into two bodies, the one went firſt and ſerved for a certain time, and then were relieved by the other, who ſtaid at home; and over all, as his Generaliſſimo, was his *Princeps Militiæ*, who commanded in chief under the King; and we find that in his Will he ſtiles Æthelred Earl of Mercia,

Trade and Commerce, and ordered a great number of trading ſhips to be built [P]; he promoted the intereſts of learning, which was at that time at a very low ebb in this Kingdom [Q]; and he is ſaid by a great many Authors to have founded the Univerſity

Mercia, his ſon-in-law, who bore that office, by this name. It appears likewiſe, that beſides this regular and ſtanding Militia, he conſtituted by way of collateral ſecurity, other Guardians of the kingdom againſt the irruptions of the Danes. Theſe were perſons of great power, and influence, and reputation, who conſtantly reſiding in the places of their charge, had, in defect of the ordinary proviſions, ſome extraordinary commiſſion for the common ſafety of the county. Thus we find Ceolmund the Earl conſtituted a Guardian in Kent (65); in Rocheſter Swithulf the Biſhop; in Eſſex Earl Brithulf; in London Earl Æthelred; in Dorcheſter Halard the Biſhop; in Suſſex Eadulf; in Wincheſter the Biſhop Bertulf (66) and divers others in ſeveral places, as Edred, Duke or Earl of Devonſhire, who died in the year 900 (67), a month before Alfred's death, to whom he had been a faithful aſſiſtant in many battles (68). By this means, together with a numerous fleet, which was always ready to put to ſea, or cruiſing round the iſland, he kept the foreign Danes ſo much in awe, that during the reſt of his reign, they durſt not attempt to make a deſcent. And for the ſame reaſon thoſe who were ſettled in the iſland, found themſelves conſtrained to continue quiet.

(65) Matth. Weſtm. an. 197. Godwin. fol. 337.

(66) Spelman, p. 147, 148.

(67) Brompton, Col. 832.

(68) H. Huntingt. fol. 202. n. 20. *See* Hearne's Notes on Spelman, *ubi ſupra.*

[P] *He gave all imaginable encouragement to trade and commerce, and ordered a great number of trading ſhips to be built.*] When he had by theſe wiſe regulations provided for the ſafety of the State, he endeavoured to make the people reliſh the fruits of peace, by introducing trade and commerce. He ordered a conſiderable number of Merchant-ſhips to be built, which he let out to the principal Merchants for the encouragement of traffic. It is affirmed, that ſome of theſe Merchants traded as far as the Eaſt-Indies, from whence they imported ſeveral things before unknown to the Engliſh. Malmesbury (69) tells us, that Alfred ſent a preſent to the Indies in honour of St. Thomas. Sigelin Biſhop of Sherborn was employd to deliver it, who performed that voyage ſucceſsfully, and brought back precious ſtones, perfumes, and other things, which were then great curioſities in England. But here we are not to ſuppoſe, that this voyage was performed by doubling the Cape of Good-Hope, but that the Biſhop paſſed the Straits, and landed at ſome of the ports in Paleſtine, and travelled the reſt of the way in Caravans; or elſe re-imbarked upon the Red-ſea, and fell into the Arabian gulf, and coaſted along the Perſian ſhore till he came to the Indies. And to ſhew the extent of the King's genius, we are told (70), that there was in the Cotton Library an old Memorial of a voyage of one Oether a Dane, performed by Alfred's orders for the diſcovery of a North-Eaſt paſſage. Part of this account has been publiſhed by Hackluyt (71) and Purchas in his *Pilgrim*, from whom Sir John Spelman has tranſcribed it. In the Saxon tranſlation of Oroſius by King Alfred there is an exact relation of the Voyage of Oether and Wolſtan, who ſeems to have been an Engliſhman; but this is in ſeveral points different from the printed account of Hackluyt, as may be ſeen by conſulting it in the Appendix to the Latin tranſlation of Alfred's Life (72). He conſidered likewiſe the great want which the kingdom laboured under of Artificers, as well as thoſe of nobler profeſſions; and accordingly procured them to come over from all parts and ſettle in England. So that his court was ſoon frequented with ſtrangers of all profeſſions, Gauls, Franks, Armoric-Britons, Germans, Friſons, Scots, Welch, and others, whom he encouraged in the moſt liberal manner imaginable.

(69) *De Geſtis Pontific.* l. 2.

(70) Spelman, p. 152, 153, &c.

(71) Vol. 1. p. 235.

(72) P. 205. ed. Oxon. 1678.

[Q] *He promoted the intereſts of learning, which was at that time at a very low ebb in this kingdom.*] That learning was univerſally neglected in this Prince's reign, appears from his letter to Biſhop Wulfſig, prefixed to his tranſlation of St. Gregory's *Paſtoral.* In this letter he tells the Biſhop, that "both the "Clergy and Laity of the Engliſh, were formerly "bred to letters, and made great improvements in "the valuable parts of learning; that by the advantage of ſuch a learned education, the precepts "of religion and loyalty were well obſerved; the "State flouriſhed, and the Government was famous "for its conduct in foreign countries. And with "regard to the Clergy, they were particularly eminent for their inſtructions, for acting up to their "character, and diſcharging all the parts of their "function; ſo that ſtrangers uſed to come hither "for learning, diſcipline and improvement. But "now the caſe is miſerably altered, and we have "need of travelling to learn what we uſed to teach. "In ſhort knowledge is ſo entirely loſt among the "Engliſh, that there are very few on this ſide the "*Humber*, who can either tranſlate a piece of Latin, or ſo much as underſtand their common "prayers in their mother-tongue. There were ſo "few who could do this, that I do not remember "one on the South-ſide of the Thames, when I "came to the crown (73)." This univerſal ignorance was occaſioned by the dreadful devaſtation which the Danes had made, who had not only accidentally deſtroyed learning, while thro' covetouſneſs they ſeized upon all places, in which there was any proviſion for it, but had with a particular malignance towards learning, politeneſs, and religion, raged againſt the profeſſors of it and the profeſſion itſelf, burning books and houſes, and putting the men to the ſword. "And tho' by this ſcarcity at home, "as Sir John Spelman obſerves (74), the King was "forced to ſeek for learned men abroad, yet even "there alſo (in all places on this ſide the Alpes,) "Scholars and Men of learning were very ſcarce, "by reaſon of the like irruptions of thoſe Northern "Nations into the South-Weſt parts of Europe, "which in every place produced much what the "ſame effects. But whereſoever the King could "light of any men for his purpoſe, by all the means "he could he procured them to come over to him, "and help him in ſetting again on foot the know-"ledge of letters here in our land: and ſuch was "his exceeding liberality in the entertainment of "them, as that, notwithſtanding their ſcarcity, he "ſoon furniſhed himſelf with very choice men, "of whom there are ſome that are to this day re-"membred unto us." Of this number was John Erigena or Scotus, an Iriſhman, who was a perſon of conſiderable learning, and a great Maſter of languages, particularly the Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic; Aſſerius, ſirnamed Menevenſis from the monaſtery of St. Davids, of which he was a Monk, who wrote in the King's life-time an account of his actions, which is ſtill extant, and dedicated to Alfred himſelf, but he lived not to continue it to the end of his reign; John the Monk, famous for his ſkill in Logic, Muſic, and Arithmetic; who is probably the ſame, whom he calls in the Preface to Gregory's *Paſtoral*, *John his Maſs-Prieſt*, and who taught him among others, as he ſays there, to underſtand and tranſlate that book. He had others of eminent learning, who were Saxons, natives of the Kingdom, and yet in regard of the circumſtances of their procurement many of them may juſtly be number'd among thoſe, whom he had from foreign countries; as Werefrid Biſhop of Worceſter, who held that Biſhopric in the life of Burrhed King of Mercia; but the Danes invading Mercia, and expelling Burrhed, Werefrid, whoſe province was in Mercia, was obliged to take refuge beyond ſea, till he was reſtored by Alfred. Plegmond, a Mercian, to whom he gave the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, and who is ſaid to have excelled all his contemporaries in the knowledge of Divinity and the Scriptures. Dunwulph Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had a very low education, and had been the Neat-herd, in whoſe houſe the King in his diſtreſs had concealed himſelf; but Alfred finding him a man of excellent genius, and capable of a much ſuperior employment, he got him inſtructed in learning; in which he made ſo great a progreſs, that the King raiſed him to the See of Wincheſter (75). But this ſtory is very much doubted by ſome writers (76).

(73) *Præfat. Ælfredi Regis*, publiſhed in Mr. Wiſe's edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis, Oxon. 1722. p. 87.

(74) Pag. 132.

(75) Malmeſbury 242. *See* Spelman, p. 138.

ſity of Oxford [*R*]. Though he was capable himſelf of diſcovering the beſt means of promoting the public good, yet he always conſulted with others of eminent abilities [*S*]. Neither

(76) *See* Walker's *Not. in Vit. Ælfredi Magni*, pag. 102. and Hearne's Notes upon Spelman, p. 138.

ters (76). To theſe great Men we may add Wulfſiig and Æthelſtan Biſhops of London, Werebert Biſhop of Cheſter, and Wereolf a Prieſt; and particularly St. Neots, a man of extraordinary zeal for promoting Religion. Theſe were the principal perſons, whom the King made uſe of to recover his ſubjects from the diſadvantages of an illiterate education, to inform their underſtandings, direct their conſciences, and poliſh their manners. By their aſſiſtance he was directed in his enquiry after men of abilities and probity, who being found out, were put into a method of education, and furniſhed with opportunities of improvement. And thus in a ſhort time there were perſons enough of competent learning to furniſh the Engliſh Sees, and ſupport the character of Biſhops. And for fear the diſadvantage of the times ſhould be ſuch, that the learning of the preſent Clergy might die with them, and not deſcend upon their ſucceſſors, the King reſolved upon making ſome proviſion for the inſtruction of poſterity. To this purpoſe he employed his Biſhops and other learned Men in tranſlating ſuch books, as were moſt uſeful to the Clergy, into the Saxon language; and he undertook himſelf the tranſlation of Gregory the Great's *Paſtoral* concerning the duty of Biſhops and Prieſts. Several copies of this verſion were tranſcribed, and ſent by him to every Biſhop's ſon with order that they ſhould be carefully preſerved, with this view, that if thro' the like occaſions the Church ſhould hereafter be obliged again to confer holy Orders upon men, who underſtood not the Latin tongue, they might learn their duty from hence. The Preface of this *Paſtoral* is written by way of letter to Wulfſig Biſhop of London. We ſhall give the reader a ſhort extract from it. "He conjures the Biſhop "to communicate his knowledge, and transfuſe his "own good qualities as far as he can. Conſider, "ſays he, what puniſhment we have reaſon to ex"pect even in this life, if we neither take care of "our own improvement, nor conſult the benefit of "poſterity. We vainly value ourſelves upon the "name of Chriſtianity; but alas! there are but a "few of us, who live agreeably to our profeſſion. "Theſe conſiderations made me reflect, that tho' "before the late times of rapine and devaſtation all "the churches of England were well provided with "books, yet many people were little better for this "advantage, becauſe they were written in foreign "languages, which the people did not underſtand. "Now at firſt I was ſomewhat ſurprized to find "men of ſo great learning and piety, with whom "the country was plentifully furniſhed in former "ages, omit the tranſlation of at leaſt ſome part of "their Libraries. But this difficulty was eaſily re"moved, when I conſider'd, that our anceſtors had "no apprehenſion, that we ſhould ever have ſunk "into this prodigious degree of ignorance; and "therefore declined the tranſlating of books on "purpoſe; imagining that the locking up of learn"ing in foreign languages would prompt men to "ſtudy and application, and by conſequence pro"mote their improvement." He proceeds then to obſerve, that "the Bible written in Hebrew was "tranſlated into Greek and Latin, and that all Chri"ſtendom had ſome part of it render'd in their "own language. For theſe reaſons he thought it "adviſeable to tranſlate St. Gregory's *Paſtoral* into "Engliſh; for tho' the late commotions had diſ"couraged learning, and made Latin an unintelligi"ble language, yet a great many of his ſubjects "were able to read Engliſh." He informs Wulfſig that "he had a deſign, that all the Engliſh, who were "in any tolerable circumſtances, ſhould be obliged "to educate their children to read Engliſh before "they put them to any trade; and if they intended "to have them preferred to any degree of notice "and conſideration, they ſhould get them inſtructed "in Latin. And laſtly as to the ſenſe of the tranſ"lation, he had govern'd himſelf by the directions "of Plegmond, Aſſerius, Grimbold, and John (77)." Theſe books were ſent to all the reſpective Sees, and each copy had a ſtyle or golden pen worth fifty marks, fix'd to it; both which were laid up in the church, and all people ſolemnly conjured not to remove either of them (78).

(77) *Vide Præfat. Ælfredi Regis*, in Mr. Wiſe's edition of Aſſerius Menev. p. 87, 88, &c. and Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. 1. book 3. p. 167. and Spelman, p. 141, 142, 143.

(78) Spelman, *Concil.* vol. 1. p. 379, 380. and the *Life of Ælfred the Great*, p. 143.

[*R*] *And he is ſaid by a great many authors to have founded the Univerſity of Oxford.*] From the prefatory Letter quoted in the preceding remark we may ſee how ſtrong the King's inclinations were to provide for the ſecurity of Religion, to revive the ſtudy of learning, and promote the happineſs of his people. To this purpoſe he mentions a ſcheme of founding ſchools throughout the Kingdom, from whence the Nation might be ſupplied for ever with perſons accompliſhed in all ſciences both divine and human, to ſerve the occaſions of State. How far this excellent project was executed by him, is difficult to determine. However it is certain, that he ſettled a noble ſeat of learning at Oxford; where he built and endowed four ſchools or colleges. In the firſt the Abbot Neots and Grimbold read Divinity; in the ſecond Aſſerius taught Grammar and Logic; in the third John, a Monk of St. David's, taught Logic, Arithmetic, and Muſic; and in the fourth John Scotus profeſſed Geometry and Aſtronomy (79). Spelman ſays (80), that he ſettled a revenue for about eighty Scholars under certain ſtatutes and regulations; and Camden tells us, that he founded but three halls or ſchools; the firſt at the end of High-ſtreet for Grammarians, was called *Little-Univerſity-Hall*: the ſecond in School-ſtreet for Philoſophy, was called *Leſs-Univerſity-Hall*; and the third in High-ſtreet, more to the Weſt than the firſt, for Divinity was named *Great-Univerſity-Hall*. Theſe three halls were afterwards thrown into one ſociety, and called by the name of *Univerſity-College* (81). Brian Twine ſets the antiquity of Oxford much higher than the reign of Alfred (82). But Sir John Spelman on the other hand ſeems pretty well aſſured, that this Prince was the firſt Founder (83). The examination of the arguments urged on both ſides, would lead us too far for the limits of our deſign; we ſhall therefore refer the curious reader to the writers themſelves.

(79) Rapin's *Hiſtory of England*, vol. 1. book 4. and Spelman, p. 187.

(80) P. 146.

(81) Id. p. 189.

(82) See his Apology.

(83) *Life of Ælfred the Great*, p. 172, &c.

[*S*] *He always conſulted with others of eminent abilities.*] He ordered matters in ſuch a manner, that all reſolutions relating to the publick were to paſs through two diſtinct councils. The firſt was the *Privy-Council*, to which none but thoſe, whom the King had a particular eſteem for, were admitted. Here all affairs were firſt debated, before they were laid before the ſecond or *Great Council* of the Kingdom, which conſiſted of Biſhops, Earls of the Counties, the King's Aldermen, and his chief Thanes, who were afterwards called *Barons*. "When ſeve"rally to every defect or evil appearance in the "State, ſays Sir John Spelman (84), the King had "provided a particular remedy; then conſidering the "continual change and innovation that new-founded "and growing States were neceſſarily ſubject to, he "held it not ſecure to leave the ſucceſs of all upon the "adminiſtration of the ordinances that he had already "made; but that by continual and certain intelligence "of the condition of the Commonwealth he might be "able to foreſee the coming evil and prevent it, or un"dertaking it before it had gotten ſtrength, with "more facility redreſs it, he inſtituted, for a perpe"tual ordinance (85), that twice in the year, and "oftner if need required, there ſhould be an aſſem"bly (that is of the Great Council of the Kingdom, "the Biſhops and Nobles) held at London, to con"ſult of the well governing of the Commonwealth. "This (we muſt underſtand) was an aſſembling of "the repreſentative body of the States ſettled by "Ælfred in a formal and a conſtant courſe; not "that it was of one and the ſame form and ſolem"nity with our later Parliaments; but as the whole "Kingdom was then entirely either in the hands of "the Kings or of his Earls and Thanes, and all that "held lands under them, held them in ſuch ſub"jection and dependence, as that they were wholly "at their Lords diſpoſe; ſo what was then ordained "by the King, his Earls and Thanes, was a binding "Law to the whole Kingdom; for that it was the "act of thoſe that had the abſolute intereſt, and did "involve the right of the reſidue of ſuch as were "but

(84) Spelman, p. 157, 158.

(85) *Le Roy Ælfrid ordeigna pur uſage perpetuel, que a deux foits per lan, ou pluis ſouent pur miſtier, in temps de peace ſe aſſembler a Londres pur parliamenter ſur &c. Miroir aux Juſtices*, quoted by Sir Edw. Coke in his Preface to the ninth Report.

Neither were the virtues of his private life leſs remarkable than his public [T]. He was

" but their liege-men and vaſſals. As for the Bi-
" ſhops, they were ever members of thoſe grand
" councils and parties in the ſanctions of them;
" beſides that in reſpect of their temporal poſſeſſions,
" they had the intereſt of Thanes and Barons, the
" ſacred eſteem of their perſons and function, toge-
" ther with their predominance of underſtanding,
" did not only make their votes equivalent to thoſe
" of the Nobles, but even the whole act to have
" the more reverend eſteem and acceptation."

The ſame Author obſerves, that from this inſtitution of the King it became a general cuſtom among his Saxon ſucceſſors to hold aſſemblies of their Biſhops and Nobles conſtantly three times a year, at Chriſtmas, Eaſter and Whitſuntide, in ſolemn conſultation concerning the affairs of the Kingdom. Theſe aſſemblies were not held always in one place, but wherever the occaſion required, though moſt commonly in the place where the King kept his court and reſidence (86). This general *Council* or *Aſſembly* of the nation was called in Saxon *Wittena-Gemot*: and at preſent the *Parliament*, a name taken from the French. It is very warmly diſputed, whether the people had a right to ſend repreſentatives to the aſſembly; but however that be, we ſee in theſe three councils the original of the *Secret* or *Privy Councils*, as well as the antiquity of *Parliament*.

(86) Spelman, p. 158.

[T] *Neither were the virtues of his private life leſs remarkable than his public.*] If we conſider the great and important affairs which he was engaged in for the publick good, we might imagine that he had no leiſure to mind his own private concerns. But he was one of thoſe happy genius's to whom every thing ſeems natural, and who are continually employed without appearing to be ſo. He knew too well the value of time to loſe any part of it. So far was he from being like moſt Princes, who think that their high ſtation gives them the privilege of ſpending all their time in diverſions and trifles, that he endeavoured to make the beſt of every moment. He made a vow to ſet apart half of his time to the ſervice of God, as Aſſerius Menevenſis informs us (87); but William of Malmesbury (88), and others relate, that he divided the four and twenty hours of day and night into three parts; eight hours of which he ſpent in reading, writing, and prayer; eight hours in ſleep and other refreſhments; and the remaining third was employed in the affairs of government. This vow of his was not made in adverſity, when every perſon is inclined to be religious, nor in his old age, when the world had firſt forſaken him, but in the vigour of life and in the height of his ſucceſs (89). As the uſe of clocks and hour glaſſes was not then introduced into England, he meaſured the time by the means of wax-candles, twelve inches long, with the diviſion of the inches marked on them diſtinctly. There being ſix in number, and being lighted one after another, burnt four hours each, that is, every three inches an hour, ſo that the whole ſix candles laſted juſt twenty four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whoſe office it was to put him in mind how each hour paſſed; and to prevent the wind from making them burn unſteadily, it is ſaid he invented the method of encloſing them in lanthorns (90). " His practice of devotion, ſays Sir John Spel-
" man (91), was not after monaſtic renunciation,
" forſaking labour and the converſation of men, in-
" ſtead of the inticements of the world, but was
" in a converſeable regularity, not only good in
" itſelf, but profitable to all, and in a greater or leſ-
" ſer degree more obvious to every man's imitation."
His inclinations for virtue and ſobriety were remarkable in the moſt critical periods of life. When he was in the heat of his youth, and the ſtrength of his paſſions, he uſed to riſe in the night, walk privately into the church, and pray to God that he would fortify him with his grace againſt the irregular ſollicitations of his paſſions. And rather than run the riſque of a libertine practice, he begged, that ſome check might be put upon his health to ſecure his conduct, and abate the violence of deſire (92). " As his de-
" votion firſt ſhewed itſelf in his youth, ſo it con-
" ſtantly accompanied all the actions of his whole
" life; and though from his youth he was bred a
" man of war, and continually exerciſed in the ne-
" ceſſities of a barbarous and licentious war, yet
" could not the roughneſs thereof diſtemper the na-
" tural tenderneſs of his heart, nor any outrage of
" the barbarous enemy ſo harden it againſt pity, but
" that ſtill for all their provocations, he ſought out
" the way to ſhew mercy to them, never ſo truly
" pleaſed as when he could bring the concluſion of
" a war to theſe terms, as to make an exchange of
" his own temporal victory for an eternal conqueſt
" of them to his Saviour. No wrong, no damage ſo
" great, no advantage againſt them of ſuch conſe-
" quence, but that all might be remitted, if once they
" offered to embrace Chriſtianity; the King's heart
" never exceeding moderation, but when religion
" overſoftened it in piety and ways of ſhewing mer-
" cy (93)." He uſed, whenever he was at leiſure, to be either reading or queſtioning others to inform himſelf, or reaſoning with them upon religious ſubjects, in order to inſtruct them, never regretting ſo much the want of any thing in his country, as of men of virtue and learning, by whoſe help he might advance religion, virtue and knowledge, both in himſelf and others (94). His munificence and charity were extraordinary, as appears by the management of his fortune. He divided his revenues into two parts; and then ſubdivided the firſt moiety into three; with one third of which he paid the ſalaries of his court; another third was expended in buildings; and the remaining third was beſtowed upon ſtrangers and indigent perſons, who travelled hither. The other moiety was divided into four parts; one of which was diſtributed among the Engliſh, who were poor; the monaſteries had a ſecond portion; the ſcholars had the third: and the churches and monaſteries beyond ſea were preſented with a fourth (95). By his revenues we mean his own *Hereditary Eſtate*; for as Mr. Rapin obſerves, it was not cuſtomary in thoſe days for Princes to levy taxes upon the people, in order to ſquander the money in luxury and extravagancies. As for his genius, the ſtrength and univerſality of it was extraordinary. The new way of building ſhips, by which he gained the advantage over the Danes, was his own invention. He was an excellent Architect; he drew models with great beauty and exactneſs, and taught the Engliſh to build with more regularity and magnificence than formerly (96). He was very conſtant in his devotion, and uſed to frequent the publick ſervice every day, and ſeldom miſſed any ſtated hours of prayer either by day or night. He was a Prince of great condeſcention and inoffenſive pleaſantneſs in converſation; eaſy of acceſs, and had nothing that was rough, contemptuous, or diſobliging in his behaviour (97). With regard to his reputation in the field, nothing can be better eſtabliſhed. He commanded in more battles than Julius Cæſar, diſtinguiſhed himſelf with all imaginable bravery, and fought up to the character of an Hero in Romance (98). " His courage, ſays Sir
" John Spelman (99), was ſo preſent and innate in
" him, that fear could never make the leaſt mo-
" mentary ſeiſure or miſgiving of his heart, though
" it often aſſail'd him in deſperate and unexpected ac-
" cidents. Withall it was ſo rarely qualified, as that
" how great ſoever it was, it was yet poſſeſſed with-
" out that turbulent oſtentation, that leſſer ſpirits
" are often clogged withall. His courage always
" roſe according to the exigence of the occaſion,
" and having ſerved that, it quietly and without
" vapouring reſolved into that virtue, that he was
" next to make uſe of. Neither was his heart only
" conſcious of his valour, but it was actually ap-
" proved both to himſelf and others. For though
" (by the privilege of a Prince) his conduct and
" command in the war, might juſtly enough have
" afforded him the title of *Valiant*; yet fortune
" would that the ſtrict trial both of his heart and
" hands ſhould make his purchaſe of it; of both
" which he often made particular demonſtration, to
" the great ſupport of his own party, to the terror
" of his adverſaries, and to the admiration of them
" both. *Solus adverſum pectus* (ſaith Malmesbury)
" *hoſtibus offerre, ſolus inclinatam aciem reſtituere,*
" *nota*

(87) Pag. 64.
(88) *De Geſt. Reg.* l. 2. fol. 24.
(89) Spelman, p. 207.
(90) Id. p. 205, 206. and Aſſer. p. 68.
(91) Pag. 203.
(92) Id. p. 207, 208.
(93) Id. p. 208.
(94) Id. p. 205.
(95) Aſſer. Menev. p. 64, 65. and Malmesbury *de Geſt. Regum Angl.* fol. 25.
(96) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.
(97) Id. p. 44.
(98) Malmesb. *de Geſt. Regum Ang.* l. 2. fol. 24.
(99) Pag. 214, 215.

was eminent for his learning, and wrote ſeveral books [*U*]. We muſt not omit to obſerve that he employed his poetic talent in the nobleſt improvement of the minds of his ſubjects [*X*]. He was highly eſteemed in foreign countries. He died in the two and fiftieth year of his age on the 28th of October 900 (*n*), having reigned twenty eight years and

(*n*) Spelman, p. 216.

" *nota virtutis ſuæ ſpecie alienos territans, ſuos cor-*
" *roborans*; ſo little glorying the whilſt in what he
" did, as we may judge that virtue rather in eſteem
" with him for the ſervice it always did him, than
" any way ſpecially affected, the natural bent of his
" heart being wholly unto Literature, and therein,
" above all other, to the ſearch of Divine Know-
" ledge, and that, not as it is attained by ſpeculation
" only, but (which makes it truly Divine) as it is
" perfected in the way of religious practice.

(100) Remark [*B*].

[*U*] *He was eminent for his learning, and wrote ſeveral books.*] We have obſerved above (100), that he had a very early inclination for learning; and his progreſs in it afterwards was anſwerable. Tho' his wit was ſharp and univerſal, yet it was alſo ſtrong, induſtrious, and patient of labour and ſtudy. He was a man of infinite application in reading, writing, and collecting, and the books, which he tranſlated, were an unknown number, as Æthelwerd aſſures us; *In propriam verterat linguam volumina, numero ignoto, adeo variè, adeo peropimè &c.* And tho' the Saxon language was then very barren and deſtitute both of phraſe and originals, to expreſs what related to arts and ſciences, becauſe it had been but little uſed in Literature, yet his verſions were ſo full and proper and expreſſive, that they charmed the reader (101). Aſſerius tells us, that he was the beſt Saxon Poet of his time (102), an excellent Geometrician, Orator, Philoſopher, Architect, and Hiſtorian. Mr. Bale in his *Centuries* (103) has given us a Catalogue of the works which he tranſlated, and thoſe which he wrote; and it is ſaid that the time of his compoſing theſe Books, and making his Laws was about the year 893 (104). He wrote *Breviarium quoddam collectum ex legibus* TROJANORUM, GRÆCORUM, BRITANNORUM, SAXONUM ET DANORUM. lib. 1. i. e. " An Abridgment collated from the Laws of the " Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, in " one book." *Viſi-Saxonum Leges*, lib. 1. i. e. " The Laws of the Weſt-Saxons, in one book." *Inſtituta quædam*, lib. 1. i. e. " Certain Inſtitutes, " in one book." *Contra Judices iniquos*, lib. 1. i. e. " Againſt unjuſt Judges, in one book." *Dicta Sapientum*, lib. 1. i. e. " The Sayings of wiſe men, " in one book." *Regum Fortunæ variæ*, lib. 1. i. e. " The various Fortunes of Kings, in one book." *Parabolæ & Sales*, l. 1. i. e. " Parables and Jeſts, in one " book." *Acta Magiſtratuum*, lib. 1. i. e. " Acts of Magi- " ſtrates, in one book." *Collectiones Chronicorum*, lib. 1. i. e. " Collections of Chronicles, in one " book." *Manuale Meditationum*, Lib. 1. i. e. " A Manual of Meditations, in one Book." His tranſlations into Saxon were as follows: Hormeſtarii *Pauli Oroſii*, Lib. 1. Some are of opinion, that Alfred was not the author of this Tranſlation or rather Paraphraſe of Oroſius (105). *Paſtorale D. Gregorii*, Libri 2. i. e. St. Gregory's Paſtoral, in two books." *Dialogus ejuſdem Gregorii*, lib. 1. i. e. " A Dia- " logue of the ſame Gregory, in one book." But this was rather done at his command by Werefred Biſhop of Worceſter (106). *Geſta Anglorum Bedæ*, lib. 5. i. e. " Bede's Hiſtory of England, in five " books." This was publiſhed by Mr. Whelock at Cambridge 1644, in folio, who obſerves, that it is rather a paraphraſe than a tranſlation. *Boëtius de Conſolatione*, lib. 1. i. e. " Boëtius of Conſolation, in one book. This was publiſhed at Oxon in 8vo 1698, by Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, Gentleman-Commoner of Queen's college. Some are of opinion that Werefred, Biſhop of Worceſter, was the author of this tranſlation; and others ſay it was done by Aſſerius Menevenſis (107). Dr. Plot (108) tells us, that this tranſlation was made by Alfred at Woodſtock, for which he quotes a MS. in the Cotton Library. The King was ſo highly pleaſed with this book, that he always carried it about him in his boſom. *Molmutinæ Leges*, lib. 1. i. e. " The Molmutian Laws, " in one book (109). *Martianæ Leges*, lib. 1. i. e. " The Martian Laws, in one Book." *Pſalterium Davidicum*, lib. 1. i. e. " David's Pſalter, in one " book. Publiſhed by Sir John Spelman in 4to. 1640. The latter part of it was done by another hand. This tranſlation was the laſt, and that which concluded all his ſtudies, he being ſeized by death, before he had half finiſhed it, as Malmesbury (110) informs us, who likewiſe tells us of many other of his works, tho' he names but few of them, and thoſe already mentioned. He is ſaid to have tranſlated Æſop's Fables out of Greek into Latin and Saxon (111). And the old MS. Hiſtory of Ely (112) quoted by Archbiſhop Parker in his Preface to *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, ſays, that the King tranſlated all the New and Old Teſtament. *Aluredus, acerrimi ingenii Princeps, per Grimbaldum & Joannem, doctiſſimos monachos tantum inſtructus, ut in brevi librorum omnium notitiam habuerit, totumque novum & vetus Teſtamentum in eulogium Anglicæ gentis tranſmutaverit.* And Bury of Boſton ſays, *totum ferè teſtamentum in linguam Anglicanam tranſtulit* (113); i. e. " He tranſlated almoſt all the Teſtament " into the Engliſh language." Which words are very probably to be underſtood of the New Teſtament. But it is doubted whether Alfred really tranſlated the whole Bible (114). It is ſaid, that he wrote a Commentary of his own actions, like Julius Cæſar; for Mr. Fox tells us (115), that *he alſo himſelf compiled a ſtory in the Saxon Speech, called* the Story of Ælfred: But theſe words are ambiguous. However it appears from the Chronicle called, *Brute of England*, that he wrote an Hiſtory (116). Oudin tells us (117), that there is a MS. in the Bodleian Library (118), intitled, *Flores ex divi Auguſtini Soliloquiorum libro collecti & Saxonicè redditi ab Aluredo Rege Anglorum.* i. e. " Flowers collected from St. Auſtin's book of " *Soliloquies*; and tranſlated into Saxon by Alfred " King of England."

(101) Spelman, p. 210.
(102) See the following Remark.
(103) *Centur.* 2. cap. 22.
(104) *See* Mr. Hearne's *Notes* upon Spelman, p. 210.
(105) *See* Somner's Preface to his *Saxon Gloſſary*.
(106) *See* Spelman, p. 211.
(107) *See* Mr Hearne's *Notes* upon Spelman, p. 211, 212.
(108) *Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire*, c. 10. §. 118.
(109) *See* Sheringham *de Ang. Orig.* p. 125.
(110) *De Geſt. Reg. Ang.* l. 2.
(111) *See* Mr. Hearne's *Notes* upon Spelman, p. 212.
(112) *Hiſt. Eliens.* l. 2.
(113) *See* Mr. Hearne's *Notes* upon Spelman, p. 213.
(114) Id. ibid.
(115) *Ad ann.* 872.
(116) Hearne, *Notes* upon Spelman, p. 214.
(117) *Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. Sæc. 9. Col. 311. edit. Lipſiæ 1722.
(118) Num. 5181. Cod. 70.

[*X*] *He employed his poetic talent in the nobleſt improvement of the minds of his ſubjects.*] The reader will be pleaſed to hear Sir John Spelman upon this occaſion in his ſtrong and expreſſive ſtyle (119). " But conſidering with himſelf how weak the Re- " formation was, that depended only upon outward " terror and conſtraint, he applied all his thoughts " to find ſome means, whereby he might inwardly " reclaim their depraved minds, and take them off " from the greedy purſuit of their vile affections. " And whereas this was not otherwiſe to be effect- " ed than by inſtruction, and by infuſion of precepts " both divine and moral, that ſo they might become " Law-givers unto themſelves, and out of conſcience " abſtain from the things, that were evil; there " wanted thoſe, that ſhould be the inſtruments of " ſuch a work, Preachers and Teachers of the word of " God, who with continual pains in inſtructing, ex- " horting, and admoniſhing of them, might in time " beget a Reformation. Howſoever it was, the " King having apprehended the neceſſity of ſuch a " work, no difficulty whatſoever, nor want of " means could ſo diſcourage him, but that the deſire " and hope of doing an happy office unto his peo- " ple did much more ſet him forward in the en- " deavour. At laſt he fell upon the way, whereby " it pleaſed God, in the old world, to infuſe into " barbarous people better thoughts, namely of re- " ligion, of juſtice, of civility, and of honour, not " by writings, (for the Barbarians could not read,) " neither yet ſo much by preaching, (for they were " giddy and perverſe in hearing) but divine wits, " inſpired with more than human faculties, did in " parables, in fables, in ſongs, in proverbs, and the " like, (which they fitted to the humour and pleaſure " of the people) ſo livelily expoſe either the defor- " mity of the preſent reigning vice, or the beauty " and lovelineſs of the contrary virtue, as that while " the ſavage hearers (taken with delight of the " witty expreſſions) did retain and communicate " them to one another, they by little and little con- " ſented to the truth, that was contained in them; " and in the end became no leſs captivate of the

(119) P. 20.

and ſix months, and was firſt buried in the New-Abbey at Wincheſter, but afterwards removed to the Abbey of Hyde without the gates of that city. He married Ælſwith the daughter of Æthelred Earl of the Gaines and of Edburgh his wife, deſcended of the King of Mercia, and by her had two ſons and three daughters; Edward his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him; his ſecond ſon and the youngeſt of his children was named Æthelwerd, and was educated a ſcholar. Æthelfleda his eldeſt daughter was married to Æthelred Earl of Mercia: Æthelgeow was a Nun, and Abbeſs of Æthelengey; and his youngeſt daughter named by ſome Ælfrith, and by others Æthelſwith, was married to Baldwin Earl of Flanders *(o)*. It is believed that he was not in all things conformable to the See of Rome [Y]. His life and actions have been celebrated by the writers of thoſe times in the moſt magnificent manner, and particularly Henry Huntington, who has given an abſtract of his life in an epigram [Z].

(o) Spelman, p. 221, 222.

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" reaſon, which they ſo propounded, than delighted " with the wittineſs of their delivery." Our author then ſhews, what uſe had been made of Poetry by the ancient Legiſlators; and that parables and fables were employed by Solomon and Chriſt in order to correct the vicious prejudices of mankind. Alfred, who was a great admirer of Solomon, appears to have propoſed to himſelf the example of that King, and collected all the maxims of morality, which he could procure, eſpecially ſuch as were extant in verſe in the Saxon tongue; upon which account he is ſaid to have been *Saxonicorum Poëmatum peritiſſimus*. " As he collected what others had written, " ſo he compoſed much himſelf, and obtained the " name of an excellent Poet, for his admired natural " parts, joined with ſo pious an uſe, and ſo happy " effects of them. Whereby indeed he became a " Poet of the rank of thoſe, that in ancient time " have been ſo honourable, and who were as well " the Heroes of their times, as the Poets. As for " his abilities that way, though the event of his " labours hath made a ſufficient demonſtration of " them, becauſe it muſt needs be a powerful faculty " that works a change in the manners of men con- " trary to their own affections; whereas to have " done it but indifferently well in Poetry had been " as good as to have done nothing;

" ——— *Mediocribus eſſe Poetis*
" *Non Dii, non homines, non conceſſere columnæ.*

And again;

" *Non ſatis eſt pulchra eſſe poemata, dulcia ſunto,*
" *Et quocunque volunt animum auditoris agunto.*

" Yet the Monk of Malmesbury has expreſly teſti- " fied of him, that no man was more ſharp and " quick of apprehenſion than King Ælfred, nor " more elegant in the delivery of what he con- " ceived. And Æthelwerd avoucheth that his tranſ- " lation of Boëtius was ſuch as that it would paſſio- " nately and even to tears affect the hearers of it. " The King thus endowed by nature, and furniſhed " by his own induſtry ceaſed not to hunt out and " purſue all occaſions of inſtructing his people, " deſcending often from the awe and terror of a " Sovereign to give the hearer more freedom in " the way of learning, with great judgment inter- " mixing mildneſs and reproof, pleaſantneſs and ſe- " rioufneſs, until he either won or compelled all " ſorts of people, young and old, ignoble and noble, " yea his Biſhops, Earls, and Prefects of Counties, " to receive the impreſſions of his teaching, and in " a ſhort time brought it to paſs that learning and " civility, which formerly had been in contempt, " became the only thing in requeſt, and generally " deſired of every man (120)." There is in the Cotton Library a MS. Collection of divers precepts and inſtructions of Alfred tending to this purpoſe; but they are not his original work in the Saxon language, but a miſcellaneous collection of ſome later author in old Engliſh. The beginning of them intimates, that there had been ſome aſſembly of the chief perſons of both orders of the Kingdom at Sifford, now Shifford near Bampton in Oxfordſhire (121), and that the King had conſulted with his Clergy, Nobles, and others, about the manners and government of the people, and delivered ſome grave admonitions and inſtructions concerning the ſame, in order to be publiſhed throughout the Kingdom (122). Mr. Hearne tells us (123), that amongſt Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS. number IV in the Bodleian Library is another Tract called *Ælfred's Proverbs*, which is of a late date, and contains ſome Rhapſodies about the different conditions of man's life. Dr. Hickes has printed ſome part of it in his *Theſaurus Ling. Sept.* (124).

(120) Spelman, p. 124, 125.

(121) *See* Dr. Plot's *Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire*, c. 2. § 5.

(122) *See* Spelman, p. 126.

(123) Notes upon Spelman, p. 131.

(124) P. 222.

[Y] *Conformable to the See of Rome.*] Sir John Spelman concludes (125), that he was not entirely attached to that See, tho' in ſpiritual matters he reverenced the Pope, according to the doctrine of thoſe times, as univerſal Vicar, but exerciſed his royal authority abſolutely; upon which account they ſeem to have declined contending with him; and therefore, tho' it had happened, that all the Biſhoprics of Weſt-Saxony, viz. Wincheſter, Cornwal, Shirburn, Wells and Cridda, were for three whole years together vacant, and only under the care of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury until the time of the King's death, yet we do not hear of any offence taken at Rome; but when they continued as long vacant in his ſon Edward's time, the firſt news of reſentment, that he heard of, was a curſe and an excommunication. Alfred took likewiſe a method, that threatned the foundation of that univerſal ſovereignty, which in thoſe times of darkneſs begun to raiſe itſelf, by reſtoring the ſecond commandment, which had been order'd by their authority to be omitted in the Decalogue under the countenance of the ſecond Nicene Council; but eſpecially by reviving learning, and giving orders for a general tranſlation of all kinds of books relating to Religion, and eſpecially thoſe of the Old and New Teſtament. We find no Men of learning ſent from Rome to aſſiſt him in the revival of arts and ſciences, tho' he often ſent thither his preſents and oblations, which were returned with their holy favours of another kind. There is no intercourſe of Legates upon record; no interpoſing in the councils and regulations of the Church; no Bulls of privilege for the new Abbies of Wincheſter and Athelny erected by him (126); and what is more remarkable, he entertained John Scotus Erigena, and treated him with great regard, tho' the latter was proſecuted by the Pope for having written ſomething contrary to the ſentiments of the See of Rome. This ſhews, that the correſpondence between England and Rome was not very cloſe; and that this Prince and the Engliſh Church were not ſervilely governed by that See. Mr. Obadiah Walker (127), tho' he had not, at the time when he wrote his Notes upon Sir John Spelman, diſcovered himſelf to be of the Romiſh Church, endeavoured to confute theſe arguments, and to ſhew, that Alfred ſtood very fair with that Church; and upon the occaſion of Sir John Spelman's obſerving, that the reaſon of that King's not being canonized, was becauſe he had been no favourite of the See of Rome (128), he tells us, that there is no ground for that remark, and that he is called *Beatus*, i. e. " Bleſſed," by Ailredus Rhievallenſis, and the character of Saint is aſcribed to him in the *Life of Edward the Elder*; and that his name ſtands in the Calender of the *Engliſh Martyrology*, printed 1608, under the 28th of October (129).

(125) P. 219, &c.

(126) Collier, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. 1. book 3. pag. 171.

(127) *Not. in Vitam Ælfredi Magni*, p. 171, 172.

(128) Spelman, p. 219.

(129) *Not. in Vitam Ælfred. Magn.* p. 171.

[Z] *An abſtract of his life in an Epigram.*] The verſes are not inelegant, conſidering the time when they were written.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede dedit: probitaſque laborem;
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta doleri

☞ALFRED or ALFRID, natural ſon of Oſwy King of Northumberland, was made by his father King of Deira, which did not much pleaſe the Deirians [*A*]; ſo that as ſoon as they heard of Oſwy's death, they revolted againſt Alfred and ſubmitted to Egfrid, Oſwy's legitimate ſon, who had ſucceeded his father in the Kingdom of Bernicia, and who by the revolt of the Deirians became King of all Northumberland (*a*). Alfred retired into Ireland [*B*], where he applied himſelf to ſtudy, and made a conſiderable progreſs in learning (*b*), conſidering the time in which he lived. Egfrid having been killed in a battle againſt the Picts, and leaving no iſſue, the Northumbrians invited Alfred, who was ſtill in Ireland, to come and take poſſeſſion of the crown. Before his arrival the Picts made themſelves maſters of part of Bernicia, and the Welch took two Provinces, which anciently compoſed the Kingdom of Areclute, and became now the Kingdoms of Lenox and Cumberland. Alfred being ſeated on the throne of Northumberland could never wreſt thoſe Provinces out of the hands of the Welch, and it was with great difficulty that he could keep his own Kingdom, which was often attacked by his neighbours. He died in 705, having reigned about twenty years after his reſtoration (*c*); Simeon of Durham ſays (*d*), he reigned but nineteen years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Oſred (*e*). He had been educated by the famous Wilfrid, for whom during his father's life he procured the Biſhoprick of York (*f*). Wilfrid having been removed from his Biſhoprick by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Alfred reſtored him to it the ſecond year of his reign over the Northumbrians, but finding this Prelate too haughty and enterpriſing he depoſed him again, and was prevailed upon ſome years after to reſtore him a ſecond time (*g*). We ſhall give in a note an account of the reaſons why Wilfrid was depoſed [*C*]. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that Alfred aſſiſted at the council of Whitby (*b*), in which he maintained the opinion of the church

(*a*) A. D. 670.

(*b*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Anglet.* tom. 1. liv. 3. p. 168, 169. W. Malm. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang.* lib. 1. c. 3. p. 25. Buchan. *Hiſt. Scot.* l. 5. p. 163.

(*c*) Rapin, ibid. p. 169.

(*d*) *Ap.* Twyſden, *Hiſt. Angl. Script. Decem.* tom. 1. col. 91.

(*e*) Rap. ibid. Simeon Dunelm. ibid.

(*f*) Ricardus Hagueſtald. *apud* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 293.

(*g*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251, 252.

(*b*) We have given ſome account of this Council, in the article of AILBERT, Rem. [*B*].

Gaudia ſemper erant, ſpes ſemper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella pavebas:
Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore jugi, cui ſica cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum ſit onus regnare, probarunt.
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adverſis vel reſpirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finiſſe labores.
Jam poſt tranſactos vitæ regnique dolores,
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumque perenne.

That is,

" Thy innate nobleneſs, O mighty Alfred,
" Form'd thee all good; thy goodneſs made thee
" active
" In ev'ry great purſuit; thy virtuous labours
" Crown'd thee with honour laſting as the world.
" Thy joys were mix'd with grief, they fears with
" hope.
" If Victor now, you dread the morrow's battle:
" If conquer'd, you prepare for next day's fight,
" Undaunted, and ſtill greater from your fall.
" Your unremitting toil, your ſword all reeking
" With hoſtile ſlaughter, ſhew how vaſt the burthen
" To execute the functions of a Crown.
" None ever equall'd your diſtreſs; and none
" With equal courage bore the dreadful trial.
" In vain you fought for reſt amidſt the rage
" And dread alarms of war, till rais'd above
" This lower earthly orb, you found with Chriſt
" Bliſs undiminiſh'd, and a crown immortal."

T.

[*A*] *Which did not much pleaſe the Deirians.*] The reaſon of their diſlike was not perhaps, that Alfred was a baſtard; but in all probability they were afraid, that if the Kingdom of Northumberland, which at that time was under one King, came to be divided again, it might occaſion wars, which would be very deſtructive to them, as they could not but know by the experience of former times (1). We may obſerve here, that Northumberland contained anciently the whole country between the Humber and the river Tweed. That country was divided into two parts; the firſt, called Deira, contained what lies between the Humber and the Tees; the ſecond, called Bernicia, contained the country between the Tees and the Tweed (2).

(1) *See* Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Ang.* tom. 1. liv. 3. p. 154, 167.

(2) Ricard. Hagueſtald. *ap.* Rog. Twyſd. *Hiſt. Ang. Script. decem.* tom. 1. Col. 285.

[*B*] *Alfred retired into Ireland.*] William of Malmesbury ſays (3), that though Alfred was Oſwy's eldeſt ſon, yet the faction of the Nobles thought him unworthy of the crown, becauſe he was a baſtard; and that he retired into Ireland, either being forced to it, or out of anger and indignation. He adds, that Alfred being out of the reach of his brother's hatred, and enjoying a great deal of leiſure, applied himſelf to learning, and filled his mind with Philoſophy. Bale tells us (4), that Alfred retired into ſome Iſland of the Scots; but beſides, that this is contradicted by all the ancient Hiſtorians, it is more probable that Alfred ſtudied among the Iriſh, than among the Scots, ſince he always ſeemed devoted to the principles of the church of Rome, which were received in Ireland, whereas the Scots at that time uſed to follow the practice of the eaſtern churches.

(3) *De Geſt. Reg. Ang.* l. 1. *ap.* H. Savile, *Rer. Ang. Scrip. poſt Bedam*, p. 21.

(4) Balæus, *Il. luſt. Magn. Brit. Scrip. Cent.* 1. fol. 45, *verſo.*

[*C*] *We ſhall give an account of the reaſons why Wilfrid was depoſed.*] To give the reader a clear notion of theſe reaſons, we muſt lay before him what happened after the Council of Whitby. The Pope's party having prevailed in that Council, Coleman Biſhop of Holy-Iſland (5), and the other Scotch Clergymen returned into their country. Tuda was made Biſhop in Coleman's ſtead; but he dying ſoon after, Alfred deſired that Wilfrid, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf very honourably in the Council, might be made Biſhop of York, (the Epiſcopal See being ſtill in Holy-Iſland.) Wilfrid was commanded to go to Paris to be ordained by Ailbert or Agilbert Biſhop of that city. But Wilfrid ſtaying too long abroad, the Biſhoprick was given to Ceadda or Cedda, who was conſecrated by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Wilfrid being returned into England was ſurprized to find his See filled up by another; however he durſt not complain of Alfred, who was then King of Deira, and retired into a Monaſtery. Some time after Theodore, who had lately been made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, making the viſitation of all the Biſhopricks of England, came to York, and cenſured ſeverely Cedda, becauſe he had procured himſelf to be conſecrated by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Cedda ſubmitted with humility to whatever the Archbiſhop would command him. Theodore charmed with this reſignation conſecrated him again, but at the ſame time ordered him to retire into a Monaſtery, that he might make room for Wilfrid, for whom the two Kings deſigned the Biſhoprick of York. Though Bede has not thought fit to tell us for what reaſon Cedda was removed from his See, after he had been conſecrated a ſecond time, yet it is eaſy to gueſs that Theodore had been prevailed upon by the two Kings; for there was, it ſeems, no reaſon to remove Cedda, ſince, if his former conſecration had not been legal, that defect was now ſupplied by his having been conſecrated again. Wilfrid was extremely proud and haughty; he ſupported himſelf only by the favour of King Oſwy and of Alfred; but Oſwy being dead, and Alfred baniſhed, the Biſhop had not much intereſt at the court of Egfrid, and his pride made him at laſt loſe his Biſhoprick. When he was depoſed, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury divided the Kingdom of Northumberland into two Dioceſes; the firſt contained all

(5) The Epiſcopal See had been tranſlated from York to Holy-Iſland in the time of Aidan, (ſee his Article) and was afterwards again tranſlated to York.

church of Rome (*i*) concerning the time of celebrating Eaſter, though King Oſwy his father was of a contrary opinion. Bale ranks our Alfred amongſt the learned men of Great Britain, and tells us that in order to terminate the diſputes concerning the celebration of Eaſter, he wrote ſeveral letters to Coleman, and one to Adaman Coludius (*k*).

(*i*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 243.

(*k*) Baleus, *Illuſt. Magn. Britan. Script. Cent.* 1. fol. 45, *verſo.*

all the country of Deira, and the Epiſcopal See of it was at York; the ſecond contained the country of Bernicia, and the Epiſcopal See thereof continued in Holy-Iſland. Some time after Archbiſhop Theodore erected another Biſhoprick at Haguſtad in Northumberland. When King Alfred had ſucceeded Egfrid, Theodore, being very old and finding he could not live long, repented of what he had done againſt Wilfrid, and entreated King Alfred to reſtore him to his Biſhoprick, which was done accordingly. The See of Holy-Iſland being then vacant, Boſa, Biſhop of York, was tranſlated to Holy-Iſland, and Wilfrid eſtabliſhed at York. He was no ſooner ſettled again in his Biſhoprick, but he undertook to alter all that had been done in the North, whilſt he was under the King's diſpleaſure. He reſolved to unite again the Biſhoprick of Haguſtad to that of York; he claimed all the revenues that had been taken from the Biſhoprick of York, and annexed to that of Haguſtad; he pretended that whatever Theodore had done was void, as having been effected without a ſufficient power and authority. His pretenſions in this reſpect were perhaps well grounded, but he acted with ſo much haughtineſs, that he met every where with perſons who oppoſed him. Alfred himſelf had ſuffered ſo much from his inſolent temper, that he at laſt depoſed him a ſecond time (6). Richard Prior of Haguſtad ſays that Wilfrid was depoſed only because he was falſely accuſed by the King himſelf, and by ſeveral Biſhops, of having violated the commands of Theodore Archbiſhop of Canterbury (7); but that Author is not much to be credited in this, ſince it is plain from his writings, that he intended only to give us a panegyrick upon Wilfrid, and not a true hiſtory of that Prelate. He was again reſtored to his Biſhoprick after Alfred's death (8).

(6) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 247—251.

(7) Ricard. Haguſtald. *ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 296.

(8) Id. ibid.

☞ALFRED ſon of Ethelred II King of England was ſent by his father to Richard II Duke of Normandy, with Emma his mother and Edward his younger brother (*a*); the reaſon of it was, that Sueno King of Denmark having invaded England, had made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole country, which obliged Ethelred to follow very ſoon his wife and children (*b*). Sueno dying ſoon after, Ethelred returned into England, and was reſtored to the throne by the Engliſh, though the Danes had proclaimed Canute King of England. Ethelred dying about a year after his return into England, Edmund his ſon by his firſt wife ſucceeded him, but Canute had ſtill a very great party, being ſupported by all the Danes who were come into England. Edmund having been murthered by order of Edrick Streon his brother-in-law in the year 1017, Canute made himſelf maſter of the whole country. But fearing leſt the children of Edmund ſhould diſpute the crown with him, he ſent them out of England, with orders to the perſon who conducted them to kill them in their voyage, but his command was not obeyed, as we have obſerved in another place (*c*). Canute was ſtill very uneaſy on account of Edmund's brothers who were in Normandy, and would have been extremely glad, if he could have deſtroyed them. But he did not know how to get them out of the hands of Richard their uncle; and he was afraid that this Prince, who was very powerful, might one time or other undertake to reſtore them to the throne of their anceſtors. He thought the beſt method to prevent this danger was to draw Richard into his intereſt by deſiring of him Emma for his wife, and offering one of his ſiſters to that Duke. The propoſal was accepted; Richard married Eſtrithe Canute's ſiſter, and Emma was married to Canute. Alfred and Edward his brother were ſo exaſperated at this marriage, that they could not forbear ſhewing publickly their diſcontent. And indeed they had very good reaſons to complain, ſince Emma had conſented by her marriage contract, that the children ſhe ſhould have by Canute, ſhould be acknowledged as lawful heirs to the crown of England, by which means ſhe deprived the children ſhe had by Ethelred of their birth-right (*d*). After the death of Canute, Harald his ſon by his firſt wife was made King of England by the intrigues of the Earl Goodwin; and Hardicanute, Emma's ſon by the late King, enjoyed only the crown of Denmark. Emma was very much offended at this, but finding he could not at that time raiſe her ſon Hardicanute to the throne of England, ſhe thought it would not be impoſſible to procure the crown for one of Ethelred's ſons, being in hopes that the Engliſh would ſupport her with all their forces in favour of a perſon who was deſcended from their ancient Kings. To effect this deſign ſhe was obliged to act with great prudence and diſſimulation. It was neceſſary that her ſons ſhould come over into England, to raiſe a party in their behalf; but at the ſame time it was no leſs neceſſary to give no ſuſpicion nor jealouſy to the King. Emma therefore thought proper to live in ſuch a manner as might perſuade Goodwin, that ſhe would not in the leaſt meddle with ſtate affairs. She kept her ſelf ſhut up in Wincheſter, employed only in acts of piety and devotion, as though ſhe minded nothing but her ſalvation. When ſhe judged that the King was perſuaded that ſhe did not in the leaſt concern herſelf with politicks, ſhe deſired leave that the Princes her ſons, whom ſhe had not ſeen ſince ſhe was married to Canute, might come and viſit her at Wincheſter. Her requeſt was granted, and Alfred arrived with his brother at Wincheſter (*e*). A great many perſons, who were true Engliſhmen, immediately reſorted to Wincheſter to wait upon the young Princes; Goodwin ſoon perceived Emma's deſign, and acquainted Harald with the danger he was in, and told him at the ſame time, that the conſpiracy not being yet ripe for execution, could eaſily be prevented, and that the only way to be free from all danger, not only for the preſent, but alſo for the future, was to kill the two Princes.

(*a*) A. D. 1015.

(*b*) W. Malm. *de Geſtis Rer. Ang.* lib. 2. c. 10. *In Rer. Ang. Script. poſt.* Bedam, edit. ab Henr. Saville, Francof. 1601. fol. p. 70.

(*c*) See the remark [*B*] of the article ALDRED.

(*d*) Rapin, *Hiſt. d'Angl.* tom. 1. liv. 5. p. 409.

(*e*) A. D. 1037.

Harald

Horald approving this project, Goodwin told him, that to execute it ſecurely, the King muſt affect a perfect tranquillity, in order to draw Alfred and his brother into the ſnare. When they had ſtaid ſome time at Wincheſter, the King invited them to paſs a few days at court before they returned into Normandy. This invitation made Emma extremely uneaſy. She knew very well that it was impoſſible for her ſons to make intereſt among the Noblemen without appearing at court; but ſhe was afraid to truſt them in the hands of a King, whoſe intereſt it was to have them deſtroyed. In this perplexity ſhe thought the beſt expedient was to ſend Alfred her eldeſt ſon to the King, and to keep Edward with her, thinking that if Harald had ſome ill deſign he would not execute it till he had both the young Princes in his power, ſince it would be in vain to kill one, whilſt the other was ſtill alive. Goodwin, being well pleaſed to ſee his project begin to ſucceed, obtained from the King a commiſſion to go and meet Alfred, under pretence of doing him honour, but his ſecret reaſon was that he did not care to truſt any other perſon with the execution of his deſign. The young Prince and the Normans who attended him were at firſt charmed with the marks of diſtinction they received from Goodwin; but that ſatisfaction was ſoon changed into the utmoſt conſternation, when they found that the Prince and all his attendants were arreſted in the caſtle of Guilford, where they had alighted under pretence of refreſhing themſelves. Alfred was immediately conducted to Ely, and confined in a Monaſtery after his eyes had been put out. He had hardly time to be ſenſible of his misfortunes, ſince he died a few days after, either of grief, or becauſe his death was haſtened; for Goodwin was afterwards accuſed of having killed him. Edward hearing what had happened to his brother, retired immediately into Normandy; and Emma, being commanded to leave the Kingdom, retired to the court of Baldwin Earl of Flanders. This is the account which Rapin gives us (*f*), without quoting any authority; but other Authors differ from him in ſeveral particulars, of which we ſhall take notice in remark [*A*].

(*f*) Ibid. p. 417-419.

☞ ALI

[*A*] *Other authors differ from him* [Rapin] *in ſeveral particulars.*] The account, which John Brompton (1) gives us of Alfred is very different from Rapin's. Here follows what that author tells us. "After "the death of Hardicanute, the Noblemen of Eng- "land being glad to be delivered from the power "of the Danes, ſent Embaſſadors to Alfred and Ed- "ward, who were in Normandy; acquainting them "that they might ſafely come into England, and "that Alfred ſhould be raiſed to the throne. The "Earl Goodwin, who had married a daughter of "King Canute, intending, as ſome thought, to ſeize "the crown either for himſelf or for his ſon Ha- "rold, reſolved to kill the two young Princes, as "ſoon as they arrived. Other Hiſtorians ſay, that "Goodwin, (who had alſo a daughter), knowing "that Alfred being a man of great virtue, would "diſdain to marry his daughter, hated him for that "reaſon, and reſolved to kill him, that he might "marry his daughter to Edward, who being "young and unexperienced, would not ſcruple it. "The Embaſſadors being arrived in Normandy found "only Alfred, Edward being gone into Hungary, "to meet his nephew the ſon of King Edmund (2). "Alfred embark'd immediately with ſeveral of his "mother's relations, and a great many other Nor- "mans, and arrived in England. This gave Good- "win a fair opportunity to raiſe ſuſpicions in the "minds of the Engliſh againſt Alfred; he repre- "ſented to them, that Alfred was accompanied by "a great number of Normans, to whom he had "promiſed the lands of the Engliſh; that therefore "it was not ſafe for them to ſuffer thoſe foreigners "to ſettle in the country. Goodwin having ſaid "this, went to Southampton, where Alfred was "landed, and having congratulated him on his ar- "rival, he offered to conduct him to London, where "the Nobles, as he ſaid, expected him to raiſe him "to the throne.... Alfred promiſed, that if he was "made King, he would eſtabliſh ſuch Laws, as "would be acceptable both to God and to his peo- "ple. But the traytor Goodwin had given orders "to his attendants to ſeize Alfred and his Normans; "which was done accordingly; they killed nine in "ten of all the Normans; and finding that thoſe "that remained were ſtill too numerous, they diſ- "patched every tenth man of them. They ſent "afterwards Alfred to Ely, where they put out his "eyes, and confined him to a monaſtery, where in "a little time he died in the moſt cruel torments: "For ſome authors relate that having opened his "belly, they took part of his guts, which they tied "to a poſt, and forced him with iron ſpikes to turn "round it, till all his bowels were pulled out of his "belly. *Primordiis viſcerum ejus umbilico aperto "extractis, & ad ſtipitem ligatis, ipſum tantis vici- "bus ſtimulis ferreis circumduxerunt, donec noviſſima "viſcerum extrahebantur* (3). The Engliſh Noble- "men, who were not of Goodwin's party, hearing "in what manner Alfred had been betrayed and "murthered, were extremely concerned, and ſwore "that the traytor deſerved a more cruel puniſhment, "than that which the Earl Edrich had ſuffered, who "had killed King Edmund, ſurnamed *Ironſide*. "They reſolved to have Goodwin ſeized, but "he being fled into Denmark, all his eſtate "was confiſcated. However ſome pretend that Al- "fred was not killed then, but during the reign of "King Harald. They ſay, that Edward, Alfred's "brother, being diſpleaſed that Harald ſhould reign "in England, came with forty ſhips and a great "number of Normans, to Southampton, where he "landed and plundered the country; but being at- "tacked by the Engliſh, he returned into Normandy, "with a great booty. That at the ſame time Alfred "landed with ſome ſoldiers in another place, and "being kindly entertained by Goodwin, he was "treacherouſly ſeized in the night-time by that "Earl's command, who ſent him to King Harold, "by whoſe orders his eyes were put out, and he "was killed." Others, adds Jo. Brompton, relate this otherwiſe; and here he gives us an account which is pretty much the ſame with that of Rapin, only he differs from him in placing Alfred's death under the reign of Hardicanute, whereas Rapin places it under that of Harold. Brompton adds, "that ſome authors affirm, that "Emma herſelf "conſented to the death of her ſon, and likewiſe "gave poiſon to Edward," for fear perhaps leſt Hardicanute her ſon by her ſecond husband ſhould loſe the crown. However that be, John Brompton obſerves, that according to the ancient Chronicles, it is probable that Alfred's death did not happen till after Hardicanute's death. And indeed Henry of Huntingdon (4) agrees with John Brompton. But William of Malmesbury (5), Roger de Hoveden (6), Henry de Knyghton (7), the Chronicle of Mailros (8), and ſeveral others place the death of Alfred in the ſame year as Rapin, viz. A. D. 1037. The account which Rapin gives of Alfred's death, was grounded only upon a common report, as William of Malmeſbury tells us, who adds (9), that he dares not give it for truth, becauſe it was not found in any Chronicle. But Matthew of Weſtminſter, and ſeveral others, as we have ſeen, relate the ſtory, without ſhewing the leaſt doubt concerning it. Moſt of the manuſcript

(1) *In Chron. ap.* Rog. Twyſden, *Hiſt. Ang. Scrip. Decem. Lond.* 1652. fol. tom. 1. Col. 934. &c.

(2) See the Remark [*B*] of the article ALDRED.

(3) Joh. Brompton, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 935. Lin. 62.

(4) *Ap.* Saville, *Hiſt. Ang. Scrip. poſt Bedam*, p. 365.

(5) *De Geſt. Reg. Ang.* l. 2. c. 12. *ap. eund.* p. 77.

(6) *Annal. pars prior, ap. eund.* p. 438.

(7) *Ap.* Twyſden *ubi ſupra*, col. 2326, where Alfred is called Elfred. Some call him Alured.

(8) Ad. An. 1036, where Alfred is called Alwred. *in Angl. Scrip. Veter. Ox.* 1684, tom. 1. 156.

(9) *Ubi ſupra.*

ALI ſon of Abu Taleb, couſin and ſon-in-law to Mahomet, and fourth Khalif from that falſe Prophet, was raiſed to the Khalifate the year of the Hegira 35, and of our Lord 655 (*a*). His father having a very numerous family, at a time when the tribe of Koraiſh was afflicted with a grievous famine, Mahomet took Ali to his houſe, where he lived till the former ſet up for a Prophet. According to ſome writers Ali was the ſecond that embraced the principles of Iſlam or Mahometiſm (*b*). Mahomet having begun his miſſion, Ali offered himſelf, and was appointed his firſt Viſier upon that accaſion [*A*] (*c*). The tribe of Koraiſh having agreed privately together to murder Mahomet, the latter was informed by the Angel Gabriel of the whole conſpiracy, and thereupon Ali, at the Prophet's requeſt, covered himſelf with his green veſtment, and laid himſelf on Mahomet's bed, by which means the latter eſcaped with his life, and Ali came off unhurt. This generous action of Ali is greatly applauded by the Oriental Hiſtorians (*d*). Mahomet honoured Ali very highly, by declaring, that he ſhould be his brother in this world and in that which is to come (*e*). The latter at twenty one years and five months old was married to Fatima daughter to the falſe Prophet, ſhe being fifteen years and very near an half (*f*). Mahomet beſieging the citadel of Kaebar, Ali there ſignalized his bravery in a moſt conſpicuous manner, for Mahomet putting the ſtandard into Ali's hand, he planted it on a great heap of ſtones, and continued there till he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle (*g*). The Prophet appointed him Governor of Medina in his abſence, and Super-intendant or Vicar over his own family (*b*), and he only was allowed to perform the ceremony of waſhing Mahomet's body after his death, he having ſaid to him a little before, "Thou only "may'ſt waſh my body; and if any one ſees my nakedneſs, it will immediately blind "him" [*B*] (*i*). Upon Mahomet's death, Abu Becr was choſen Khalif, though a great many were of opinion that the right of ſucceſſion belonged to Ali [*C*]. After the murder of Othman the third Khalif from Mahomet, Ali was earneſtly preſs'd to accept

(*a*) *Bibliotheque Orientale, ou Dictionaire Univerſel, par Monſ.* d'Herbelot, pag. 89. Paris, *par la Compagnie des Libraires*, 1697, folio; and the *Hiſtory of the Saracens*, by Simon Ockley, vol. 2. pag. 1. London printed for B. Lintott, 1718, 8vo.

(*b*) *La Vie de Mahomet, traduite & compilée par Mr.* Jean Gagnier, tom. 1. p. 110, 111. Amſterdam, chez Wetſteins, &c. 1732, 12°. Moſt of the Mollems pretend that Ali was the firſt Muſlem, and are ſo ridiculouſly ſuperſtitious as to believe that he profeſſed it when in his mother's womb; for they declare, that during all the time ſhe went with him, he kept her from falling proſtrate to idols. d'Herbelot, p. 95.

(*c*) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahom.* tom. 1. p. 115.

(*d*) Idem p. 281 & *ſeq.*

(*e*) Idem, p. 304.

(*f*) Idem, p. 315. and Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 69. 8th edition London, 1723, 8vo.

(*g*) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet* vol. 2. p. 54. and *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, vol. 3. p. 146, 147, who gives us the miraculous relation, according to the Perſians, of this ſiege.

(*b*) Gagnier, p. 212.

(*i*) Idem, p. 300.

manuſcript Annals, which are in the Cottonian Library, as alſo a treatiſe, entitled *Encomium Emmæ*, i. e. "the Praiſes of Emma," which William of Malmesbury never ſaw, and which is a panegyrick upon that Queen, written by a Monk her contemporary, relates the ſtory after the following manner: "Harold conſidering how he could treacherouſly "get the two young Princes in his power, forged "a letter, as if it were written by their mother Em"ma; in which they were earneſtly deſired to come "over into England; and acting like a tender mo"ther, ſhe reproached them for being ſo careleſs "about their own intereſt, ſince they could not but "know, that the Uſurper's authority gained daily "more and more ground, the King leaving no me"thod unattempted to draw the Nobility over to "his intereſt. He aſſured them that the Engliſh "would chuſe one of them for their King, rather "than Harold; that therefore it was proper they "ſhould make all the haſte they could to come over, "but with as much ſecrecy as was poſſible, to take "ſuch meaſures, as might be attended with ſucceſs. "This letter was ſent to Normandy by an Expreſs; "and the young Princes received it with the ut"moſt joy. They returned an anſwer by the ſame "Meſſenger, that one of them would go and meet "their mother, at ſuch a time and in ſuch a place, "which they named. Alfred, the youngeſt of the two "brothers (others ſay, he was the eldeſt) embarked "accordingly, with a few Normans; and as ſoon "as they arrived they fell into Goodwin's hands, "who treated them, as Rapin relates. This account "is the more probable, becauſe if both Princes were "come into England, Harold would certainly have "diſpatched them both, having them both in his "power. The Saxon Annals ſay nothing of Alfred's "death (10)." What further ſhews, that Alfred was killed under King Harold, and by his order, is that in King Edward's reign, Goodwin being accuſed of having murdered Alfred the King's brother, ſwore that he had done nothing, but what he was commanded by King Harold (11): Which ſhews that it was under that King that Alfred was killed. We muſt take notice here, that according to Rapin, Ethelred's firſt wife, King Edmund's mother, was called Elgive; whereas according to the authors we have quoted in this article (12), Elgive or Elfgive was Emma's Saxon name; and William of Malmeſbury ſays expreſly, that the name of Edmund's mother is unknown. *Erat Edmundus non ex Emmâ natus ſed ex quadam alia, quam fama obſcura recondit* (13). P.

(10) Taken from the Rev. Mr. Tindal's notes upon Rapin.

(11) Ranulph. Higden, *in Polychron.* lib. 6. *ap.* Tho. Gale, *Hiſt. Ang. &c. Script.* xx. tom. 1. 277.

(12) *See particularly* Radulf. *de Diceto. ap.* Twyſden, *ubi ſupra*, col. 461.

(13) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 71.

[*A*] *Ali was appointed Mahomet's firſt Viſier.*] This was when the Prophet began his miſſion, which he opened among his relations. Ali, by Mahomet's order, provided a feaſt for about forty of them, and the latter after telling his gueſts, that God had commanded him to call them to himſelf, enquired which of them would chuſe to be his Viſier (Counſellor or Miniſter) in this important affair, and divide the cares of it with him. All of them were ſilent, when Ali ran up boldly to Mahomet, and cried, "I am "the man who will do what you require; if any one "dares oppoſe you I will break his teeth, I will tear "out his eyes, I'll rip up his belly, I'll break his "legs. I, O Prophet of God, will be thy Viſier "over them." The Prophet hearing this, threw himſelf about Ali's neck, embraced him tenderly, and cried: "This is my Brother, my Envoy, and "my Lieutenant among you. Submit your ſelves "all to him, and pay him obedience (1)." The Hiſtorian tells us, that all the ſpectators burſt out a laughing.

(1) Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. 1. p. 115, 116. and *Voyages de Monſ. le Chevalier Chardin en Perſe &c.* tom. 3. p. 167. a Amſterdam chez J L. *de Lorme*, 1723, 4to.

[*B*] *If any one ſees my nakedneſs.*] All thoſe who were preſent at this ablution, veil'd their eyes for fear leſt they ſhould be blinded. Some, with Ali, turn'd the corps, and others poured the water, whilſt Ali waſh'd it. According to a certain tradition, which may be look'd upon as an abſurd one, as Ali was rubbing, he felt ſomething that ſtopt his hand, upon which he cried out, "O Prophet! thy yard "muſt certainly be erect towards the heavens," and immediately Mahomet's body exhaled a very ſweet odor, as he had done when he was living. An idle ſtory is related, viz. that Ali, as he was waſhing, took privately a tatter of an old garment, and dipping it in the water employed on this occaſion, conveyed it ſecretly to his breaſt under his ſhirt, and afterwards experienced miraculous effects from thence. And indeed being one day asked how he happened to be endued with ſo lively an underſtanding and ſo prodigious a memory, he anſwer'd, "As I waſhed the corps of the Prophet, I perceiv"ed ſome drops of water hanging at his eye-brows "[illegible] on his eye-lids: Immediately I ſuck'd and "ſwallowed them, and ever ſince that time my me"mory has been prodigiouſly ſtrengthened." However this is look'd upon as an idle tradition by the judicious Eaſterns, who don't believe any of the numberleſs ſilly fictions which are related among them (2).

(2) Gagnier *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. 2. p. 300, 301, 302.

[*C*] *That the right of ſucceſſion belonged to Ali.*] This diverſity of opinions with regard to Abu Becr and Ali, has divided the Mahometans ever ſince; ſome

accept of the Khalifate, which he refuſed for ſome time, but was afterwards choſen (*k*). Upon his exaltation, he reſolved to diſpoſſeſs all thoſe perſons of their Governments and Lieutenancies, who had been appointed by Othman his predeceſſor; this ſome very judiciouſly adviſed him to, whilſt others perſuaded him againſt it (*l*), but at laſt he took the former reſolution, and appointed new Lieutenants (*m*). Accordingly theſe ſet out for their government, but met with great oppoſition (*n*). Ali was vigorouſly oppoſed by the (*o*) Karegites or *Separatiſts*, as they were called, who, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, took up arms under the murdered Othman's bloody ſhirt, which was ſet up as a ſtandard upon the pulpit of Damaſcus, in order to fire the people againſt Ali, and ſtir them up to rebellion (*p*). Ali wrote circular letters to all the Provinces to aſſiſt him, and whilſt he was making preparations for the war, news was brought him that Telha and Zobeir, to whom Ali had refuſed the governments of Cufa and Baſora (*q*), and Ayeſha (one of Mahomet's wives) had formed a terrible conſpiracy againſt him (*r*). Ayeſha went in perſon againſt Ali [*D*], and marching to Baſora, took it after a ſhort reſiſtance (*s*). The Khalif before this had debated what was to be done, and at laſt agreed to take the field. Accordingly he marched out of Medina with about nine hundred men, and at firſt hoped to overtake Ayeſha before her arrival at Baſora, but hearing on the road that it was taken, he made a halt, in order to conſider upon meaſures (*t*). He diſpatched meſſengers to the inhabitants of Cufa deſiring their aſſiſtance, who at laſt ſent him nine thouſand men, which made Ali very eaſy, but threw Ayeſha and her party into ſome perplexity (*u*). At laſt the two armies came in ſight of one another, and ſome conferences were held betwixt Ali, Telha and Zobéir, but to no purpoſe; ſo coming to an engagement, Telha was killed [*E*]; Zobéir flying met with the like fate, and Ayeſha was taken priſoner [*F*]. Ali gained a complete victory on this bloody day, which is called *the day of the Camel*, (becauſe Ayeſha was mounted on one) (*x*), and was now exceeding powerful, he being maſter of Irack, Egypt, Arabia, Perſia and Khoraſân. The Syrians however were againſt him, and theſe acknowledged Moawiya, who had been their Governor under Othman, whoſe near relation he was, for the lawful Khalif (*y*). Upon this Ali marched out againſt him with ninety thouſand men, and coming to the confines of Syria, and his army wanting water, he found

(*k*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 9. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, p. 89.
(*l*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracen.* p. 9. and d'Herbelot, p. 89.
(*m*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracen.* vol. 2. p. 11.
(*n*) Idem, p. 12.
(*o*) See reference (13) of note [*H*].
(*p*) Idem, p. 16. and d'Herbelot, p. 90.
(*q*) D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 89.
(*r*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 16, 17.
(*s*) Idem, p. 20.
(*t*) Idem, p. 28.
(*u*) Idem, p. 40.
(*x*) Idem, p. 43. and d'Herbelot, p. 90.
(*y*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 47, 48.

ſome aſſerting that the former, and his ſucceſſors in the Khalifate, Omar and Othman, had a juſt title to it, and others diſclaiming their title, and looking upon them as uſurpers, and conſtantly maintaining the right of Ali. Of the former opinion are the Turks at this day, of the latter the Perſians. This has created ſo great a variance between the two Nations, that altho' they agree in other points of ſuperſtition, they yet treat one another as moſt damnable hereticks upon this account (3).

(3) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 1. p. 7. and *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perſe &c.* tom. 2. pag. 311, *&* *ſeq.*

[*D*] *Ayeſha went in perſon againſt Ali.*] Ayeſha had been preſented with a fine camel: this ſhe mounted in a litter which was ſet upon the beaſt, and headed the forces from Mecca towards Baſora. The army being upon their march, came to a rivulet called Jowâb, on the ſide of which there was a village of the ſame name. All the dogs of the village came running out in a body, and fell a barking at Ayeſha, who, being greatly ſurprized, immediately enquired the name of the place. Being told that it was called Jowâb, ſhe repeated that verſe of the *Koran*, which is often made uſe of in imminent dangers; *We are reſigned to God, and to him we have recourſe* (4); declaring that ſhe would not go a ſtep farther; that ſhe had heard the Prophet ſay when he was travelling with his wives; *I wiſh I had known it, and they ſhould have lodg'd within the barking of the dogs of Jowâb.* Beſides, that he had formerly told her, one of his wives ſhould at ſome time or other be bark'd at by the dogs of this place; that ſhe ought to mind this, becauſe ſhe would be in a bad condition, and in very great danger (5). Upon this ſhe ſtruck her camel upon the leg, to make him kneel, in order to deſcend from him, and reſolved to ſtay there all night. Telha and Zobéir could not tell what to make of this whimſy, and knowing of what importance it was to them to precipitate their march, having good reaſon to believe that Ali would not be long after them, they told her, and ſuborned fifty witneſſes to ſwear it, that it was a miſtake of the guide, and that this place had never been called by that name. However, all this was to no purpoſe, for ſhe would not move a ſtep, till at laſt, ſomebody crying out, *Quick, quick, yonder comes Ali*, they all fled away immediately, and made the beſt of their way to Baſora (6). Our author obſerves however, that the Hiſtorians affirm this was the firſt ſolemn and public lye that was ever told ſince the beginning of Mahometiſm, which, ſays he, whether it be ſo or not, is little to the purpoſe. But this is moſt certain, that thoſe who ſpread it found their account in it, for it conveyed them with incredible ſpeed to Baſora (7).

(4) Koran, ch. 2.
(5) Abul Feda.
(6) Ockley's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 19, 20. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 89, 90.

[*E*] *Telha was killed.*] In the heat of the battle, when victory began to incline towards Ali, Merwan ſaid to him, It is but a little while ſince Telha was among Othman's murtherers, and now he is ſo fond of worldly grandeur, that he appears among thoſe who ſeek to revenge his blood; and after ſaying theſe words, Merwan let fly an arrow and wounded Telha in the leg. His horſe throwing him, he called for help, and ſaid, "O God! take vengeance upon me "for Othman, according to thy will!" Perceiving that his boot was full of blood, he ordered his ſervant to take him up behind him, who did ſo, and conveying Telha into a houſe in Baſora, he there expired. But a little before he had ſeen one of Ali's men, and asking him whether he belonged to the Emperor of the Faithful, he anſwer'd yes, "Give "me then, ſaid Telha, your hand, that I may put "mine in it; and by this action renew the oath of "fidelity which I have already made to Ali." The words were no ſooner ſpoke, but he died. When this was told Ali, he ſaid, "God would not call "Telha to heaven till he had blotted out his firſt "breach of his word by this laſt proteſtation of fi-"delity (8)." As for Zobéir he was treacherouſly murdered by Amru Ben Jarmuz, who ſtruck off his head as he was at prayers (9).

(7) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 20.
(8) Idem, p. 43, 44.
(9) D'Herbelot, p. 90. and Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 45. Ali curſing Amrû for killing Zobeir, Amrû thruſt himſelf through with his own ſword.

[*F*] *Ayeſha was taken priſoner.*] So long as Ayeſha's camel ſtood upon his legs, the battle raged with greateſt fury about him. According to Tabari, there were ſeventy hands cut off that held his bridle. Ayeſha's litter was ſtuck ſo full of arrows and javelins, that it look'd like a procupine. At laſt her beaſt was ham-ſtring'd, ſo that Ayeſha was forced to lie there till the battle was over. Ali having gained the victory, came and ask'd her how ſhe did. Some Hiſtorians relate, that reproachful language paſt between them. But it is generally ſaid that Ali treated her civilly, and diſmiſſing her handſomely with a very good equipage, commanded his two ſons Haſan and Hoſein to attend her a day's journey. Ali confined her to her houſe at Medina, and enjoined her not to intermeddle any more with State-affairs. Ayeſha went to Mecca, and there ſtaying out the time of her pilgrimage, afterwards returned to Medina (10).

(10) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 45, 46. d'Herbelot, p. 90. and Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 108. Ali firſt diſcovered Ayeſha's incontinence to Mahomet, and for that reaſon ſhe bore him a mortal hatred.

found out a well by the ſpirit of prophecy [*G*]. He marched forward, and came to a place called Seffein, between Irâk and Syria, where the enemy's army was poſted, conſiſting of fourſcore thouſand men. They came in ſight of one another, and ſpent a month or two in ſending of meſſages backwards and forwards, in order to bring matters to an accommodation. Afterwards they fought in parties, and at laſt came to a general engagement. Ali challenged Moawiya to fight him in ſingle combat, but the latter refuſed. The victory was going to be complete on Ali's ſide, when Amrû Ebno'l Aas who commanded in Paleſtine and fought in concert with Moawiya prevented it by a ſtratagem [*H*]. The armies then ceaſed all hoſtilities, agreeing to determine their diſputes by the arbitration of two perſons. Ali retired to Cufa, and Moawiya to Damaſcus, leaving their troops upon the ſpot. Eight months after the battle of Seffein, the two arbitrators, Abû Mûſa and Amru, the former an honeſt but ſimple man, and the latter reputed the moſt cunning of all the Arabians, met in a place lying between Mecca, Cufa and Syria. Amrû prevailed with Abû Mûſa to decree, that both Ali and Moawiya ought to be depoſed, and another perſon elected. A tribunal being then raiſed between the two armies, Abû Mûſa declared according to the agreement abovementioned; but Amru harangued in favour of Moawiya [*I*] (*z*). The Syrians upon this went back to Moawiya and wiſhed him joy, and from that time Ali's intereſt declined, and that of Moawiya's increaſed daily. A treaty was afterwards made between them, in which Ali ſuffered the title of Chief or Emperor of the Faithful to be omitted. Theſe things happened the 37th of the Hegira, and of Chriſt 657, in which year the Karegites or Separatiſts revolted from Ali. The occaſion of this was, becauſe he had put his affairs into the hands of arbitrators, and would not fall upon Moawiya (*aa*). Theſe increaſing to twenty five thouſand, Ali endeavoured to win them back to their allegiance by gentle methods, which proving ineffectual, he cauſed them all to deſert except four thouſand, and theſe he cut to pieces with their leader. This victory was gained the 38th year of the Hegira, which again united all the Arabians under Ali. He then withdrew to Cufa, whither all his army had retired (*bb*). This year Ali, by an artifice of Moawiya, diſpoſſeſſed Saad the ſon of Kais of his government of Egypt, and appointed Mahomed the ſon of Abû Becr in his ſtead, which cauſed great troubles in that country. This Mahomed was afterwards routed, and falling alive into his enemy's hands they killed him, and incloſing his dead body in that of an aſs, burnt him to aſhes (*cc*). Ali then ſent for the Governor of Baſora, in order to concert matters with him, during which that city was won by Abdalla whom Moawiya ſent, but it was ſoon recovered by Ali's ſoldiers (*dd*). In the beginning of the 40th year of the Hegira, Moawiya began again to exert himſelf, and ſent three thouſand

(*z*) Idem, p. 54. & *ſeq.*

(*aa*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 60. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 92.

(*bb*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 64.

(*cc*) Idem, p. 66. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* vol. 2. p. 93.

(*dd*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 67, 68. and d'Herbelot, p. 93.

[*G*] *Ali found out a well by the Spirit of Prophecy.*] Not far from his camp there was an hermitage under ground, the hermit whereof, who was a Chriſtian, came and offer'd himſelf to him. Ali asked him whether there was never a ſpring in the neighbourhood; to which the hermit replied, that there was only a ciſtern which had but three buckets of water in it. Ali went on thus: I know however that ſome ancient Prophets of the people of Iſrael have dwelt in this place, and dug a pit in it. The hermit ſaid he had been informed by ſome old men, that indeed there was a well which was ſhut up, but that no body knew where it was dug; and that according to a tradition of the country, no one could find and open it, but a Prophet, or one ſent by a Prophet; Ali however ſoon found it, and ordering the men to dig in a place he pointed out, they met with a ſtone of a prodigious ſize that covered it; but Ali putting his hand to it, removed it with the greateſt eaſe. The hermit aſtoniſhed at the ſight, embraced Ali's knees, and would never leave him afterwards. He alſo preſented Ali with an old parchment, which he ſaid had been writ by Simeon the ſon of Safa (that is Simon Cephas) one of the greateſt of Chriſt's Apoſtles, in which an account was given of the coming of the laſt Prophet; the arrival of his lawful heir and ſucceſſor, and the miraculous diſcovery of this well (11).

(11) Ockley's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, vol. 2. pag. 49, 50. and d'Herbelot *Bib. Orient.* p. 91.

[*H*] *Amrû . . . prevented it by a ſtratagem.*] This was in the laſt battle fought in Seffein. The ſtratagem was this: Amrû finding Victory declared for Ali, ſent for Moawiya in great haſte, and adviſed him to fix the Korans on the points of their lances, and cry out, "(12) This is the book that ought to decide all our differences; this is the book of God "between us and you." This artifice did not fail of the deſired ſucceſs, for the inſtant the Irakians, who were the flower of Ali's army, ſaw this, they threw down their arms, and cried to Ali, "Will "you not anſwer to the book of God?" Ali anſwered, As you are men of truth and honour, go on and fight your enemy, for neither Amrû nor Moawiya have the leaſt relation to Religion or the Koran. Alas! I know them better than you do; by God they have put up theſe Korans in no other view but to trick us. The ſoldiers however replied that this ſhould not prevent their being determined by the book of God. It is for that very purpoſe, replied Ali, I have been fighting, but they have rebelled againſt God and his commandment. In a word, the ſoldiers threatned not only to deſert, but to deliver Ali into the hands of his enemies, in caſe he did not found a retreat. And ſome of the Karegites (13), declaring, that they would ſerve him as they had done Othman, that is, murder him, Ali was forced to call off Alaſhtar one of his Generals, who came back with great reluctance, and not till three or four Meſſengers had been diſpatched; vexed to the ſoul to ſee ſo glorious a victory wreſted out of his hands by ſuch a ſtratagem (14).

(12) D'Herbelot has it thus, "This is the "book that ought "to decide all our "diſputes, and "which forbids "the thus ſhed-"ding, without "any juſt reaſon, "the blood of "the Moſlems, P. 91.

(13) Or Sectaries, an enthuſiaſtic ſett of people who refuſe obedience to their ſuperiors, in things ſacred as well as civil.

(14) Ockley's *Hiſt. Saracens*, vol. 2. p. 53, 54.

[*I*] *Amrû harangued in favour of Moawiya.*] Abû Mûſa aſcended the tribunal firſt, whence he pronounced the following words: "(15) I depoſe Ali and "Moawiya from the Khalifate to which they pre-"tend, in the ſame manner as I take this ring from "my finger." Having made this declaration he immediately came down, when Amrû went up and ſaid, "You have heard how Abû Mûſa has for his part "depoſed Ali; as for my part I depoſe him too, "and I give the Khalifate to Moawiya, and inveſt "him with it, after the ſame manner as I put this "ring on my finger; and this I do with ſo much "the more juſtice, becauſe he is Othman's heir and "avenger, and the worthieſt of all men to ſucceed "him." Ali's party confounded at this unexpected declaration, began to complain grievouſly of Abû Mûſa, who being at laſt aſhamed of his arbitration, and juſtly fearing Ali's diſpleaſure, fled away to Mecca. Abû Mûſa is ſaid to have had the moſt harmonious voice that ever was heard, and that his common diſcourſe was perfect melody (16).

(15) There is a Law in the Koran, which enjoins a man to refer his cauſe to a choſen perſon, who being joined with another nominated by his adverſary, theſe are to determine the difference. D'Herbelot, p. 91.

(16) Idem, p. 57, 58. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 93.

thouſand horſe to Mecca and Medina, in order to ſeize upon thoſe places, which they did; Mowaiya being then in Damaſcus, and Ali in Cufa, each praying publickly, notwithſtanding theſe diviſions, for the other (*ee*). The ſame year a conſpiracy was formed againſt Ali, Moawiya and Amrû, which is as follows. A little after the battle which Ali won over the Karegites (*ff*), three of the moſt zealous among them met at Mecca, where they diſcourſed about the battle and the great loſs they had ſuſtained. Theſe three (one of which was Abdarrahmàn the ſon of Melgem) ſaid among themſelves, were but Ali, Moawiya and Amrû dead, the affairs of the Moſlems would be in a good condition. Upon this they agreed to murder them, and after poiſoning their own ſwords, every man took his road, Abdarrahmàn to Cufa, the ſecond to Damaſcus, and the third to Egypt (*gg*). The two laſt however were unſucceſsful in their attempts, but Abdarrahmàn executed his bloody deſign, for coming to Cufa he took up his lodging at a woman's houſe who hated Ali. This woman procured Abdarrahmàn two aſſociates. Theſe coming into the Moſque, and pretending to quarrel among themſelves, they fell upon Ali, who had ſeveral preſages of his death [*K*], when Abdarrahmàn gave him a mortal wound [*L*]. Ali died about the fourth or fifth day after he was wounded, which happened near the 20th of the month of Ramadan, the year of the Hegira 40, and of our Saviour 660. Authors differ about his age, which ſome make about fifty ſix, and others ſixty three (*hh*). He reigned four years and three quarters. It is not certainly known where he was buried, but the moſt probable opinion is, that he was interred in that place which the Moſlems viſit at this day as his tomb, and where a great many oblations are left by the devotees (*ii*). He had nine wives, who brought him fourteen ſons and eighteen daughters (*kk*). The Moſlems have beſtowed very honourable titles upon him, and theſe among others; the Lion of God Victorious, and the Diſtributer of Lights or Graces (*ll*). Some of his ſect think he is ſtill alive (*mm*), and others are ſo extravagant as to believe him a Divine perſon (*nn*). The Perſians relate a thouſand wild fictions concerning Ali. All the Mahometans look upon him as a man of great wiſdom, and a conſiderable number of his ſentences or maxims are at this day extant (*oo*). He writ ſeveral pieces, but the moſt celebrated is one containing the grand events that will happen to the end of the world (*pp*). Some wiſe anſwers of his are related [*M*]. Haſan his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him in the Khalifate. If we conſider Ali with regard to his courage, moderation, piety, and underſtanding, he will be found one of the greateſt men that was ever born among the Arabians (*qq*). He was the firſt of the twelve Imams. The Perſians ſolemnize the day of his martyrdom annually, on which occaſion he Moſques are ſo crowded, that there is preaching in the ſtreets (*rr*). Thoſe of his ſect wear not only a turbant made in a peculiar faſhion, but alſo twiſt their hair in a manner very different from the other Moſlems (*ss*).

(*ee*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 70, 71.

(*ff*) See the note [*H*] of this article.

(*gg*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 72, 73. and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 93.

(*hh*) D'Herbelot, p. 94. is for the latter.

(*ii*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 78, *& ſeq.*

(*kk*) Idem, p. 80 and d'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* pag. 94, 95.

(*ll*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 81. and *Voyag. de Chardin*, tom. 2. pag. 343.

(*mm*) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 83.

(*nn*) Idem, p. 84. and *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 2. p. 341.

(*oo*) Such as deſire to peruſe a large number of his ſentences, may conſult Ockley's *Hiſtory of the Saracens*, vol. 2. towards the end.

(*pp*) Ockley's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, p. 84.

(*qq*) Idem, p. 89.

(*rr*) *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. 3. p. 211.

(*ss*) D'Herbelot *Bib. Orient.* pag. 95.

[*K*] *Ali had ſeveral preſages of his death.*] This he had during the whole month of Ramadan, and he ſometimes uſed to hint theſe Omens to his friends. He was one day heard to ſay after his undergoing much uneaſineſs, "Alas! my heart, there is need of "patience, for there is no remedy againſt death (17)." Going out very early on Friday the 17th of the month (on which day he was kill'd) towards the moſque, it was obſerved that a great number of houſhold-birds made a loud noiſe as he was paſſing through his yard; upon which, one of his ſlaves having thrown a cudgel at them to make them quiet, Ali ſaid, "Let them alone, for their cries are only lamen-"tations foreboding my death (18)."

(17) D'Herbelot, p. 94 ſays thus; "Well! my "heart, one muſt "have patience "ſince there is "no remedy a-"gainſt death.

(18) Ockley's *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. 2. p. 76. and D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 94.

[*L*] *Abdarrhamàn gave him a mortal wound.*] Several of the neareſt relations of the woman at whoſe houſe this aſſaſſin lodged, were Karegites, and had loſt their lives in the battle fought againſt them. which fired her with the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt Ali. Abdarrhamàn finding this began to inveigle her, and even made overtures of marriage, to which ſhe anſwered, I demand in dowry of the man who marries me, three thouſand drachms of ſilver, a ſlave, a maid, and Ali's head. He accepted the conditions; and being joined with two other ruffians, they ran to the moſque, and drawing their ſwords, Abdarrhamàn ſtruck Ali upon the head, juſt on the place where he had formerly received a wound in Mahomet's time. The three aſſaſſins had time to eſcape, however one of them was afterwards killed, and the other got quite off, but Abdarrhamàn was taken, and being brought before Ali, he commanded his ſon Haſan, in caſe he died of his wounds, to kill the murtherer at one ſtroke, which he did. Thus (19) d'Herbelot relates his death, but two celebrated Eaſtern Hiſtorians (20) give a very different account of it, for according to theſe, Abdarrhamàn's hand was firſt cut off, and then his foot on the oppoſite ſide: Next they put out his eyes with a red hot iron, then cut out his tongue, and afterwards burnt him. This account is much more probable than the other. Be this as it will, the heretics conſider Abdarrhamàn as a martyr (21).

(19) P. 94, who ſays farther, that Ali's friends cauſed Abdarrahmàn's body to be put into a mat, in order to burn it.

(20) Tabari and Abul Faragius.

(21) Idem, pag. 77, 78.

[*M*] *Some wiſe anſwers of Ali are related.*] A Commander of his having one day ask'd him, impudently enough, how it came to paſs, that the reigns of his predeceſſors Abû Becr and Omar had been ſo peaceable, and that of Othman and his own ſo full of troubles and diviſions: Ali replied, "The reaſon is "plain; it is becauſe Othman and I ſerved Abû "Becr and Omar during their reigns; whereas Oth-"man and my ſelf found no body to ſerve us but "you, and ſuch as are like you (22)." Another example Ali gave of his good ſenſe, is this. Being one day told, that Moawiya ſaid that Ali and thoſe of his family diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery, and that Zobéir and his houſe were conſpicuous for their magnificence; but that as for himſelf and his relations, they endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other men by acts of humanity and clemency only; Ali anſwered thoſe who told him this, that it was probable theſe words of Moawiya were employ'd by him merely to ſpur on Zobéir and himſelf to bravery and magnificence; in order that the one plunging into expence, and the other into dangers, they might thereby be no longer able to oppoſe Moawiya's uſurpation; however, that as for himſelf he would endeavour to win the affections of the people by gentle methods (23). There is a famous Elogium of Ali, written on the gallery of Abbas the ſecond's tomb in the city of Kom in Perſia (24). A remarkable circumſtance is related of Ali, viz. that his mother was delivered of him in the temple of Mecca, which is ſaid to have happened to no other perſon (25). Some of Ali's deſcendants made a conſiderable figure in the world.

(22) Id. p. 85.

(23) Id. p. 95.

(24) *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, vol. 1. pag. 208, *& ſeq.* 4°. This elogium is writ with all the fire and extravaganee of the Eaſterns, and ſhews the genius of the Perſian Poetry, and the tranſports of the Mahometan devotion.

(25) D'Herbelot *Bib. Orient.* p. 94.

ALKINDE, or ALKINDUS. See ALCHINDUS.

☞ALLAM (ANDREW), the ſon of Andrew Allam, by Bridget Derling his wife, was born at Garſingdon in Oxfordſhire in April 1655. He was educated in grammar learning at a private ſchool at Denton in the pariſh of Cudeſdon near to his native place, under Mr. Will. Wildgooſe, an eminent ſchoolmaſter. He was made Batler of St. Edmund's Hall in Eaſter Term 1671, where, as Mr. Wood informs us (a), if he had not fallen under the care of a bad tutor, he might have proved a prodigy in ſeveral kinds of learning. After he had taken the degrees of Batchelor and Maſter of Arts, he became a Tutor, Moderator, and Lecturer in the Chapel, and at laſt Vice-principal of his Houſe; all which offices he executed with prodigious applauſe. In 1680 at Whitſuntide he entered into Holy Orders, and in 1683 he was one of the Maſters of the Schools, which place he diſcharged with great judgment and prudence. He died of the Small-pox on the 17th of June in 1685, and was buried in the church of St. Peter in the Eaſt in Oxford. He was a perſon of eminent virtues; he was ſober, moderate, and modeſt even to example. He underſtood the ſeveral controverſies in religion, and particularly thoſe between the Proteſtants and Papiſts far beyond his years. He knew the world of men well, but authors better; and nothing except years and experience were wanting to render him a perfect ſcholar (b). His works, which are extant, ſhall be mentioned in the Note [A].

(a) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 784. 2d edit. 1721.

(b) Id. ibid.

[A] *His works, which are extant, ſhall be mentioned in the note.*] I. The learned Preface or Epiſtle to the reader, with a dedicatory Epiſtle in the Printer's name, prefixed to *The Epiſtle Congratulatory of Lyſimachus Nicanor &c. to the Covenanters of Scotland, &c.* Oxon. 1684. II. The Epiſtle, with an account in it of Dr. Coſins's Life, prefixed to the Doctor's book, intitled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in tabulas digeſta.* Oxon. 1684, in fol. The Epiſtle before, with a Review and Correction of the book intitled, *Some plain Diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper, &c.* written by Dr. George Griffith, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. Oxon. 1684, 8vo. IV. Additions to and Corrections in the *Angliæ Notitia*, or *Preſent State of England*, printed, as Mr. Wood informs us, in the edition of that book at London in 1687, without any acknowledgment from the author of the *Notitia.* V. Additions to *Helvicus's Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre*, printed in the edition of that work at London in 1687, in fol. He deſigned to have finiſhed the Supplement to that book from 1660 to 1683, if he had not been prevented by death. VI. He laid the foundation of a *Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; wherein he propoſed to ſpeak of the foundation of all the Cathedrals, with an account of their ſtatutes and cuſtoms; and then to give a liſt of the names of the preſent Biſhop, Dean, Archdeacon, Canons, and Officers of each Cathedral: But death prevented him from finiſhing this. VII. He tranſlated into Engliſh *The Life of Iphicrates*, from Cornelius Nepos, printed in the Engliſh verſion of that author by ſeveral Gentlemen of Oxford. Oxon. 1684, in 8vo. VIII. He aſſiſted Mr. Wood in his elaborate work of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, or *The Hiſtory of Oxford Writers*; and is mentioned by that author with great reſpect and gratitude. T.

ALLATIUS (LEO) keeper of the Vatican Library, a native of the Iſland of Scio, was one of the moſt celebrated writers of the ſeventeenth Century. He was laborious and indefatigable, fond of manuſcripts, endowed with a great memory, very fit for the collecting of materials, and conſequently well qualified for the employment he bore; though on the other hand he had no great penetration, nor did he reaſon like a good Logician. I do not mention here the employments he had before he was Librarian to the Pope; neither have I examined, whether Moreri, who is very diffuſe on this ſubject, has been ſo exact as he ought. What I have to offer relating to his employments ſhall be inſerted in the note [A]. Omitting therefore here what may be found in Moreri's Dictionary, I ſhall only touch upon ſuch things as he has left out. Allatius was a great help to Meſſieurs of Port-Royal in the controverſy that roſe between them and Mr. Claude, touching the belief of the Greeks with regard to the Euchariſt. Mr. Claude often calls him *Mr. Arnaud's great Author*, and gives him but a very indifferent character [B]. F. Simon deſcribes him as a man of little

[A] *What I have to offer relating to his employments, ſhall be inſerted in the notes.*] I read in *Lorenzo Craſſo* (1), that Leone Allacci (as he calls him) at nine years old was carried from the iſland of Scio his native country into Calabria, where he was favoured with the protection of a great family (2). Some time after he was ſent to Rome, and admitted there into the Greek College; where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of polite Learning, Philoſophy and Divinity. From Rome he paſſed to Naples, and was choſen there great Vicar to Bernard Juſtiniani, Biſhop of Anglona. From Naples he returned to his native country; but being at a loſs there how to employ himſelf agreeably to his inclination, he came back to Rome, ſtudied Phyſic under Julius Cæſar Lagalla, and took his degree of Doctor in that Science. Afterwards he made the *Belles Lettres* his chief ſtudy; and taught Greek in the college of his Nation at Rome. Gregory XV charged him with the care of removing the Elector Palatin's Library to Rome (3); but by the death of that Pope he loſt the reward that was due to his commiſſion. He lived, ſome time after, firſt with Cardinal Bichi, and then with Cardinal Francis Barberini, and was at laſt, by Pope Alexander VII, appointed Keeper of the Vatican Library. This is the whole account Lorenzo Craſſo gives of him, in the book I have quoted. I add, that he was a long time Librarian to Cardinal Barberini.

(1) Lorenzo Craſſo *Iſtoria de' Poeti Greci*, pag. 306. See alſo his *Elogii d'Huomini Litterati*, tom. 1. p. 397, &c.

(2) The family *Spinelli.*

(3) Moreri places this in the year 1621; but Heidelberg was not taken till 1622.

[B] *Mr. Claude gives him but a very indifferent character.*] Allatius "was a Greek who had renounced "his own religion to embrace that of Rome; a "Greek whom the Pope had raiſed to be his Libra- "rian; a man the moſt devoted to the intereſts of "the Court of Rome; the moſt malicious and ill- "natured, that ever appeared; his animoſity and "hatred againſt the Greeks, whom he called Schiſ- "matics, and in particular againſt Cyril, is not to "be matched. In other reſpects he was a mere "Bragadocchio (4).... He ſhews his attachment to "the Court of Rome in the very beginning of his "book *De perpetua Conſenſione*, where he writes in "favour of the Pope thus *; *The Roman Pontiff*, "*ſays he, is quite independent, judges the world* "*without being liable himſelf to be judged; we are* "*bound to obey his commands, even when he governs* "*with*

(4) M. Claude's *Anſwer to M. Arnaud's book*, l. 3. c. 12. tom. 1. p. 452. edit. in 8o.

* Allat. *de Perpet. Conſ.* l. 1. cap. 2.

little ſincerity [C]. No Latin by birth ever ſhewed himſelf more incenſed againſt the Greek Schiſmaticks than Allatius, or more devoted to the See of Rome. He neither engaged in matrimony, nor orders, for a reaſon that deſerves notice [D]. What we read of a pen Allatius uſed is very extraordinary, and ſcarce to be matched in the hiſtory of Authors [E]. He publiſhed ſeveral manuſcripts, ſeveral tranſlations of Greek Authors, and ſeveral pieces of his own compoſing. Theſe three different kinds of works are not diſtinguiſhed in the catalogue Moreri gives of them; neither does that catalogue compriſe them all. In his compoſitions he ſhews more erudition, than judgment and good ſenſe. He was Critic enough to find out the faults of thoſe againſt whom he wrote; but then he uſed to interſperſe his criticiſm with too much ill-nature, and inſult over his adverſaries, as appears chiefly from the *Diſſertations* he publiſhed againſt Mr. Creygthon, touching the Council of Florence (*a*). One may judge of his turn in writing, and likewiſe of his memory, by the frequent digreſſions he makes from one ſubject to another in one and the ſame volume. Mr. de Sallo was far from admiring him on this account [F]. Allatius died at Rome in January 1669, being eighty three years old (*b*). He wrote ſeveral Greek Poems, one upon the birth of Lewis XIV, in which he introduced Greece ſpeaking. He reprinted this Poem, and prefixed it to his book *de Perpetua Conſenſione* &c. which he dedicated to that Prince. I had

(*a*) See *Journal des Savans* 13 Nov. 1666.

(*b*) Hen. Witte, *Diarium Biographb. ad ann.* 1669. Moreri places his death in 1670.

" *with injuſtice; he gives Laws, but receives none;* " *changes them as he thinks fit; appoints Magi-* " *ſtrates; decides all queſtions in point of religion;* " *and manages the eccleſiaſtic affairs of the greateſt* " *concern, as he pleaſes. It is not in his power to* " *err, being out of the reach of all hereſy and il-* " *luſion; and, as he is armed with the authority of* " *Chriſt, not even an Angel from heaven could make* " *him alter his opinion or deviate from truth.* The " ill-nature he ſhews againſt ſuch as he diſputes with, " namely againſt Chytreus, Creygthon, the Archbi- " ſhop of Corfù, and ſome others, whom he abuſes " without the leaſt provocation, will plainly appear " to any one that reads his works. He honours " them in every period with the fine titles of *fools,* " *liars, dunces, helliſh mouths, rotten muſhrooms,* " *wicked impudent fellows &c*; which may ſuffici- " ently convince us that he had no great command " of his temper †. In order to prove that the Greek " Church agrees with the Latin, at leaſt in the moſt " material points of religion, he lays it down, as a " truth not to be called in queſtion, that ſuch only " of the Greeks, as acknowledge the authority of " the Roman See, ought to be look'd upon as true " members of the Greek Church. As to the others, " whom he is pleaſed to call *Heretics* and *Schiſmatics,* " he openly declares, that they ought to be reduced " with fire and ſword; *Heretics,* ſays he, *ought to* " *be proſcribed, rooted out, puniſhed, and, if they* " *perſiſt in their hereſy, put to death, and conſumed* " *in the flames* ‡." Had Moreri therefore any rea- ſon to call him *a weak, but well-meaning man?* Is this Elogium, however ſlighting, due to thoſe, who, in teaching us how heretics are to be dealt with, have recourſe to penal laws only, to extirpations, axes, fire and ſword.

† *See* Allat. *de Perpetua Conſ.* l. 3. c. 15, 16, 17, 18. *& adverſ. Creygth. paſſim.*

‡ Allat. *de Perpetua Conſ.* l. 2. c. 13. and l. 3. c. 11.

[C] *F. Simon deſcribes him as a man of little ſincerity.*] The main ſcope of the whole firſt chapter of his *Critical Hiſtory of the Levant,* is to ſhew that Allatius had no manner of reaſon to inveigh againſt Caucus Archbiſhop of Corfù; that Caucus did not charge the Greeks with any opinion or practice but what they really followed; and that *Allatius, in order to inſinuate himſelf into Pope Urban VIII's favour, who deſigned at that time to reunite the Greek Church to that of the Latin,* by lenitive methods, ſet out the opinions of the Greeks in a light more favourable to that deſign, than to truth. That is, in plain terms, he wanted ſincerity. For if Caucus was in the right, Allatius could not contradict him, out of complaiſance to the Pope, without ſacrificing ſincerity to the maxims of State.

[D] *He neither engaged in matrimony nor orders for a reaſon that deſerves notice.*] Pope Alexander VII having asked him one day, why he did not enter into orders? *Becauſe,* anſwered he, *I would be free to marry. But if ſo,* replied the Pope, *why don't you marry? Becauſe I would be at liberty,* anſwered Allatius, *to take orders* (5). Thus he paſſed his whole life in deliberating between a pariſh and a wife, and was perhaps ſorry, at his death, for not having choſe either of them: but had he made choice of either, he might have repented his election for thirty or forty years together.

(5) Mabillon. *Muſæum Ital.* tom. 1. p. 61.

[E] *What we read of a pen Allatius uſed, is very extraordinary.*] We have for this particular the ſame voucher as for the former, viz. John Paſtricius, Head of the College *de propaganda fide,* Allatius's good friend, to whom he bequeathed all his books, told our Mabillon (6), that Allatius had wrote Greek for forty years, with one pen (7); and that, having loſt it, he was ſo grieved, that he could ſcarce forbear crying. He wrote ſo exceeding faſt, that he could copy, in one night, the whole *Diarium Romanorum Pontificum,* which Hilarion Rancatus a Ciſtercian Monk, had lent him (8): he was not allowed to publiſh it.

(6) Ibidem.

(7) See the article upon Lancelot an Olivetan Monk.

(8) Mabillon, *Muſæum Italicum,* p. 77.

[F] *He made frequent digreſſions from one thing to another. . . . He was not admired on this account.*] Mr. de Sallo, after obſerving that the moſt remarkable piece in one of Allatius's works was a lamentation of the Virgin Mary, goes on thus: " This la- " mentation (9) was compoſed by Metaphraſt, and " that was ſufficient for Leo Allatius . . . . to inſert " a panegyric upon Metaphraſt, written by Pſellus. " As Metaphraſt's name was Simeon, he took an op- " portunity from thence of making a long diſſertati- " on upon the lives and works of ſuch celebrated " men as bore the ſame name. From the Simeons " he paſſes to the Simons, from them to the Simo- " nides, and laſtly from the Simonides to the Simo- " nactides. Such was Allatius's manner of writing, " as appears from other diſſertations he wrote upon " the lives and works of authors who bore equivo- " cal names, as that of George, Methodius, Nicetas, " Philo and Pſellus; each of which afforded him " matter for ſome diſſertation. This manner of " writing is of a new invention; at leaſt it was al- " together unknown to the ancients." Diogenes Laërtius in the Lives of the Philophers mentions, at the end of each Life, ſuch as bore the ſame name; and quotes Demetrius Magnes, who wrote a book περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε & συγγραφέων, i. e. " Of Poets " and Writers of the ſame name (10)." See the note [H] of the article APOLLONIUS Tyaneus. This manner of writing was not revived by Allatius. Before him Meurſius publiſhed divers Treatiſes of this nature. See Mr. Teiſſier in his *Catalogue of Catalogues,* where he gives a liſt of ſuch authors as have wrote upon this ſubject (11). He calls them *Scriptores de Homonymis.* The word *Homonymi,* according to Mr. Sallo, ought to be tranſlated thus, *thoſe who bore equivocal names*; but, with his leave, the tranſlation would not be true; for no one ever ſaid, that the Princes of the ſame name, for inſtance the Charles's, Lewis's, Henry's, had equivocal names. Thoſe names are called equivocal, that are liable to be taken in different ſignifications: ſuch is the true meaning of that word both in Logic and common diſcourſe. But to return to Leo Allatius; I cannot help obſerving that he had a particular talent in making of Catalogues, which he gave a good ſpecimen of, when he publiſhed his *Apes Urbanæ,* a book that begins to be ſcarce, and already ſells at an extravagant

(9) *Journal des Savans,* Jan. 19, 1665.

(10) Diog. Laert. *in Epimenide* l. 1. num. 112.

(11) Teiſſerii *Catal. Catalogor.* p. 355.

I had forgot to acquaint the reader that the Gentlemen of Port-Royal offered ſomething in anſwer to Mr. Claude in vindication of Allatius [G].

vagant rate in Holland (12). It contains a Catalogue of all the learned Men that appeared in Rome, from the year 1630 to 1632; and likewiſe a Catalogue of their works. Its title was taken from the Bees which Pope Urban VIII bore in his coat of arms. There is another Catalogue done by Allatius, not ſo generally known, as that I have now mentioned. It is entitled *Dramaturgia*, and regards the dramatic pieces and their authors. The book he publiſhed at Rome 1630, *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo*, contained ſeveral remarks borrowed from Claude du Verdier; which Mr. Morhof reproaches him with (13).

(12) It is not to be met with there in the Bookſellers ſhops, but in what the Walloons call *Auctions*, that is in the publick ſales of Libraries.

(13) Morh. *de Patavin.* p. 86. Polyhiſ. p. 179. * Drelincourt *Dialog. of the deſcent into Hell*, p. 290, &c. Note, *That in my edition, which is the ſecond, you will find what relates to Allatius in pag.* 466.

[G] *The Gentlemen of Port-Royal offered ſome kind of anſwer to Mr. Claude in vindication of Allatius.*] They firſt relate part of what Mr. Claude produced againſt him; and then continue thus: "But beſides that ſuch ill-grounded reproaches are always "unbecoming; that the works of Allatius give us "a quite different character of him; and that Mr. "Claude's brethren * ſpeak of him in a very different "manner, quoting and commending him: they are "repugnant to good ſenſe; for there is ſo wide a "difference between one's being ſharp or ill-natured "againſt thoſe he diſputes with; and his being an "impoſtor or capable of alledging falſe paſſages; "that we cannot argue the one from the other. "We muſt not reaſon of the vices of men, as of "their virtues; there is no manner of connexion "between their vices; nay they are often contrary "to one another; ſo that a man may be paſſionate, "violent, a flatterer, ſelf-intereſted, without giving "us reaſon to believe, that the paſſages he cites are "ſuppoſititious. As to Allatius, we have leſs reaſon "to ſuſpect him than any other, ſince the manu-"ſcripts, which he quoted, and have been afterwards "printed have juſtified his fidelity. Beſides, he va-"lued himſelf greatly upon the reputation of an "able Critic; and it is well known, that men of "ſuch a character are very far from adulterating au-"thors (14) or forging of paſſages." It is true he is quoted, and commended by Mr. Drelincourt, who even follows his opinion concerning the Pythoneſs, which made Samuel's ſhade appear. The book he quotes is entitled *De Engaſtrimytho*, and was publiſhed in 8vo.

(14) *General Anſwer to Mr. Claude*, c. 13. p. 212.

☞ALLEMANT (PETER L') a famous Monk of the order of St. Auguſtin, was born at Rheims in France in the year 1592, and at the age of twenty three years entered himſelf in the congregation of St. Genevieve, and was profeſs'd the year following. His merit and abilities were ſo very conſiderable, that he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Paris. He was likewiſe elected Prior of St. Genevieve, and died the 18th of January 1673, being eighty one years of age (*a*). Though he was one of the fineſt genius's of his time, and ſpoke the Latin and French languages with the utmoſt propriety and elegance, and was extremely well ſkilled in profane as well as eccleſiaſtical learning; yet he never publiſhed any thing but books of Devotion in French [*A*].

(*a*) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 18. p. 196. edit. Amſt. 1711.

[*A*] *Books of devotion in French.*] In the year 1653 he publiſhed an Elogium or Abridgment of the Life of St. Genevieve. Some time after he wrote *Spiritual Conferences between a devout ſoul and Jeſus Chriſt upon the Sacrament*, and *Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer*. But his moſt conſiderable performances were three ſmall treatiſes upon death, intitled, *The Death of the righteous*, *The Spiritual Teſtament*, and *Holy Deſires after Death*. The two firſt were printed in 1672, and the laſt after his death in 1573. He collected in the firſt piece inſtances of thoſe, who had died in a pious and exemplary manner. In the ſecond he deſcribes the diſpoſition of a Chriſtian, who is preparing himſelf for death. And the laſt contains the ſentiments of the Fathers concerning the deſires, which Chriſtians ought to have for death, with the reaſons and motives of thoſe deſires. He repreſents them, ſays Mr. Du Pin (1), with ſo much force, veracity, and eloquence, that it is evident he was influenced by them himſelf, and it is difficult not to be affected with them, whatever attachment a man may have to this world, and how ſtrong ſoever his apprehenſions may be of death. T.

(1) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 197.

☞ALLEN (JOHN), Archbiſhop of Dublin in the reign of King Henry VIII, had his firſt academical education in the Univerſity of Oxford; from whence he removed to that of Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, or, as Mr. Wood (*a*) rather thinks, of Batchelor of Laws. He was afterwards ſent to Rome to the Pope by Dr. Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to manage ſome affairs relating to the church. He continued there about nine years, and was created Doctor of Laws either in that city, or ſome other Univerſity of Italy. Upon his return he was made Chaplain to Cardinal Wolſey, and Commiſſary or Judge of his Court, as he was Legate *a latere*; though he was ſuſpected of great diſhoneſty in the execution of that office (*b*). He aſſiſted the Cardinal in viſiting at firſt, and afterwards diſſolving forty little Monaſteries, for the erection of his College at Oxford, and that at Ipſwich. He had by the favour of Wolſey the church of Dalby in Leiceſterſhire, though it belonged to the Maſter and Brethren of the Hoſpital of Burton Lazars (*c*). In the latter end of the year 1525 he was incorporated Doctor of Laws of the Univerſity of Oxford; and on the 13th of March 1528, upon the death of Dr. Hugh Inge, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin, and about the ſame time was made Chancellor of Ireland. His death happened in the year 1534 on the 25th of July, according to one writer (*d*), or, according to another (*e*), on the 28th of that month; and the circumſtances of it were very tragical [*A*]. He was

(*a*) *Athenæ Oxonienſ.* vol. 1. Col. 35. 2d edit. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Lord Herbert's *Life of King Henry VIII.* edit. 1672. pag. 192.

(*e*) Jac. Waræus in *Comment. de Præſul. Hibern.* edit. 1665. pag. 119.

(*d*) Edm. Campian, *Hiſt. of Ireland*, edit. 1633. p. 120.

[*A*] *The circumſtances of it are tragical.*] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that on the 25th of July early in the morning Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Kildare, commanded the Archbiſhop to be brought before him at Tartaine, tho' he was then extremely weaken'd by a late ſickneſs. He kneeled down before the Traytor in his ſhirt and mantle, and endeavoured to move his compaſſion; but all in vain; ſo that he reſigned up himſelf to God's mercy, and was immediately ordered by Fitz-Gerald *to be brain'd to death like an ox*, which was executed upon the ſpot. The place, where this barbarous act was committed, was afterwards hedged in, overgrown, and unfrequented, in deteſtation of the fact. And

(1) *Ubi ſupra*, Col. 670.

was then fifty eight years of age. He wrote ſeveral pieces in Latin [*B*].

And it was obſerved by the people, that all the acceſſaries to it, tho' they were afterwards pardoned for the rebellion, ended their lives in the utmoſt miſery. However we may remark on the other hand, that his death has been conſider'd by ſome writers, whom Mr. Wood calls *preciſe*, as a judgment upon him for his conduct in the diſſolution of Daventry Priory in Northamptonſhire among many other Monaſteries, in order to enable Cardinal Wolſey to erect his College in Oxford.

[*B*] *Several pieces in Latin.*] *Epiſtola de Palliî Significatione activâ & paſſivâ*; i. e. "An Epiſtle "concerning the active and paſſive Signification of "the Pall." This he wrote when he received the Pall to be Archbiſhop. *De Conſuetudinibus ac Statutis in tuitoriis cauſis obſervandis.* He wrote likewiſe ſeveral things concerning the Church.

T.

☞ALLEN, or ALLYN, or ALAN (WILLIAM), a famous Engliſh Cardinal in the ſixteenth Century, and the author of ſeveral works [*A*], was the ſecond ſon of John Allen by Joanet or Jennet Lyſter his wife, and born at Roſſal in Lancaſhire. In 1547, about the fifteenth year of his age he was entered into Oriel College in Oxford, under Morgan Philips, the chief tutor in that houſe, by whoſe care he made ſo great a progreſs in Logic and Philoſophy, that he was unanimouſly elected Fellow of that College in 1550. Four years after he proceeded in Arts; and in 1556 he became Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and in that and the year following one of the Proctors of the Univerſity. About the year 1558 he was made Canon of York; but when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and began to make an alteration in religion, he left his country and preferment about the year 1560, and retired to Louvain in the Low-Countries (*a*). While he continued there he wrote a book in Engliſh againſt Dr. Jewel, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, concerning Purgatory, which was afterwards printed (*b*). But falling into a dangerous diſeaſe, occaſioned by too careful an attendance upon a pupil of his, who was of a good family in England, he was adviſed by his Phyſicians to return to his native country for his health's ſake. He obſerved their directions, and concealed himſelf in Lancaſhire, till he had recovered his former ſtrength; but endeavouring then to make proſelytes to the church of Rome, and to deter people from frequenting the aſſemblies of Proteſtants, he was obliged by the

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 268, 269. 2d ed. 1721.

(*b*) Nic. Fitzherbert. *in Epit. Vit. Card. Alani.* p. 39.

[*A*] *The author of ſeveral works.*] *A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholics concerning Purgatory and Prayers for the dead.* Antwerp, 1565, in 8vo. *Brief Reaſons concerning Catholic Faith. A Treatiſe made in defence of the lawful power and authority of Prieſthood, to remit ſins.* Louvain, 1567, in 8vo. *The People's Duty for confeſſion of their ſins to God's Miniſters. The Church's meaning concerning Indulgences, commonly call'd Pope's Pardons.* Theſe two Tracts were printed with the *Treatiſe made in defence &c.* and were all anſwered by Dr. William Fulke of Cambridge. *De Sacramentis in genere*; i. e. "Of "the Sacraments in general." *De Sacramento Euchariſtiæ*; i. e. "Of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt." *De Sacrificio Euchariſtiæ*; i. e. "Of the Sacrifice of "the Euchariſt," printed at Antwerp, in 4to, 1576. *Apology and true Declaration of the Inſtitution and Endeavours of the two Engliſh Colleges, the one in Rome, the other now reſident in Rheimes, againſt certain ſiniſter informations given in againſt the ſame,* printed at Mons in Hainault, 1581, in a large 8vo. This book is ſaid by an anonymous writer (1) to be *a princely, grave, and flouriſhing piece of natural and exquiſite Engliſh. Apologia pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jeſu & Seminariorum Alumnis contra Edicta Regia.* Mr. Wood propoſes a query, whether this is not the ſame book with the preceding. It was printed in a book intitled, *Concertatio Eccleſiæ Catholicæ &c.* Aug. Trev. 1583, in 8vo, & 1694, in 4to. *Piiſſima admonitio & conſolatio verè Chriſtiana ad afflictos Catholicos Angliæ*; i. e. "A pious Admoni- "tion and truly Chriſtian Conſolation to the afflicted "Catholics of England," printed likewiſe in the ſame book. *A true, ſincere, and modeſt Defence of the Engliſh Catholics, that ſuffer for their faith both at home and abroad, againſt a ſlanderous Libel,* intitled, *The Execution of Juſtice in England.* It is not expreſſed when and where it was printed; but by the character and ſome paſſages in it, it appears to have been printed abroad about 1583, in 8vo. It was likewiſe publiſhed in Latin at Ingolſtad 1584, in 8vo, and in a book intitled, *Concertatio Eccleſiæ Catholicæ in Angliâ &c.* 1594, This Defence was anſwered by Dr. Tho. Bilſon in the third part of his book of the Supremacy, or in the book intitled, *The true Difference between Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion. The Execution of Juſtice,* to which Allen's defence was was deſigned as an Anſwer, was ſaid then and ſince to have been written by Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh. The ſecond edition of it at London 1583, in five ſheets in 8vo, was entitled, *The Execution of Juſtice in England for maintenance of public and Chriſtian peace, againſt certain ſtirs of ſedition and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the realm, without any perſecution of them for queſtions of Religion, as is falſely reported, &c. Epiſtola de Daventriæ ditione,* Cracov. 1588, in 8vo, printed likewiſe about the ſame time in Engliſh (2). We may obſerve, that in 1587 William Stanley and Rowland York, two Engliſhmen, delivered up a fort near Zutphen, and the ſtrong garriſon of Daventry to the Spaniards. Upon which Dr. Allen, being influenced by the Bull of Pius V againſt Queen Elizabeth, not only commended the treaſon, but excited others in this Epiſtle to the ſame inſtances of perfidiouſneſs, as if they were under no obligation to a Queen, who was excommunicated. At the ſame time he ſent divers Prieſts to Rowland York, to be Chaplains and Confeſſors to his Regiment, which conſiſted of 1300 ſoldiers all Engliſh and Iriſh (3). In 1588 he wrote a book, which he deſigned to publiſh, when the Spaniards ſhould invade England, in order to excite all the Engliſh Papiſts to take up arms againſt the Queen. The firſt part of this book was entitled, *A Declaration of the ſentence of Sixtus V,* grounded upon that Pope's Cruſado, by which he gave a plenary indulgence and pardon for all ſins to all, who ſhould aſſiſt in depriving Queen Elizabeth of her Kingdom. The ſecond part was entitled, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England.* The Queen hearing of theſe books, ſent Dr. Val. Dale to the Prince of Parma, Governour of the Low-Countries under the King of Spain, to expoſtulate with him concerning theſe books, written by Dr. Allen, wherein, as he obſerved, the author exhorted the Nobility and People of England and Ireland to join with the Spaniſh Forces under that Prince, and invade England; but the Governour pretended that he knew nothing of any ſuch book, and diſmiſſed the Queen's Agent without any ſatisfaction (4). However, immediately after the deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada, the Roman Catholics procured the whole impreſſion to be burnt, except thoſe copies, which had been ſent abroad before, and were conveyed ſecretly away by the Printer and others.

(1) *Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment, &c. MS.* Addreſs 4. Sect. 2. quoted by Wood, *ubi ſupra* Col. 271.

(2) See *The State of the Engliſh Fugitives*, p. 23.

(3) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Camden. *Annal. Eliz. ad ann.* 1583.

the Magiſtrates to leave that country, and went to a place near Oxford, where he continued his former deſigns, and wrote two books in Engliſh, one *Of the Authority of the Prieſthood*, and the other *Of Indulgences*. From thence he removed to Norfolk, where he lived ſometimes in the Duke of Norfolk's houſe, and ſometimes near it, and wrote *Certain brief Reaſons concerning the Catholick Faith.* He afterwards went to Oxford again, where he perſuaded one of his former friends to leave the Proteſtant communion, which being diſcovered by the parents of the latter, our author was obliged to leave England, after he had continued there about three years. He retired to a Monaſtery at Mechlin in Brabant, where he was made Divinity-Reader, which office he executed with great applauſe. Being deſirous of ſeeing Rome, he reſolved to go thither with Dr. John Vendivile, the King's Profeſſor at Doway, afterwards Biſhop of Tournay; but changing his mind, after he had performed ſome part of that journey, he went to Doway, where an Univerſity had been founded about the year 1562. Here he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he was made Canon of the Church of Cambray. About the year 1568, he procured a Seminary to be raiſed at Doway for the reception of the learned Engliſh Catholicks, who had left their country for the ſake of religion, and a yearly penſion to be aſſigned them. Soon after being made a Canon of Rheims he procured another Seminary to be erected there by the Guiſes, who were kinſmen to Mary Queen of Scots; for the Netherlands being involved in confuſion, the Engliſh, who had been ſettled in the College of Doway, were baniſhed from thence by the command of Don Lewis de Requeſens (*c*), or, as Janus Nicius Erythræus tells us (*d*), *by an armed Body of Hereticks*, ſo that they were obliged to retire to Rheims, where they fixed for ſome time. He likewiſe began a Seminary at Rome, and two others in Spain, for the education of the Engliſh youth in the Roman Catholick Religion. At laſt for his great merit in advancing the intereſts of that church, he was made Cardinal-Prieſt of St. Martin de Montibus by Pope Sixtus V, on the 28th of July 1587, and two years after was made Archbiſhop of Mechlin, the Metropolis of Brabant (*e*); but he could not reſide upon his Archbiſhoprick, becauſe the Pope would not let him leave Rome, having found him very ſerviceable in the Conſiſtories. He died of a retention of urine at Rome on the 16th of October 1594, aged ſixty three years, as Du Pin tells us (*f*), or, as Erythræus (*g*) affirms, in the ſixty ſecond year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Engliſh College in that city. We have different characters of him by the different parties in religion. But it is generally agreed, that he was a man of excellent parts and learning, extremely zealous and devout in religion, of an active vigorous mind; an affable and inſinuating behaviour; and of a graceful perſon, which with an innate gravity, commanded reſpect from all who ſaw him. His death was extremely regretted by the Roman Catholicks; for beſides the ſervices of his pen, he kept the Engliſh Papiſts from breaking out into mutual conteſts, and compoſed the differences between the Secular Prieſts and Jeſuits (*h*). Nicius Erythræus tells a ſtory of a miraculous eſcape of his in England [*B*], and accuſes the Engliſh government of deſigns againſt his life [*C*].

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Pinacoth. 1. p. 92. edit. Lipſ. 1712.

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, and Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 16. p. 158. edit. Amſterd. 1710.

(*f*) Ibid. and Camden. *Eliz. ad ann.* 1594.

(*g*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 93.

(*h*) Collier, *Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, vol. 2. part 2. book 7. p. 643. edit. London 1714.

ALLEN

[*B*] *Nicius Erythræus tells a ſtory of a miraculous eſcape of his in England.*] He informs us, that our author came over to his own country, having changed his dreſs and name, in order to conceal himſelf; where he reconciled a great many perſons to the Church of Rome: but once he was in prodigious danger of being taken; however the perſon who was employed to ſeize him, and who was very well acquainted with him, and had ſupp'd with him that very night, had ſuch a miſt caſt before his eyes by God, that he paſs'd by him, and did not know him, tho' he was preſent. *Neque tamen ibi quieti ſomnoque ſe dedit, ſed tanquam miles animoſus & fortis, mutatâ veſte ac nomine, veluti & ex occulto ac de inſidiis, ad ſtationes hoſtium, hoc eſt, in Angliam venit, ibique multa prælia præclara fecit, videlicet multos in Catholicorum caſtra reduxit, ac quodam die minimum abfuit, quin caperetur; ſed illi, cui ejus capiendi partes erant traditæ, qui probè eum noverat, & cum eo etiam nocte illa convivium inierat, glaucoma ob oculos Deus objecit, eoque hominem adduxit, ut quem ante oculos haberet, tanquam ignotum præteriret.* The reader will perhaps make ſome abatement in this relation with regard to the miraculous interpoſition of God in his favour, and conſider it merely as an ornament, made uſe of by Erythræus to give a grace to his Elogium of the Cardinal. He tells afterwards, that while he was Preſident of the College at Rheims, one of the Society, whom he had particularly obliged, had reſolved to poiſon him and the whole College at ſupper one night; but being touched with remorſe of conſcience, confeſſed the crime which he had intended.

[*C*] *Accuſes the Engliſh Government of deſigns againſt his life.*] He tells us, that Allen was very near being killed by an aſſaſſin, who was ſent for that purpoſe by the Magiſtrates of England, who were extremely offended at his frequent journeys to Rome, and the Seminaries, which he had procured to be founded in ſeveral places; *and apprehenſive*, ſays he, *leſt their new Religion ſhould be deſtroyed. Neque ita multo poſt, nihil proprius factum eſt, quam ut Sicarii cujuſdam ſcelere opprimeretur, miſſi ad eum interficiendum ab Angliæ Magiſtratibus, crebris illius Romam itionibus, & collegiis tot locis excitatis, vehementer exterritis, & novæ Anglicanæ Religioni exitium metuentibus.* This is ſo ſhocking an imputation upon the Engliſh Government, that the impartial reader will expect ſome other proof of it, than this writer's ſingle aſſertion, who was exceſſively devoted to the Church of Rome, and writes every where with a peculiar aſperity againſt the Proteſtants. This partiality of his will appear evident from a paſſage immediately following, where he tells us, that "the Engliſh Magiſtrates tortur'd "and exerciſed all kinds of barbarity againſt the Ca- "tholics, when they ſeized them; and among the "reſt they deſtroyed that noble example of inte- "grity, genius, and learning, Edmund Campian, "who was one of the firſt of the Jeſuits, who went "over to England, in order to ſupport as far as he "was able the declining intereſts of the Catholic "Religion; he was at firſt put upon the rack, and "afterwards hang'd and quarter'd. Our age, *con- "tinues our author*, never ſaw a more enormous "crime than this, which the Sun itſelf might even

ALLEN or ALLEYN (THOMAS) a famous Mathematician, and eminent for his knowledge of all kinds of Literature, was deſcended through ſix generations from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the Manor of Buckenhall in Staffordſhire, and born at Utoxeter in the ſaid county Dec. 21, 1542. He was admitted Scholar of Trinity College in Oxford the 4th of June 1561, and elected Fellow in 1565, and two years after took the degree of Maſter of Arts. But being averſe from taking holy orders, and inclined to a retired life, he left the College and his Fellowſhip about the year 1570, and entered himſelf in Gloceſter Hall, where he applied himſelf very intenſely to his ſtudies for many years, and at length became an eminent Antiquary, Philoſopher, and Mathematician. A certain writer (*a*) tells us, *that he was the Prince of all the Mathematicians of his time.* His great accompliſhments gained him the eſteem of ſeveral Princes and Noblemen both in England and abroad; and when Albertus L'aſkie Count of Sirade in Poland was in England in 1583, he ſollicited him to go over with him into that country, with aſſurances of procuring for him the greateſt honours and dignities. But his regard for a calm philoſophical life made him reject all thoſe offers of wealth and grandeur. He was likewiſe courted to live in the family of Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great patron of Mathematicians; which invitation he embraced, and was prodigiouſly beloved by that Earl. Here he became acquainted with theſe celebrated Mathematicians, Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, and Nathaniel Torporley, who were frequently at the Earl's Seat. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and the great Favourite of Queen Elizabeth, had a very great friendſhip for our Author [*A*], who was alſo highly reſpected by the moſt conſiderable men of that age [*B*]. His ſkill in the Mathematicks expoſed him, as well as the excellent Friar Bacon, to the cenſure of the vulgar, eſpecially thoſe of Oxford, who repreſented him as a Conjurer and Magician. His efforts for the improvement of Learning were very extenſive and conſiderable [*C*]. He wrote ſeveral

(*a*) Gul. Burton. *in Orat. Funebri Tho. Alleni*, Lond. 1632, 4°, p. 6. and Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 574. edit. 2. 1721.

" retire from the ſight of. But when they found, " that the world was ſhock'd at this exceſſive cruel- " ty, they affirmed, that theſe perſons were puniſhed " for Treaſon, and not for Religion, and pretended, " that their crime was for having concerted deſigns " againſt the Queen's life. But Allen defended thoſe " who ſuffered from this imputation in a book, " which he wrote for that purpoſe, and ſhewed the " true reaſon of the cruelty of the heretics." But whoever is converſant in our Hiſtory, and knows the circumſtances of theſe times, and the various attempts againſt Queen Elizabeth's life by the Romiſh Prieſts, will ſee how very falſe and aggravated this account of Erythræus is. Let us hear what Camden ſays (5) of the Cardinal's conduct in this point. He informs us, that " Allen with R. Parſons the " Jeſuit, and others lay continually in wait for the " deſtruction of the Queen and people of England, " and by exciting both foreigners abroad, and natu- " ral ſubjects at home, plotted together to reſtore " the Romiſh Religion to its former ſtate." And in another place he tells us (6), " That after he had " thrown off both his love to his country, and his " obedience to his Queen, he urged the King of " Spain and the Pope to invade England. For which " purpoſe he intereſted himſelf in all the pernici- " ous conſultations upon that ſubject, after Pope " Sixtus V had conferred on him the title of Cardi- " nal, and the King of Spain had given him an " Abbey in the Kingdom of Naples, and nominated " him to the Archbiſhoprick of Mechlin. When " the Bull of excommunication againſt Queen Eli- " zabeth was publiſhed, at the ſame time that the " great Armada was prepared againſt England, he " brought the Bull into the Low-Countries; and " cauſed it to be printed in Engliſh. Beſides he " wrote *An Admonition to the Engliſh*, to adhere to " the Pope and the King of Spain; but being diſap- " pointed in all his hopes, he returned to Rome, " where being wearied with the diſſenſions and animo- " ſities of the Engliſh Fugitives, both Scholars and " Nobles, he died at laſt in the 63d year of his " age." To this we may add what Biſhop Godwin ſays of him (7), who tells us, that *he ſo little deſerved to be eſteemed an Engliſhman, that like another Heroſtratus, he endeavoured to raiſe a confuſion in the Church and State.* T.

(5) *Annal. R. Elizab. ad ann.* 1589.

(6) Ibid. *ad ann.* 1594.

(7) *In Comment. de Præſul. Angl. ad finem, inter Cardinales.*

[*A*] *Had a great friendſhip for our author.*] He entertained him at his houſe with all the civility imaginable, and offer'd to beſtow a Biſhoprick upon him, if he could have been induced to abandon the charms, which he found in a retired and ſtudious life. But the Earl's familiarity with Allen and the famous John Dee the Mathematician expoſed him to the cenſure of the author of a book entitled, *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*; who tells us, that *they* (whom he ſtigmatizes with the name of Atheiſts,) *uſed the art of figuring and conjuring for procuring the ſaid Earl's unlawful deſigns*; and that *by their black art they endeavoured a match between Queen Elizabeth and him.* This is undoubtedly an idle and impertinent ſuggeſtion: however it is certain, that Allen was ſo intimate with that Earl, that few matters of State were tranſacted, but he had the knowledge of them, and nothing of moment was done in the Univerſity but our author informed him of it by Letters (1).

(1) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 575.

[*B*] *Highly reſpected by the moſt conſiderable men of that age.*] Particularly by Sir Tho. Bodley, Sir Henry Savile, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Selden, &c. the laſt of whom tells us (2), that " he was a man accompliſh'd in all kinds " of Literature, and endowed with an excellent " judgment, and that he was the greateſt ornament " of the famous Univerſity of Oxford." *Omni eruditionis genere ſummoque judicio ornatiſſimus, celeberrimæ Academiæ Oxonienſis decus inſigniſſimum.* And Camden ſays (3), that he was *plurimis & optimis Artibus ornatiſſimus*, i. e. " adorn'd with many ex- " cellent Arts and Sciences." To this we may add the character given him in a MS. in Trinity-College Library, which Mr. Wood read, and is as follows: *Vir fuit elegantium literarum ſtudioſiſſimus, Academicæ diſciplinæ tenaciſſimus, apud exteros & Academicos ſemper in magno precio, eorumque qui in Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ atque in Univerſitate Oxonienſi pro meritis ſuis ad dignitates aut præfecturas ſubinde provecti fuerunt. Fuit ſagaciſſimus obſervator, familiariſſimus conviva, &c.* i. e. " He was a man of great " application to polite Literature, very tenacious of " the diſcipline of the Univerſity, always highly va- " lued by foreigners as well as thoſe of the Univerſity, " and eſteemed by thoſe, who were raiſed by their " merit to the higheſt ſtations in the Church of " England and the Univerſity of Oxford. He was " a ſagacious Obſerver, an agreeable Companion, " &c."

(2) *In Notis ad Eadmer.* edit. 1623, p. 200.

(3) *In Britannia in cap. de Saxonibus.*

[*C*] *His efforts for the improvement of learning were very extenſive and conſiderable.*] He ſpared no coſt nor labour in collecting of ſcattered MSS. of every Faculty, eſpecially thoſe of Hiſtory, Antiquity, Aſtronomy, Mathematics, Philoſophy, &c. Theſe Collections of his have been quoted in the works of ſeveral learned Authors, and mentioned to have been in *Bibliotheca Alleniana* (4). It was by his aſſiſtance, advice

(4) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

veral pieces [*D*]. He died in Glouceſter Hall on the 30th of September 1632, and was buried with great ſolemnity in Trinity College Chapel.

advice, and communication, that ſeveral members of the Univerſity of Oxford became eminent in Mathematics and Antiquity; particularly Harriot, Twyne, Hegge, the two James's, Burton, and Digby. But his Collections, Obſervations, and Notes in Aſtronomy, Mathematics, and the new Philoſophy, are loſt in obſcure hands; however it is ſuppoſed, that Sir Kenelm Digby made uſe of his obſervations in Philoſophy in his own writings.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] I. *Claudii Ptolomæi Peluſienſis de Aſtrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ conſtructionis, Liber ſecundus; cum Expoſitione Thomæ Alleyn Angli Oxonienſis.* i. e. "The ſecond Book of Claudius Ptolomy of Peluſium "concerning the judgment of the Stars, or, as it "is commonly call'd, of the quadripartite conſtruc-"tion, with the Expoſition of Tho. Alleyn of Ox-"ford." The firſt chapter of it begins thus; *Hactenus quidem præcurrimus ea, quorum cognitione, &c.* II. *Cl. Ptolomæi de Aſtror. Judiciis. Lib.* 3. *cum Expoſitione Tho. Alleyn, &c.* This contains the third book of Ptolomy upon the ſame ſubject, with Allen's Expoſition. Mr. Wood ſaw theſe two MSS. and tells us, that they came into the hands of William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer, who gave them to Elias Aſhmole Eſq; in 1652. One of theſe copies was tranſcribed from the original, which was given by Allen to Sir Tho. Aylesbury; and the other copy John Huniades the great Chymiſt had in his poſſeſſion, who gave it to Lilly. Our author likewiſe wrote Notes upon many of his books, and particularly upon Bale's book *De Scriptoribus Maj. Britanniæ*, which, as Mr. Wood informs us, are entered by another hand in the margin of that work in the public Library of Oxford. The chief part of his Library of MSS. came ſoon after his death into the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby, as he had appointed, and the year following were given by him to the Bodleian Library. But ſome of them had been before and about the time of his death procured from him by Rich: James of *Corpus Chriſti* College for the Cottonian Library; and others came into the hands of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Maſter of the Requeſts.

T.

☞ALLEN (THOMAS) a man of diſtinguiſhed knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues, was born in the year 1573, and educated in the King's School at Worceſter, from whence he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1589, when he was ſixteen years of age. He was at firſt a ſtudent in Brazen Noſe College, and having made a very conſiderable progreſs in Philoſophy, he was elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College in 1593, and by the ſevere diſcipline uſed at that time, he became a famous diſputant. He afterwards entered into holy orders; but he did not apply himſelf ſo much to frequent preaching, as to the more abſtruſe and difficult parts of critical Learning. This gained him the eſteem of Sir Henry Savile, who procured him a Fellowſhip of Eaton College, and found him very ſerviceable for his deſigns. He died the tenth of October 1638, and was buried in the chapel belonging to that College (*a*). We ſhall mention his works and his epitaph in the note [*A*].

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. Col. 604. ed. 2. 1721.

[*A*] *We ſhall mention his works and his epitaph.*] He wrote *Obſervationes in Libellum Chryſoſtomi in Eſaiam*; that is, "Obſervations upon St. Chryſoſtom's book upon Iſaiah," printed in Sir Henry Savile's edition of that Father (1). He likewiſe aſſiſted Sir Henry in compiling his *Annotations on Chryſoſtom's Homilies on Matthew and the other Evangeliſts*, as the latter acknowledges in his Preface to thoſe annotations, in which he ſtiles our author *Vir doctiſſimus, Græcarum literarum non minus quàm Theologiæ peritus, &c.* i. e. "A very learned Man, "and no leſs skilful in the Greek Learning, than in "Divinity." His Epitaph is as follows: *Thomas Allenus Wigornienſis, vir pietate inſignis, Theologus præſtantiſſimus, multarum optimarum linguarum, variæque eruditionis callentiſſimus, in collegium hoc (in quo diu ſocius vixit) in collegia inſuper alia, locaque, in quibus aliquam vitæ ſuæ partem poſuit, piè munificus, hic jacet. Obiit die decimo menſis Octobris, an.* 1636. i. e. "Here lies Thomas Allen of "Worceſter, a man of exemplary piety, an excellent "Divine, skilful in many valuable languages and "various kinds of literature; who was very ge-"nerous to this College, in which he lived long "as a Fellow, and to other Colleges and places, in "which he had ſpent any part of his life. He died "the 10th of October, 1636." T.

(1) Vol. 8. pag. 139, &c.

☞ALLESTRY or ALLESTREE (RICHARD) an eminent Engliſh Divine of the ſeventeenth Century, was the ſon of Robert Alleſtry, a Gentleman of an ancient family in Derbyſhire, whoſe fortune being reduced by the profuſeneſs of his predeceſſors, he was retained in the ſervice of Sir Richard Newport, afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of High Arcol, as Steward to him, and being married, ſettled himſelf at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropſhire (*a*). Our Author was grandſon of William Alleſtry of Alveſton in Darbyſhire (*b*), and was born at Uppington in March 1619. He was firſt ſent to a neighbouring country free-ſchool, and afterwards removed to another more celebrated ſchool at Coventry (*c*), which was taught by Philemon Holland the famous Tranſlator (*d*), where he continued till he became fit for the Univerſity. In the year 1636, when he was ſeventeen years of age (*e*), he was carried by his father to Oxford, and placed as a Commoner in Chriſt-Church, under the tuition of Mr. Richard Buſby, afterwards the celebrated Dr. Buſby, and Maſter of Weſtminſter School. Six months after his ſettlement in the Univerſity, Dr. Samuel Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, obſerving his parts and induſtry made him Student of the College, where he purſued his ſtudies with uncommon vigour and ſucceſs. As an encouragement of which, as ſoon as he had taken his degree of Batchelor of Arts, he was choſen Moderator in Philoſophy, and had that employment renewed every year till the diſturbances of the Kingdom interrupted the ſtudies and repoſe of the Univerſity (*f*). Mr. Alleſtry therefore among other Students actually took arms for the King under Sir John Biron [*A*], and exerted himſelf with great vigour in that cauſe. In 1643 June

(*a*) See an account of the life of Dr. Alleſtry, prefixed to his Sermons, Oxon. 1684. fol.

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. Col. 676. edit. 2. London 1721.
(*c*) *An Account of the Life, &c.*
(*d*) Wood, ibid.
(*e*) Not fifteen years, as Mr. Wood tells us, ſince it appears that he was born in 1619.

(*f*) *An Account of the Life, &c.*

[*A*] *Took arms for the King under Sir John Biron.*] The King having left London in 1641, and iſſuing out his commiſſion of Array in the ſeveral parts of the Nation, directed it likewiſe to the Univerſity of Oxford,

(g) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Col. 33.

June 2d (g), he proceeded Maſter of Arts, and the ſame year was in extreme danger of his life by a peſtilential diſeaſe, which then raged in the garriſon at Oxford. Upon his recovery he applied himſelf again to the ſervice of the war [*B*]. Soon after this he took holy orders, and became an eminent Tutor and Cenſor of the College, where he met with very ſevere uſage from the oppoſite party [*C*], and was ejected by the Parliament Viſitors about the middle of July 1648. Upon this he went into Shropſhire, and was ſoon after entertained as Chaplain to Francis Newport Eſq; afterwards Lord Newport of High Arcol, where he continued till Richard Lord Newport the Father died in France, whither he had ſome time before retired to avoid the ſeverity of the the prevailing party. Upon this occaſion Mr. Alleſtry was ſent over to ſettle his affairs there, and having diſpatched this commiſſion with good ſucceſs he returned to Oxford, where it met with an active and ready obedience from the generality of the members of that place, and particularly from Mr. Alleſtry, who engaged in the ſervice, and continued in it till Sir John Biron, afterwards Lord Biron, who was ſent with a party of horſe to ſupport the Scholars in arms there, withdrew from thence. After a ſhort ſtay there he was ſent for to join with Prince Rupert, and by the aſſiſtance of the Gentlemen of Worceſterſhire was received into that city, where he was preſt by the Forces of the Parliament; but the Prince came up ſeaſonably to reinforce them; which occaſioned the ſharp fight in Poyick field near that city, the unexpected ſucceſs of which ſtruck a prodigious terror upon the Parliament, who being Maſters of the money, forts, and magazines of the Kingdom, imagined that they ſhould eaſily carry all without a ſingle battle. Thoſe Students, who could furniſh themſelves for a ſudden march, went along with Sir John Biron from Oxford; but the reſt, among whom was Mr. Alleſtry, ſtaid behind, and return'd to their ſtudies. Soon after this the Lord Say with a party of the Parliament Forces came to Oxford, and plundered the colleges of ſuch plate, as had not been before ſent to the King, and enquired after thoſe, who had been active in promoting the King's ſervice; upon which occaſion, and by a particular accident, which then happened, Mr. Alleſtry was called in queſtion. The occaſion was this; at Chriſt-Church ſome of the Parliament-ſoldiers attempted to break into the treaſury, and after a day's labour forced a paſſage into it; met with nothing, except a ſingle groat and an halter in the bottom of a large iron cheſt. Enraged with that diſappointment, they went to the Deanery, where having plundered what they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, lock'd it up, and retired to their quarters, intending the next morning to return and diſpoſe of their booty. But when they came, they found every thing removed. Upon examination it appeared that Mr. Alleſtry had a key of the lodgings, the Dean and his family being withdrawn, and that his key had been made uſe of in this affair; upon which he was ſeized, and notwithſtanding all the defence he could make, had been treated with great ſeverity, if the Earl of Eſſex had not called away the Forces on a ſudden, and ſo reſcued him from their reſentments. Mr. Alleſtry was preſent at the battle of Keinton or Edgehill in Warwickſhire; after which underſtanding that the King deſigned to march immediately to Oxford, and to keep his Court as uſual at the Deanery at Chriſt-Church, which was in part left to his care in the abſence of the Dean, in his journey thither he was taken priſoner by a party from Broughton houſe, which was garriſoned by the Lord Say for the Parliament. He was confined there but a ſhort time; for the Garriſon ſurrendred itſelf to the King's Forces, who ſummoned it in their paſſage. Upon the King's return from the battle at Branford, having made Oxford his headquarters, Mr. Alleſtry ſettled himſelf again to his ſtudies (1).

(1) *An Account of the Life of Dr. Alleſtry &c.*

[*B*] *Applied himſelf again to the ſervice of the war.*] The exigence of the King's affairs made the aſſiſtance of the Scholars of the Univerſity very neceſſary to him; and accordingly a regiment of them was raiſed, who ſerved as Volunteers without any pay or reward, and not only performed all duties in the garriſon, and ſallies for the defence of it in caſe of attacks and ſieges; but were likewiſe commanded upon parties abroad, and endured all the fatigues of marches and mean quarters, and differ'd in nothing from the poor mercenary ſoldiers but in their civility and juſtice to the country people, while they ſtayed with them, and paying them at their departure. In this Regiment Mr. Alleſtry, tho' a Maſter of Arts and Fellow of the College, performed all the duties of a common ſoldier; and in this ſervice he continued till the end of the war, ſtill applying what time was left from military duties to the proſecution of his ſtudies, and even joining them both together, frequently holding his muſket in one hand and a book in the other, *and making the watchings of a Soldier the lucubrations of a Student* (2). (2) Ibid.

[*C*] *Met with ſevere uſage from the oppoſite party.*] He ſhewed himſelf zealous thro' his whole conduct for the King's cauſe; as we are informed by Dr. John Fell Biſhop of Oxford, who wrote his Life, and whoſe words are as follow (3): "He bore a part in (3) Ibid.
"the ſignal teſt of the loyalty of the Univerſity of
"Oxford, poſſibly the greateſt that has been given
"by any ſociety of men; I mean the paſſing a ſo-
"lemn decree and judgment of theirs againſt the
"covenant and rebellion enflamed and fomented by
"it, performed in convocation, when the city was
"held by a garriſon of the rebels, whoſe ſwords
"were at the throats of thoſe Confeſſors, and yet
"the decree was carried by a moſt unanimous ſuf-
"frage of the whole body, there being but one
"diſſenter in that numerous Senate, and he a per-
"ſon, who had abſented himſelf from the Univer-
"ſity during the war, and taken part with the re-
"bels." Soon after this the Parliament Viſitors came with a ſecond commiſſion (having loſt their firſt, as we are informed by Dr. Fell, *by outſtaying in a long Prayer and Sermon the time aſſigned for the opening of it*,) and began their enquiry, and fixed a paper upon the door of St. Mary's church, wherein they ſignified that thoſe, who would not ſubmit to the authority of the Parliament, ſhould leave the precincts of the Univerſity within three days, upon pain of being conſidered as ſpies of war, and accordingly proceeded againſt. The Biſhop of Oxford expreſſes himſelf with great acrimony upon this occaſion. He tells us, that "by this practice often re-
"peated, the men of greateſt hopes and merit in
"the Univerſity were ſpoiled of all things, and not
"ſuffer'd to breathe the common air; ſo that within
"the compaſs of a few weeks an almoſt general rid-
"dance was made of the loyal Univerſity of Ox-
"ford; in whoſe room ſucceeded an illiterate rab-
"ble, ſwept up from the plough-tail, from ſhops
"and Grammar-ſchools, and the dregs of the neigh-
"bour Univerſity. Tho' in that ſcandalous number
"ſome few there were (4), who notwithſtanding (4) The Biſhop perhaps means here Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, Mr. Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum, Mr. Wallis, &c.
"they had parts and learning, were preferred upon
"the account of their relations; who merited a bet-
"ter title to the places they poſſeſt, and have ſince
"proved uſeful men in the Church and State. Thoſe
"of the ancient ſtock, who were ſpared upon this
"tryal, were afterwards caſt off upon the ſecond
"teſt of the engagement, till in the end there were
"left very few legitimate members in any of the
"colleges." Mr. Alleſtry was very ſoon involved in this ruin; and tho' he had the care of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were his pupils, and accounts of his own and theirs to adjuſt, yet he could not without difficulty prevail with the Governor of the town Lieut. Coll. Kelſey to grant him a little reſpite for ſettling his affairs, and doing juſtice to thoſe, for whom he was concerned. The Viſitors abſolutely refuſed his requeſt for this reaſon, as Dr. Rogers one of their Members expreſſed it, *becauſe he was an eminent Man.*

to his employment, in which he continued till the defeat of King Charles II at Worceſter, and his eſcape from thence. The managers of the King's affairs wanting an intelligent and faithful perſon to ſend over to the King, deſired Mr. Alleſtry to undertake that journey, which he readily agreed to, and having attended the King at Roan, and received his diſpatches, returned to England (*b*). Soon after coming to Oxford, where he found his friends Mr. John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and Mr. John Fell, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford, who had likewiſe been baniſhed the Univerſity, living privately, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the loyal party there, he joined with them, and continued there till Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell near Banbury prevailed with him to live in his family; which he did for ſeveral years, having liberty to go or ſtay, as his occaſions required; by which means he was enabled to ſtep aſide without being taken notice of upon meſſages from the King's friends; which ſervice he managed with great courage and dexterity. But in the winter of the year 1659 he was ſeiz'd at Dover, in his return from the King in Flanders, and committed to priſon [*D*]. Soon after the Reſtoration, he was made Canon of Chriſt-Church, and created Doctor of Divinity October 3, 1660 (*i*), and appointed one of the Lecturers of the city of Oxford. He continued this Lecture for ſeveral years, though he never received any part of the ſalary belonging to it, but ordered it to be diſtributed among the poor (*k*). While he was engaged in this Lecture, he was made one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary, and in 1663 he was appointed Regius Profeſſor of Divinity upon the death of Dr. Creed (*l*). In 1665 he was made Provoſt of Eton College near Windſor, upon the death of Dr. John Meredith; which valuable employment he was not without ſome difficulty prevailed upon to accept [*E*]. In 1679 finding his ſight decayed by the fatigue of his place of Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, he reſigned it to his friend Dr. Jane. But diſeaſes are not cured by the removal of the cauſes which firſt occaſioned them; and though by the uſe of mineral waters in the Summer ſeaſon, and the taking of journies in the Autumn, he for ſome time ſupported himſelf, the decay continued and encreaſed upon him, till it was formed into a dropſy; ſo that he was obliged to remove to London to put himſelf under the care of the Phyſicians;

(*b*) *An Account of the Life, &c.*

(*i*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. Col. 137.

(*k*) *An Account of the Life, &c.*

(*l*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. Col. 677.

[*D*] *He was ſeized at Dover .... and committed to priſon*] As he returned from Flanders with Letters, and landed at Dover, he was ſeized by a party of ſoldiers, who waited for him; a ſpy, who was employed at the King's Court, having given notice of his diſpatch, and deſcribed particularly his perſon and habit. But Mr. Alleſtry had ſo much preſence of mind, as to ſecure his Letters, and commit them to a faithful hand, who took care of them. The ſoldiers according to their orders guarded him to London, where he was examined by a Committee of the *Council of Safety*, and charged with having a correſpondence with the King, and bringing Letters from him; which they confirmed by ſeveral circumſtances of his journey, and threatned him with the utmoſt ſeverity, if he continued obſtinate, and would not confeſs the truth. But Mr. Alleſtry evading all the queſtions, which they urged to entrap him, and proving inflexible to all the menaces, which they made uſe of to draw him to betray either himſelf or others, he was ſent priſoner to Lambeth houſe, which was then made a goal for the King's friends, where by ill uſage he contracted a ſickneſs, which almoſt proved fatal to him. After he had been confined about ſix or eight weeks, his friends procured his enlargement; "which was the eaſier obtained, for "that ſome of the leaders of the party ſeeing things "move towards his Majeſty's Reſtoration, were wil-"ling by kindneſſes to recommend themſelves in "caſe of a revolution; among whom was the late "Earl of Shaftsbury, who was uſed to value him-"ſelf, that Mr. Alleſtry owed his preſervation to "him (5)." Mr. Alleſtry having obtained his liberty, returned to Oxfordſhire, and went from thence to viſit his relations in Shropſhire. In his return deſigning to pay a viſit to his friend Dr. Hammond at Weſtwood near Worceſter, he met his body at the gate carrying out to his funeral. This great Man at his death gave a ſignal teſtimony of his regard for our author and his eſteem for his parts and learning, by leaving him his Library as a legacy.

(5) *An Account of the Life, &c.*

[*E*] *With ſome difficulty prevailed upon to accept.*] We ſhall give an account of this affair in the words of Dr. Fell, who tells us, that he was induced to accept it particularly by the conſideration, "That a "great intereſt was made by a lay-man, who proba-"bly might ſucceed upon the advantage of his re-"fuſal, notwithſtanding that the Provoſt there be "actually the Parſon of Eton Pariſh, and preſented "to the cure, and inſtituted by the Biſhop of Lin-"coln the Dioceſan, as all other Pariſh Prieſts are; "ſo that as nothing could be more plainly ſacri-"legious and irregular in itſelf, than ſuch an uſur-"pation by a lay-perſon; ſo nothing could be a "greater diſſervice to the Church, than by an un-"ſeaſonable modeſty to make way for it. Upon "theſe motives it was, that Dr. Alleſtry became "Provoſt of Eton; and for the ſame reaſon it was, "that during his life he continued ſo, never hearken-"ing to any offer of preferment, which might "make a vacancy, and repeat the former hazard. "And it may be truly ſaid, that this was the great-"eſt ſecular care, that he carried with him into "another world, it being his dying requeſt unto his "friends to interpoſe with his ſacred Majeſty, that "he might have a ſucceſſor lawfully capable, and "who would promote the welfare of the College." We may obſerve here, that Dr. Zachariah Cradock of Cambridge, who had been inſtalled Canon Reſidentiary of Chicheſter, on the 11th of February 1669, ſucceeded him in the Provoſtſhip, by virtue of the election of the Fellows: ſo that the celebrated Mr. Waller the Poet, who made uſe of all his intereſt to obtain it, was diſappointed (6). When Dr. Alleſtry was preferred to this employment, he found the College of Eton in a very bad ſtate with regard to its revenues and fabric; and what was of no leſs ill conſequence, unſtatutable and unreaſonable grants of Leaſes; to all which, except one, the reduction of which was the work of time, he applied effectual remedies. He found the School in a low condition; but by his prudence in the choice of a learned and diligent Maſter, by his intereſt in bringing young Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality thither, and by his great kindneſs to them when there, and taking care for the building fit accommodations for their reception within the precincts of the college, in a few years the School was raiſed to the higheſt pitch of reputation. He did likewiſe another conſiderable ſervice to this School, and to King's College in Cambridge, whoſe ſeminary it is: that whereas formerly both thoſe Societies were under the diſcouragement, that the Fellowſhips of Eton were generally diſpoſed of to perſons of foreign education; by the vigorous interpoſition of Dr. Alleſtry, joined to the petition of the Provoſt and Fellows of King's College, the King paſſed a grant under the Broad Seal, that for the future five of the ſeven Fellows ſhould be ſuch as had been

(6) *See* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. Col. 678.

ſicians; which however proved at laſt ineffectual. He was a man of great virtues and uncommon qualifications. He was eminent for the vigour and improvements of his mind [*F*], his piety and honeſty, and the ſincerity of his friendſhips [*G*], the agreeableneſs of his converſation [*H*], his benevolent and diſintereſted temper [*I*], his ſkill in

been educated in Eton ſchool, and were Fellows of King's College; which will be a perpetual inticement to diligent ſtudy and virtuous endeavours in both thoſe royal foundations. He built likewiſe the weſt-ſide of the outward court of Eton College at his own expence. And finding at his coming thither the Society involved in a conſiderable debt, by an ill cuſtom brought in by thoſe of the late times of confuſion, who at the year's end divided whatever money remained after the ordinary payments were diſcharged, incidental ones and debts contracted being ſtill deferred to the future year; which in time grew ſo very great, as to endanger the College's becoming bankrupt; to prevent this he retrenched his own dues, and prevailed upon the Society to do the like; ſo that within a few years the College paid a debt of above a thouſand pounds, and ſpent two thouſand pounds in repairs (7).

(7) *An Account of the Life, &c.*

[*F*] *For the vigour and improvements of his mind.*] In drawing this great man's character we ſhall generally make uſe of the words of his friend the learned Dr. John Fell. His mind, that nobler part of him, was compoſed by an extraordinary indulgence of nature; thoſe faculties, which in others uſe to be ſingle, and are thought neceſſarily to be ſo, as excluding each the other, were united in him. Memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modeſty, and no leſs aſſurance, a comprehenſion of things and fluency of words; an aptneſs for the pleaſant, and ſufficiency for the rugged parts of knowledge; a courage to encounter, and an induſtry to maſter all things, formed the character of his happy genius. This felicity of temper was ſeconded by the circumſtances of the times in which he lived, which engaged him ſeverally to exert and cultivate his faculties. Before the civil war he had ſecured the foundations of the whole circle of learning, by his own indefatigable ſtudy, and the indulgent care of his Tutor Dr. Busby, and the particular encouragement of Dr. Fell the Dean, who always conſidered him as a part of his family, and treated him with the ſame regard as his own children. "When the war broke out, "he had the benefit of being, inſtead of one, in ſe- "veral Univerſities; Oxford was then an epitome "of the whole Nation and all the buſineſs of it; "there was here the Court, the Garriſon, the Flower "of the Nobility and Gentry, Lawyers and Di- "vines of all England. And times of action have "ſomewhat peculiar in them to ferment and invi- "gorate the mind, which is enervated by the ſoft- "neſs of peace. The calamitous times which ſuc- "ceeded, as they engaged him to the exerciſe of "popular preaching, a talent which nothing beſides "neceſſity and practice can cultivate; ſo they led "him out into foreign parts, enter'd him into the "managery of buſineſs of greateſt truſt and hazard, "and made him as well read in men, as in books. "After all this it was no ſmall advantage to be re- "turned by the King's happy Reſtoration to the U- "niverſity, and to the opportunities of reading and "converſation with learned men, and in that con- "ſpicuous theatre to have the obligation of a pub- "lic employment to exert all his faculties, and with "utmoſt endeavour to improve and communicate "his knowledge. And we may ſay it without envy, "that few of his time had either a greater com- "paſs, or a deeper inſight into all the parts of learn- "ing, the modern and learned languages, Rhetoric, "Philoſophy, Mathematics, Hiſtory, Antiquity, "Moral and Polemical Divinity; all which was "not to be pumpt up, or ranſackt out of common- "place books, but was ready at hand, digeſted for "his own uſe and communication in diſcourſe to "others (8)."

(8) Ibid.

[*G*] *His piety and honeſty and the ſincerity of his friendſhip.*] From his child-hood he had a ſtrong impreſſion of piety and the duties relating to God and man; which may partly be aſcribed to the ſtrict and ſevere education, which he had from his father. By this means, notwithſtanding the licence of war and the fire and temptations of youth, he preſerved his innocence and love of God and virtue, till he made the more immediate ſervice of them his profeſſion. To render himſelf ſecure from intemperance, he frequently abſtained from lawful ſatisfactions, by the ſtated returns of faſting and abſtinence, and continuance in celibacy his whole life. "In his conſti- "tution he had a great deal of warmth and vigor, "which made him apt to take fire upon provocati- "on; but he was well aware of it, and kept a pe- "culiar guard upon that weak part; ſo that his heat "was reſerved for the great concerns of the ho- "nour of God, and the ſervice of his Prince and "Country, wherein he was altogether indefatiga- "ble, and in the moſt diſmal appearances of af- "fairs would never deſert them, nor deſpair of their "reſtauration. There was not in the world a man "of clearer honeſty and courage; no temptation "could bribe him to do a baſe thing, or terror af- "fright him from the doing of a good one (9)." This made his friendſhip as laſting and inviolable as his life, without the mean conſiderations of profit, or ſly reſerves of craft; not the pageantry of ceremonious addreſs, or cold civility; much leſs the ſervile falſeneſs of obſequious flattery. It was a ſolid and maſculine kindneſs, a perfect coalition of affections and minds; ſo that there was nothing he poſſeſs'd, but it was his friend's as abſolutely as it was his own; and it became a general obſervation, that he and they had all things in common. This temper of his directed him to live with great kindneſs with his neighbours and acquaintance, ſo that Eton College, while he lived there, was but one family, his lodging being every fellow's chamber, and they as much at home with him as in their own apartment. And in the Univerſity, tho' his ſtation and parts might expoſe him to envy, he had no competition or difference with any perſon; ſo that no man ever lived with a more univerſal good will of all, who knew him, or died with a more general ſorrow at his loſs.

(9) Ibid.

[*H*] *The agreeableneſs of his converſation.*] It was always chearful and entertaining, eſpecially in the reception of his acquaintance at his table and friendly viſits; and in the evening after he had wearied himſelf with the ſtudies of the day, which he generally continued till eight of the clock at night, during the many years he was Profeſſor; ſoon after which he was to be called away to the night-prayers in the College. This ſhort interval he made as eaſy as he could to himſelf and thoſe who were with him: And he had the greateſt reaſon to relax his mind then; for after the employment of the day was over, he uſed to be as faint and exhauſted, as if he had gone thro' the moſt fatiguing labour imaginable; and his intenſion of thought waſted his ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that he was frequently in danger, while he was at ſtudy, of falling into a ſwoon, and obliged to riſe from his ſeat, and walk about his room for ſome time, before he could recover himſelf. Nor had his ſingular abilities and endowments the uſual effect to make him proud and contemptuous; all his diſcourſes were with deference and reſpect, and ſpoken with weight becoming a Profeſſor, but with the ſoftneſs of a Learner. In his converſation he was exceedingly tender of ſaying any thing, that might give offence, or reflect upon any perſon's reputation; and he was very ready in caſe of reſentment to give the perſon offended, whoever it happened to be, the utmoſt ſatisfaction.

[*I*] *His benevolent and diſintereſted temper.*] His contempt of the world was very extraordinary, as well in his large and conſtant charities, both by ſettled penſions to indigent perſons and familes and occaſional alms, as by his generous hoſpitality. But we have an higher inſtance of his generoſity in giving away a fixed and conſtant revenue, that he might have juſtly retained, to the value of three hundred pounds a year; the particulars of which are as follows. Upon the King's Reſtoration, he was made, as we obſerved above, Canon of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and ſoon after Regius

in the diſcharge of the office of Profeſſor of Divinity [*K*], and the excellence of his Sermons [*L*]. We ſhall mention his works in a note [*M.*] When he found his health irrecoverable,

Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, to which employment a Canonry in that Church, and the Rectory of Ewe Elme in that County and Dioceſe are annex'd; ſo that the profit of two Canonries and the Rectory belonged to him, and conſidering the weight of that Profeſſorſhip, no perſon, who made a juſt eſtimate of things, would have envied it him; but he regretted it to himſelf, and for ſeveral years gave the whole profit of one of his Canonries to the repairs of the College; and afterwards being ſollicited by the Biſhop of Wincheſter in favour of an old Student of the College, who was deſtitute of a ſuitable ſupport, he entirely quitted the advantage of the abovementioned Canonry to him. And with regard to the benefice, he never received the leaſt benefit from it, but left it to a friend, whoſe circumſtances required ſuch an acceſſion (10). "But the uncontroulable proof of "contempt of the world, is the dying poor, and not "to have collected any thing againſt the hazards of "fortune, and commonly pretended exigences of "old age and ſickneſs; which was in a remarkable "manner Dr. Alleſtry's caſe, he having never during "his life purchaſed an inch of ground, nor any an-"nuity or leaſe to the value of a penny; nor did "he take care to renew the patrimonial eſtate, which "he held by a leaſe for life, tho' it were the place "of his birth, which generally gives an endearment, "and a deſire to continue the poſſeſſion. Thereby, "as the author to the Hebrews expreſſes it, *ſojourn-"ing in the earth as in a ſtrange country*, and "ſhewing plainly that *he look'd for a better one, and "a city, which has foundations, whoſe Builder and "Maker is God.*" His greateſt treaſure was his Library, which was indeed a conſiderable one, both for the number and choice of the books; but theſe he diſpoſed of by deed before his death to the Univerſity of Oxford for the uſe of his ſucceſſors in the chair. So that his executors had only his perſonal eſtate to ſhare among them, which he took to be ſo inconſiderable, that he thought it not worth the formality of a will; but deſigning, after the diſtributing ſome little remembrances among his friends, to leave the remainder to his relations, he conceived that the Law by an adminiſtration would of courſe divide it among them. *But being told by his friend, to whom he communicated this purpoſe of his, that in this malicious world the dying inteſtate would be a thing of ill fame, and interpreted the product of an unwillingneſs to think of death, or part with what he had; and that what he ſo left would come leſs obligingly to his relations, and probably would occaſion contention among them, he took advice, and by will diſpoſed of ſuch legacies as he thought fit to leave to the poor and to his friends, and gave the remainder among his ſiſters and their children* (11). But tho' he had ſo little regard to the purſuits of intereſt, he was neither negligent in ſecular affairs, nor unskilful in the management of them; which apeared very evidently from his dextrous diſcharge of private truſts committed to him in behalf of his dead friends, and the adminiſtration of his public employments. "He was for ſeveral years Treaſurer "of Chriſt-Church, in a buſy time of their repair-"ing of the ruins made by the intruding uſurpers; "and amidſt the neceſſary avocations of ſtudy, found "leiſure for a full diſcharge of that troubleſome em-"ployment."

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

[*K*] *His skill in the diſcharge of the office of Profeſſor of Divinity.*] "In the managery of the buſi-"neſs of the chair of Divinity, as he performed "the ſcholaſtic part with great ſufficiency in exact "and dextrous untying the knots of argument, and "ſolid determination of controverted points, ſo that "he was not oppreſſed by the fame of any of his "moſt eminent Predeceſſors; his prudence was very "remarkable in the choice of ſubjects to be treated "on; for he waſted not time and opportunity in "the barren inſignificant parts of School-Divinity, "but inſiſted upon the fundamental grounds of con-"troverſy, between the Church of England and the "moſt formidable enemies thereof." *With an equal ſteadineſs he aſſerted the Goſpel truth againſt the uſurpations of Rome, the innovations of Geneva, the blaſphemies of Cracow, and the monſters of our own Malmesbury, never intermeddling with the unfathomable abyſs of God's decrees, the indeterminable five points; which in all times and in all countries, wherever they have happened to be debated, paſt from the Schools to the State, and ſhock'd the Government and publit peace. By his judicious care herein, tho' he found the Univerſity in a ferment, and a great part of its growing hopes ſufficiently ſeaſoned with ill prepoſſeſſions, he ſo brought it to paſs, that during the whole tract of ſeventeen years that he held the chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, nor petulant ſidings on the account of them; which thing diſturbed the peace of the laſt age, and helped forward to inflame thoſe animoſities, which ended in the execrable miſchiefs of the civil war* (12). The learned world was at firſt very impatient to ſee an edition of his Lectures; but the reaſon of their diſappointment was as follows: Dr. Alleſtry a little before his death having communicated to the Biſhop of Oxford ſeveral particulars concerning his intentions for the diſpoſal of his goods and papers, the Biſhop obſerved that there was no mention made of his Lectures, and knowing how his modeſty had during his life reſiſted all the importunities for the publiſhing them, ſuſpected that the ſame motive might be more prevalent at his death. He wrote therefore to him upon that ſubject, deſiring him, that his Lectures might be preſerved, which had coſt him ſo much ſtudy and labour, and would be uſeful proportionably to others. His anſwer dated Jan. 19th, 1680 was, that *having not had opportunity to reviſe what he had written, which was not every where conſiſtent with his preſent imaginations, tho' in nothing material, yet in ſome particulars, which he ſhould have better examined, eſpecially divers of the Act-Lectures, which being upon the ſame head, the thread of them was not right nor didactical, and* NECTARIUS's *Penitentiary not expounded the ſame way in one place as in another, and the firſt blundering and not true*; therefore he adds, *that if the Biſhop had not writ, and for that he himſelf would not go out of the world without ſatisfying him in every thing, he had reſolved to have ſent for his papers, and burnt them; but now he gave them up all to the Biſhop upon this inviolable truſt, that nothing of them ſhould be publiſhed as a ſcheme of his, but to be made uſe of to ſerve any other deſign the Biſhop ſhould think fit* (13).

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

[*L*] *The excellence of his ſermons.*] The writer above quoted tells us, that "the variety of auditors "for whom they were firſt deſigned, makes them "not to be all of the ſame fineſs of ſpinning and "cloſeneſs of texture; but in them all there will "appear the ſame ſpirit of perſuaſive Rhetoric and "ardent piety, whereby *tho' dead he yet ſpeak-"eth* (14)."

(14) Ibid.

[*M*] *We ſhall mention his works in a note.*] *The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford in point of Viſitation, in a Letter to an honourable Perſonage*; printed in one ſheet and an half in 4to, 1647. Upon this occaſion Will. Prynne publiſhed his *Univerſity of Oxford's Plea refuted, &c.* in anſwer to which R. Waryng wrote *An Account of Mr. Prynne's Refutation &c.* and Edward Bagſhaw Sen. his *Short Cenſure of the Book of Will. Prynne, entitled, The Univerſity of Oxford's Plea refuted.* It was imagined by ſome that Mr. John Fell, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford, was the Author of the Pamphlet abovementioned concerning the *Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford &c.* (15). Dr. Alleſtry publiſhed likewiſe *Eighteen Sermons, whereof fifteen were preached before the King, the reſt upon publick occaſions*, London 1669, fol. moſt of which had been before publiſhed ſingly (16). *Of the Authority and Uſefulneſs of the Scripture; a Sermon on 2 Tim. iii.* 15. Oxon. 1673, 4to (17). *Forty Sermons, whereof twenty one are now firſt publiſhed, the greateſt part preached before the King, and on ſolemn occaſions*, Oxon. 1684, fol. Theſe were publiſhed by Dr. John Fell Biſhop of Oxford, and had the nineteen Sermons before mentioned added to them, with the account of his life abovementioned prefixed to them, and his picture before them (18).

(15) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

irrecoverable, he desired to receive the Sacrament, and that those of his friends, who happened to be in town, would communicate with him, particularly the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph, Dr. Busby, and Mr. Fell, one of the Fellows of Eton College, who continued with him the whole time of his sickness: He afterwards took his last leave of them with great equanimity and constancy of mind, and waited for the hour of his release. He died the 28th of January 1680, in the sixty first year of his age, and was buried the first of February in the Choir of Eaton College Chapel, where his executors erected to his memory a monument of white marble with an inscription [*N*]. Of the same family with Dr. Allestry was another of both his names of Derby, Author of several Almanacks before the civil wars began. Mr. Wood tells us (*m*), that he saw one of them for the year 1629 and 1633, but he was not certain whether he was educated in the University of Oxford or not. Of the same family likewise, and nearly related to our Author was Jacob Allestry, son of James Allestry Bookseller of London, who lost a very considerable fortune by the fire of London in 1666. He was educated in Westminster School, and entered into Christ Church in Act Term 1671, when he was eighteen years of age, and the year following was elected Student of that College. He afterwards took the degrees of Arts, was Musick Reader in 1679, and *Terræ Filius* in 1682; both which offices he performed with great applause, being esteemed a good Philologist and Poet. But having resigned up himself to a vicious and extravagant course of life, his body was so weakened and exhausted, that he was obliged to retire to an obscure house in Fish-row in St. Thomas's parish in Oxford, where he lay concealed for seven weeks, till he died in a very wretched manner the 15th of October 1686 (*n*). He wrote several Poems [*O*].

(*m*) *Ubi supra*, Col. 678.

(*n*) Id. ibid. Col. 799, 800.

[*N*] *With an inscription.*] It is as follows: H. S. I. *Ricardus Allestree Cathedræ Theologicæ in Universitate Oxonienſi Professor Regius; Ecclesiæ Christi ibidem Præbendarius; & Collegii hujus Etonenſis præpositus. Muniis istis singulis ita par, ut & omnibus major. In disputationibus irrefragabilis, concionibus flexanimus, negotiis solers, vitâ integer, pietate sanctus. Episcopales infulas eadem industriâ evitavit quâ alii ambiunt; cui rectius visum, Ecclesiam defendere, instruere, ornare, quam regere. Laboribus studiisque perpetuis exhaustus, morte, si quis alius, præmaturus obiit vir desideratissimus Jan. 28. an. M.DCLXXX, ætatis LXI. Nobile sibi monumentum areæ adjacentis latus occidentale quod a fundamentis propriis impensis struxit, vivus sibi statuit. Brevem hanc tabellam hæredes defuncto posuere.* i. e. "Here lies Dr. Richard "Allestree, Regius Professor of Divinity in the Uni- "versity of Oxford, Canon of Christ-Church in that "city, and Provost of this College of Eton. He "discharged each of these offices in such a manner, "as shewed him Superior to the execution of them "altogether. He was invincible in disputation, mov- "ing and pathetical in his Sermons, skilful in the "management of affairs, of great integrity in his "life, and of exemplary piety and devotion. He "avoided the episcopal character with the same in- "dustry as others pursue it; and he thought it a "much nobler task for him to defend, instruct, and "adorn the church, than to govern it. Having ex- "hausted himself with continual labour and study, "this valuable person submitted to death too early "for the advantage of mankind, the 28th of January "1680, in the sixty first year of his age. While he "was living he raised himself a noble monument by "building the west side of the adjacent court at his "own charge. And his executors have erected this "little monumental table to his memory." Mr. Wood (19) tells us, that the building mentioned in this epitaph was a new grammar school, which cost the Doctor about fifteen hundred pounds.

(19) Ibid.

[*O*] *He wrote several Poems.*] One of these intitled, *What art thou, Love!* was printed in the *Examen Poeticum, or The third part of Miscellany Poems, &c.* London 1693, 8vo, p. 178. He had likewise the chief hand in composing the *Verses and Pastorals*, which were spoken in the Theatre at Oxford the 21st of May 1681, by Will. Savile, second son of George Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Halifax, and George Cholmondley second son of Robert Viscount Kellis, (both of Christ-Church) before James Duke of York, his Dutchess and the Lady Anne. These *Verses* and *Pastorals* were afterwards printed in the *Examen Poeticum* abovementioned, p. 181 &c. (20).

(20) Ibid. Col. 800.

T.

☞ALLEY (WILLIAM), Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was born at Great Wycomb in Buckinghamshire, and educated at Eton School. From thence he was removed to King's College in Cambridge in the year 1528, where he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and then retired to Oxford, in order to make a farther progress in his studies. He married afterwards and obtained a benefice in the church, and embraced the reformation with the utmost zeal. But when Queen Mary came to the crown, and began to reduce religion to its former state by all the methods of severity imaginable, he left his living, and travelled from one place to another in the North-parts of England, where he was not known; and by sometimes practising Physick and teaching of youth, he obtained a tolerable support for himself and his wife. After Queen Elizabeth's succession to the throne, he read the Divinity Lecture in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, which he performed with such applause and success, that he soon after was raised to the Bishoprick of Exeter, to which See he was consecrated 14 July 1560. In November 1561 he was admitted Batchelor and Doctor of Divinity of the University of Oxford. He died the 15th of April 1570, and left a son named Robert Alley, Archdeacon of Cornwall (*a*). We shall mention his works and his character in the note [*A*].

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 162, 163. 2d edit. 1721.

ALMAIN

[*A*] *We shall mention his works and his character in the note.*] He wrote, I. *The poor Man's Library, a Rhapsody or Miscellany in two Tomes. The first containeth seven Lectures upon the first Epistle of St. Peter, read publickly in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, an.* 1560. *The second containeth five Lectures upon the said first Epistle read in the same place.* London 1571, fol. II. *An Hebrew Grammar:* but Mr. Wood tells us, that he does not know whether it was ever printed. He translated likewise the *Pentateuch*,

ALMAIN (JAMES), Profeſſor of Divinity in the College of Navarre at Paris, flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century. He was born at Sens, and looked upon as one of the ſubtleſt Logicians and beſt Schoolmen of his age. His attachment to the principles of Scotus, Occam, and Gabriel Biel, gives us a true character of his genius. He taught Logic and Phyſicks before he was admitted into the College of Navarre, which happened in 1508, and publiſhed ſome treatiſes on theſe two parts of Philoſophy in 1505 and 1508. He took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1511, and the enſuing year explained the third book of Sentences in the College of Navarre. He was appointed, about the ſame time, to write againſt Pope Julius II in favour of Lewis XII, and to maintain the authority of Councils againſt a book which had been publiſhed by Cardinal Cajetanus, and ſent to Paris by the Council of Piſa to be refuted there by the faculty of Divinity. The faculty charged Almain with that taſk, who fully anſwered their expectation. He died in 1515, being very young, and all his works were publiſhed at Paris two years after [*A*]. Thoſe who affirm he was a Monk are miſtaken [*B*].

teuch, when the tranſlation of the whole Bible was undertaken by Queen Elizabeth's command. He was a man of univerſal learning, eſpecially in Divinity and the Languages, and of infinite application, ſo that he preached almoſt every Holy-day, and read a Lecture every day, while he lived at Exeter. His Epitaph upon the monument over his grave tells us, that he was *acerrimus Evangelicæ veritatis propugnator, morum probitate præcelebris, bonarum diſciplinarum mirabili ſcientia clarus*, i. e. "A zealous defender of "the Goſpel Truth, eminent for the integrity of "his manners, and his uncommon skill in all valuable "kinds of learning. T.

[*A*] *All his works were publiſhed at Paris.*] This edition is owing to Oliver Lugduneus, who prefixed a Preface to it, in which he expatiates on the praiſes of his author. The moſt celebrated works of Almain are four moral Treatiſes. *Expoſitio circa deciſiones quæſtionum Magiſtri Guillelmi Occam. De Poteſtate ſummi Pontificis. De Auctoritate Eccleſiæ & Conciliorum. Dictata ſuper ſententias Magiſtri Roberti Holcot* (1).

(1) Launoius, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navar.* p. 611.

[*B*] *Thoſe who affirm he was a Monk are miſtaken*] Father Labbe (2) cenſures Geſner, and his epitomizer Simler, for having falſely aſſerted, that Almain was a Monk; which accuſation Moreri has taken care to copy from Father Labbe. Mr. de Launoi arraigns Geſner on the ſame head, but ſomewhat better circumſtanced: for he finds fault with him for having advanced in his Bibliotheca, that Almain was a Franciſcan Friar, and adds, that Poſſevinus in his *Apparatus* only ſays, that he was a Monk (3). Father Labbe uſes no ſuch diſtinction: he ſays, that Almain, according to Geſner, was a Monk, but according to others, a Franciſcan Frier. I can hardly believe that Geſner was guilty of what is laid to his charge, not finding he makes any where mention of Almain throughout his whole *Bibliotheca*. It is true he mentions one Almannus a Benedictine; but tells us, that he flouriſhed in 890. As to Simler, he ſays indeed, that James Almain, a Monk, publiſhed a book againſt Cardinal Cajetanus. Moreri was not well acquainted with the age of this author: *He was ſtill alive*, ſays he, *and flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century*. He ought to have ſaid, that he only began to flouriſh at that time.

(2) *De Script. Eccl.* tom. 1. p. 488.

(3) Launoii *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navar.* p. 614.

ALPAIDE concubine to Pepin, and mother of Charles Martel. Some Authors affirm, but without foundation, that Pepin married her after having divorced Plectrude [*A*]. It is generally believed that Lambert Biſhop of Liege was not ſo mean-ſpirited as to approve of Pepin's amours; and that Alpaide, provoked at the liberty with which he uſed to cenſure them, prevailed with Pepin ſo far as to make him conſent to the plot ſhe had laid againſt the life of that Prelate [*B*]. Some add, that Dodon, brother to Alpaide, executed that wicked deſign; and that after the murder he was ſeized with a diſeaſe which bred ſuch ſwarms of worms in his body, that he was obliged to ſeek for relief by throwing himſelf into the Maeſe (*a*). Lambert has been canonized, and is ſaid to have been the only Prelate who was not afraid to ſpeak the truth

(*a*) Mézerai, *Abregé Chron.* tom. 1. p. 171. at the year 707. Cordemoi *Hiſt. of France*, tom. 1. p. 381.

[*A*] *Some authors affirm, but without foundation, that Pepin married her after having divorced Plectrude.*] Mr. de Cordemoi obſerves (1), that they have no other authorities beſides the ſecond Continuator of Fredegaire, who writes that Pepin *married Alpaide*. "But beſides that this author, (who wrote, "as it is well known, in compliance with the or-"ders of Charles Martel's brother and nephew,) took "care never to mention the amours of Pepin and "Alpaide but as a lawful marriage; he no where "tells us that Plectrude was divorced. Nay there "are ſeveral public Acts ſtill extant, which plainly "prove that Plectrude never lived ſeparate from "Pepin; ſo that Alpaide could not be looked upon, "neither according to the Eccleſiaſtical nor the Civil "Laws, as his lawful wife: and if he married her, "he had two wives at a time."

(1) Cordemoi, *Hiſt. of France*, vol. 1. p. 381.

[*B*] *Alpaide provoked at the liberty, which Lambert took in cenſuring them, prevailed with Pepin to conſent to the plot ſhe had laid againſt the life of that Prelate.*] It is not at all amazing that the ſecond Continuator of Fredegaire ſhould take no manner of notice of the Prelate's behaviour, and the fatal conſequences it is ſuppoſed to have been attended with; for he could not touch upon that ſubject, without incurring the diſpleaſure of Charles Martel's relations, who employed him: ſo that his ſilence is of no force. But neither is it mentioned by the author of the *Geſtes* (2). A contemporary writer only tells us, that *a Nobleman, named Dodon, killed St. Lambert to revenge the death of two of his relations, who had been killed by the holy Biſhop's domeſtics without his privity* (3). If we were informed what Party that author followed, whether he was for Charles Martel or Plectrude, whether he entertained any hopes or fears, we ſhould not be at a loſs what to infer from his ſilence. Mr. de Cordemoi adds, that from the records of thoſe times *it does not appear, either that Dodon was brother to Alpaide; or that ſhe prompted him to kill Saint Lambert; that truly the Martyrologies of thoſe times inſinuate, that the Biſhop was put to death in purſuance of an order from the Court; and that, as Pepin was the Head of it, thoſe who wrote afterwards, thought themſelves in a manner obliged to explain the obſcure and dubious words of the Martyrologies to the diſadvantage of that Prince and of Alpaide* (4). In my opinion the ſureſt way is to count this among the dubious events. Thoſe who tell us, that Lambert Biſhop of Liege was the only one that had reſolution enough to reprimand Pepin, and ſpeak in high terms of his bigamy, as of a public adultery, without minding either the promiſes or threats of Dodon (5), Alpaide's brother, *wrote a long time after* (6), which renders their teſtimony leſs certain. On the other hand, Alpaide's ſon was ſo formidable, that nothing can be argued from the ſilence of the contemporary writers.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Godeſcale *in vita S. Lamberti*, c. 7. quoted by Cordemoi, ibid.

(4) Cordemoi, *Hiſt. of France*, vol. 1. p. 382.

(5) Anſelm. *Laodicenſ. Canonicus*, Sigibertus *Monachus Gemblacenſis*, Nicolaus *Laodic. Canonic. Vener.* & *alii*, quoted by Cordemoi p. 381.

(6) Cordemoi, p. 383.

truth to Pepin [C], and he met with the ſame fate with St. John the Baptiſt. His morals were ſo ſtrict that he could not be prevailed upon, at table, to bleſs Alpaide's glaſs [D]. This woman retired at laſt into a Monaſtery (b), where ſhe died. A monaſtery is commonly to women of that character, what Leghorn was formerly to Bankrupts.

(b) Moreri writes that this monaſtery was founded by Alpaide at Orplegrand in Brabant.

[C] *Lambert was the only Prelate, who was not afraid to ſpeak the truth to Pepin.*] The writer of an Hiſtorical Dictionary would have a thouſand occaſions to obſerve, that there are no greater flatterers of men in power than the Eccleſiaſtics. Their ſermons, prayers, ſpeeches, and dedications, are ſtuffed with ſuch fulſom panegyrics, that I cannot better deſcribe the condition they put an honeſt hearer or reader in, than by the proverb, *Date mihi pelvim.* It is true Pepin was not King: but he had in his hands the keys of the mouths and pens; that is, puniſhments and rewards: he only wanted the title of Sovereign; in other reſpects he was truly King, and performed all the functions of that dignity. Flatterers do not mind an empty title; but adore, with more ſubmiſſion, one that is veſted with power without the title, than one that has the title without power.

[D] *Lambert refuſed at table to bleſs Alpaide's glaſs.*] It is related by a modern Hiſtorian thus: *Ad epulas invitatur* (B. Landebertus) *à Printipe. Pippinus cæterique illuſtres viri qui aderant, ſcyphum quiſque ſuum ab antiſtite benedici, aut, ut alii dicunt, de manu ejus poculum accipere, pia ambitione cupiebant. Cum Alpais (nam & ipſa pleno convivio intererat) ſcyphum ſuum à Landeberto ſignari optaret, indignabundus Epiſcopus palatio exceſſit, convivarum hilaritate confuſa* (7). i. e. "St. Lambert was invited to "the banquet by the Prince. Pepin and the reſt of the "illuſtrious perſons who were preſent, had a pious am- "bition to have each of the glaſſes bleſſed by the Pre- "late, or, as others ſay, to take the cup out of his hand. "When Alpaide, for ſhe alſo was one of the compa- "ny, deſired Lambert to bleſs her glaſs, the Biſhop "refuſed and went out of the palace, confounding "the chearfulneſs of the gueſts." Compare this with the ſtories related in the new Letters againſt Mr. Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm* (8).

(7) Hadrian. *Valeſii rerum Francicarum* l. 33.

(8) P. 614, &c.

☞ALPINI (PROSPERO), a famous Phyſician and Botaniſt of the ſixteenth Century, was born at Maroſtica, a little town in the State of Venice, the 23d of November 1553. He was the ſon of Franceſco Alpini, an eminent Phyſician of that time. He was very early inclined to the profeſſion of arms, after the example of his brother Paul who ſerved in the Milaneſe. However he was at laſt diverted from this reſolution, and determined by the advice of his friends, and his father's example to apply himſelf to learning. Having finiſhed his claſſical ſtudies, he went to Padua in the year 1574, where he was choſe ſome time after Deputy to the Rector, and Syndic of the Students, and diſcharged theſe two offices with ſo much prudence and addreſs, that he gained not only their favour, but likewiſe that of the Profeſſors. The employments in which he was engaged, did not however prevent him from purſuing his own ſtudies of Philoſophy and Phyſick with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was made Doctor of both theſe Faculties the 28th of Auguſt 1578 (a). He did not continue long without buſineſs, for he was ſoon after ſent for to Campo San-Pietro, a little town in the territories of Padua, to practiſe Phyſick there. But this ſituation was too narrow for his extenſive views. He was deſirous of gaining a perfect knowledge of exotic plants, and eſpecially of balm; and this induced him to take a voyage to Egypt [A], where he had the opportunity of confirming the antient doctrine of the Generation of Plants [B]. In the year 1586, ſoon after his return to Venice, he was made Phyſician to Andrea Doria, Prince of Melfi, and General of the Spaniſh army; which employment he diſcharged

(a) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr.* tom. 11. p. 176, 177, edit. *de Paris* 1730.

[A] *This induced him to take a voyage into Egypt.*] He thought the beſt way to ſucceed in his enquiries about theſe foreign plants, was after Galen's example to viſit the countries, where they grow. He ſoon met with an opportunity of gratifying his curioſity in this point; for George Emo or Hemi being appointed Conſul for the Republic of Venice in Egypt, in the room of Franceſco Priuli, he choſe our author for his Phyſician. They left Venice the 12th of September 1580, and after a long and dangerous voyage arrived at Grand Cairo in the beginning of July the year following. Alpini continued three years in that country, where he omitted no opportunity of obtaining all the intelligence he could procure. He travelled along the banks of the river Nile, and went as far as Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, conſulting every perſon, who could beſt give an account of what he was deſirous to know. But he had very often the misfortune to meet with thoſe, who were incapable of affording him any lights upon the ſubjects, which he wanted; and he complains of this frequently in his writings, moſt of which were written, or at leaſt the deſign of them formed in Egypt (1).

(1) Ib. p. 178.

[B] *Of confirming the ancient doctrine of the Generation of Plants.*] This doctrine is obſcurely hinted at by Ariſtotle (2); but plainly delivered by Theophraſtus, who ſays, that "the male palm-trees are of "uſe to the females, for they cauſe the fruit to grow "firm and ripe. Some call the method of managing "them Caprification, becauſe of ſome ſimilitude in "the effect; it is done after the following manner. "Whilſt the male palm is in flower, they cut off "the ſheath, out of which the flower comes, ſo as "to take with it the down, and flower and duſt, "and then ſhake it over the fruit of the female. "The conſequence of this is, that the fruits do not "drop off till they come to maturity. Thus the "male ſeems to be of uſe to the female both the "fig and the palm, for that which bears the fruit "is called the female. But in this it is by a ſort of "coition, in the other it is by another way." Τοῖς δὲ φοίνιξιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θήλεις· ἔτοι γὰρ εἶσιν οἱ ἐπιμένειν ποιοῦσις καὶ ἐκπίπτειν. ὃ καλοῦσί τινες ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος ὀλυνθάζειν· γίνεται δ' τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ὅταν ἀνθῇ τὸ ἄῤῥεν, ἀποτιμῶντες τὴν σπάθην ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἄνθος ἐυθὺς ὥσπερ ἔχει· τότε χνοῦν ἔ τὸ ἄνθος κ' τὸν κονιορτὸν κατασείσσι κατὰ ᾧ καρποῦ τῆς θηλείας. κἂν τοῦτο πάθῃ, διατηρεῖ ἔ ἐκ ἀπομάλλει· φαίνεται δ' ἀμφοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄῤῥένος τοῖς θήλεσι βοήθειαν γίνεσθαι· θῆλυ γὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ καρποφόρον· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἷον μίξις· ἡ δ' κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον (3). Pliny follows Theophraſtus, and almoſt tranſlates his very words (4).

(3) Theophraſt. *de Hiſt. Plant.* l. 2. *ad finem.*

(4) Plin. *Hiſt. Mundi*, lib. 13. cap. 4.

This account of the palm-trees was generally reputed fabulous, till Proſpero Alpini had the opportunity of being an eye-witneſs of the truth of it. He aſſures us, that "the female date-trees or palms "do not conceive or bear fruit, unleſs ſomebody "takes care to mix the branches of both ſexes to- "gether, and ſuffer them as it were to kiſs: or as "the general way is, inſtead of mixing the branches, "to take the duſt found in the male ſheath, or the "male flowers themſelves, and ſprinkle them over "the females." *Neque fœminæ concipiunt, ac fructificant,*

charged with ſuch ſucceſs, that he raiſed to himſelf the character of the firſt Phyſician of that age. This drew upon him the regard of the Republick of Venice, who began to be uneaſy, that ſo eminent a ſubject of theirs ſhould continue at Genoa, when he might be of ſo much ſervice and reputation to their own ſtate. He was recalled therefore in 1593 to fill the Profeſſorſhip of Botany at Padua, which had been vacant for ſeveral years; and he had likewiſe the office of demonſtrating the plants given him, with a ſtipend of two hundred florins, which was afterwards raiſed by degrees to ſeven hundred and fifty. He diſcharged both theſe places in a manner which was greatly to his honour, though his health was very precarious, and had been extremely broken by the voyages which he had made. He was prodigiouſly afflicted with the gout, which ſometimes deprived him of the uſe of his limbs. He was afterwards ſeized with ſuch a deafneſs, as that he was not able to hear at all. This occaſioned him to begin a Treatiſe upon that diſeaſe, in which he endeavoured to ſhew, that no perſon had ever underſtood the nature of it; but death prevented him from finiſhing it (*b*). He wrote ſeveral works in Phyſick and Botany [C]. Tomaſini in his *Elogia* tells us (*c*), that he died of a ſlow fever in November 1616, on his birth-day. But in his book intitled, *Gymnaſium Patavinum*, which he publiſhed ten years after his former book, he ſeems to retract what he had advanced concerning the day on which Alpini died, and acquaints us that it was the fifth of February 1617. This latter is certainly the true date, becauſe it appears to have been taken from the regiſters of the Univerſity, which Tomaſini

(*b*) Ibid. p. 178, 179, 180.

(*c*) *Elog. Illuſtr. Viror.* tom. p. 301.

tificant, ni in ramis maris fœminæ ramos aliquis permiſcuerit, ac ſe quaſi oſculari permiſerit. Plerique fœminas ut fœcundent, non ramos, ſed pulverem intra maris involucrum inventum ſupra fœminarum ramos atque cor ſpargunt, vel alii flores maris pulveris loco ſpargere ſolent (5). This doctrine of the ſexes of plants does not ſeem to have been underſtood by any of Alpinus's contemporaries, except the famous Cæſalpinus (6). It was quite laid aſide till Dr. Grew, towards the latter end of the laſt Century, propoſed ſome conjectures relating to it. But within theſe few years it has been ſo much ſupported by a great variety of experiments, that few Botaniſts queſtion the truth of it.

(5) Proſp. Alp. *de Plantis Ægypti*, p. 10.

(6) See his Article.

[C] *He wrote ſeveral works in Phyſic and Botany.*] I. *De Medicina Ægyptiorum Libri IV, in quibus multa cum de vario mittendi ſanguinis uſu per venas, arterias, cucurbitulas ac ſcarificationes noſtris inuſitatas, deque inuſtionibus, & aliis chirurgicis operationibus, tum de quamplurimis medicamentis apud Ægyptios frequentioribus, eluceſcunt.* i. e. "Of the Phyſic of "the Egyptians, in four Books; in which a parti- "cular account is given of the various uſes of let- "ting blood by the veins, arteries, cupping-glaſſes, "and ſcarifications, not practiſed amongſt us, and "of cauteries and other chirurgical operations, and "of a great many other medicines very frequent "among the Egyptians. Printed at Venice 1591 in 4to. In the Paris edition in 4to, 1646 is added *James Bontius's Medicina Indorum*, or *The Phyſic of the Indians*. And in another printed at Leyden in 4to 1718, are added the books *de Balſamo*, and *Bontius's Medicina Indorum*. II. *De Plantis Ægypti liber; in quo non pauci, qui circa herbarum materiam irrepſerunt, errores deprehenduntur, quorum causâ hactenus multa medicamenta ad uſum medicinæ admodum expetenda, pleriſque medicorum, non ſine artis jacturâ, occulta atque obſoleta jacuerunt.* i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the Plants of Egypt; in "which many errors are diſcovered, which have "crept in with regard to plants, an account of which "a great number of Medicines of conſiderable uſe "in Phyſic have continued unknown and neglected "by moſt of the Phyſicians, to the detriment of "that art." Printed at Venice 1592, in 4to. *Cum Obſervationibus & Notis Joannis Veſlingii. Acceſſit Liber de Balſamo.* i. e. "With the Obſervations and "Notes of John Veſlingius. To which is added "the Treatiſe *de Balſamo*." At Padua 1640, in 4to. This work is written by way of Dialogue between Alpini and Melchior Guillandin. III. *De Balſamo Dialogus, in quo veriſſima Balſami plantæ, Opobalſami, Carpobalſami, & Xylobalſami cognitio, pleriſque antiquorum atque juniorum Medicorum occulta, nunc eluceſcit.* i. e. "A Dialogue concerning *Balſamum*, "in which is explained the true nature of the plant "*Balſamum*, *Opobalſamum*, *Carpobalſamum*, & *Xy-* "*lobalſamum*, which has hitherto been unknown "to moſt of the ancient and modern Phyſicians." Printed at Venice 1592, in 4to. At Padua 1639, in 4to. And likewiſe with the two preceding works. It was tranſlated into French by Anthony Colin, and printed with a tranſlation of ſeveral other pieces of the ſame kind at Lyons 1619, in 8vo. IV. *De præſagienda vita & morte ægrotantium Libri VII. In quibus ars tota Hippocratica prædicendi in ægrotis varios morborum eventus, cum ex veterum Medicorum dogmatis, tum ex longâ accurataque obſervatione, nova methodo eluceſcit.* i. e. "Seven "books concerning the method of forming a judg- "ment of the life or death of patients, in which "is explained in a new method the whole Hippo- "cratic art of foretelling the various events of diſ- "eaſes in ſick perſons, as well from the opinions of "the ancient Phyſicians, as from a long and accu- "rate obſervation." At Venice 1601, in 4to: this edition is full of faults. At Padua 1601, in 4to. Francfort 1601, in 8vo. And under the following title, *Medicinalium Obſervationum Hiſtorico Criticarum Libri VII.* i. e. "Seven books of Hiſtorical and Critical Obſervations in Phyſic." At Francfort 1621, in 8vo. With the former title and a Preface by Dr. Herman Boerhaave at Leyden 1710, in 4to. V. *De Medicina methodica Libri tredecim. In quibus medendi ars Methodica vocata, olim maximè celebris, quæ hac ætate non ſine magno ſtudioſorum medicinæ & dedecore & damno planè deſiiſſe viſa eſt, denuò reſtituitur, atque in medicorum commodum quadantenus ad Medicinam Dogmaticam conformatur.* i. e. "Thirteen books concerning Methodical Phyſic; "in which the art of Phyſic called Methodical, an- "ciently very famous, but now fallen into neglect "to the great diſgrace and diſadvantage of Students "in Phyſic, is again reſtored, and adapted in ſome "meaſure to the Dogmatic Phyſic, for the uſe of "Phyſicians." Padua 1611, fol. Leyden 1719 in 4to. VI. *De Rhapontico diſputatio in Gymnaſio Patavino habita. In qua Rhapontici planta, quam hactenus nulli viderunt, medicinæ ſtudioſis ob oculos ponitur, ipſiuſque cognitio accuratiùs expenditur atque proponitur.* i. e. "A Diſputation held in the ſchool "at Padua concerning the *Rhaponticum*, in which "that plant, which was never yet ſeen by any per- "ſon, is preſented to the Students in Phyſic, and "the knowledge of it accurately conſider'd and "propoſed." At Padua 1612 and 1622 in 4to. VII. *De Plantis exoticis Libri duo.* i. e. "Of exotic "Plants in two books." Venice 1629, in 4to. This work was not publiſhed, as we find by the date of this edition, (which was the only one that ever was printed of it) till about twelve years after the death of the author, who wrote it in 1612. It was publiſhed by his ſon Alpino Alpini. Alpini left ſeveral other works, which have never been printed; particularly, *De Medicina Ægyptiorum Liber quintus.* i. e. "The fifth book concerning the Phyſic of the "Egyptians." *De naturali rerum in Ægypto obſervatarum Hiſtoria Libri V, variis plantarum, lapidum, & animalibus iconibus exornati.* i. e. "Five "books concerning the Natural Hiſtory of things "obſerved in Egypt, adorned with a variety of "draughts of Plants, ſtones, and animals (6)."

(6) *Memoires pour ſervir, &c.* tom. II. p. 18, &c.

maſini had before him. He was buried the day after he died without any funeral pomp in the church of St. Anthony. He was then in the ſixty fourth year of his age. He was married twice; the firſt time to Bartolomæa Tharſia of Padua, by whom he had four ſons; Marc Anthony, Doctor of Civil Law, who died young of the plague in 1631: Alpino Alpini, who, after he had practiſed Phyſic ſeveral years at Venice, was made Profeſſor of Botany at Padua in 1633, and died the 12th of December 1637; Maurice, a Monk of Mount Caſſino and Doctor of Divinity, who died in 1644; and Paul, who followed the profeſſion of arms. The name of Alpini's ſecond wife was Guadagnina. He mentions her in his book *De Præſagienda vita & morte*, where he tells us that ſhe died about the year 1600, after ſeventeen days ſickneſs (*d*). We ſhall give the reader ſome account of that work, which is the moſt conſiderable of all his writings [*D*].

(*d*) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 11. p. 180, 181.

[*D*] *An account of that work, which is the moſt conſiderable of all his writings.*] There is no method more proper for bringing the Art of Phyſic to a ſtate of perfection, than that which is founded upon obſervation and examples. Hippocrates has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the great variety of uſeful obſervations, which he has given the world; and it would have been of prodigious advantage to mankind, if he had digeſted them into a proper order. However this has been attempted by the learned Lewis Duret in his work upon the *Coacæ Prænotiones* of Hippocrates, and by our Alpini in the book, which we are giving an account of. The learned Dr. Boerhaave publiſhed a very correct edition of it in 1710. This work merits the greateſt regard of the Phyſicians, becauſe the prediction is the moſt excellent and wonderful part of Phyſic. Hippocrates foreſeeing a plague, prevented the fatal conſequences of it; upon which account the ſame honours were decreed to him as to Hercules. Eudemus, a Roman Senator and Philoſopher, being recovered of a diſeaſe, as Galen had foretold him, cried out full of admiration, that Apollo was come to inform the ſick, thro' Galen's mouth, of what ſhould happen to them. This art of foreſeeing diſeaſes, or what ſhall happen to the ſick, is the moſt neceſſary part of Phyſic, becauſe it is impoſſible to preſcribe proper remedies without ſuch a knowledge. Our Alpini therefore undertook to make the ſtudy of this art more eaſy, and having made a great number of obſervations upon ſeveral ſick perſons, and in ſeveral countries, compoſed a work, wherein he ſhews the method how to foreſee diſeaſes; how to judge whether they will be long or ſhort; how to know the precedent ſymptoms; and laſtly how to foretell the death or recovery of ſick people. This laſt head, which makes the fourth part of the work, is contained in the ſeven books, which we are now treating of. There are in the *Prognoſtica* of Hippocrates ſeveral rules neceſſary to make a right prediction; and in his books *Epidemiarum* ſeveral particular caſes, which confirm the truth of thoſe rules. Alpini has digeſted in a proper order the beſt things in thoſe two works, and inſerted the moſt excellent obſervations of Galen upon that ſubject; to which he has added what he had learned by his own experience. The firſt book turns upon thoſe predictions, which are grounded in general on the ſtrength of ſick people. The ſecond treats of thoſe, which are particularly grounded upon the ſtate of the brain, the heat or coldneſs of the body, pain, &c. The third ſhews what the ſeveral motions and ſituations of ſick people foretell. The fourth, what inferences may be drawn from the pulſe, the reſpiration, hunger, thirſt, or the privation of both of them. The fifth, what the leanneſs of the body, the colour of the skin, and the air of the face ſignify; what indications ariſe from the noſe, the eyes, the tongue, &c. The ſixth, the ſigns, which appear before a criſis. The ſeventh, what each ſort of criſis does commonly foretell. The author is very particular upon all theſe heads. We ſhall give an example of what he obſerves. A ſick perſon is tormented with a *Delirium*; what does this ſymptom foretell? He makes the following obſervations upon it, after Hippocrates, Galen, and the beſt Obſervators. A *Delirium* is not mortal, when the pulſe is ſtrong, and the reſpiration free. It is alſo harmleſs, when the head ſweats plentifully with the reſt of the body; when the hemorrhoids come upon it, when the ſick perſon feels a great pain in his hips, thighs, feet, or hands; when after ſleep, or after ſome evacuation, ſuch as the bleeding of the noſe, a flux of urine, or the voiding of ſtools, he recovers his ſenſes, or ſeems to be more eaſy; when he laughs in his raving; when having ſtill ſtrength enough, he raves only by intervals. But a *Delirium* is mortal, when the ſtrength is very much exhauſted, when it encreaſes after ſleep; when it occaſions a profound ſilence, whether the ſick perſon will not ſpeak, or cannot do it: for if he will not ſpeak, it is a ſign the melancholly humour prevails in the higheſt degree. If he cannot ſpeak, it is becauſe the organs are obſtructed by a thick humour, ſo that he cannot articulate his words; or becauſe he has no voice to form them; which is equally dangerous, eſpecially when this accident is attended with a weak motion of the hands, and when the ſick perſon opens his eyes ſlowly and not fully. A *Delirium* is alſo mortal, when a trembling comes upon it; for tho' a trembling be not mortal in itſelf, it proves ſo moſt commonly, when it happens to meet with the ſymptoms abovementioned. When ſick people in a *Delirium* gather motes, or pluck out the down of their blankets, death is near at hand. If their ſtools are white, and their urine very clear, it is another pernicious ſign. *Alpini* confirms all this by ſeveral examples taken from Hippocrates and Galen; to which he adds ſeveral explications founded upon the ſtructure and œconomy of the body. He frequently uſes the word *Faculty*; but he ought to be excuſed conſidering the time he lived in; eſpecially ſince tho' he uſes that word, his explications are nevertheleſs natural and judicious, and contain nothing but what agrees with modern Phyſic (7). His ſtyle is not very elegant; and he appears to have followed no other kind of Philoſophy but that of Ariſtotle. This is the author's maſter-piece, who has reduced to ſolid and judicious maxims an art, in which there ſeemed room only for conjectures. The writers of the *Acta Eruditorum* at Leipſic are of opinion, that this is the beſt book, which Phyſicians can read in order to qualify them for the practice of Phyſic. T.

(7) See *Memoirs of Literature*, vol. 1. Art. 81. p. 336, &c. 2d edit. London 1722.

ALSTEDIUS (JOHN HENRY) a German Divine of the reformed religion, was one of the moſt fertile genius's of the ſeventeenth Century, an indefatigable writer, and one that anſwered his Anagram admirably well (*a*). He was a long while Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Divinity at Herborn in the county of Naſſau, from whence he went to teach at Wiſſenburg in Tranſilvania (*b*). He there died in 1638 at the age of fifty. He had been one of the Fathers of the Synod of Dort. He applied himſelf chiefly to the writing of methods, and digeſting of all the parts of arts and ſciences into certain ſyſtems. His *Encyclopædia* (*c*) is valued even by the Roman Catholicks [*A*]; for it was reprinted

(*a*) The word *ſedulitas* is exactly made up of the letters of *Alſtedius*.

(*b*) Witte, *Diar. Biograph.* tom. 1.

(*c*) It is divided into four vol. fol.

[*A*] *His Encyclopædia is valued even by the Roman Catholicks.*] Lorenzo Craſſo places him among the Great Men, whoſe Elogiums he publiſhed, and from him very likely Moreri copied the praiſes he beſtows

reprinted at Lyons, and ſold very well in France. His *Chronological Theſaurus*, of which there are ſeveral editions, is by ſome counted among his beſt works, and cried down by others. Voſſius takes no notice of it; he only mentions his *Encyclopædia* in general, and his *Arithmetick* in particular (*d*). He obſerved however in this Author a great deal of reading and a vaſt variety of erudition. Thoſe who in judging of his works are the leaſt inclined to flatter him own, that his Methods and Syſtems contain ſome good things [*B*]. The opinion he endeavours to eſtabliſh in his *Triumphus Biblicus*, has had but few followers, viz. that the materials and principles of all arts and ſciences are to be found in the Scripture. He could never have publiſhed ſuch a vaſt number of books without the help of other mens labours; but in that he was a little too free, making no ſcruple to copy them (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) by wholeſale [*C*]. John Himmelius, a Divine of the Confeſſion of Auſburg, and Profeſſor of Divinity at Jena, is one of thoſe that wrote againſt him [*D*]. Moreri was not informed as to the year Alſtedius died in [*E*], and had better not have mentioned it.

(*d*) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 326.

I ſhould not have forgot that he was a Millenarian. He publiſhed in 1627 a Treatiſe *de Mille Annis*, wherein he aſſerted that the elect were to reign with Chriſt on the earth a thouſand years; after which the reſurrection of all men, and day of judgment, were to enſue. He imagined that this reign was to begin in 1694; but we are very ſure he was miſtaken. Biſterfeldius his ſon-in-law was of the ſame opinion (*e*).

(*e*) Heideggeri *Diſſertatio de Chiliaſmo*, pag. 652.

ſtows upon Alſtedius. I find that the reader is referred to a work of Sorel for the character of this learned German (1), who muſt have been better known, and more valued, than many others among the Roman Catholicks. Father Lami of the Oratory is of opinion, *that among all the writers of Encyclopædies, and Syſtems of Sciences, Alſtedius is almoſt the only one that deſerves to be read, and placed, with reputation, in a choſen Library* (2). See the following Note.

(1) *Of Chriſtian Perfection*, pag. 591, quoted by Konig, *Bibliothecæ veter. & novæ*, p. 29.

(2) *Diſcourſe upon the Sciences*, quoted by Baillet, *Judgment of the Learned*, tom. 2. num. 269. pag. 328.

[*B*] *His Methods and Syſtems contain ſeveral good things.*] What follows was copied by Mr. Baillet out of the anonymous German, who wrote the *Bibliographia curioſa Hiſtorico-Philologica*. "Alſtedius "has indeed many good things; in ſome paſſages "he is not ſo exact as were to be wiſhed, but ne- "vertheleſs his performance was well received by "the publick, when it firſt appeared. He may be "of ſome uſe to thoſe, who being deſtitute of other "helps, and not having the Authors at hand, deſire "to be acquainted with the terms of each art and "ſcience. His patience, labour and judgment in "chuſing the Authors for his abſtracts, can never "be ſufficiently commended. His Abſtracts are not "ſcraps of learning and rhapſodies tacked together "without any order, but contain the principles of "Arts and Sciences digeſted into a right method. "He even endeavours to be uniform throughout the "whole work, though ſome pieces are better than "others, and ſome good for nothing, as his Hiſtory, "his Chronology, &c. It muſt be owned, that he "often confounds himſelf by ſtriving to be too clear; "that he is incumbered with too many diviſions and "ſubdiviſions, and that he affects a method too "much conſtrained (3)." Lorenzo Craſſo tells us, that though the works of Alſtedius ſhew more labour than genius, yet they were generally admired, and that the eſteem they were in procured him admittance into the Temple of Glory. *Con gloria del ſuo nome s'è ammirata la fatica fatta nelle ſtorie, e nella Cronologia de' Tempi: le quali coſe, quantunque in libri diverſi di ſcrittori illuſtri ſacri e profani trovanſi, e vi concorra in tale raccoglimento più ſudore che ingegno, tuttavia l'ordine dato da Giovanni Errico alle ſudette fatiche ſtoriche e' ſtato dagli uomini amatori delle antichità e dell' erudizioni aſſai commendato* (4). i. e. "He has received a great deal of ho- "nour from his labours in Hiſtory and Chronology: "and though ſuch a work, being a collection from "the beſt writers, both ſacred and profane, ſhews "more induſtry than genius, yet the method he uſed "in theſe hiſtorical labours have given him a ſuffici- "ent degree of eſteem among the lovers of antiquity "and learning."

(3) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. p. 328.

(4) Lor. Craſſo, *Elogii d'huomini Letterati*, p. 214.

[*C*] *Having no difficulty to copy other Authors.*] Thomaſius remarks (5). *Hunc in Paratitlis Theologicis quicquid de ſilentio ſacrorum affert * obſervo prope de verbo deſcripſiſſe e Caſaubono † quem nominari tamen etiam lectoris intererat, ut ſciret unde plura ſibi haurienda forent. Vereor autem ne quercum eandem alibi quoque excuſſerit, cum in ipſo ad lectorem principio reperiam periodum unam alteramque dedicationis Caſaubonianæ.* i. e. "I obſerve that he has "tranſcribed almoſt *verbatim* what he ſays *de Silen- "tio Sacrorum*, in his Theological Part, from Ca- "ſaubon, whom he ought to have named, that the "reader might have known where to look for more. "And I am afraid he has gathered from the ſame "tree in other places, for in the beginning of his "Epiſtle to the Reader, I find a period or two of "Caſaubon's Dedication.

(5) In his Treatiſe *de Plagio Litterario*, num. 354. pag. 155, * Tit. *initiati*, pag. 166, 167, 168. † *Exerc.* 16. *ad Baron.* num. 43. p. 399.

[*D*] *Himmelius is one of thoſe that wrote againſt him.*] His work is entitled *Anti-Alſtedius, ſive Examen Theologiæ Polemicæ Joannis Henrici Alſtedii.* Had this remark only acquainted the reader with the title of one of Alſtedius's chief works, it would not have been altogether uſeleſs.

[*E*] *Moreri was not well informed as to the year Alſtedius died in.*] Alſtedius, ſays he, died about the year 1645 or 46; ſome ſay in 1640, at the age of 52. Of the three authors he quotes two (6) are quite ſilent as to this matter; the third, viz. Lorenzo Craſſo, only ſays, that Alſtedius publiſhed the four volumes of his *Encyclopedy* at the age of 52 (7).

(6) Voſſius & Zeiller.

(7) Lorenzo Craſſo, *Elogii d'Huomini Letterati* 1463. tom. 3. p. 212.

ALTAEMPS (MARK) ſon to one of Pope Pius IV's ſiſters, was one of the Cardinals that preſided in the Council of Trent. Wolfgang Altaemps his father was Count of the Empire in the dioceſe of Conſtance. How honourable ſoever the character of the Pope's Legate to that Council was, the Cardinal owed it intirely to the intrigues of ill-meaning perſons. The Borromei's, who were related to the Pope in the ſame degree with him, procured him that dignity, with a deſign to remove him from the court (*a*). He remained at Trent from January 1562 till near the beginning of the ſpring in 1563 [*A*], when he was recalled by the Pope to raiſe troops. For the Pope hearing that

(*a*) *See Amelot de la Houſſaie* in his marginal notes on the verſion of the *Hiſt. of the Council of Trent* by F. Paul p. 449. where he quotes a letter of Mr. de l'Ile to the King dated Dec. 9, 1561.

[*A*] *He remained at Trent from January* 1562 *till near the Spring* 1563.] Pallavicino finds fault with F. Paul, for having aſſerted, that the Cardinals Simonetti and Altaemps were declared Legates both at one time, to be added to thoſe who had been named before. This ſhews, he knew not, that Simonetti had been honoured with the dignity of Legate to the Council at the ſame time with Oſius and Seripande; that is, ſeveral months before Altaemps was added to them (1). He cenſures him alſo, for not having mentioned Oſius and Seripande, but in recording what happened a conſiderable while after the dignity of Legate had been conferred upon them. Tho' ſuch faults are of no great conſequence, yet we ought not to blame a critic, who takes notice of them, ſince an Hiſtorian is bound to avoid them.

(1) Pallavic. *Hiſt. Concil. Trid.* l. 15. c. 13. num. 2

that the Dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, and the Landgrave of Heſſe were levying ſoldiers; and that the Germans had ſome thoughts of ranſacking Rome, where they had found a rich booty in 1527, reſolved to guard himſelf againſt any ſurpriſe of that kind (*b*). The Cardinal was much diſpleaſed at Pibrac's harangue, and was for returning a ſmart anſwer to it; nor could he help ſaying, *That the inſolence of that Lawyer ought to be checked, who was only uſed to deal with the meaner ſort of people* (*c*). He was raiſed to the Purple in 1561, and a little before his being Legate was choſen by the Canons of Conſtance for their Biſhop. He had neither the learning, nor the experience, that are requiſite to preſide in a Council; but Pius IV, his uncle, was ſenſible that the other Preſidents would ſupply what he wanted (*d*), and teach him the intrigues of Oecumenical Councils. When the Pope ſent him in 1560 with the character of Nuncio to the Emperor Ferdinand, he appointed the famous Cornelio Maſſo, Biſhop of Bitonto, to be, as it were, his pedagogue (*e*). Altaemps was then Biſhop of Coſſano. This family was afterwards raiſed to a higher rank; for we find a Duke of ALTAEMPS, who died in 1620 (*f*). This was a man of learning, and, if I am not miſtaken, Rome was indebted to him for that Library, which was famous there for many years under that name, and was not quite ſold off, when Dom Mabillon travelled into Italy (*g*). This Duke, who was called John Angelo, wrote the life of Pope Anicetus. Another Duke of Altaemps, named Gaudentius, no leſs curious in books, nor leſs learned than the former, died in 1677. He publiſhed the *Life of St. John Chryſoſtom*, and a book intitled, *Perſecuted Holineſs triumphant* (*h*).

(*b*) F. Paul, *Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*, pag. 648, according to Amelot's tranſlation.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 490.

(*d*) Paſſavic. *Hiſt. Conc. Trid.* l. 15. c. 13. num. 10.

(*e*) Ibid. l. 14. c. 13.

(*f*) Witte. *Diar. Biogr.* tom. 2. p. 26.

(*g*) In 1686. See his *Muſæum Italicum*, tom. 1, p. 78, 79.

(*h*) Witte. *Diar. Biogr.* p. 116.

ALTENSTAIG (JOHN) Doctor of Divinity, flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. He was born in Mindelheim in Germany, and wrote a pretty good *Lexicon Theologicum* [*A*].

[*A*] *He wrote a pretty good Lexicon Theologicum.*] He dedicated it to the Biſhop of Ausburg, which Dedication is dated, October 1, 1517. Konig places the firſt edition of this work in the year 1519 (1). I have only ſeen the Antwerp edition by Petrus Bellerus, 1576, folio, which bears this title, *Lexicon Theologicum continens vocabulorum deſcriptiones, definitiones, & interpretationes perutiles, theologiæ ſtudioſis concinnatum.*

(1) Konigii, *Bibliotheca*, pag. 29.

ALTHAMERUS (ANDREW) a Lutheran Miniſter at Nuremburg, publiſhed, before the middle of the 16th Century (*a*), not only ſome works in Divinity [*A*], but alſo notes upon Tacitus *de Situ, Moribus, & Populis Germaniæ*, which were printed at Nuremburg in 1529 and 1536 (*b*), and at Amberg in 1609, 8vo (*c*). Simon Schardius has inſerted them in the firſt volume of the *German Writers*. He was ſuch an enemy to the doctrine of the merit of good works, and ſo ardent in rejecting it, that he inveighed againſt St. James the Apoſtle in a moſt outragious manner (*d*). This offers us an opportunity of examining a paſſage we read in the diſputes between Grotius and Andrew Rivet [*B*]. From this enquiry it will appear that our Althamerus was at the

(*a*) Micrælii, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 734.

(*b*) Geſneri *Bib. fol.* 38 *verſo.*

(*c*) Hertzii, *Bibliath. Germ.*

(*d*) See the note [*B*].

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome works in Divinity.*] They are entitled: *Conciliationes locorum ſcripturæ, qui ſpetie tenus inter ſe pugnare videntur. Annotationes in D. Jacobi Epiſtolam. De Peccato Originis. De Sacramento Altaris.* He likewiſe compiled a Dictionary of the proper names that are to be met with in the Bible, *Sylva Biblicorum nominum &c.* which was printed at Baſil in 1535. His *Conciliationes locorum Scripturæ* were publiſhed at Nuremburg the ſame year, and at Wittemburg in 1582. The Epitome of Geſner only takes notice of theſe two editions; tho' there is no manner of doubt but that they were preceded by another edition that appeared before the year 1528 (1).

(1) Hoſpiniani, *Hiſt. Sacram.* Part 2. p. 84.

[*B*] *This offers us an opportunity of examining a paſſage in the diſputes between Grotius and Andrew Rivet.*] The firſt piece of this part of their quarrel contains the following words (2): *Gaudeo D. Rivetum non accedere iis qui Jacobi epiſtolam rejecerunt, quorum quidem hoc amplius dixere,* "*Mentiris Jacobe in caput tuum.*" That is, "I am glad, that "Mr. Rivet does not join with thoſe, who reject "the Epiſtle of St. James, ſome of whom have "moreover ſaid, *James, you lie, againſt your own head.*" ſecond is, that Rivet asked (3), *Who are thoſe who have uſed ſuch language? how many are they?* adding, that having read the works of the Jeſuits and other Polemic Writers, (who are always ready to catch at any thing of that nature,) with a deſign to find out whether they ever upbraided the Proteſtants with that blaſphemy, he had not met there with any ſuch reproach. The third is that Grotius (4), when he anſwered his adverſary who had challenged him in expreſs terms and very ſmartly, named no body, which made Rivet believe he had no author to produce. *Quod nunc autores non indicet harum contumeliarum*, ſays he (5), *oſtendit ſe nullos habere.* The fourth is, that Grotius in his ſecond reply, quoted the words of Andrew Althamerus: Is qui Jacobum accuſavit mendacii, fuit Andreas Althamerus (6). Liber editus eſt Argentorati, Anno CIↃIↃXXVII. Verba ejus inter cætera ſunt: *Vult nunc probare ſuam ſententiam, ſed directe contra ſcripturam agit. Non poſſumus hic defendere Jacobum. Citat enim ſcripturas falsò; & ſolus, Spiritui Sancto, Legi, Prophetis, Chriſto, Apoſtoliſque omnibus contradicit. Teſtimonium ipſius vanum eſt. Uni ipſi teſti non eſſe credendum, ſupra annotavimus, præſertim cum quo ipſe Spiritus Sanctus & tot teſtes veritatis diſſentiant. Credendum multitudini. Paulus multo dignius ſanctiuſque rem tractat; Si Abraham ex operibus juſtificatus, habet quod glorietur, ſed non apud Deum; quid enim dicit Scriptura? Credidit Abraham Deo, videlicet promiſſioni divinæ de ſemine; & reputatum, ſcilicet quia credidit, illi ad juſtitiam. Non quod ex filii immolatione juſtificatum dicit, recte mentitus eſt in caput ſuum. Quindecim enim annos ante immolatum Iſaachum juſtificatus fuit Abraham, etiam nondum nato Iſaacho; non ex circumciſione, neque filii immolatione, ſed ex ſola fide. Dicit enim ſcriptura,* Credidit &c. *ut nihil habeat Jacobus ad quod refugiat. Nos fidei magiſtrum conſtituimus; & jam ſuis ipſiſſimis verbis ſcimus, neſciviſſe quid ſit fides.* Et in fine libri, *Ne igitur ſuccenſeas nobis, Lector, ſi durius & vehementius calamo quandoque in auctorem invecti ſumus. Meretur enim hoc odium, & hanc ſpiritus vehementiam, dum aliam perfectionem atque juſtitiam à nobis contendit, quam fidei.* i. e. "*He, "who accuſed St. James of a lye, was Andrew Al-"thamerus. His book was printed at Strasburg, in* "1527. *His words are as follow:* He would now "prove his opinion, but he runs directly counter "to

(2) Grotii *Animad. in notas Riveti*, pag. 1029, tom. III. *Operum Riveti.*

(3) Riveti *examen Animad. Grotii*, p. 1029. tom. III. *Operum ejus.*

(4) Grotii *votum pro pace Eccleſiaſtica*, ibid. pag. 1054.

(5) Riveti *Apologet.* ibid. pag. 1100.

(6) Grotii *Diſcuſſio Apologet.* Rivetiani pag. 722. *Opuſculorum Grotii editionis Amſtelodamenſis, apud* Bleau *anno* 1679 in folio.

the conferences of Bern in 1528, which paved the way to the reformation of that Canton.

" to the Scripture, There is no defending James in " this place. For he quotes the Scripture falſly ; " and contradicts the Holy Ghoſt, the Law, the " Prophets, Chriſt, and all the Apoſtles. His teſti- " mony is to no purpoſe. I have noted above, " that we are not to believe one witneſs, and eſpe- " cially when the Holy Ghoſt and ſo many witneſſes " of truth differ from him. We muſt give credit " to the multitude. Paul treats the ſubject much " more worthily and holily. If Abraham be juſti- " fied by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not " before God ; for what ſaith the Scripture ? Abra- " ham believed God, namely the divine promiſe of " the ſeed ; and it was counted to him, namely be- " cauſe he believed, for righteouſneſs. Now when " he ſays he was juſtified by the offering up of his " ſon, he directly lies againſt his own head. For " Abraham was juſtified fifteen years before the of- " fering up of Iſaac, nay before Iſaac was born ; " not by circumciſion nor by the offering up of " his ſon, but by faith alone. For the Scripture " ſays, *He believed, &c.* ſo that James has no re- " fuge. We have conſtituted a Maſter of faith : and " now we know by his own very words that he did " not know what faith is. *And at the end of the* " *book*, Be not angry therefore with us, Reader, if " we are ſometimes harſh and ſevere upon that au- " thor. For he deſerves this hatred and vehemence " of ſpirit, while he contends for another perfec- " tion and juſtification than that of faith." The laſt is, that Rivet, ſeeing ſo plain a quotation, anſwered (7), that it was not ſufficient, becauſe Grotius had ſpoken in the plural number, and that one was not many, *unus non ſunt multi*. He diſapproved of the words of Althamerus, but, at the ſame time, complained of Grotius, for not having told, that Althamerus was not a Calviniſt. He proves him to have been a Lutheran, and adds, that in the Conferences of Bern he ſpoke in favour of the Papiſts, and maintained the tenet of the Real Preſence. *Qui cum in diſputatione Bernenſi* (8), *quam ſecuta eſt Reformatio anni* 1528, *libera ei facta eſſet diſputandi copia, volens paſſus eſt ſe à parte Pontificia deligi, ut Oratoris munere in ſuggeſtu fungeretur, carnalemque Chriſti præſentiam in Cœna defenderet.* " His in- " ſulting of S. James, concludes Rivet, is nothing " to us. The whole ignominy reflects upon the Pa- " piſts and Lutherans, whoſe cauſe he defended." Upon the whole we may conclude : I, That Rivet imbarked in a new difficulty without the leaſt cauſe. He might have let paſs that remark of Grotius without any manner of prejudice to his own cauſe, and only deſired him to name thoſe who had dared to abuſe the Apoſtle in ſo outrageous a manner. II, That he was greatly miſtaken in imagining that his adverſary had none to produce. III, That by preſſing him too much he ſhewed himſelf ignorant of a matter of fact, whereof the knowledge might have been of ſome reputation to a man of his ſtudy, and likewiſe to his library. IV, That he had recourſe to cavils which ſerved only to prolong the diſpute, and give occaſion to many unneceſſary queſtions. It is certain, that when we know any thing to have been aſſerted by a writer, we have, according to the current phraſe, a right to ſay, that it has been aſſerted by ſome. Neither are we obliged to quote more authors than one, unleſs we have ſaid, that it is objected by many, or by ſeveral perſons. Now Grotius did not uſe any ſuch expreſſion, but ſaid indefinitely, *quidam dixere*, *there are not wanting who have ſaid*, or *ſome have ſaid*. Grotius would come off with flying colours, even ſuppoſing the author he quoted not to have been a Calviniſt, but a Lutheran. What Rivet produces touching the Conferences of Bern, is foreign to the ſubject : for it does not prove that Althamerus was a Papiſt ; but at the moſt, that he was ſo zealous againſt the Zuinglians, with regard to the Real Preſence, that he made no conſcience to maintain it, even to the advantage of Popery. If Rivet was ſatisfied with himſelf on this occaſion, it is plain that Polemical Writers make no manner of diſtinction between what is real, and what is but captious and ſophiſtical.

(7) Riveti Grotianæ *Diſcuſſionis* Διάλυσις, pag. 1201. tom. III. *Operum ejus.*

(8) He uſes the very words of Hoſpinianus, *Hiſtoriæ Sacramentar.* without quoting him, Part II. pag. 84.

ALTHUSIUS (JOHN) a German Civilian flouriſhed about the end of the ſixteenth Century. He wrote a book of Politics. Some Civilians of Germany are ſtrangely incenſed againſt him, for having maintained that the ſupreme power is lodged in the people [*A*]. He likewiſe compoſed a Treatiſe *De Juriſprudentia Romana* ; one *De Civili Converſatione*, and another intitled *Dicæologia*, &c.

I forgot in my two firſt editions to mention that he was a Proteſtant ; that after having been Profeſſor of Law at Herborn, he was raiſed to the dignity of Syndic in the city of Bremen ; and that the Jeſuits, in their anſwer to the *Anti-coton*, have placed him in their catalogue among the other Proteſtants, who have ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the regal power [*B*].

ALTIERI.

[*A*] *Some of his own countrymen are ſtrangely incenſed againſt him for having maintained that the ſupreme power is lodged in the people.*] Bœclerus maintains, that the principle of Althuſius is calculated to break through all the ties of civil ſociety ; and that his work ought to be burnt, inſtead of being recommended, as it is to young Students. *Omnes Reges nihil aliud eſſe quam Magiſtratus. . . .* ALTHUSIO *inter ſolemnia carmina placet, cujus Politica non tradit ſane, qui civitatis finis & felicitas & tranquillitas obtineri debeat, ſed quibus modis omne vinculum ſocietatis & ſalutis civilis diſſolvi ac everti poſſit.* DEMAGOGICA *apelles merito ; & tamen, qui Juriſconſulti nomen præfert, & quædam ſubinde in oſtentationem ejus ſcientiæ jacit, commendari juventuti academicæ audimus librum orco damnandum judicio eorum, qui venena à cibis diſtinguere didicerunt* (1). i. e. " Althuſius's doctrine is that Kings are mere " Magiſtrates ; his Politics do not tend to the happi- " neſs and tranquillity of cities, but to the diſſolv- " ing and overturning of civil ſociety. They de- " ſerve to be called *Dæmagogics* ; yet becauſe they " bear the name of a Lawyer and make oſtentation " of that ſcience, we have heard recommended to " the youth of the univerſity a book, that ought to " be condemned to hell, in the opinion of thoſe, " who know how to diſtinguiſh meat from poiſon." The learned Conringius paſſes the following judgment upon it. *Fundamentum doctrinæ ſuæ politicæ collocat in eo, quod ſumma Reipublicæ cujuſvis jure ſit penes ſolum populum : qui error peſtilens eſt & turbando orbi aptus* (2). " He lays the foundation of " his political doctrine in this principle, that the " chief power of every Commonwealth is in the " people only : which is a peſtilent error, and cal- " culated to diſturb the world." Another German Writer uſes a ſtronger expreſſion. *In claſſem iſtam*, ſays he (3), *referendi ſunt illi Politicorum, qui majeſtatis πρῶτον δημιουργὸν populum faciunt, inde* POLITICI POPULARES, *&, qui jugulum omnium Principum ac Regum petunt,* MONARCHOMACHI *dicti. Horum hominum nefanda dogmata refertim habet* ALTHUSIUS *in ſuâ Politicâ, Vulcano, publico edicto, conſecranda.* i. e. " To that claſs are to be referred thoſe Politicians, " who make the people the firſt original ſource of " majeſty, whence they are called *popular Politicians*, " and becauſe they endeavour to kill all Princes and " Kings, *King-killers*. Althuſius has collected the hor- " rid doctrines of theſe men in his Politics, which " deſerve to be condemned to a public burning."

[*B*] *The Jeſuits . . . have placed him in their Catalogue among the other Proteſtants who have ſpoken diſreſpectfully*

(1) Boecler. *in Grotium de jure Belli*, l. I. c. III. num. 8. p. 235.

(2) Conring. *de Civ. Prudent.* c. 14.

(3) Meier. *in Analyſ.* l. III. *Polit. Ariſt.*

ALTIERI. Two Cardinals of this name are mentioned in Moreri's Dictionary; one of them died in 1654; the other was Pope Clement X. He might have added to these two a third Cardinal Altieri, who died the 29th of June 1698.

respectfully of the Regal power.] The words of the Jesuit, who presented to the Queen mother an apologetic answer to the Anti-Coton, are as follow, "Next to Hotoman, says he (4), we add the princi- "ples and very words of John Arthusus (5), Doctor "of Law, copied from the chapter *De Ephoris* in "his *Politics methodically digested*, and published at "Herborn in 1603; where he writes, among other "things, that it is lawful to depose a Tyrant; to "turn him out of the administration; and even to "put him to death, if no other remedy can be "found, and chuse another in his room." The words of Althusius are (6): *Ejusmodi Tyrannum ab officio removere, administratione demandata privare, imò etiam, si aliter contra vim se defendere non possunt, interficere, & alium in ejus locum substituere possunt.*

(4) *Apologetic Answer to the Anti-Coton*, p. 185, 186.
(5) He ought to have said *Althusius*.
(6) Althusii *Politica Methodice digesta*, c. 14.

ALTILIUS (GABRIEL) a native of the Kingdom of Naples, flourished about the end of the fifteenth Century (*a*). He was chiefly valued on account of his Latin verses, which made him be looked upon as one that studied polite Literature, and read the Antients with great improvement. This helped him to push his fortune in the court of Ferdinand King of Naples, where the true taste which had been introduced in the reign of King Alphonsus was not yet quite lost. He was chosen Preceptor to the young Prince Ferdinand [*A*]; and likewise employed, as it seems, in State-affairs; for he accompanied Jovianus Pontanus to Rome, in order to negotiate there a peace between King Ferdinand and Pope Innocent VIII (*b*). He had a great share in the friendship and esteem of Pontanus, as appears from the works of the latter (*c*). Sannazarius gives in his Poems no less clear proofs of the value he had for him (*d*). But these two are not alone in commending him [*B*]. The Poem Gabriel Altilius wrote on the marriage of Isabel of Arragon, is one of his most celebrated pieces [*C*]. One would hardly believe that Latin verses should have raised him to the dignity of a Prelate; and nevertheless it is certain that they helped him in a great measure to the Bishoprick of Policastro. Some find fault with him for neglecting the Muses after his preferment, though they had proved so serviceable to him [*D*]. They discover some ingratitude and impudence (*e*) in the precipitate manner he abandoned them, and would look upon such a fault as unpardonable, had they not some regard to the excuse he could alledge, viz. that it was incumbent upon him, as a Bishop, to apply himself, without delay, to the study of the Scripture. I shall endeavour to rectify what has been written concerning the time of his death (*f*). His *Epithalamium* on Isabel of Arragon

(*a*) Not of the 14th, as Moreri writes.
(*b*) Pontanus *Præf. Tractatus de magnificentia.*
(*c*) He wrote his epitaph, and dedicated to him his treatise, *de Magnificentia*. See also his *Dialogue to Ægidius*, p. 1471.
(*d*) Eleg. 11. ver. 17. & Epigram 7.
(*e*) See the beginning of the Note [*D*].
(*f*) See the latter part of note [*D*].

[*A*] *He was chosen Preceptor to the young Prince Ferdinand.*] This is what Paulus Jovius insinuates by this expression, *junioris Ferdinandi Regis* (1); which expression is also used by Ughelli (2). Toppi is of a different opinion: *Fù maestro*, says he, *di Re' Ferdinando I d'Aragona, e Vescovo di Policastro, nel* 1471 (3). I believe he is mistaken; Ferdinand I died in 1494, being above 70; he must therefore have been born about the year 1424, and Altilius must have been his Preceptor about the year 1440. It is not usual to choose a man that is very young for preceptor to the son of a King: he must have had time to make his learning appear; neither would Alphonso, who was himself no mean Scholar, and had many learned men about him, ever have chosen Altilius without previous proofs of his learning. So that, according to Toppi, Altilius in 1440 was about 30. But it is certain, that he was then scarce born; being only a little above 60 (4), when he died in 1501 (5).

(1) Pauli Jovii *Elog.* cap. 125.
(2) Ughelli *Italia Sacra*, tom. 3. p. 796.
(3) Toppi *Bibliotheca Napoletana*, p. 101.
(4) Jovius *de Elogiis*, c. 125.
(5) See the quotation (17).

[*B*] *Pontanus and Sannazarus are not alone in commending him.*] Giraldi mentions him with great commendations. Basil Zanchius composed several verses in his praise, which are to be found in the *Deliciæ Poëtarum Italorum*. Giovanni Matteo Toscani extols him both in his verse and prose-compositions (6). But by no other writer he has been so much cried up, both on account of his parts and kind temper, as by Alexander ab Alexandro, where he describes at length how he and some others were received by Altilius, when they went to congratulate him upon his promotion (7). He entertained them with a supper that was more agreeable to his former state, than his new dignity. As he had not then abandoned the Muses his first favourites, (if he ever abandoned them) the entertainment run upon some verses out of *Martial*, which a young Musician had sung.

(6) *In Peplo Italiæ.*
(7) Alex. ab Alex. *Genial Dierum* lib. 5. cap. 1.

[*C*] *The Poem Gabriel Altilius wrote on the marriage of Isabel of Arragon is one of his most celebrated pieces.*] To this Poem and his Elegies was owing the esteem he was in. *Usque adeo molliter ac admirandè in Elegis & heroico carmine excelluit, sicuti ex Epithalamio Isabellæ Aragoniæ perspici potest, ut Pontani atque Actii testimonio antiquis vatibus æquaretur* (8). i. e. "He so much excelled in the delicacy of his "Elegies and the sublimity of his Heroics, as appears "in his *Epithalamium* of Isabel of Arragon, that in "the opinion of Pontanus and Actius he was equal "to the ancient Poets." Julius Scaliger thinks his *Epithalamium* too prolix. His words are: *Gabriel Altilius Epithalamium cecinit longe optimum, excellentissimum vero futurum, si sibi ille temperasset. Dum enim vult omnia dicere, afficit auditorem aliquando fastidio tanto, quanta in aliis voluptate. Est enim nimius, quod vitium illi genti est peculiare. Est enim totis illis Italiæ tractibus perpetua loquendi fames* (9). i. e. "Gabriel Altilius wrote a very good "*Epithalamium*, which would have been still better, "if he had known where to stop. But endeavour- "ing to say all, he nauseates the reader as much "in one place, as he delights him in another. He "says too much, which is the common fault of "his country. For all those parts of Italy have a "continual appetite of speaking." This is no compliment to the Neopolitans (10).

(8) Jovius *Elog.* c. 125.
(9) Julius Cæsar Scaliger *Poëtices*, l. 6. p. 736.

[*D*] *Some find fault with him for neglecting the Muses after his preferment.*] That such a reproach, expressed in such hard terms, should come from a Bishop, is very surprizing: *Is virtutis merito Policastri* (*ea urbs enim Buxentum fuit*) *antistes factus, à Musis per quas profecerat, celeriter* IMPUDENTERQUE *discessit*; MAGNO *hercle* INGRATI *animi* PIACULO, *nisi ad spem non injustæ veniæ ob id culpa tegeretur, quod ad sacras literas nequaquam ordinis oblitus tempestivè confugisset* (11). i. e. "When he was made "Bishop of Policastro for his virtue, he soon and "IMPUDENTLY left the Muses, by whose means "he had been promoted. A most heinous ingrati- "tude, if there was not some hope of alleviating "his crime, by saying that his order required him "to apply himself to sacred Literature." See the judicious reflections of M. Baillet upon this subject (12). The four following verses of Latomus are not amiss.

Audiit Altilius desertis transfuga Musis,
In quorum tabulis nobile nomen erat;
Sed

(10) See note [*H*] of the article ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO, *versus finem.*
(11) Paul Jovius *Elog.* c. 125.
(12) Baillet, *Jugem. sur les Poëtes*, tom. 1. p. 138. See likewise tom. 111. p. 82.

Arragon is the only piece that has been inſerted in the collections of Gruter and Matteo Toſcani [*E*]. It is very likely that moſt part of his other poetical performances are loſt.

Sed quid peccavit, ſi demereatur ut olim
Carminibus Phœbum, nunc pietate Deum?

" When from the Muſes court Altilius came,
" He was reproach'd with a deſerter's name.
" What harm, if he, who could Apollo pleaſe,
" With verſe, th' Almighty ſhould with pray'rs
" appeaſe?

Altilius would have been more to blame, if, after having obtained a miter by preaching, he had done like many others, who no ſooner ſee themſelves raiſed to the Epiſcopal dignity, but give over preaching; being ſenſible that this kind of command is not of neceſſity, to be maintained by the ſame means it was acquired (13). Paulus Jovius is equally miſtaken as to matters of fact. He ſuppoſes Altilius made no verſes after his promotion; and that the *Epithalamium* was his maſter-piece (14). I do not doubt but this Iſabel is the ſame perſon that was betrothed to Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza Duke of Milan, on the firſt of November 1471. I cannot therefore be perſuaded that Altilius did really abandon the Muſes, which is the crime he is charged with. He was made Biſhop in 1472; and the beſt of his poetical pieces was compoſed after that time. There is therefore no room to ſay, that the miter enticed him away from Parnaſſus. The *Epithalamium* was made not when Iſabel was betrothed, but when ſhe was married, that is in 1489 (15), as plainly appears from the very beginning of that Poem.

(13) Saluſt ſays, *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt.*

(14) Jovius *Elogiorum*, cap. 125.

(15) I am indebted to Mr. de la Monnoie for this remark.

Purpureos jam læta ſinus Tithonia conjux
Extulerat, roſeoque diem patefecerat ortu,
Cæruleum tremulo percurrens lumine pontum
Qui cupido ſua vota viro deſponſaque dudum
Connubia, optatoſque *locos & gaudia ferret.*

" Her purple breaſt Aurora did diſplay,
" And with her roſy fingers gave the day.
" The trembling light danc'd o'er the curling
" wave,
" And to your longing ſpouſe new tranſport gave:
" For now his *promis'd* Bride he was to meet,
" And *long* expected joys receive compleat.

This proves that Ughelli was greatly miſtaken, when he wrote, that Altilius died in his Biſhopric of Policaſtro in 1484 (16). It may be made plain that he did not die till about the year 1501; for Jovianus Pontanus, in mentioning the news that was brought of his death, obſerves that Sannazarius was going into France with King Frederic (17).

(16) *Ughelli Ital. Sacra*, tom. 7. p. 796.

(17) Jovian *Pontanus in Dialogo cui titulus Ægidius*, p. 1471, 1487. Mr. de la Monnoie made me obſerve this.

[*E*] *His Epithalamium on Iſabel of Arragon is the only piece that has been inſerted in the Collections of Gruter and Matteo Toſcani.*] By the Collection of Gruter I mean the work entitled, *Deliciæ CC. Italorum Poëtarum, collectore Ranutio Ghero.* The Collection of Giovanni Matteo Toſcani bears this title, *Carmina illuſtrium Poëtarum Italorum.* This author atteſts, in his *Peplum*, to have read only the Epithalamium and a few Epigrams of Altilius. The author of the edition of Sannazar's Latin Poems (*a*) in 1689, and of the ſhort notes that are added to them, tells us, that he does not remember to have ever ſeen in print any other pieces of Altilius beſides his *Epithalamium*, and one Epigram; and from thence infers, that a great many have been loſt, ſince Paulus Jovius mentions his Elegies, and Sannazarius aſcribes ſome Odes to him (18). To make ſome amends for this loſs, three or four pieces wrote by Altilius, and never before printed, have been inſerted in the Notes upon Sannazarius. Toppi records three pieces of Altilius, which are to be found *ne fiori delle rime de Poeti illuſtri raccolti & ordinati da Girolamo Ruſcelli, ſtampati in Venetia nel* 1558, *in* 8*vo* (19). Theſe three compoſitions are, *Gabrielis Altilii Lamentatio, ejuſdem Epithalamium, ejuſdem Elegia.*

(18) *Notæ in Sannaz.* p. 184.

(19) Toppi, *Bib. Napolitana*, pag. 102.

§ (*a*) Mr. Broeckhuſius. REM. CRIT.

ALTING (HENRY), Profeſſor of Divinity at Heidelberg and Groningen, was born at Embden the 17th of Feb. 1583. His family had been long before very conſpicuous in Frieſland. He was deſigned, from a child, for the employment in which his father had diſtinguiſhed himſelf; I mean the holy miniſtry [*A*]. He was therefore ſent very early to ſchool, and after having gone through his Humanity Studies and a courſe of Philoſophy at Groningen, he was ſent into Germany in 1602. He ſtaid three years at Herborn, where he made ſuch a progreſs under the famous Piſcator, Matthias, Martinius, and William Zepperus, that he was allowed to teach Philoſophy and Divinity. While he was preparing to ſet out on his travels into Switzerland and France, he was choſen Preceptor to three young Counts (*a*), who ſtudied at Sedan with the Electoral Prince Palatin, and took poſſeſſion of that employment at the beginning of September 1605. The ſtorm which the Duke of Bouillon was threatened with from Henry IV, though it did not break out, yet obliged the Electoral Prince to retire from Sedan with the three young Noblemen in 1606. Alting accompanied them to Heidelberg, where he continued to inſtruct his three noble pupils; and was alſo admitted to read ſome Lectures in Geography and Hiſtory to the Electoral Prince till the year 1608, when he was declared his Preceptor, as appears from ſome manuſcripts of the Vatican Library [*B*]. With this character he accompanied him to Sedan, and diſcharged his office ſo well,

(*a*) The Counts of Naſſau, Solms and Iſenberg.

[*A*] *His father had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the holy miniſtry.*] He was called Menſo Alting, and was grand ſon to another Menſo, who in 1523 was given by the States of Drent, as an hoſtage, to the Duke of Guelderland. Another Menſo Alting, great grandfather to the Menſo who had been an hoſtage, was one of the Counſellors of Reinold the Fat, Duke of Guelderland, and retired into the country of Drent in 1361 (1). Menſo Alting the Miniſter was the firſt who, with two others, preached the Reformation in the territory of Groningen, about the year 1566, and under the tyrannical Government of the Duke of Alva, *ſub ipſa Albani Ducis graſſante tyrannide* (2). He was alſo the firſt that preached in the great church of Groningen after the reduction of that town by the States-General in 1594. He faithfully ſerved the Church of Embden during the ſpace of 38 years, oppoſing, with great courage and reſolution, the fury of the Anabaptiſts, and attempts of the Ubiquitarians. He died the ſeventh of October 1612, the ſame day that his ſon and Abraham Scultetus were very near being drowned in the lake of Haerlem; *Subita ac procelloſa coorta tempeſtate, naufragio ac ſubmerſione proximi* (*Scultetus & Altingius*) *ægre tandem toto corpore madentes, ſalvi tamen divina clementia in proximam ripam evaſerunt* (3). His life, written at length by Ubbo Emmius is preſerved by his heirs among their other manuſcripts (4).

(1) *Vita Jacobi Alting.*

(2) I muſt inform the reader that the Duke of Alva came into the Low-Countries only in 1567; ſo that the Author of Henry Alting's life is not ſo exact as he ought.

(3) *Vita Henr. Alting.*

(4) *Vita Jacobi Alting.*

[*B*] *He was Preceptor to the Electoral Prince Palatine, as appears from ſome manuſcripts of the Vatican Library.*] The exerciſes of the King of Bohemia, which Alting corrected with his own hand,

well, that the young Prince, upon his return to Heidelberg in 1610, being examined on all points of religion before the Duke of Deux-Ponts, Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, and many other perſons of diſtinction, anſwered very judiciouſly, and in Latin. He was one of thoſe who were appointed to attend the young Elector on his journey into England in 1612, where he became acquainted with George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with Dr. King Biſhop of London, and Dr. Hackwell Preceptor to the Prince of Wales. He had alſo the honour to ſpeak with King James. The marriage between the Elector and the Princeſs of England being ſolemnized at London in the month of February 1613 (*b*), Alting left England firſt with his former diſciples, and arrived at Heidelberg the firſt of April. In the enſuing Auguſt he was appointed Profeſſor of the Common Places of Divinity; and as he was not qualified for preſiding in thoſe diſputes, without being Doctor of Divinity, he took that degree in November with the uſual ceremonies. In 1616 he was employed in a very troubleſom office, viz. the direction of a Seminary, if I may be allowed ſo to entitle the *Collegium Sapientiæ* of Heidelberg. He was offered the ſecond Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, vacant by the death of Coppenius in 1618, which he refuſed, but at the ſame time procured it for Scultetus. He gave very great proofs of his learning at the Synod of Dort, whither he was ſent with two other deputies of the Palatinate (*c*). It was on this occaſion that the Univerſity of Leyden was reſtored to the power of conferring the degree of Doctor, which they had ſuffered to be extinguiſhed. John Polyander, publick Profeſſor in that Univerſity, was firſt created Licentiate in Divinity by Alting, and afterwards Doctor by Scultetus, which veſted him with the power of conferring the degree of Doctor upon his Collegues. Alting no doubt conceived great hopes ſoon after his return to Heidelberg, the Elector Palatine having gained a crown by the troubles of Bohemia. But ſuch a ſucceſsful beginning was attended with a dreadful ruin. Tilli took Heidelberg by ſtorm in Sept. 1622, and allowed his ſoldiers to commit all imaginable diſorders [*C*]. Alting eſcaped their fury by a miracle [*D*], and retired to his family, which he had ſent ſome time before to Heilbron. He rejoined it at Schorndorf, but was

(*b*) Konig does not mark the proper time, when he ſays, *vixit anno* 1613. For he was not then in his moſt flouriſhing ſtate.

(*c*) Abraham Scultetus and Paulus Toſſanus; the latter was ſent by the Eccleſiaſtical Senate, and the two others by the Univerſity.

are lodged in that Library, and ſhewn to travellers; as we are informed by the author of Alting's Life, who adds, that they are as much worth ſeeing, as moſt part of the reliques that are commonly ſhewn to the curious. *Hujus magiſterii ejus ne unquam apud poſteros inteſtata queat eſſe induſtria, vel Roma, quod miremur, faciet, quæ in Bibliotheca Vaticana inter Heidelbergenſia cimelia, dicam ceu ſpolia, oſtentat themata & exercitia ſtyli regis Bohemiæ, Altingi manu emendata, eruditis peregrinatoribus minimeque ſuperſtitioſis viſenda, atque non minus credo, quam pleræque ipſorum reliquiæ ἀξιωθίατα, digna ſpectatu* (5).

(5) *Vita Henr. Alting.*

[*C*] *Allowed his ſoldiers to commit all imaginable diſorders.*] They plundered, murdered, raviſhed, racked, and, in few words, committed all the crimes, which the fury of ſoldiers fired by a falſe zeal of religion, is capable of. *Urbs . . . impetu & vi capta, omniaque dira exempla paſſa direptionis, lanienæ, libidinis, quæ militaris licentia, victoris inſolentia, odium religionis, barbarorum Croatarum feritas comminiſci potuere aut patrare. . . . Ea nocte inſomni & mœſta inter lamenta & ejulatus, quibus omnia undique perſtrepebant, aut ſequioris ſexus vim patientis, aut virorum equuleis ſubditorum, ac per varia tormenta ac vulnera lenta citave morte affectorum, &c.* (6), i. e. "The city being taken by ſtorm, ſuffered all the terrors of plundering, butchering and luſt, that the licence of ſoldiers, the inſolence of conquerors, the hatred of religion, the cruelty of Barbarians could threaten or perpetrate. . . . On that ſleepleſs night, amidſt the ſad lamentations and ſhrieks which were heard every where, of the tender ſex ſuffering violence, of men on the rack, put to a quicker or ſlower death, by various torments and wounds &c." Such are generally ſpeaking, the conſequences of a war; which ought to ſtrike terror into thoſe who either engage in or adviſe to it, in order to prevent evils, which perhaps would never happen, or at the worſt, would not often be half ſo bad as thoſe, that attend a rupture. We ſhall have more than once occaſion to take notice of the agonies great Commanders have been reduced to by their conſciences, reproaching them with the devaſtations they had occaſioned.

(6) *Ex Vita Henr. Alting.*

[*D*] *He eſcaped their fury by a miracle.*] The particulars of his eſcape deſerve to be recorded. He was in his ſtudy, when news was brought that the enemy was maſter of the town, and ready to plunder it. Upon this bolting his door, he had recourſe to prayer. When one of his friends accompanied by two ſoldiers, came to adviſe him to retire by the backdoor into the Chancellor's houſe, which was protected by a ſtrong ſafeguard, becauſe Count Tilli deſigned the papers that were lodged there ſhould come entire into his hands. The Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment of Hohenzollern was upon that guard, who addreſſing himſelf to Alting, *With this axe*, ſaid he, *I have killed to day ten men; and Doctor Alting ſhould be the eleventh, did I but know where he had hid himſelf. Who are you?* continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the Doctor. Alting was not ſo much diſturbed as not to return a ready anſwer, which was not the fartheſt from truth he could make. *I have been Regent*, anſwered he, *in the College of the Sapience.* The author of his Elogy compares this anſwer to that of Saint Athanaſius: *Sane*, ſays he, *ille vultus, ille habitus, ille ſermo, is rerum articulus quemvis alium percellere poterat; at noſter imperterritus, ſolerti tamen uſus reſponſo, nec aperte ſe negavit Altingium, nec tamen intempeſtive ſe prodidit, eâdem fere, quâ olim in caſu ſimili S. Athanaſius dexteritate uſus,* "*Ego, inquit,* "*Ludimagiſter fui in Collegio Sapientiæ.* The Lieutenant Colonel promiſed to ſave him. The next day the Jeſuits took poſſeſſion of the houſe, and made the Officer march off in ſuch haſte that he had not time to enquire about his School-maſter. Thus Alting remained in the hands of the Jeſuits; but had hid himſelf in a garret: and by good luck a cook, belonging to the Elector's court, was employed by Count Tilli, whoſe victuals were dreſſed in the Chancellor's houſe. The cook furniſhed him privately with the neceſſary proviſions, and even found him an opportunity of returning to his own houſe to ſee what paſſed there; and gave him three ſoldiers of the Bavarian troops for a ſafeguard. Alting found his houſe all in confuſion, and his ſtudy poſſeſſed by a Captain, who either in joke, or out of civility, told him, that he gave him leave to carry away what book he pleaſed. Alting did not think fit to accept of the offer, and only anſwered that if thoſe things belonged to him, he wiſhed that God would bleſs him with a longer poſſeſſion of them, than he had done their former owner. In returning he paſſed thro' a thouſand dangers; and after three days Tilli allowed him to retire. I have ſomewhere read, that Alting might have ſaved ſeveral books of the Elector's Library, had he not been afraid to expoſe his own houſhold-goods, and to paſs for a Plagiary, and that he removed many of them to the College of Sapience; but I own I don't underſtand this; for I find ſome contradiction in it. If thro' fear of being looked upon as a Plagiary, he

was ſcarce allowed to continue there a few months; the Lutheran Miniſters having practiſed againſt him the doctrine of Non-toleration [*E*]. He retired with his family to Embden in 1623, and went from thence to wait upon the King of Bohemia at the Hague, who detained him to inſtruct his eldeſt ſon (*d*), and would not allow him to engage himſelf in the ſervice of the church of Embden, which deſired him for Paſtor; nor of the Academy of Franeker, which offered him in 1625 the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, vacant by the death of Sibrant Lubbert. That Prince gave him leave, with much reluctance, to accept the following year a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity at Groningen, which he took poſſeſſion of the 16th of June 1627, and kept it to the day of his death. It is true he was quite reſolved in 1633 to change Groningen for Leyden, but upon condition the eſtates of Groningen would give their conſent, which they refuſed to do. It is likewiſe true that he gave ear to the propoſals that were made him in 1634 in the name of Prince Lewis Philip (*e*) inviting him to come and re-eſtabliſh the Academy at Heidelberg, and the Churches of the Palatinate, and that he had already gone through a thouſand dangers as far as to Franckfort; but the battle of Norlingen, gained by the Imperialiſts, having defeated this undertaking, he was obliged to return through many by-roads to Groningen. We do not find in his hiſtory that he was ever afterwards fond of changing his abode. The laſt years of his life proved very painful, being miſerably tormented both with uneaſineſs of mind and bodily diſtempers. He was ſo grieved at the death of his eldeſt daughter in 1639, that he fell into a deep melancholy, which threw him into a quartan ague. The ague ended in a dangerous lethargy, which the Phyſicians had ſcarce cured him of with the utmoſt endeavours of their ſkill and art, but a domeſtic affliction that befel him threw him into a worſe ſtate of health than ever. He loſt his wife in 1643, which diſturbed him to ſuch a degree, that he could never afterwards get the better of his melancholy. From the time he was thus left alone to the day of his death he had no reſpite, but was continually paſſing from one indiſpoſition to another. He died devoutly and like a good Chriſtian the 25th of Auguſt 1644. He was a man of great merit. The books he wrote teſtify his learning [*F*], and his application in the diſcharge of his duty in the Academy; nor are there wanting proofs of his concerning himſelf in other things for the good of mankind. He went yearly to wait upon the King of Bohemia, and to inſpect the ſtudies of the Royal Family. He contributed very much to the collections that were made throughout

(*d*) Who was drowned in Haerlem-Meer the 7th of Jan. 1629.

(*e*) He was Adminiſtrator of the Palatinate, and in 1633 offered Alting to be a Profeſſor of Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Senator.

did not remove any book out of the Elector's Library into his own ſtudy, upon what grounds is it aſſerted that he removed ſeveral to the College of Sapience; and that he might have ſaved many? Beſides, he was allowed, according to the author of his Life, to take but one volume with him. Read however what follows: *Hunc* (Quintilianum) *& alios illius Bibliothecæ libros ſua manu in Collegio Sapientiæ exceeperat Henricus Altingius, atque ex communi illo incendio Bavarico eripuiſſet, niſi ſuis reculis timuiſſet, & ne plagiarius haberetur, ſi antiquus liber in ejus ſupellectile reperiretur, veritus fuiſſet* (7). i. e. "Henry Alting had taken *Quintilian* and other books "of that Library in the College of the Sapience, and "had ſaved them from the Bavarian flames, if he "had not been afraid of being accounted a Plagiary, "if that ancient book was found in his ſtudy."

(7) Lomeier, *de Biblioth.* p. 278. I doubt whether the word *Plagiary* be applied to one who ſteals not the thoughts of an author, but a book or volume in ſpecie without publiſhing it as his own.

[*E*] *The Lutheran Miniſters practiſed againſt him the doctrine of Non-toleration.*] At the entreaties of the Electoreſs he obtained leave from the Duke of Wirtemberg to reſide at Schorndorf, where he ſtayed till February after the devaſtation of the Palatinate, which the Lutheran Clergy complained of, and alſo of the Duke, for giving him ſuch a permiſſion. The motives of their complaint was, that Alting was a Profeſſor of Heidelberg. *Ibi ad Februarium uſque hæſit, facultate hac per ſereniſſimam Electricem impetrata à Duce Wirtembergico, cujus alias Miniſtri Lutherani quaſi Ponti Axeni accolæ, aut aves Diomedeæ, quæ ſolos ſocios gratanter excipiunt, id ferebant ægerrimè, non alia de cauſa quam quod Altingius Profeſſor eſſet Heidelbergenſis* (8). I do not doubt, but that they would have obſerved better the laws of hoſpitality towards a Merchant of the Palatinate; or even towards a Calviniſt Profeſſor, who had come from a remote country, than towards a Profeſſor of Heidelberg. The Palatinate bordered upon the Dukedom of Wirtemberg: the Profeſſors of Tubingen and Heidelberg often provoked one another with theſes and polemic writings; and from hence ſprung their theological and profeſſorial hatred. But after all, their animoſity againſt Alting is inexcuſable. He had eſcaped out of the Popiſh flames; the injury he had received from the common enemy ought to have been a ſtrong recommendation in his behalf; his belief differed not from theirs in any material point. If men are to hate and perſecute one another on account of religion, it ſhould be as amongſt the people of Egpyt, of whom one ſerved one Deity, and the other a quite different one.

(8) *Vita Altingii.*

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc Ombos, & Tentyra; ſummus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum ſolos credat habendos
Eſſe Deos, quos ipſe colit (9).

(9) Juvenal. Sat. 15. ver. 33.

"An old grudge, to immortal hatred turn'd,
"Betwixt the Tentyrites and Ombites burn'd;
"A wound in theſe two neighbour-towns paſt
"cure:
"Becauſe that neither people will endure
"Their neighbours Deities; nor will have more
"Held to be Gods, than they themſelves adore.
Sir Robert Stapylton.

But the Eccleſiaſtic incendiaries always imagine that the difference is of the utmoſt conſequence. *It is a Gangrene*, ſay they; *it undermines the very foundation of Religion.*

[*F*] *The books he wrote.*] Thoſe that have been publiſhed are the following: *Notæ in Decadem Problematum Johannis Behm de glorioſo Dei & beatorum cælo*; *Heidelbergæ*, 1618. *Loci communes, cum didactici, tum elenctici: Problemata, tam theoretica, quam practica: explicatio catecheſeos Palatinæ cum vindiciis ab Arminianis & Sotinianis*; *Amſtelodami*, 1646, in three volumes. *Exegeſis Auguſtanæ Confeſſionis, una cum ſyllabo controverſiarum Lutheranarum*; *Amſtelodami*, 1647. *Methodus Theologiæ didacticæ & catecheticæ*; *Amſtel.* 1650. But moſt part of his works were never publiſhed, and ſome never finiſhed. The Catalogue of them is annexed to the author's Life: I found in that Catalogue, that the *Medulla Hiſtoriæ prophanæ*, publiſhed by Daniel Pareus, was compoſed by our Alting, of which theſt neither Thomaſius, nor Mr. Almeloveen have taken any notice (10). *The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Palatinate from the reformation to the adminiſtration of John Caſimir*, is one of the moſt remarkable pieces among Alting's manuſcript works.

(10) He publiſhed a *Catalogue of Plagiaries* at the end of his *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ*. Amſtelod. 1694, in 8vo.

out all the Proteſtant countries for the churches of Germany, and chiefly of the Palatinate. He was one of the three diſtributors of the collections that were made in England, and was Almoner of Lewis de Geer. I do not mention two other important commiſſions he was employed in, viz. the reviſal which was made at Leyden of the new Dutch tranſlation of the Bible, and the viſitation of the County of Steinfurt. In the firſt he had ſome Collegues, but in the ſecond he was the only general inſpector; the Count of Bentheim having ſent for him to inform againſt Socinianiſm, which the country was threatened with, and to eſtabliſh good order in the churches. Alting, as we are told in his Elogy, was no quarrelſome Divine [G]; he did not ſpend his time in trifles and falſe ſcruples; he was not fond of novelty, but zealous in behalf of the antient doctrine; an enemy to the ſpeculations of the ſchoolmen, and one that kept cloſe to the Scripture (f). Perſons of his profeſſion ought to take example by him as to the regulating of their families [H]. All that could be ſaid of his was, that every thing was there in good order; this was all the matter it afforded to talk of. He married at Heidelberg in 1614, and had ſeven children, whereof a daughter and two ſons ſurvived him. The eldeſt ſon was Profeſſor of Civil Law at Daventer (g). We ſhall treat of the other in the following article.

(f) *Theologiam probabat ac tuebatur ſolidam ac maſculam, non ex lacunis Scholiaſticorum, etſi illarum inexpertus non eſſet, ſed ex fontibus Siloë & Scripturarum derivatam; ut gloriæ ſibi duceret ſe ab imperitis nonnullis ac naſutis Palæmonibus traduci tanquam Theologum Scripturarium & Biblicum.* Vita Alting. i. e. "He "liked and followed a ſolid "and maſculine "Theology, not "derived from "the puddles of "the Schoolmen, "ignorants caſt tho' he was not ignorant of them neither, but from the ſprings of Siloë and the Scriptures, ſo that he gloried in the reproach which ſome upon him of being a Scripture Divine.

(g) Taken from the *Life of James Alting*, amongſt thoſe of the Profeſſors of Groningen, printed in folio, in 1654.

[G] *He was no quarrelſome Divine.*] We ſhall relate the very words of his Hiſtorian: *Alienus à jurgiis & vitilitigiis Cuminiſectorum; ab iis diſtinctiunculis & ineptiis Sophiſtarum, quibus myſteria ſalutis potius implicantur quam explicantur; à ſcrupuloſitatibus Præciſiſtarum, qui nodum quærant in ſcirpo, colant culicem, camelum deglutientes* (11). i. e. "He "was a ſtranger to the quarrels and ſquabbles of the "*Cuminiſectors*; to the little diſtinctions and fooleries "of the Sophiſts, by whom the myſteries of ſalvation are rather obſcured than explained; to the "ſcruples of the Preciſiſts, who ſtrain at a gnat and "ſwallow a camel." The ſect of the Preciſiſts made a great noiſe in Holland about forty years ago (12): we have a diſtinct character of them here: they ſtrain at a gnat, but ſwallow a camel, and make way to diſputes, which only ſerve to arm irreligious men and libertines. But let us go on: *Ab omni denique καινοφονία & novatione in Theologicis, quaſi illud ſemper Tertulliani tenens,* "*primum quod-*"*que veriſſimum.*" i. e. Laſtly to all innovations in "Theology, holding that ſaying of Tertullian, *the* "*firſt is the trueſt.*" It is certain that nothing is more pernicious than the love of novelty, which, after having ſet the Univerſities and Synods in a combuſtion, ſhakes, and ſometimes even overturns, States and Kingdoms. Such Profeſſors therefore as exhort their diſciples to guard themſelves againſt the ſpirit of innovation, can never be ſufficiently commended. Neither ought they to be deterred from earneſtly recommending the ancient and common tradition, becauſe they may ſeem thereby to admit the authority of the Church, which is rejected by all Proteſtants in oppoſition to the Church of Rome: they ought not, I ſay, to be deterred on that account; becauſe if men ſhould forbear the uſing of an argument till ſuch time as it became liable to no objections, they would be a long while without uſing any at all.

(11) *Vita Jacobi Alting.*

(12) This was written in 1698.

[H] *All perſons of his profeſſion ought to take example by him as to the regulating of their families.*] It was only known that no body knew what paſſed in his family, except that every thing was done according to the rules of decency and fear of God. *Hinc in familia ejus omnia ſemper pacata, omnia ordinata, de qua hoc ſolum ſciretur, quod a nemine ſciretur, quid in illa fieret, niſi quod piè, compoſitè, decenter omnia fieri neminem lateret* (13). That is a thouſand times better, than if every one talked of what is done or ſaid in a Clergyman's houſe. *Such a report was ſpread there this morning,* ſays one (14); *laſt night ſuch a reflection of a news-monger was diſputed of there,* ſays another. *He may excuſe himſelf like Adam,* adds a third, and ſay, *the woman that thou haſt given me made me do it. What,* ſays a fourth, *you heard that circumſtance only there; I ſuſpect it much. The* nympha loquax *that preſides there is a prating goſſip, that helps the matter, and makes others add to the ſtory what ſhe pleaſes. I will have none of her gloſſes, and commentaries; I appeal to the text, how uncertain ſoever it may be.* No wonder that Alting was inconſolable for the death of his wife, if what his Hiſtorian relates be true, viz. that he lived with her near thirty years without the leaſt complaint or quarrel. *Cum ea per annos prope triginta ſine rixâ, ſine querela, conjunctiſſime vixit* (15). This is what few perſons can brag of, as very few can complain that they do not know whether the effects of a reconciliation are as ſweet in marriage as in gallantry

(13) *Vita Jacobi Alting.*

(14) Compare this with the note [N] of GRUTER.

(15) *Vita Jacobi Alting.*

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio eſt (16).

(16) Terent. *Andr.* Act. 3. Sc. 3. ver. 23.

"The falling out of lovers is the renewing of love.

ALTING (JAMES), ſon of the abovementioned, was Profeſſor of Divinity at Groningen. He was born at Heidelberg the 27th of September 1618, while his father was Deputy at the Synod of Dort. His infancy was ſpent in paſſing from one place to another [A]. He performed his ſtudies at Groningen with good ſucceſs; and as he was extremely fond of the Oriental Languages, he went to Embden in 1638, to improve himſelf there under the direction of the Rabbi Gamprecht Ben-Abraham. He travelled into England in 1640, where he made himſelf known to men of great note, and preached, and was ordained Prieſt of the Church of England by the learned John Prideaux Biſhop of Worceſter. He had reſolved never to leave that Kingdom, but afterwards accepted the Hebrew Profeſſorſhip vacant at Groningen by the death of Gomarus.

[A] *His infancy was ſpent in paſſing from one place to another.*] For at two years old he was ſent to Chriſtianus Chytræus Miniſter of Bretten. The enſuing year his mother, notwithſtanding her being with child, was obliged to retire to Heilbron, whither ſhe carried him along with her; from thence, at a year's end he was ſent to Schorndorf. *Sequente mox anno propter imminentem Heidelbergæ obſidionem, matre etiam comite, eaque tum gravida Heilbronnam, indeque, exacto anno, Schorndorfium miſſus eſt* (1). From Schorndorf his father Henry Alting brought his whole family, thro' many by-roads, to Embden. From Embden he went to Leyden, where he was Preceptor to the ſon of the King of Bohemia. The plague obliged him to leave Leyden, and retire to Honſlaerdijk: laſtly from Honſlaerdijk he went to Groningen, being invited thither to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in 1627. James Alting was then nine years old.

(1) *Vita Jacobi Altingii.*

(c) In 1673.

rus. He took poſſeſſion of this employment the 13th of January 1643, the ſame day that Samuel Des Marets was inſtalled in the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, which had been held by the ſame Gomarus. In proceſs of time his titles and employments were increaſed; he was admitted Doctor of Philoſophy the 21ſt of October 1645, Preacher to the Academy in 1647, Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity in 1667. He went twice to Heidelberg, viz. in 1651 and 1662, where the Elector Palatine Charles Lewis expreſſed a great value for him, and often preſſed him to accept of the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, but he begged to be excuſed. He ſoon fell out with Samuel Des Marets his Collegue, which indeed could hardly be avoided, ſince they differed as to the method of teaching, and in ſome points, as to their principles. Alting kept to the Scripture, without meddling with ſcholaſtic Divinity: he was in the career of glory, and haſtened to go on in it; he wanted neither wit nor learning to maintain his opinions. The firſt Lectures which he read in his own houſe upon the Catechiſm drew ſuch crowds of hearers to him, that for want of room in his own chamber, he was obliged to uſe the Hall of the Academy; moſt of the foreign Students were on his ſide. His Collegue was accuſtomed to the diſtinctions and method of the School-men; had been a long time in great eſteem; publiſhed a great many books, and had a ſprightly genius with a great deal of learning: the Students in Divinity of the country adhered to him, thinking that the ſureſt way to church-preferments; for ſuch only were admitted to ſerve the Pariſh-churches, as had ſtudied according to his method. This was ſufficient to occaſion, and keep on foot, a miſunderſtanding between the two Profeſſors, even though their temper had had no ſhare in the quarrel. Alting had great difficulties to ſtruggle with; the majority of votes, and the authority of age, were on his adverſary's ſide, who beſides had a battery capable to alarm the world, and revive the moſt venerable prejudices. This was to give out that Alting was an innovator, a man who plucked up the boundaries, which our fathers had ſo wiſely placed on the confines of truth and falſhood. He ſet up for a publick informer, and charged James Alting with thirty one erroneous propoſitions. The Curators of the Academy ſent both the information and the anſwer to it, to the Divines of Leyden, without acquainting the parties, begging them to give their opinion upon the ſubject in debate. Their judgment is remarkable [*B*]. Alting was cleared from all hereſy, but his imprudence was blamed in broaching new hypotheſes; on the other hand Des Marets was found fault with for acting contrary to the laws of charity and modeſty (*a*). The latter would not ſubmit to that judgment, nor accept of the ſilence that was propoſed: He was for having the cauſe examined by Aſſemblies, Schools and Synods, which the heads would not agree to, forbidding all writings either in favour, or againſt the judgment of the Divines of Leyden; and thus the work of Des-Marets, intitled, *Audi & alteram partem*, was ſuppreſſed. This quarrel made a great deal of noiſe, and might have been attended with bad conſequences, eſpecially when Des Marets was called to the Univerſity of Leyden (*b*); but he died at Groningen (*c*) before he could take poſſeſſion of that employment. He made ſome ſort of reconciliation on his death-bed, which ſhall be mentioned in the note [*C*]. Alting was obliged to complain that he had been impoſed

(*a*) *Cum Altingium ab omni hæreſeos notâ abſolverent, in ipſo autem prudentiam in procudendis novè inventis, in Mareſio modeſtiam & charitatem requirerent.* Vita Jacob. Alting.

(*b*) *Et res miram habitura cataſtrophen, Mareſio quanquam ſene ad Theologiæ Profeſſionem Lugdunum in Batavis vocato.* Vita Jacob. Alting.

(*c*) In May 1673.

[*B*] *Their judgment is remarkable.*] I do not intend to declare myſelf, in this diſpute, for either ſide; all I have to ſay is, that on the like occaſions one cannot help judging as the Divines of Leyden did. Thoſe, who invent new hypotheſes, are but too apt to maintain them at the expence of the peace and tranquillity both of the Church and Univerſities. They may be orthodox, but cannot be prudent; for it is a piece of imprudence and temerity to diſturb the public without ſome great and urgent cauſe. Thoſe, who oppoſe a new method of teaching, ſhew commonly too much paſſion and violence: I am willing to grant, that ſometimes they have no private views; but they run upon extremes, alarm the whole Church for trifles, and make the world fear a total depravation as to the confeſſion of faith, when there is yet no attempt againſt it. They may therefore be zealous, but at the ſame time it muſt be owned, that their zeal is not accompanied with moderation, charity, or juſtice. Nay they are often as imprudent as their adverſaries: they do not reflect, that a new method, if not minded, drops of itſelf; but, if oppoſed, degenerates into a party. The author of the new method may have relations in the Government, who will ſuſtain him with all their clients. Thus you will ſoon ſee the Civil and Canon Laws combined, and the factions of the Church and State matched together. What miſchiefs may we not fear from ſuch a conflict? How many evils would Religion, and likewiſe the State, avoid, were men contented only to oppoſe fundamental innovations?

[*C*] *He made ſome ſort of reconciliation on his death-bed.*] A Clergyman of Groningen ſeeing that Mr. Des Marets was paſt all hopes of recovery, ſuggeſted a reconciliation between him and his collegue; and having his conſent, he went to make the ſame propoſal to Mr. Alting, who anſwered, that his ſilence in the midſt of the clamours and books of his adverſary witneſſed for his peaceable temper; that he was always ready to accept of a peace upon reaſonable terms; but that he demanded ſatisfaction for the injurious reports that had been ſpread abroad to the prejudice of his honour and reputation; and that he did not underſtand how any one could court his friendſhip while he believed him to be a man of ſuch a character, as he had been repreſented to be. Upon this the mediator retired, without making any further propoſals. Not long after it was given out in the city, that Mr. Alting had been ſo hard-hearted as abſolutely to refuſe to be reconciled with his dying collegue; ſo true it is, that town-reports do not repreſent things as they are in themſelves. The mediator, accompanied by another Clergyman, returned to Mr. Alting, and obtained from him a formulary of the ſatisfaction he deſired. This formulary was no ways liked by Mr. Des Marets, and that, which Mr. Des Marets drew up, did not at all pleaſe Mr. Alting; there was more goings to and fro on this occaſion than in the capitulation of a fortreſs. At laſt, the alteration which Mr. Alting made in the formulary of Mr. Des Marets having been accepted of, upon condition that Mr. Alting would approve of what Mr. Des Marets added to it, to make the conditions equal on both ſides, the articles were ſigned; and this was all the reconciliation. Note, that the parties only retracted the perſonal injuries; as to the accuſations in point of doctrine, the accuſer referred them to the judgment of the Church (2).

(2) Taken from a Letter of James Alting in the fifth volume of his works.

posed upon [D], and was not easy, though delivered from so formidable an adversary. The Clergy was continually murmuring at what they call innovations [E]; but the secular power wisely prevented the storms, which the Synods and Convocations would have raised, threatning to interdict such as should revive the quarrel of these two champions. Alting never enjoyed his health the three last years of his life, and at last was seized with a continual fever, of which he died the ninth day, the 20th of August 1679. He died piously, resigned to the will of God, and often recommended the edition of his works to the care of his cousin Menso Alting Burgo-Master of Groningen. His desire was complied with some years after with the impression of five volumes in folio [F]. He lived a single life till near the thirtieth year of his age, and then married [G]. Had he lived longer he would have composed two books, one in Latin, the other in Dutch: The first was to be *An Apology of his Doctrine*; and the other *The History of his Life from the time of his Professorship*; and thereby he would have shewn how undeservedly he had been

[D] *Alting was obliged to complain that he had been imposed upon.*] His complaint was occasioned by the last edition of the *System* of Mr. Des Marets, where he found himself very ill used. He pretended his adversary should have left no monuments of the quarrel, and that his reconciliation had not been sincere, since he had not suppressed such an injurious book. *Posteaquam autem ad plures abiit* (Maresius) (3) Alting. tom. 5. Mantissa pag. 425. *. . . . monitus fui ego* (3) *de Systematis novi perpetuis Annotationibus, quæ infandis maledictis cum in alios tum in me constarent. Liber ille paucis ante mortem ipsius diebus vendi quidem cœperat, sed nondum in meas ædes fuerat illatus. . . . Curavi ergo afferri, atque inde didici quantopere D. Maresius mihi illusisset, quando in speciem concordiam redintegrari expetiit. Etenim quotiescunque verum illud est ac sincerum votum, non tantum verbis pax initur, sed etiam abolentur omnia monumenta prioris inimicitiæ. Tenera namque conscientia ad suam ipsius infamiam spectare retur, si quod ipsamet damnavit, atque ex sua memoria abolitum voluit universorum notitiæ ac memoriæ infixum dederit, editis contumeliosis chartis per universum orbem disseminatis.* i. e. "After Des Maret's death, . . I was "informed that the Annotations on the new *System* "were full of abominable reflections both on my "self and others. The book was published a few "days before his death, but was not brought so soon "to my house. . . . I procured it, and found how much "Des Marets had deceived me, when he pretended to "be desirous of a renewal of our friendship. For "when such a desire is real and sincere, it is not "only a verbal peace that is made, but also all monu-"ments of former hatred are forgotten. For a ten-"der conscience is thought to work its own infa-"my, if it fixes that in the knowledge and memory "of all men by publishing reproachful books all "over the world, which it would have blotted out "of its own memory." If I am allowed to speak my mind freely, I think there was no reason to pretend that Mr. Des Marets should have suppressed a whole large volume; had he done so, the Bookseller must have been indemnified; and so the reconciliation would not have only cost a retractation, a *nollem factum*; but would have been a pecuniary loss to the family; since not three or four sheets were to be suppressed, but the entire work, as Alting himself owns. *Cum in illius esset potestate totum opus suppressisse, quæ unica supererat in opere usquequaque sibi conformi emendatio* (4). i. e. "When "it was in his own power to have suppressed the "whole work, which was the only way of correcting "it as it was every where uniform." He declared in a writing under his hand, that he retracted whatever he might have said, or published, against the reputation of his adversary; and that was enough. *Ita ut inDicta velit Cl. D. Maresius, si quæ in dictis & scriptis ipsius in famam Cl. D. Altingii incurrere videantur* (5). i. e. "So that the learned Des Marets would "be glad to have unsaid all that reflects upon the "learned Alting's character, in his words or writ-"ings." With this alone he might have died canonically, according to the phrase used on the other side the Alpes, *è morto canonicamente.*

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, ibid.

[E] *The Clergy was continually murmuring against his innovations.*] The following words will inform us of the whole matter. *Qualis fuerit utriusque ante mortem mutua conciliatio ipsiusmet Autoris* Epistola *initio* Mantissæ *tomi quinti posita testatur. Quiescente Maresio, non sic tamen quiescendum sibi duxerunt qui ipsius partium fuerant. Nihil autem adeo dedisse operam videntur, quam ut via quasi ecclesiastica, per synodos, classes, & quas dicimus correspondentias, Altingii opinionibus obsisterent. Ita variis quidem fluctibus postea jactatus vir optimus, suæ autem sententiæ tenacissimus tandem fere enatavit; siquidem quotiescunque aliquid proponeret Ecclesiasticorum ordo, illud mox procerum edicto vel consulto rejectum est. Imo exauctorationis etiam pœna in eos constituta, qui de controversiis Maresio-Altingianis in cœtu aliquo Pastorum quidquam moverent. Ita factum sæpius est, ut generalibus etiam verbis concepta gravumina de periculosis novitatibus in spongiam incubuerint* (6). i. e. (6) *In vita Jacobi Alting.* "What sort of reconciliation they had before they "died appears from the Author's Epistle prefixed to "the *Mantissa* of the fifth volume. Tho' Des Marets "was quiet, yet his Partisans had no mind to be "so. They seem to have made it their chief aim "to beat down Alting's opinions by ecclesiastical "methods, by Synods, Classes, and what we call "Correspondences. Thus this good man, but most "tenacious of his own opinion, tho' a long time "tossed about by various waves, yet at length es-"caped. For no sooner did the Ecclesiastics pro-"pose any thing, but immediately it was rejected "by an Edict or Decree of the Magistrates. Nay "they were threatned with deprivation, who should "start any thing of the disputes between Des Marets "and Alting, in an assembly of the Clergy. Thus it of-"ten came to pass, that the complaints which were "made in general words concerning dangerous "innovations, were absolutely suppress'd." Hence we may infer, that there was no mischief he had not reason to apprehend from the Divines, had he not been protected by the Magistrates. It is not to be questioned but that the secular and ecclesiastical power stand in need of each other; the ecclesiastical power must now and then spur the secular, and the secular bridle the ecclesiastical.

Alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, & conjurat amice (7). (7) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 410.

"Mutually they need each other's aid.
Lord Roscommon.

[F] *His desire was complied with some years after with the impression of five volumes in folio.*] The late Mr. Bekker, then Minister at Amsterdam, who had been the author's disciple and good friend, took particular care of this edition. It appeared at Amsterdam in 1687, and contains divers *analytical, exegetical, practical, problematical,* and *philosophical* tracts, which not only witness James Alting's laborious life, but likewise his deep knowledge. His diligence may be known by another consideration. Most men of great study grow at last averse from writing of letters, which fault he was never guilty of; for he wrote no fewer than five thousand, tho' only a small number of them has been published. *Loquuntur epistolæ quarum tam paucas ex* 5000 *publicari potuisse, id equidem dolendum. Erat autem ad scribendas literas impiger* (8). The bare names of the Divines to whom he wrote shew that he was no Voetien. (8) *Vita Jacobi Altingii.*

[G] *He lived a single life till near the* 30*th year of his age, and then married.*] *Vitam cœlibem ad annum ætatis trigesimum fere perduxit; cujus tandem pertæsus junxit tibi tori sociam* (9). Of the eight children which God had given him three were alive when he died; one professed Physic, another followed the Law, and the third served in the army. The first and last of these three survived him but a few years. (9) Idem.

been harraſſed with ſo many troubles (*d*) [*H*]. This is what I have extracted from his life prefixed to the firſt volume of his works. If any one finds untruths in this article, I beg he would not aſcribe them to me, who have only related what I find in the book I have cited. I give this notice once for all, that I do not warrant the truth of ſuch accounts; and conclude with this remark, that Alting was a Divine greatly addicted to the text of the Scripture, to Cocceianiſm, and Kabbiniſm. His application to Rabbiniſm expoſed him to a great affront [*I*]. He preached well in three languages, viz. German, Dutch and Engliſh.

(d) *Ex vita Jacob. Alting. in limine operum, editor. Amſt. an.* 1687.

[*H*] *How undeſervedly he had been harraſſed with ſo many troubles.*] Thoſe who prefer the words of the original to my abſtract, will meet with ſatisfaction in the following paſſage. *Dixit inter alia* (Altingius) *ſi Deus ſibi vitam viresque concederet, ſtare ſibi animum duos libellos in lucem mittendi, alterum quidem, quem orſus etiam eſt, quo ſe purgaret coram Eccleſia ab heterodoxias & hæreſeos crimine ſibi intentato; alterum vero, quo hiſtoriam vitæ ſuæ publicæ panderet, ab eo tempore quando in Academia docere cæpiſſet, unde cuivis judicandum relinqueret, quo jure, qua injuria tantum ipſi moleſtiarum creatum fuiſſet. . . . Præ cæteris autem conquerebatur à malevolorum inſidiis atque inimicitiis ſtetiſſe; quo minus ut vellet publico inſervire potuiſſet* (10). i. e. " Alting " ſaid among other things, that if God would grant " him life and ſtrength, he was determined to publiſh " two books; in one of them, which he had begun, " he propoſed to purge himſelf before the Church " of the imputation of heterodoxy and hereſy; in " the other he intended to ſet forth the Hiſtory of " his public life, from the time of his beginning to " teach in the Univerſity; where he would leave " it to any one to judge how juſtly or unjuſtly " ſuch a load of troubles had been raiſed againſt him. " But above all he complained, that he was hindred " from ſerving the publick as much as he deſired, " by the treacheries and hatred of ill deſigning men." It is certainly much to be lamented that men of great parts ſhould be diverted by domeſtic quarrels, from employing their talents in ſervice of their own communion, and in oppoſing the common enemy, againſt whom the whole ſtrength of a party ought to be kept cloſely united. I do not mention the ſcandal which ſuch proceedings raiſe, for we ought rather to be ſcandalized at the little ſcandal they occaſion. Whether the reaſon of that is, becauſe to be ſcandalized, when there is juſt occaſion of taking offence, requires ſuch a ſhare of judgment as few attain to; or becauſe there is nothing but what we may be inured to by cuſtom, and that *ab aſſuetis non fit paſſio*; or whatſoever elſe may be the cauſe of it; it is certain that thoſe, who keep on foot diviſions by ſowing, under pretence of zeal, violent and outragious libels, filled with cavils, generally meet with great favour. Is the cauſe of this, that to be ſcandalized, when there is juſt motive of ſcandal, requires ſuch a ſhare of judgment as few have? or rather becauſe there is nothing, but what men may be inured to by cuſtom, and *ab aſſuetis non fit paſſio?* But whatever may be the cauſe of it, it is certain, that people have an exceſſive indulgence for ſuch as under pretence of zeal keep on foot diviſions by their violent and outragious libels. Nothing would be more effectual to repreſs the itching deſire ſome perſons have to write bitter and ſatyrical books againſt their brethren, than if people were offended in earneſt at ſuch a conduct, and gave public proofs of their contempt and indignation. But while they follow the party that makes moſt noiſe and buſtle, the diſeaſe may be looked upon as incurable.

(10) Ibid.

[*I*] *His application to Rabbiniſm expoſed him to a great affront.*] He was deemed a half Jew; a man, who differed from a Jew only in not being circumciſed; of the want of which he ſometimes complained. What gave occaſion to theſe injuries was his maintaining, that the points of the *Tetragrammaton* are not proper for that name; and conſequently, that the true pronunciation of it is unknown; and that ſuch as read it *Adonai*, ought not to be accuſed of Jewiſh ſuperſtition. Here follows the judgment that was paſſed upon that opinion. *Impudentia eſt Grammaticorum nonnullorum, & filiorum Bicri negare ea ſuperſtitione Judaica oriri, quod id nomen aliter pronuncietur quam legitur.——Sed per nos homines Semi-Judæi doctrina, ſtudio, affectu, commercio, & qui ſolo fere pondere præputii, & quo interdum ſe gravari dolent, diſtant à recutitis, inſaniant ut libuerit.——Veſtræ eſt impudentiæ, petulantiæ & ſuperbiæ in primo gradu, quod auſitis dicam ſcribere imperitiæ & ignorantiæ tot illuſtribus eccleſiæ viris, vobis etiam longe doctioribus, quod id nominis enuncient, & pronuncient uti ſcribitur* (11). Was this a ſufficient cauſe to be ſo very angry? have we not here a plain inſtance of what a Pagan Philoſopher judiciouſly obſerved. *Crede mihi, levia ſunt propter quæ non leviter excandeſcimus, qualia quæ pueros in rixam & jurgium concitant. Nihil ex his, quæ tam triſtes agimus, ſerium eſt, nihil magnum. Inde, inquam, vobis ira & infantia eſt, quod exigua magno æſtimatis* (12). i. e. " Believe me, we are not a " little angry about little offences, ſuch as ſtir up " feuds and quarrels among children. None of " theſe things about which we are ſo earneſt, are ei- " ther ſerious or great. Thus, I ſay, it is paſſion " and childiſhneſs in you, to make ſo much of tri- " fles." Could any thing worſe be ſaid againſt a man, who entertained thoughts of apoſtatizing from the faith, and only waited for the ſolution of three or four ſmall difficulties to turn Jew?

(11) *Oper. Alting.* tom. 5. *in Mentiſſa*, p. 426.

(12) Senec. *de Ira*, lib. 3. cap. 34.

☞ALVARES (*a*) DE LUNA, the favourite of John II King of Caſtile in Spain, was famous for the abſolute aſcendant which he had over his Maſter for many years together, and the puniſhment which he ſuffered at laſt. He was natural ſon of Don Alvaro de Luna Lord of Canete in Arragon, and his mother was a woman who had no valuable qualifications but beauty, and was infamous for her unbounded luſt. Dr. Geddes (*b*) calls her a common ſtrumpet, who had three ſons before by unknown fathers. Our de Luna was born at Canete about the year 1388; his firſt name was Peter, and it was changed to that of Alvares by Pope Benedict XIII, who was charmed by his wit when he was but a child. He was introduced into the court in the year 1408, and made one of the Gentlemen of King John II's bed-chamber (*c*), where the advantage of his perſon, and his eaſy and inſinuating addreſs raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of authority in the State. In the year 1427 he was obliged to retire from court, but was ſoon after recalled by the King [*A*], and inveſted with all the authority which

(*a*) Dr. Geddes calls him *Alvaro*. See his *Tracts* vol. 4.

(*b*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 229.

(*c*) Mariana, *de Rebus Hiſpaniæ*, tom. 2. l. 19. c. 17. p. 204. edit. Moguntiæ 1605.

[*A*] *Obliged to retire from court, but was ſoon after recalled by the King.*] The greateſt part of the Courtiers reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts to ruin Alvares, for they were uneaſy to obſerve that he ſhould govern all things in ſo proud and avaricious a manner, by the aſſiſtance of a few upſtart men whom he had raiſed and fixed to his intereſt. They complained that a man who was eminent for no ſkill in military affairs, and no virtues of any kind, ſhould by mere artifice and diſſimulation be advanced to ſuch an

which he enjoyed before, and revenged himſelf ſeverely upon his enemies [*B*]. Mariana has repreſented his character in a ſtrong and beautiful light [*C*], by which we find that his haughtineſs and paſſion raiſed the enmity of the Nobility againſt him. Of the five and forty years which he ſpent at court, he enjoyed for thirty of them ſo entire a command over the King, that nothing could be done without his expreſs orders; and the King himſelf had not the liberty ſo much as to change his officers or ſervants, nor even his cloaths and diet without his approbation (*d*). In ſhort he wanted nothing but the name of King to complete his grandeur; he had all the places of the King-dom

(*d*) Idem, ibid. l. 22. c. 13. p. 313.

in height of favour and power, that he reigned alone, though another had the title of King. They could not view his proſperous ſituation without the ſtrongeſt emotions of regret and envy, and they thought it very unreaſonable that a man ſhould be brought out of low and mean circumſtances to ſuch a diſproportionate ſtate of power and magnificence. He being very confident of the King's favour, with whom he had lived in the utmoſt familiarity from his childhood, and ſecure of what might happen, treated every perſon as vaſtly inferior to him, and depended too much upon his preſent power. Nay there was a report, and it was affirmed by men of eminence and character, that he had the aſſurance to offer gallantry to the Queen herſelf; but this was not ſufficiently proved at that time; and it is probable that many ſtories were invented and believed to his diſadvantage. But let us hear Mariana in his noble and expreſſive language. *Maxima procerum pars in perniciem Alvari conſpiravit, quem in aulâ cum paucis, iiſque novis hominibus, atque ejus beneficio obligatis ſuperbè & avarè dominari dolebant. Nullâ militari laude, nullis virtutibus, unâ ingenii dexteritate, & aſſimulatis ad tempus officiis ad eum gratiæ & potentiæ gradum evectum querebantur ſcilicet, ſolumque alieno nomine regnare; retentem ejus fælicitatem ægris oculis aſpicientes, & fortunæ modum in homine alioqui humili & obſcuro requirentes maximè. Ipſe favore Principis ferox; cui à puero in omnia jura familiaritatis aſſueverat, venturique ſecurus, cæteros omnes præ ſe viles exiſtimare, nimiumque præſenti potentiâ fidere; ut Reginam de turpi amore appellaſſe, rumor eſſet, & magni viri affirmarent; verò an falsò, compertum ne tum quidem fuit; & multa ex invidiâ crimina afficta creditaque putamus fuiſſe* (1). However the party at laſt prevailed againſt him, and procured him to be baniſhed from court for a year and an half; upon which he retired to Aylon, a town under his own juriſdiction, where he was attended by a great number of the Nobility (2). But this misfortune of his was the greateſt affliction to the King imaginable. Mariana has a reflection upon this uncommon affection between him and Alvarez. He obſerves, that the Stoics were of opinion, that every man's courſe of life is determined by an eternal chain of ſecret cauſes, which they call *Fate*, and that all the prudence of mankind can never prevent what is deſtined for them by this immutable Law. This is the aſſertion of that grave and ſevere ſect of Philoſophers; and yet every one muſt ſee the abſurdity of ſuch a ſcheme, ſince it deprives men of that liberty of action and determination, which is the characteriſtic of human nature. But yet it muſt be owned, that there was ſome peculiar cauſe, which united the minds of the King of Caſtile, and Alvarez ſo firmly, that ſcarce any thing could divide them; tho' this union expoſed them both to the public hatred. Nay the latter was conſidered in a more ſhocking light than the Sejanus's, Patrobius's, Polycletus's, and Aſiaticus's, who were the Freedmen of the Roman Emperors, and were univerſally hated on account of the Aſcendant, which they had over their Maſters. How comes it to paſs, that neither the King ſhould be the leaſt affected by the infamy, which he ſuffer'd on account of his familiarity with this Miniſter; nor Alvarez foreſee the ruin, which he was precipitating himſelf upon? Things in a moderate ſtate are generally laſting; but thoſe which are exceſſive are ſubject to deſtruction; and the higher men are raiſed into favour, the more they ought to abate of their vanity, and conſider the uncertainty of human affairs. There ſeems, ſays Mariana, to be ſome peculiar efficacy in the influence of the Stars, which preſide at the birth of men; and from thence the inclinations and averſions of Kings take their riſe; or the ſword of God's juſtice confounds the mind, when he would not have the force of it abated, as it happened in the preſent caſe. *Æternâ conſtitutione nexuque cauſarum latentium (quod fatum vocant) quemque hominum ſuum curſum peragere, neque eſſe aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, ad evitandum quod eſt immutabili lege deſtinatum, Stoici perſuadere conati ſunt, genus alioqui Philoſophorum cum primis ſeverum & grave. Stultè, inquis, & inaniter. Quid id neget? an major eſſe furor poſſit, quam homini, per quod homo eſt, conſiliorum ſuorum & vitæ arbitrium detrahere? Sed cauſam tamen extitiſſe aliquam fateri neceſſe eſt, quæ Regem Caſtellæ & Alvarum Lunam ita conſtrinxit ac conglutinavit animis, ita devinxit voluntates, ut divelli vix poſſent; quamvis publicâ ex ea re invidiâ flagrarent ambo, majori Alvarus; ut Sejanos, Patrobios, Polycletos, Aſiaticos, Romanorum Principum libertos, vetera odiorum nomina ſuperaret. Quî factum, ut neque Rex infamiâ moveretur, quæ ex ea familiaritate orta erat, neque Alvarus exitium provideret, ad quod magnis itineribus feſtinabat? Nempe moderata durant, violenta in præceps ruunt; quoque magis humanus favor extulit, hoc magis ſe deprimere homines debent, varioſque caſus metuere, memores humanæ inconſtantiæ. Nimirum eſt in aſtris poteſtas aliqua, conditioneſque naſcendi; inde Principum inclinationes, offenſioneſque ortum plerumque habent; aut perſtringit mentem divinæ vindictæ gladius, cum aciem ſuam retundi non vult, uti in præſenti accidit* (3). The King appeared every day overwhelmed with the deepeſt melancholly; he ſhewed all the marks of diſtreſs in his countenance from the moment Alvarez was removed from him. He ſpoke of him by day, and he dreamt of him by night. When the Courtiers obſerved this, they found, that he muſt infallibly be ſoon recalled, and would very probably be raiſed to an higher degree of favour than before; upon which they exerted themſelves in order to gain his friendſhip, ſo that upon the death of Roderic Davala, who had been the rival of Alvarez, he was immediately reſtored to his dignities (4).

(1) Mariana, lib. 20. c. 15. pag. 240.

(2) Ibid. p. 241, 242.

(3) Id. l. 29. c. 16. p. 242, 243.

(4) Id. ibid.

[*B*] *Revenged himſelf ſeverely upon his enemies.*] As ſoon as he returned to court, he reſolved to ſupport the authority, which he was advanced to, by every method that he could employ. Inſtead of gaining over the Courtiers to his party by all the inſtances of civility and generoſity, which were neceſſary in ſuch a circumſtance, he perſuaded the King to baniſh them the court, and oblige every one of them to retire to their own houſes. This was the worſt Counſel, that could poſſibly have been followed, and it proved particularly fatal to him, who was the author of it. *Quam primum in curiam rediit, proceres, quos novis officiis placare debuit, ii ut ab aula pellerentur, & pro ſe quiſque domos abire cogerentur, auctor Regi extitit; peſſimum conſilium exitialeque ipſi imprimis conſultori futurum* (5). In ſhort his conduct alienated the minds of all the great men from the King, occaſioned a thouſand diſorders in his Kingdom, and involved him in a war with the King of Arragon (6).

(5) Id. l. 21. c. 1. p. 246.

(6) Idem, ibid.

[*C*] *Repreſented his character in a ſtrong and beautiful light.*] The Hiſtorian introduces it with an excellent reflection upon the abſurdity of mankind, who unjuſtly complain of the uncertainty of human affairs, and repreſent them as precarious and mutable every moment, and conducted rather by the raſhneſs of fortune, than any certain principles of wiſdom and prudence; whereas their own ill conduct is rather to be accuſed, which frequently hurries them on to ruin. For where is the wonder if an indolent youth produces a neceſſitous old age? If the eſtate of our anceſtors is loſt in luxury and extravagance? If power, that has been abuſed, is taken away from us?

dom in his diſpoſal; he was the Maſter of the Treaſury, and had gained the affections of the ſubjects by his profuſe bounty to them. The King was informed ſufficiently of the extravagant conduct of his favourite, but he durſt not complain the leaſt of it, becauſe Alvares was grown ſo prodigiouſly formidable. However at laſt, as he proceeded ſtill greater lengths in the abuſe of his power, an accuſation was formed againſt him full of the moſt ſhocking crimes; he was ſeized [*D*] and condemned

us? If envy and certain deſtruction follows pride? The true names of things are loſt among us; to give away the property of others, and to be laviſh of our own, is called liberality. Raſhneſs, eſpecially if it be attended with ſucceſs, is accounted laudable. Ambition is eſteemed honourable, and a violent and extravagant uſe of power claims the character of a juſt and reaſonable ſeverity. Our fortune is very ſeldom different from our manners. We are improper judges of things, and enquire after foreign cauſes of unhappineſs, which are often not diſcoverable, though ſome of them may appear. This, ſays Mariana, I premiſe, before I enter upon the ſad cataſtrophe of Alvares de Luna. Being raiſed from a low condition of life, he gained the utmoſt height of grandeur; but ambition urged him on to his deſtruction. He had ſeveral valuable qualifications in him, and ſeveral defects; the event ſhewed which were predominant. His wit was lively and penetrating, his judgment clear, his ſpeech proper, and enlivened with an agreeable facetiouſneſs, and a ſatyrical turn of humour; but he had a little impediment and heſitation in it. He was maſter of a profound cunning and diſſimulation, and he had a great ſhare of confidence, pride and ambition, which, with a mixture of treachery, were the ingredients of his compoſition. His body was ſmall, but firm, and proper for the ſervices of war. His face was ſmall, but agreeable, and it had an air of dignity. Such was the turn of his nature in his youth, and age confirmed and encreaſed it. Add to this, that he had a contempt for men, which is the common defect of courtiers, and he was difficult of acceſs. In the decline of life he was very liable to exceſſive ſallies of anger. Like a wild beaſt, which has been ſhut up in a cage, and wounded with darts, and then let looſe, he was inflamed by the hatred of his enemies, and being impotent in his ſucceſs, committed a great many inſtances of cruelty from the ſpirit of revenge. It is no wonder that a man of this character ſhould fall, but it is rather ſcandalous that he ſhould maintain his poſt ſo long. *Ab humili ducta fortuna ad ſummum pervenerat; in præceps ambitio, dedit. Bona inerant in naturâ moribuſque, inerant mala: utra magis eventus indicat. Ardens ingenium, perſpicax judicium, aptus ſermo, & cum aculeo facetus, quadam tantum hæſitantiâ tardior; profunda calliditas atque ſimulatio, audacia, ſuperbia, ambitio, ex quibus atque ex fraude compoſitus videbatur. Corpus exiguum, ſed firmum, & bellicis laboribus idoneum. Facies minuta, venuſta tamen, cum dignitateque. Hæc a primis annis ſuſcepta confirmavit ætas auxitque. Acceſſit contemptus hominum, commune potentium malum, aditus difficilis. Ætatis flexu ira pervicacior fuit. Quaſi fera in cavea petita jaculis, deinde emiſſa, inimicorum odio exacerbatus, impotenſque ſucceſſu, quas non ſtrages dedit vindictæ ſtudio ardens? His moribus non corruiſſe mirum eſt, ſed tandiu perſtitiſſe pudendum* (7).

(7) Id. l. 22. c. 12. p. 310.

[*D*] *He was ſeized.*] An accident furniſhed at laſt an opportunity of compleating his ruin. It was as follows: Peter Stunica (8), Count of Placentia, retired to a town, where he lived privately, and avoided interpoſing in public affairs at ſo dangerous a time. This Alvares imagined was done out of hatred to him, upon which he reſolved the deſtruction of the Count. Garſias, the ſon of the Duke of Alva, uſed continually to iſſue out of a caſtle, which was ſituated near that town, and plunder the country, in revenge for his father's impriſonment. Alvares adviſed the ſiege of that caſtle, determining at the ſame time to ſeize upon the Count of Placentia. But this deſign of his was turned againſt himſelf. Several of the Nobility at the Count's deſire formed a conſpiracy againſt Alvares's life. Five hundred Horſe were ſent to Valladolid, whither the King was come from Burgos, to ſeize unexpectedly upon Alvares, tho' another deſign was pretended. An aſſembly of the Nobility being appointed at Burgos, they returned thither, by the advice of Alvares. Enecus Stunica the brother of the Count of Placentia, was Governor of the caſtle of that city; and the Count of Placentia was ſent for with a body of ſoldiers to deſtroy his enemy. But he being indiſpoſed, his ſon Don Alvares was ſent, and while he was preparing his ſoldiers, the King adviſed *de Luna* to retire, telling him, that he was not ignorant how much he was hated; that for his own part, he was reſolved to govern by the Counſels of his Nobles. Alvares refuſed to obey him, till he had ſent for the Archbiſhop of Toledo, whom he intended to ſubſtitute in his room. However he diſcovered from the King's diſcourſe, that there was a plot againſt him; and yet he was ſo infatuated that he killed *Alfonſo Biverus* (9) the King's Counſellor at his houſe, and threw his body into the river, without any regard to the day, which was Good-Friday. A man was ſent immediately to haſten the coming of Alvares Stunica; who came firſt with his head covered, and after him followed at proper diſtances eighty horſe. Several of the Citizens were ſent for to the caſtle at night, and ordered to ſecure the ſtreets of the city. A report was ſpread upon this all over the city, that Alvares was to be committed to priſon the next day; but no body acquainted him with it; for their minds were ſeized with ſuch an amazement, that they knew not what to do. Gotor, one of the family, when he heard of the danger Alvares was in, adviſed him to retire in the night to a houſe in the ſuburbs, but he was incapable of obeying that uſeful Counſel. His mind was agitated with ſuch a variety of thoughts, that he could not tell what to determine upon. At laſt he reſolved to wait the event. It is very probable, that he was ſo confident of himſelf and his own power, that he deſpiſed his enemies. However things being thus prepared early on Thurſday morning the 4th of April, the houſe, where he was, was ſurrounded with a body of armed men; but they did not think proper to uſe violence, tho' ſeveral of the ſoldiers had been wounded from the windows. At laſt Alvares ſurrendred himſelf, having received a writing from the King, wherein he aſſured him, that he ſhould receive no injury; but this promiſe was immediately broken. He was committed to cuſtody in the ſame houſe, and ſeeing from the window the Biſhop of Ebula *, who came to dine at that houſe after Maſs, ſtanding by the King, he ſaid to him, "You, Prieſt, "ſhall ſuffer for this injury, which has been offered "me." The Biſhop aſſured him in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he had no ſhare in that advice. This ſhews, that Alvares's haughty temper was not yet abated by his misfortunes. *Pœnas, inquit, Sacrificule, hujus noſtræ injuriæ dabis; ad quem ille, Deum teſtor, reſpondit, nullam me hujus conſilii partem fuiſſe. Nondum domita multis Alvari ferocia erat.* After dinner was over, when he found that he could not obtain leave to ſpeak to the King in perſon, he ſent a note to him in theſe terms: "It is five and "forty years, Sir, ſince I was admitted into your "ſervice. I do not complain of the rewards, which "I have received; they were greater than my me-"rits or expectation. This I ſhall not deny. There "was but one thing wanting to compleat my hap-"pineſs, and that was to have fixed proper bounds "in time to this great fortune of mine. While in-"ſtead of chooſing retirement, after the example of "the greateſt Men, I ſtill continued in the employ-"ment, which I thought was my duty, and abſolute-"ly neceſſary for your intereſt, I fell into this mis-"fortune. It is very hard that I ſhould be deprived "of liberty, when I have more than once riſqu'd "my life and fortune to reſtore it to you. Grief "prevents me from ſaying more. I know that the "Deity is provoked againſt me by my ſins; but it "will be ſufficient for me, if his anger is appeaſed "by theſe calamities, which I ſuffer. I can no

(8) Dr. Geddes call'd him *D'Eſtuniga.*

(9) Dr. Geddes calls him *Alonzo Perez.*

* Dr. Geddes calls it *Abula.*

condemned on the fifth of July (*e*) 1453 to loſe his head, which was executed at Valladolid with all the circumſtances of infamy imaginable [*E*]. His head was fixed upon a pole, and his body was left upon the ſcaffold for three days with a baſon near it, in order to receive the charity of thoſe who were willing to contribute to the burying of it, which was at laſt done in the church of St. Andrew, where criminals uſed to be interred. It was removed thence to the church of St. Francis in that city, and ſeveral years after it was brought to the church of Toledo, and a funeral made for him by his friends with the King's permiſſion (*f*). It is ſaid, that his unhappy cataſtrophe was foretold him by an Aſtrologer, who aſſured him that Cadahalſo would prove fatal to him; which word ſignifies in Spaniſh a *Scaffold*; but he underſtood it of a town in Spain of that name, which he always carefully avoided. But Mariana rejects this as a ſtory which deſerves very little credit (*g*). Mr. de Fleury tells us (*b*), that he was accuſed of having received money of the Moors to prevent the taking of the city of Granada; but Mariana, who is the only Author whom he cites, mentions nothing of that particular charge againſt him. A Spaniſh writer has a remarkable reflection upon de Luna and his Miniſtry [*F*]. The

(e) Dr. Geddes ſays, that he was executed the 4th of June. See his *Life of Don Alvaro de Luna*, in the fourth vol. of his Tracts, p. 354. edit. London 1715.

(f) Marian. ibid.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 313, 314.

(b) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 110. vol. 22. c. 131. p. 602. edit. de Bruxelles 1726.

" longer bear that prodigious maſs of riches, which " it was wrong in me to have heaped together. I " ſhould willingly reſign them, but that every thing " I have is in your power, and I am denied the op- " portunity of ſhewing mankind, that you have " raiſed a perſon to the height of power, who can " contemn wealth, as well as procure it, and give it " back to him from whom he received it. But I " deſire you in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as I was ob- " liged by the lowneſs of the treaſury to raiſe ten " or twelve thouſand crowns by a method that I " ought not to have taken, you will reſtore them to " the perſons, from whom they were extorted. If " you will not grant this on account of the ſer- " vices which I have done; yet I think it is abſolutely " neceſſary to do it from the reaſon of the thing." The King returned him this anſwer; that with regard to what he had ſaid concerning his ſervice and the rewards which he had received, he did not deny it; that there never was any King or Emperor in any age, who had beſtowed ſuch prodigious favours upon a private man. That he had loſt his liberty, on the account of Alvares, and recovered it by his aſſiſtance, and therefore the former was as great a reaſon of reproach to him, as the latter of commendation. That as the treaſury was chiefly exhauſted by his means, it was much more reaſonable to ſupply it from his own eſtate, than by oppreſſing others. However he would make ſatisfaction to thoſe who had been injured from his eſtate. It is wonderful, as Mariana obſerves, that among ſo many people, who had been obliged to Alvarez, there was not one, who came to aſſiſt him in this exigence. But all regards of friendſhip are loſt towards the unfortunate, and turned to the contrary ſide with the favour of the Court. *Mirum eſt, in tanto numero eorum, qui Alvari beneficiis obſtricti erant, nullum in periculo ad præſidium accurriſſe. Verum miſeros ſtudia deſtituunt, cum aulæ gratia in contrarium circumacta* (10).

(10) Id. l. 22. c. 12. p. 312.

[*E*] *Which was executed at Valladolid with all the circumſtances of infamy imaginable.*] The King immediately after he was taken into cuſtody, gave orders for ſeizing all the towns and riches, which belonged to Alvares, who was brought to a tryal, in which it was impoſſible for him to eſcape, ſince he had rendred the King implacable by ſo many injuries, which he had done to him. After his condemnation he was removed to Valladolid, and having confeſſed himſelf, and received the Sacrament, he was carried upon a mule to the place of execution, the Cryer proclaiming the reaſons of his ſentence in this form: " Let this puniſhment be inflicted " by the King's appointment upon this cruel tyrant; " for raſhly and madly invading the rights of the " Kingly Majeſty, which is God's Vicegerent on " earth; for reducing the whole Court under his " power, and making himſelf Maſter of the State in " general; and becauſe that having raiſed himſelf above " the condition of a private man, he acted with the ut- " moſt haughtineſs and diſregard to God and the " King, and to the great loſs of the King's eſtate, " and by a ſhameful perverſion of juſtice, commit- " ted ſuch a ſeries of crimes, miſchiefs, and tyran- " nies, and been guilty of ſo many inſtances of " bribery, as have ſubjected him to the loſs of his " head by the axe; in order that the juſtice of God " and the King appearing in the puniſhment of one " man, may deter others from the like attempts. " Let him, who offends thus, ſuffer in this manner." *Hoc ſupplicium huic crudeli tyranno abs Rege eſto. Quod præcipiti temeritate & amentia cum regiæ majeſtatis divinæ in terris vicariæ fugillatione, aulâ in poteſtatem redactâ, republicaque univerſâ ad arbitrium revocatâ. Supra conditionem, ſupraque privati hominis modum elatus ſuperbiâ in Deum regemque, contempta regia majeſtate, regii patrimonii magnâ jacturâ, fœda judiciorum perturbatione, ea crimina, flagitia, maleficia, peculatus perpetravit, pro quibus ſecuri ſubjicitur; ut divina regiaque vindicta ſancita unius ſupplicio cæteris documentum detur ſimilis audaciæ vitandæ. Sic qui deliquit, pœnas dato* (11). There was a large ſcaffold erected in the middle of the market-place, and a croſs placed upon it, and two torches lighted, and the floor was ſpread with tapeſtry. As ſoon as he mounted the ſcaffold, he paid his reverence to the croſs, and preſently after gave his ſignet and hat to a boy, who was his page, telling him, *Theſe are the laſt gifts you ſhall ever receive from me.* The boy fell into the greateſt agony of grief imaginable; which drew a deep ſigh from all the people who ſtood round. Their minds were agitated with different thoughts: and the compariſon of Alvares's late grandeur and proſperity with his preſent diſtreſs extorted tears even from his enemies. Barraſa, who belonged to Prince Henry's ſtables, being there, he called him to him, and deſired him to tell the Prince from him, that he ſhould not follow this example of the King in rewarding his ſervants. Obſerving an iron hook upon a high pole, he asked the executioner, what uſe that was deſigned for; who told him, it was to fix his head upon, when it was divided from his body. " After I am dead, ſays Alvares, you may do with my " body what you pleaſe; death cannot poſſibly be " diſgraceful to a man of courage; or untimely to " one who has paſſed thro' ſuch important poſts " of honour." *Poſt mortem, ſubdit Alvarus, de corpore, ut libet, facito. Viro forti mors turpis eſſe non poteſt; neque immatura tantis honoribus defuncto* (12). Having ſaid this, he ſubmitted himſelf to the axe with the greateſt intrepidity imaginable. Such was the end of the man who had enjoyed an uncontroulable authority at court for thirty years together; an example ſufficient to inſtruct Courtiers, that they ought rather to make themſelves the objects of their Maſter's love than of their fear; ſince the latter muſt inevitably prove fatal to them at laſt; and it is impoſſible for a Miniſter, who has acted in an haughty aſſuming manner, to die in peace. *Sed exemplo tamen calamitatis monendi ſunt aulici, ut amari à principibus quàm metui malint; quia metus domini exitium ſervi eſt; & fata vix ſinunt ſuperbos famulos feliciter mori* (13). Alphonſo Spina (14) a Franciſcan Fryar, who wrote the *Fortalitium Fidei* (15), a work of great learning, tho' with a barbarous title, attended him in his laſt moments.

(11) Id. lib. 22. c. 13. p. 313.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) Dr. Geddes calls him *Alonzo d'Eſpinar.*

(15) It was written in the year 1439, and the greateſt part of it turns upon controverſies, which were then on foot againſt the Jews, Saracens and Mahometans. See Father Simon's *Bibliotb. Critiq.* tom. 3. c. 30. edit. Paris, 12°, 1710.

[*F*] *A Spaniſh Writer has a remarkable reflection upon De Luna and his Miniſtry.*] This Writer is John de Santa Maria, a Monk, who in the 20th chapter of his book *De Republica y Policia Chriſtiana*, has the following paſſage (16). " Don John II King " of Caſtile was involved in a variety of troubles by " allowing

(16) *See* Dr. Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. 4. pag. 374, &c.

The reader will obſerve that we have generally followed the noble Hiſtorian abovementioned in this Article, which may be compared with the minute and circumſtantial account, which Dr. Geddes has given us from ſome antient Spaniſh Chronicles, which he had in his poſſeſſion (*i*).

(*i*) See his Preface to the *Life of Don Alvaro de Luna.*

" allowing this favourite ſo abſolute a power in all " public affairs. When the people ſaw their King " in a perfect ſubjection and ſlavery to him, they " concluded that he was certainly bewitched to him. " The King's will and underſtanding were ſo entire- " ly reſigned to him, that he neither underſtood " what he gave him, or durſt deny him any thing " that he deſired. And as the ungrateful ivy ſucks " the ſap from the tree, that ſupports it; ſo this fa- " vourite robbed the King of his revenue and au- " thority, and of little leſs than his whole Kingdom. " By which means the royal authority was ſunk ſo " low, that the Grandees and the King's own firſt " couſins the Infantes, and the Kings of Arragon " and Navarre, took up arms and made war upon " him; and on ſome occaſion he was deſerted even " by the Prince his ſon, and his own wife. From " hence aroſe great civil conteſts, and all under the " title of ſetting the King at liberty, and reſcuing " him from the ſlavery he was in; and no other " reaſon was aſſigned for making the war, but only " this, *That the whole Kingdom ſaw that the fa-* " *vourite did all, and the King did nothing.* It can- " not be denied, that this favourite did many things, " which merited the King's affection; for on many " great occaſions he had ſerved the King valiantly " with the hazard of his life and perſon. But as " his intereſt in the King encreaſed, his ambition " and covetouſneſs grew up with it, and roſe to that " height, that they rendred him odious to the whole " Kingdom, and even to the King himſelf at laſt. " The King turned againſt him, as he pretended, " upon account of the great damages, which he " ſuſtained in his Kingdoms, and in his own credit " and authority, by the great power, which that " favourite had uſurped. Many things had been " formerly urged to the King on that head, but with- " out effect. That which really prevailed with him " was his intereſt. As ſoon as he was told of the " prodigious treaſure, which that favourite had a- " maſſed together, and that it woud all come into " his hands, he was highly pleaſed with the diſ- " courſe, and immediately put an end to his *Fa-* " *vouritiſm*, by making war upon the Conſtable " with the treaſure, which he relied upon as the " beſt guard to defend, and the ſureſt means to " ſupport him." T.

☞ALVARES (EMANUEL) a famous Grammarian of the ſixteenth Century, was a Portugueſe by nation, and born in the Iſland of Madera the fourth of June 1546. He entered himſelf among the Jeſuits, and became eminent for his integrity and prudence, by which means he was raiſed to be Rector of the Colleges at Coimbra, Evora and Liſbon, and Preſident of the Profeſſed Houſe of St. Roch. He was diſtinguiſhed in the knowledge of all kinds of learning, and particularly of polite Literature; and was ſo far from being elated with his ſuperiority in this reſpect, that he condeſcended to inſtruct the youth in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues for ſeveral years together. He died in the College of Evora the 30th of December 1582 (*a*). His Latin Grammar is extremely approved of [*A*].

(*a*) Ribadeneira and Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſ.* p. 100. edit. Antwerp. 1643, and Nic. Antonio *Bib. Script. Hiſpaniæ*, p. 262. edit. Romæ 1672.

[*A*] *His Latin Grammar is extremely approved of.*] It is intitled *De Inſtitutione Grammaticâ*, in three books; the firſt of which treats of *Etymology*, the ſecond of *Syntax*, and the third of *Proſody*. Gerard John Voſſius in his *Grammar* ſtyles him *a very learned Man, doctiſſimum Virum*; and Gaſpar Scioppius, who was the ſevereſt critic imaginable, in an Oration of his *De veteris ac novæ Grammaticæ Latinæ origine, dignitate, & uſu*, tells us, that our author deſerves the firſt place among the Grammarians; " For, ſays he, he writes in a much more pure and " elegant ſtyle in delivering that art, than any one, I " will not ſay of the ancient Grammarians, (for " all of them write extremely ill in Latin) but " even than moſt of the moderns; and he has taken " care to ſelect out of the beſt of the ancient authors " thoſe examples, which are moſt proper to confirm " the rules of the art, and eaſieſt to be underſtood " by Learners." *Nam & ipſe longè cultius dicendi genus, quam non dico veterum quiſquam (nam peſſimè omnes Latinè ſcripſerunt,) ſed quam recentiores plerique in arte tradendâ præſtitit; & ea ex optimo quoque veterum authorum exempla ſelegere curæ habuit, quibus regulæ artis plurimùm ſtabiliri, & ſine negotio à tyronibus intelligi poſſent.* Antonius Velleſius, a Portugueze, wrote a large Commentary upon this Grammar; and two Compendiums of the Latin tongue were formed from it by Richard Heſius a German, and Richard Richardi an Italian, both Jeſuits. There was publiſhed likewiſe at Rome in 8vo 1606, *Catalogus verborum difficiliorum Grammaticæ Emanuelis Alvari*; i. e. " A Catalogue of diffi- " cult words in the Grammar of Emanuel Alvares," by Antonio Maria Torrigio a Roman. This Grammar has been publiſh'd in Portugal, at Rome, Venice, Diling, Cologne, and other places; and at Munſter in Weſtphalia 1613, in 8vo, and at Strasburg 1612, in 12mo. Some objections having been made to it by one Orlando Peſcetio, there was a book publiſh'd at Ingolſtad in defence of it with this title, *Efflatio pulveris adverſus Emmanuelis Alvari Grammaticas Inſtitutiones ab Orlando Peſcetio Veronæ excitati, quâ plus CLXX reprehenſiones a Jacobo a Foſſa ex commentariis Mariani Benedicti a Santo Vito confutantur* (1). Nic. Antonio queries whether it was our author, or another Emanuel Alvares, who tranſlated from the Portugueze into Spaniſh the following book; *Las Cartas de algunos Padres que andan en la India de Portugal deſde el anno de MDLVII. Raſta LXI.* Printed at Coimbra by John Barret. T.

(1) *See* Nic. Antonio *Bib. Script. Hiſp. ubi ſupra.*

☞ALVARES (FRANCIS) a Portugueſe Prieſt, was Chaplain to Emanuel King of Portugal, and Embaſſador from that Prince to David King of Ethiopia or Abyſſinia, which voyage he wrote an account of [*A*]. The latter King had ſent Matthew the Ethiopian

[*A*] *Which voyage he wrote an account of.*] It is intitled, *Verdadeira informaçaon de Preſte Joano das Indias, em que ſe contano todos os ſitios das terras; e dos tratos, e commercios dellas, e do que paſſara na viagem de D. Rodrigo de Lima que foi per mandado de Pedro Lopez de Sequeira; & aſſi das cartas e preſentes, que o Preſte Joano mandou al Rey noſſo Senhor.* Printed at Lisbon 1540, fol. Paulus Jovius, the Hiſtorian, undertook at the deſire of Martinus a Portugallia, who was then Embaſſador from Portugal to the Pope, to tranſlate this Hiſtory into Latin; which upon his neglecting to perform, Damianus a Goes, a Portugueze Knight, promiſed to execute in a work, which he dedicated to Pope Paul III, *De Fide, Religione, Moribuſque Æthiopum*; i. e. " Concerning the Faith, " Religion, and Manners of the Æthiopians." It was tranſlated into Spaniſh by Thomas de Padilla, and publiſhed at Antwerp in 1557, in 8vo; and by Michael

Ethiopian Embaſſador to Emanuel, who in return thought proper to employ our Author and Edward Galvanus, who died before he arrived in that country, in an embaſſy to the King of Ethiopia. He continued ſix years in that country, and acted with ſo much addreſs and prudence, that he brought letters back to King John, who ſucceeded his father Emanuel, and to Pope Clement VII, and gave an account of his embaſſy to the latter at Bologna in January 1533, in the preſence of the Emperor Charles V (*a*). He died in the year 1540.

(*a*) Nic. Antonio, *Bib. Script. Hiſp.* pag. 305. edit. Romæ 1672.

Michael de Selves at Toledo 1558, in 8vo. There was a French tranſlation of it, as we are informed by Anthony du Verdier (1), which was intitled, *Deſcription de l'Ethiopie contenant vraye relation des terres, & pais du grand Roy & Empereur Prete-Jean, l'aſſiete de ſes royaumes & provinces, leurs couſtumes, loix, & religion. Aveq les pourtraicts de leurs temples, & au commencement le voyage de André Corſel Florentin. Eſcrite premierement en Eſpagnol per François Alvares & traduite en Francois*; i. e. "A Deſcription of Ethiopia, containing a true ac- "count of the dominions and country of the great "King and Emperor Preſter-John, the ſituation of "his Kingdom and Provinces, and their Cuſtoms, "Laws, and Religion. With draughts of their "temples; to which is prefixed the voyage of An- "drew Corſel a Florentine. Written firſt in Spa- "niſh (2) by Francis Alvares, and tranſlated into "French." Printed by John Bellere at Antwerp 1558, in 8vo. This work was abridged by Ramuſius. Bodinus tells us (3), that our author was the firſt who gave a true and accurate account of Ethiopia, which is approved of by the foreign and all the beſt Writers, and read with the greateſt ſatisfaction. *Franciſcus Alvareſius multo majore fide ac diligentiâ res Æthiopum primus ſcripſit, quæ nunc à peregrinis & optimis quibuſque ſcriptoribus probantur, nec ſine magna voluptate leguntur.* T.

(1) *Bibliotheq.* p. 365. edit. de Lyon 1585.

(2) This is a miſtake, for it was in Portugueſe. *See* Nic. Antonio, *ubi ſupra.*

(3) *Method. Hiſtoriæ.*

☞ALVARES DE PAZ (JAMES), the Author of ſeveral devotional Treatiſes [*A*], and an eminent Jeſuit in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Toledo in Spain of a good family, and educated in polite Literature and Philoſophy in the ſchools of the Jeſuits, among whom he entered himſelf when he was ſeventeen years of age. While he was yet under the Noviciate he made ſo great a progreſs in Divinity, that he wrote ſeveral Meditations, which the moſt conſiderable Fathers of that order thought worthy of tranſcribing for their own uſe. Having compleated his ſtudies of Divinity at Alcala de Henares, he was determined by the advice of his ſuperiors to take a voyage to the Kingdom of Peru in America, and in the paſſage ſuffered a great many inconveniences, and particularly the want of water, which occaſioned the death of ſeveral perſons. He read Lectures upon Philoſophy and Divinity at Lima in that country with great applauſe, and at the ſame time purſued the moſt rigorous courſe of piety and devotion imaginable. He was likewiſe Rector of the Colleges of Quita, Cuſco, and Lima, and governed the whole Province for ſix years, in ſuch a manner as to join the moſt exact diſcharge of his office with the more private duties of religion and piety. At Potoſi he was received with the utmoſt regard by the Governor, and the whole city, who went out to meet him and revered him as a Saint. He was ſoon after ſeized there with a diſeaſe, which proved fatal to him the ſeventeenth of January 1620 in the ſixtieth year of his age. His death was attended with all the circumſtances of the moſt perfect reſignation to the will of God. The Jeſuits (*a*), from whom we borrow this Article, pretend, that ſeveral miracles have been performed at his ſepulchre; but we ſhall not expect of the reader to give credit to theſe accounts, any more than to ſome particulars in the character, which we ſhall give of him from thoſe writers [*B*].

(*a*) Rabadeneira and Alegambe, *Bibliath. Script. Societ. Jeſu.* p. 191, 192. edit. Antwerp. 1642.

ALYPIUS

[*A*] *The Author of ſeveral devotional Treatiſes.*] *De Vita Spirituali ejuſque Perfectione*; i. e. "Of the "Spiritual Life and the Perfection of it," in five books fol. Father John a Gorcum of Boiſleduc publiſhed an *Abridgment* of this work at Antwerp in 8vo, 1620. *De Exterminatione Mali & Promotione Boni*; i. e. "Of the Extirpation of Evil and the Promo- "tion of Good," in five books, fol. *De Inquiſitione Pacis, ſive Studio Orationis*; i. e. "Of the Enquiry "after Peace, or the Study of Prayer," in five books, fol. Some of the Tracts which are contained in theſe three volumes were publiſhed ſeparately, as particularly, *De Vitâ religioſè inſtituenda*, ſive, *De quotidianâ virtutum exercitatione*; i. e. "Of the Conduct "of a religious Life, or, Of the daily Exerciſe of the "Virtues," in 120. *Meditationes tripartitæ*; i. e. "Meditations in three parts," in 4to. *De Humilitate virtutum omnium fundamento*; i. e. "Of Humi- "lity, the Foundation of all Virtues." *De Virtutum adoptione.* He left likewiſe a work behind him, *De Sacerdotum Inſtitutione*; i. e. "Of the Inſtruction "of Prieſts."

[*B*] *The Character which we ſhall give of him from thoſe writers.*] We find the utmoſt hyperbole run through all the elogiums, which they have given us of the writers of their Society. Our Author, they tell us, was a man adorned with every virtue; and with regard to mortification, he has given a deſcription of his own rigour in that point in the Tract, which he wrote upon that virtue. He kept the ſtricteſt guard over all his ſenſes, and his diet was ſo very ſparing, that he ſeemed to keep a continual faſt. He made uſe of the ſcourge and the hair-cloth even in the decline of his age and health. His chaſtity was preſerved pure from the ſtain even of the leaſt irregular thought. He confeſſed himſelf every day before maſs. He made a ſolemn vow many years before, that he would never commit even a venial ſin deſignedly, and never read a profane author: For when he was learning the Italian tongue, in order to underſtand the devotional books in that language, and happened to fall upon the moſt eminent of their Poets, he found himſelf troubled with ſuch a confuſion of vain images and ideas, and ſuch an abatement of devotion, that he reſolved for the future to refrain abſolutely from reading ſuch books. *Votum a pluribus annis conceperat, nullum ſe de induſtria peccatum veniale admiſſurum; nullum Scriptorem prophanum lecturum; nimirum cum ſtudio Italicæ Linguæ diſcendæ, quo libros Aſceticos eo ſermone conſcriptos poſſet intelligere, in principem poetam incidiſſet, tantâ vanarum imaginum confuſione & ariditate devotionis mulctatus eſt, ut deinceps omni hujuſmodi lectione abſtinere decreverit* (1). He was prodigiouſly abſorbed in divine contemplation; nay he very often appeared to be raiſed aloft from the ground, and his whole body to be ſurrounded with a kind of beamy light. *Divinarum rerum contemplationi mirificè fuit addictus; ſæpe ſublimis à terrâ, & igneo quaſi fulgore toto corpore perfuſus, magnâ in luce conſpectus eſt.* For above twenty

(1) Ibid.

ALYPIUS, of Antioch, lived under the reign of Julian the Apoſtate; he had already commanded in England, when that Prince had a fancy to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, and committed this work to his care. Alypius haſtened the work very much, and was ſeconded by the Governor of the Province (*a*). He was forced however to abandon this undertaking: The fires, which came from under the earth, rendered the place inacceſſible. Eight years after, he found himſelf involved in the horrible perſecution, which cauſed an infinite number of perſons to periſh, and was at firſt ſtirred up againſt thoſe who had ſought by Magick who the ſucceſſor of Valens ſhould be. When thoſe who received the commiſſion to inform againſt the guilty, had begun to put their deſign in execution, every body was accuſed, and no ſooner condemned than puniſhed. Alypius, who retired to a private life to enjoy the comforts of reſt, was attacked there by the informers; they accuſed him of poiſoning (*b*); he was baniſhed and all his goods were confiſcated. His ſon Hierocles, condemned to death on the ſame accuſation, happily eſcaped when they were leading him to execution (*c*). The news of this happy circumſtance ſoftened the affliction of Alypius in his baniſhment. It is very probable, that the Author of a *Geographical Work* which very much pleaſed Julian the Apoſtate, is not different from our Alypius [*A*], but I do not believe that this work is the deſcription of the old world, which James Godfrey has tranſlated out of Greek

(*a*) See the note [*A*].

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) See how, in the Article of HIEROCLES.

twenty five years his mind was ſo intenſely fixed upon God, that all the buſineſs which belonged to his office could never the leaſt divert him. This enabled him to write with the utmoſt eaſe upon the profoundeſt myſteries; to feel his ſoul poſſeſſed with the moſt agreeable affections; to form the moſt excellent conceptions concerning divine things; and to enjoy the preſence of the Deity every moment. While he was once reading a Lecture upon the divine attributes, he fell into ſo deep a rapture, that he was obliged to be carried home by his ſcholars. Another time as he was ſaying maſs, Chriſt himſelf ſeemed to embrace him in the moſt tender manner; and he acknowledged himſelf, that he was juſt ready to expire from the vehemence of the affection which he felt. And becauſe this happened very frequently to him, as he was preaching, he reſolved to diſcontinue his public performances, till he was admoniſhed by God to reſume them. His works received a very peculiar ſanction from God; for while he was compoſing them, he ſeemed to be ſurrounded with a celeſtial light and ſplendor, and there ſtood by him a perſon in the figure of a grave man, who whiſpered to him what he wrote. Theſe particulars are ſo very extraordinary, that the reader will undoubtedly expect to ſee our Author's own words. *Cum de divinis attributis aliquando prælegeret, adeò extra ſe abreptus eſt, ut inter diſcipulorum manus debuerit ad cubiculum deferri. Aliâ die celebrantem viſus eſt Chriſtus ſuaviſſimè amplexari; & faſſus ipſe eſt affectûs vehementiâ ſe tum propè fuiſſe confectum. Id cum illi ſæpiùs etiam inter concionandum eveniret, publico abſtinere decrevit, quoad Dei monitu juſſus eſt ſolitas publicè functiones obire. Lucubrationibus ipſius luculentum acceſſit divinitùs pondus commendationis, quod viſus ſit inter ſcribendum cæleſti fulgore circumfundi, & ab adſtante quopiam, viri gravis ſpecie, quæ ſcribebat in aurem excipere.* He was commanded by God to take upon him the adminiſtration of the Province, and not to undergo the two cauteries which the Phyſicians had preſcribed him, becauſe he was about to change the inconveniences which he ſuffered in his health, into the fatigues and troubles which would reſult from the office which he enjoined him. *Provinciæ adminiſtrationem à Deo juſſus eſt admittere; & quæ de Medicorum conſilio, gemina ſibi erat cauteria inuſturus, miſſa facere; quoniam afflictiones Valetudinis erat in officii moleſtias converſurus.* The enthuſiaſm, which appears ſtrongly through this Author's whole character, as it is drawn by the Hiſtorians of his own order, is an inconteſtable proof of the *Fanaticiſm*, which Dr. Stillingfleet juſtly charged upon the Church of Rome. We find an infinite variety of this kind among their writers; and the world muſt be furniſhed with an aſtoniſhing legend of dreams, if the viſions and revelations of that nature were collected, as the miracles of reputed Saints have ſometimes been, particularly in the *Legenda Aurea*, and by Bollandus and other Authors. Such inſtances have not perhaps always reſulted from hypocriſy, and a deſign to deceive, but the perſons, who have pretended to theſe inſpirations, may have thought themſelves moved and acted by the Spirit of God; and yet notwithſtanding all their pretences, and the opinion others have had of them, it has been afterwards evident, that it has been very far from a divine infuſion and illumination. What ſhall we think of Tereſa, whoſe life is full of viſions and revelations, and of whom we are told by a writer in that way (2), that beſides many other extatical ſights in the Kingdom of Heaven, ſhe often had *the ſight and company of the Holy Trinity, and of each perſon in particular; that they ſpoke to her, and ſhe to them, and uſed to ask, and did obtain particular favours of each ... that God ſhewed her how all creatures are contained in his Divine Eſſence, as in a cryſtal glaſs; and that ſhe ſaw therein the thoughts, words, and deeds of all men? This*, ſhe ſaid, *was one of the greateſt favours to her.* The ſame Author, St. Ubald, likewiſe talks of *the union of the ſoul to the Divine Eſſence, of its being abſorpt and drowned over head and ears, and ingulphed in the depth of Divinity, ſo that it became one and the ſame with God, by a true Deification* (3). He mentions alſo an inſtance of the rapturous ſtate of one, who when the hour of prayer was ſpent, *could hardly be perſuaded that it was ſo, not knowing what prayer he was in* (4). The famous Quietiſt Molinos reports of Gregory Lopez (5), "that having for the ſpace of three years "continued that ejaculation, *Thy will be done in time "and in eternity*, repeating it as often as he breathed, "God diſcovered to him that infinite treaſure of "the pure and continued act of faith and love; and "that during the thirty ſix years he lived after, he "always continued that pure act of love, without "ever uttering the leaſt petition, ejaculation, or any "thing that was ſenſible." By this means all religion is reſolved into a ſpiritual and ſenſeleſs frame and courſe, a certain ſtillneſs and quietneſs, as Molinos expreſſes it (6), *when the ſoul doth not know whether it be alive or dead, loſt or gained, agrees or reſiſts, which is the true reſigned life.* He tells us likewiſe (7), that theſe rapturous Ladies, ſuch as *Sànta Tereſa and Donna Maria d'Eſcobar, heard and talked with God hand to hand.* But this will appear very incredible, if we conſider the ſubject of the converſation between them; for *whenever*, ſays Tereſa, *the Lord commanded me any thing, if my Confeſſor told me another, I turned to the Lord, and told him, that I muſt obey my Confeſſor. This*, ſays that grave man upon it, *is ſound and true doctrine, which ſecures ſouls* (8). But the ſame writer obſerves in another place (9), that *the deſire of revelations uſes to be a great hindrance to the interior ſoul, eſpecially to women; and there is not an ordinary dream, but they will chriſten it with the name of a viſion.* And father Ubald abovementioned amidſt all his viſionary chimeras has made this juſt remark (10), "You muſt not think them holieſt who "have conſolations, viſions, and revelations; for "many are great Saints, that never had any of them; "and others that had viſions and guſts are not there"fore Saints; for true ſanctity doth conſiſt in ſolid "virtue, and true conformity of our will to the will "of God in all things, &c." T.

(2) Paul of St. Ubald. Part 3. p. 65, 71, 72, 86.

(3) P. 14, 16, 41.

(4) P. 57. n. 4.

(5) *See* Molinos's *Spiritual Guide*, l. 1. c. 17. n. 135. quoted by Dr. Williams 1ſt Sermon at Boyle's Lectures for the year 1696. 1 edit. 4°. London p. 29.

(6) Ibid. l. 3. c. 7. n. 63.

(7) Ib. Preface, n. 17.

(8) Ib. l. 2. c. 2. and c. 9. n. 71.

(9) Ib. l. 2. c. 6. n. 46.

(10) Part 3. c. 6. n. 11.

[*A*] *The author of a geographical work that pleaſed Julian the Apoſtate, is not different from our Alypius.*] This author lived under Julian the Apoſtate. There are two Letters extant written to him by this

Greek into Latin [*B*]. I am not perfectly well acquainted with that Alypius who wrote a *Treatiſe of Muſick* intitled Εισαγωγὴ Μουσικὴ, *Introductio Muſica*, which Caſſiodorus mentions: Meurſius is the firſt who publiſhed it in Greek (*d*). Mr. Hofman had done better to have entirely omitted this article [*C*]. See his errors in the firſt edition of my Dictionary (*e*).

(*d*) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 94.

(*e*) It was thought it would be better to place them here again under the Note [*C*].

Prince, which teſtify that Alypius was Cæſarius's brother, and that he was employed in a conſiderable office (1). This laſt character agrees admirably well with Alypius of Antioch, who, after having been Lieutenant Governor in England, was ſent into Judea, to have the ſuperintendance of the building of the temple. We learn all this from Ammianus Marcellinus. *Ambitioſum quondam apud Hieroſolymam templum . . . . inſtaurare ſumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes fecere locum exuſtis aliquoties operantibus inacceſſum* (2). i. e. "He had thoughts of rebuilding at an immo- "derate expence the once proud temple of Jeruſa- "lem: and committed the forwarding of this work "to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been "Pro-prefect in Britain. And whilſt Alypius was "earneſtly purſuing the undertaking, and the Go- "vernor of the province aſſiſted, terrible balls of "fire burſt out frequently near the foundations, and "having burnt the workmen ſeveral times rendred "the place inacceſſible." He ſays thus in the 29th book: *Ecce autem Alypius quoque ex Vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo jocundæ, poſt otioſam & repoſitam vitam (quoniam huc uſque injuſtitia tetenderat manus) in ſqualore maximo volutatus ut veneficii reus citatus eſt cum Hierocle filio* (3). i. e. "But "behold Alypius alſo, who had juſt been Lieu- "tenant in Britain, a man of a pleaſant temper, "after an idle and indolent life (becauſe thus far "injuſtice had ſtretched out her hands) having "wallowed in the greateſt vileneſs, was accuſed of "poiſoning with his ſon Hierocles.

(1) See the note [*B*].

(2) Amm. Marcellin. l. 23. c. 1. p. 350. *ad ann.* 363.

(3) Idem, lib. 29. cap. 1. p. 556, *ad ann.* 371.

[*B*] *I do not take this work to be the deſcription of the old world, which James Godfrey has tranſlated out of Greek into Latin.*] This deſcription is an anonymous work, compoſed under the Emperors Conſtantius and Conſtans. There was a very barbarous old Latin tranſlation of it, that was communicated to the learned James Godfrey by Salmaſius. He printed it, with the Greek text, and a new verſion, accompanied with notes (4). Voſſius is not far from believing, that the author of this deſcription is the ſame Alypius, that ſent a geographical work to Julian the Apoſtate: *but, if it be ſo,* continues he, *it muſt be ſaid, according to the remark of James Godfrey, that Alypius compoſed it, before his commanding in England, for there is no mention of this iſle, but on the credit of another.* "*Britannia, pro-* "*vincia, ſicut qui fuerunt narrant, valde maxima.* i. e. "The Province of Britain, as thoſe who have "been there relate, is very large." For my part, I ſhould readily conclude from this paſſage, that Alypius did not make this deſcription: this is what I build upon. He had been Lieutenant in England a long time, when Julian committed to him the care of building the temple of Jeruſalem. *Negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui* OLIM *Britannias amaverat pro Præfectis* (5). i. e. "He "committed the forwarding of this work to Alypius "of Antioch, who FORMERLY had been Pro-prefect "in Britain." He ſent his Geographical Treatiſe to this Emperor, whilſt he commanded under him in ſome Province. He was at that time capable of ſpeaking of England as an eye-witneſs. Therefore he muſt not be the author of the *Deſcription of the old world*, in which this iſle is mentioned, only on the faith of thoſe who had ſailed thither. It is in vain to tell me that he wrote two books, one before his going into England, and the other under Julian the Apoſtate; and that the firſt is the Deſcription publiſhed by Godfrey; for it is very probable, that if he had made this Deſcription, he would have inſerted it in the work that he ſent to Julian; and ſo there would have been no reaſon to have any concern about the firſt work. It would have been loſt then, and we ſhould not at preſent have had the book that Godfrey has tranſlated and illuſtrated with notes. Moreover we learn from Julian, that Alypius was a Poet. Ἔχει γὰρ, ſays he (6), καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν πρόσθεν βέλτιον, καὶ κατεμύθωσας αὐτὸ προσθεὶς τὰς ἰάμβους. i. e. "For there are "in that table ſome Deſcriptions better than the "former, and you have adorned them by the addition "of ſome Jambics." He afterwards approves the manner in which Alypius treated the people, and praiſes him for having ſometimes made uſe of mildneſs and ſometimes of ſeverity. Περὶ δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι θαρραλέως ἅμα καὶ πρότως ἅπαντα πειραίνειν προθυμῇ συνηδόμεθα· μίξαι γὰρ πραότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀνδρείᾳ ἐ ῥᾴμῃ, ἐ τῇ μὲν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀπαραιτήτως πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὐ μικρᾶς ἐσὶ φύσεως, ὐδ' ἀρετῆς ἔργον. i. e. "But "with regard to the Government of the Com- "monwealth, I am glad that you have a mind to "do it with diligence and humanity. For it is the "part of no ſmall genius and virtue to mix mildneſs "and moderation with fortitude and ſtrength, ſo that "one may be uſed towards the good, and the other "to correct the bad with ſeverity.

(4) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 248.

(5) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 23. cap. 1.

(6) Julian. *Epiſtola* XXX.

[*C*] *Mr. Hofman had done better, to have entirely omitted this article.*] I. He writes Alipius. II. He ſays, that Alipius of Antioch is the author of the Deſcription of the old world. III. That this Deſcription was publiſhed in Latin under Conſtantius and Conſtans. IV. That there was another Alipius of Antioch, who compoſed a treatiſe of Geography. V. That Ammianus Marcellinus declares it. This is all what Hofman ſays: he is therefore guilty of ſeveral omiſſions; but the worſt is, that in this ſhort account he gives us, he has committed a great many blunders.

ALYPIUS, a Philoſopher of Alexandria, contemporary with Jamblicus, and one of the moſt ſubtil Dialecticians of his time, was as little as a dwarf, but his genius made amends for that defect. He had many followers, to whom he was contented to give his inſtructions *viva voce*, without dictating any thing to them. That was the reaſon they left him, to hear Jamblicus, under whom they could reap much more advantage, both by his Lectures and his Writings. Jamblicus having had ſeveral conferences with our Alypius, was much taken with his judgment and his genius, and even compoſed his life, in which he alſo praiſed his virtue and the ſteadineſs of his mind. Alypius died very old, in the city of Alexandria (*a*).

(*a*) Eunapius in *vita Jamblic.*

ALYPIUS, Biſhop of Tagaſte his own country (*a*), was one of St. Auguſtin's good friends. He was baptized with him at Milan, in 388. He travelled into Paleſtine five years after; and if on the one ſide the great good that he ſpoke of St. Auguſtin to St. Jerom ſerved to cement the friendſhip of theſe two fathers, it ſeems on the other ſide, that at his return to Africa, he a little cooled the affection of St. Auguſtin towards St. Jerom. It is thought it was by telling him the evil that St. Jerom's adverſaries at Jeruſalem ſpoke of that Father. Alypius was not promoted to his Biſhoprick of Tagaſte till 394, a year after his journey into Paleſtine. He was preſent in the year 403 at the Council of Carthage, where it was endeavoured to make the Donatiſts return to unity. The great preſents that Pinianus made to the church of Tagaſte, when he went thither in 409, accompanied

(*a*) It is a city of Africa.

with the two Melanii and by Albina his mother-in-law, expoſed Alypius to ſlander; as if, by his fine diſcourſes, and his artifices, he had extorted too much from theſe good and charitable perſons. The inhabitants of Hippona murmured furiouſly againſt him, becauſe they looked on him as the cauſe of their having loſt the prey that they thought ſure in their hands. They had obliged Pinianus whether he would or no, to promiſe that he would embrace the Prieſthood in their city, his great wealth had excited them to do this violence to him. The very next morning he went from Hippona, and returned to Tagaſte, not thinking himſelf obliged by ſuch a forced promiſe as his had been. Alypius was the only one of the ſeven Catholick Prelates who diſputed in 411 with ſeven Donatiſt Biſhops, in the famous conference of Carthage. He was deputed to Honorius in 419 by the African Churches. Pope Boniface received him with a thouſand marks of friendſhip, and charged with the ſending to St. Auguſtin ſome artful letters that the Pelagians ſpread about the Churches. It was deſired that St. Auguſtin, the beſt writer of that age, would refute them. He was not backward, but employed all his ſtrength in it (*b*); but Alypius confuted this hereſy ſtill more ſtrongly, by the ſevere ſentences that he obtained at the court of Honorius againſt the Pelagians [*A*]. We ſhould have known his merit and actions better, if we had had the work that St. Auguſtin promiſed upon it in a letter to St. Paulinus [*B*]. I have no more to ſay but that Alypius did not marry. See the note [*B*] of the article of St. AUGUSTIN.

(*b*) Taken from the Annals of Baronius, at the years that are marked.

[*A*] *He obtained ſevere decrees againſt the Pelagians.*] Baronius does not affirm that the Churches of Africa ſent Alypius to the Emperor, to call upon the ſecular arm againſt the followers of Pelagius: he contents himſelf with conjecturing, and founds his conjecture upon the orders that were diſpatched the ſame year by the Emperor Honorius againſt the Pelagians of Africa. But Maimbourg does not ſpeak of this as a doubtful thing; for having made an odious compariſon between the conduct of the Proteſtant Miniſters and that of the Pelagians, he adds (1): "What has filled France with joy, is that ſo juſt "an ordinance was followed ſoon after by this great "edict of October, which has given the laſt fatal "ſtroak to the hereſy, by forbidding the public ex"erciſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, over"turning all its temples, and baniſhing thoſe amongſt "its Miniſters, who would not renounce their er"rors. And this is exactly what the Emperor Ho"norius did againſt the Pelagians, at the African "Clergy's requeſt, preſented by Alypius. For by "the Edict which this Prince granted him for the "benefit of the whole Church, this hereſy was "rooted out of the Empire: thoſe who could yet "be ſuſpected of it were forbidden to aſſemble "together, and thoſe falſe Biſhops were driven "from their Sees, who would not ſubſcribe to the "condemnation of that hereſy."

(1) Maimbourg, *Hiſtoire du Pontificat de St. Leon.* lib. 1. p. 35. edit. Holland.

[*B*] *St. Auguſtin had promiſed the life of Alypius, in a letter which he wrote to St. Paulinus.*] As what he ſays in this letter (2), may give a general idea of the merit of Alypius, it may not be amiſs to relate it here. *Eſt etiam aliud quo iſtum fratrem amplius diligas, nam eſt cognatus venerabilis & verè beati Epiſcopi Alypii quem toto pectore amplecteris & merito: nam quiſquis de illo viro benigne cogitat, de magna Dei miſericordia & de mirabilibus Dei muneribus cogitat. Itaque cum legiſſet petitionem tuam qua deſiderare te indicaſti ut hiſtoriam ſuam tibi ſcriberet, & volebat facere propter benevolentiam tuam, & nolebat propter verecundiam ſuam, quem cum viderim inter amorem pudoremque fluctuantem, onus ab illo in humeros meos tranſtuli: nam hoc mihi etiam per epiſtolam juſſit. Cito ergo ſi Dominus adjuverit, totum Alypium inſeram præcordiis tuis: nam hoc ſum ego maximè veritus, ne ille vereretur aperire omnia quæ in eum Dominus contulit, ne alicubi minus intelligenti (non enim abs te ſolo illa legerentur) non divina munera conceſſa hominibus, ſed ſeipſum prædicare videretur, & tu qui nôſti quomodo hæc legas, propter aliorum cavendam infirmitatem fraternæ notitiæ debito fraudareris.* i. e. "There is "alſo another reaſon why you ſhould love that bro"ther more, for he is a relation of the venerable "and truly holy Biſhop Alypius, whom you heartily "cheriſh and that not undeſervedly; for who"ſoever thinks kindly of that man, thinks of the "great mercy and wonderful gifts of God. There"fore when he read your petition to him to write "you his Hiſtory, and was willing to do it on ac"count of your friendſhip, he was unwilling thro' "his own modeſty; whom when I perceived to "fluctuate between love and ſhame, I removed the "load from his ſhoulders to my own: for this he "alſo commanded me in a Letter to do. There"fore, if God permit, I will ſoon fix Alypius en"tirely in your heart; for I was chiefly afraid of "this, that he would ſcruple to open all that the "Lord has conferred on him, leſt to a leſs under"ſtanding perſon (for it would not be read by you "only) he might ſeem to ſet forth himſelf, and not "the divine gifts that were beſtowed on men, and "you your ſelf who know how to read theſe things, "out of regard to the infirmity of others, would be "deprived of what is due to the memory of a brother.

(2) It is the 32d.

ALYPIUS (FALTONIUS PROBUS) brother of Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (*a*) was Prefect of Rome in the reign of the Emperor Theodoſius. This is what Baronius proves from ſome inſcriptions (*b*), adding that ſeveral letters from Symmachus to this Alypius are ſtill extant [*A*]; he quotes the Roman Martyrology, where it is affirmed, that St. Almachius was put to death by the gladiators while Alypius was Prefect [*B*]: finally he conjectures; I, That Alypius, Governor of Egypt, with whom

(*a*) His daughter Demetriades is highly commended by the Fathers.

(*b*) Baronius *ad ann.* 395. num. 18.

[*A*] *Baronius adds, that ſeveral letters from Symmachus to this Alypius are ſtill extant.*] His words are: *Ad eundem quoque Alypium complures extant epiſtolæ Symmachi, deque eo meminit in epiſtola ad Flavianum* (1). i. e. "There are ſeveral Epiſtles extant "from Symmachus to the ſame Alypius, and he "mentions him alſo in an Epiſtle to Flavianus." He quotes the Letter 82 of the 2d Book. I find in the 58th Letter of my edition the following words: *Jampridem domino & fratri meo Alypio comitatum ſacrum viſere atque adire cupienti.*

(1) Baronius *ad ann.* 395. num. 18.

[*B*] *Saint Almachius was put to death by the Gladiators while Alypius was Prefect.*] On the Octave of Chriſtmas, that is on the New-year's-day, he endeavoured to put a ſtop to the worſhipping of idols, which coſt him his life. The words of the Martyrology January 1, are the following: *Romæ S. Almachii Martyris, qui, jubente Alypio urbis præfecto, cum diceret, "Hodie octavæ dominici diei ſunt, ceſſate à ſuperſtitionibus idolorum, & à ſacrificiis pollutis, à gladiatoribus occiſus eſt* (2). i. e. "St. Al"machius the Roman Martyr, who was killed at the "command of Alypius the Præfect of the City, for "ſaying, This is the Octave of the Lord's-day; for"bear your idolatrous ſuperſtitions and pollute ſacri"fices." Theodoret mentions in his *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 5. c. 26.

(2) Baronius *ad ann.* 395. num. 9.

whom John the Anchoret had a conference [C], and the Alypius, I mention in this article, were one and the ſame perſon; II, That in this conference Alypius was converted by the Anchoret. A learned Engliſhman conjectures that St. Almachius the Martyr is a chimerical Saint, and that his canonization is owing to the title of the Almanack [D].

c. 26, one Telemachus, a Monk, who came to Rome from the remoteſt parts of the Eaſt, with no other deſign than to employ his zeal in aboliſhing the ſports of the Gladiators, whom he ventured to inſtruct, even in the heat of their bloody combats. This provoked the ſpectators to ſuch a degree, that they ſtoned him to death: which Honorius hearing of cauſed the Monk to be honoured with the title of Martyr, and that kind of ſports to be quite aboliſhed. Baronius (3) would have this, and what I have quoted from the Martyrology, to be one and the ſame fact, being willing to perſuade us, that Theodoret miſtook Telemachus for Almachius; placed under the reign of Honorius, what happened under that of Theodoſius; and charged the ſpectators with the action he ought to have imputed to the Gladiators. At this rate Theodoret would be guilty of no leſs than three miſtakes.

(3) Baronius, ib. num. 20.

[C] *Baronius imagines that it was Alypius with whom John the Anchoret had a conference.*] He quotes to this purpoſe a long paſſage (4), which informs us, that Palladius took it very ill of the Anchoret, that he ſhould leave him to attend Alypius Governor of the province; and that the diſpleaſure he received on this occaſion, inſpired him with ſome contempt for the Anchoret, inſomuch that he reſolved to depart; and would have immediately retired had not the Anchoret ſent him word to ſtay a little longer. This convinced Palladius, that John had a great fund of devotion, and a peculiar talent in gueſſing at one's thoughts. He therefore waited till the Governor was gone, and then the Anchoret made his excuſes.

(4) Pallad. *in Lauſiac.* cap. 22. *apud* Lypom. tom. 3.

[D] *Saint Almachius the Martyr is a chimerical Saint, and his canonization is owing to the title of the Almanack.*] Such as do not underſtand the Engliſh book printed at London in 1688 under this title, *The Enthuſiaſm of the Church of Rome*, may recur to the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, Vol. xi. p. 139; where they will find, agreeable to the Engliſh Writer's conjectures, *that ſome ignorant Monks of the 7th or 8th Century, finding at the top of the firſt page of the Calendar S. Almanachum, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, abbreviated thus, S. Almâchum, miſtook this word, ſeldom uſed in thoſe times, for the name of a Saint; added the termination in* us *to it; and fixed this new Saint's feaſt on New-year's-day. Ignorance and chance had no ſooner given him birth, but ſome writers of Martyrologies made the Gladiators put him to death, in the Roman Amphitheatre, while Alypius was Prefect; becauſe he endeavoured to diſſuade them from fighting. We read no where in the ancient writers of ſuch a noble and heroic reſolution* (5). *Alcuin was the firſt that ſpoke of him in a doubtful manner* *. .

(5) Theodoret however aſcribes it to the Monk Telemachus; ſee note [B].

* *De Divin. Officio.* cap. 4.

AMABLE, Prieſt of Riom in Auvergne, lived in the fifth Century, and is commended by Gregory of Tours as a man of an extraordinary ſanctity, and one that wrought a great many miracles (a). *It is ſaid he commanded ſerpents:* This is the expreſſion the Hiſtorian uſes; but he atteſts another thing as an eye-witneſs. *I have ſeen at his tomb*, ſays he, *one, who was poſſeſſed with a Devil, ſet free: I have ſeen one that was guilty of perjury, become as ſtiff as an iron bar, and after the confeſſion of his crime become as free as he was before* (b). When ſuch a writer as Gregory of Tours uſes an *it is ſaid*, we may conclude that the thing is not very certain; however this power over ſerpents is accounted the moſt certain of all the things that are aſcribed to St. Amable. One would think that ſuch a power had fallen to his ſhare, or, to ſpeak like a Malebranchiſt (c), that God had appointed him as an occaſional cauſe for the cure of ſuch as had been bit by ſerpents. A modern author, though a Canon in the City, whereof St. Amable is Patron (d), *owns that he does not believe all the miracles that are reported of him in the Lives of the Saints of Auvergne, and in ſeveral other Legends* (e); but at the ſame time proteſts, *that he firmly believes that this Saint has a ſovereign power over ſerpents, becauſe every body ſince thirteen hundred years affirms* [A] *to have ſeen the marvellous effects of it, ... and becauſe he had the happineſs to ſee ſome of them himſelf* (f). *He queſtions much the truth of a certain tradition, that runs at Riom, touching this Saint, viz. that when he travelled to Rome on foot, the Sun attended him as a ſervant, carrying his gloves and cloak over his head like an umbrello, during the great heat, and in bad weather to keep off the rain* (g). *This tradition is accounted ſo certain in that country, that St. Amable's picture is ſeldom drawn without his gloves and cloak being repreſented hanging in the air by a Sun-beam. Credat Judæus Apelles* (h), ſays he, *non ego.* This ſuffices to give this article the form this Dictionary requires, without adding any reflections of my own. The bare rehearſal of ſuch things is a heap of errors.

(a) Gregory of Tours upon the glory of Confeſſors, ch. 33.

(b) I follow the tranſlation of the Abbot de Villalein.

(c) See the Abbot Faydit, *Supplement to the Diſſertation upon the Sermon of St. Polycarpe*, p. 30.

(d) Riom.

(e) Faydit, *Supplement to the Diſſertation upon the Sermon of St. Polycarpe*, pag. 102.

(f) Ibid. p. 101.

(g) Ibid. 103.

(h) So he writes that word. Hor. Satyr. 5. l. 2. ver. 100, ſays Apella, which better agrees with the rules of Proſody.

[A] *Every body ſince* 1300 *years affirms to have ſeen the marvellous effects of it.*] This computation does not agree with what we read in the next page, viz. that St. Gregory of Tours lived but about fifty or ſixty years after St. Amable. It is uſeleſs to prove that the meaning of theſe words is not, that he was born fifty or ſixty years after that Saint; it being very plain they import, that he was a grown man fifty or ſixty years after St. Amable's death. According to this, the death of that Saint muſt have happened about the beginning of the ſixth Century; for Gregory of Tours lived but about fifty two years, and died in 594 (1). Now if about the end of the ſeventeenth Century, the miracles of the Saint of Riom had been ſeen for the ſpace of 1300 years, he muſt have flouriſhed about the end of the fourth Century; and if ſo, it cannot be ſaid, that a man of twenty, in 562, lived fifty or ſixty years after him.

(1) *Labbe de Script. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. p. 398. Moſt writers place his death in the year 596.

☞AMALTHEUS (ATTILIUS), was born of a family in Italy, eminent for having produced men of the greateſt merit and learning, and was the ſon of Jerom Amaltheus, and nephew of John Baptiſta, both of them diſtinguiſhed for their admirable talent in Poetry. But Attilius left the glory of excelling in that branch of polite Learning to his father and his uncle, and applied himſelf to the graver ſtudies of Civil and Canon Law, and that of Divinity, in all which he made a noble progreſs. His application

application was so great, that even when he was employed by the Pope in writing in characters and cyphers, he attended every day upon the Lectures of Father Mutio de Angelis, and Gregory de Valentia, as we are informed by Nicius Erythræus, who was contemporary with him under those Professors (*a*). He afterwards engaged entirely in affairs of state, and was made Referendary to the Pope, and a few years after being appointed Archbishop of Athens by Paul V, he was sent to Cologne with the character of Nuncio; which office he discharged with great applause [*A*]. Upon his return to Rome he spent the remainder of his life in a most exemplary manner [*B*], and was buried in the church of Jesus.

(*a*) Pinacotheca 2. p. 328. edit. Lipsiæ 1712.

[*A*] *Which office he discharged with great applause.*] His sagacity and the extent of genius was very remarkable; nor was his integrity thro' his whole conduct less admired. He never sold any favour or decree, but acted solely upon the view of merit, without the least regard to any selfish consideration. He never shewed by a single instance, that his mind was actuated by the motives of interest. These virtues raised his character so prodigiously high in the opinion of the world, that every one considered him as a person sent immediately from heaven for the benefit of mankind. His charity to the poor was the most diffusive imaginable; and his bounty was particularly extended to those, who left the Protestant Religion, and were reconciled to the Church of Rome. This appears from a Letter of his to Cardinal Bellarmin, who had desired him to assist one of the new converts in his necessities. His answer was, that if he had an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year, he would freely bestow ninety five thousand of them in the support and encouragement of such persons. Nicius Erythræus, who is a writer extremely devoted to the Church of Rome, was particularly pleased with this last instance of Amaltheus's charity in favour of that Church. We shall give that author's words, in which the character abovementioned is contained. *Quam provinciam ita gessit, ut ingenium agnoscerent omnes, animi integritatem susciperent, abstinentiam admiratione prosequerentur. Nullum beneficium, nullum decretum vendebat, gratis fere omnia dabat. Nullum appetentis animi signum præbebat. Quamobrem eum omnes, tanquam à cœlo delapsum, intuebantur. Incredibili erat erga pauperes beneficentia, & in eos præsertim, qui ex hæreticorum castris in nostra præsidia confugissent; de quibus in quadam ad Cardinalem Bellarminum epistola, à quo rogatus fuerat, ut cujuspiam istorum necessitatibus subveniret, si mihi, inquit, centum annua aureorum millia contingerent, nonaginta quinque istorum usibus assignarem* (1).

(1) *Ubi supra.*

[*B*] *Spent the remainder of his life in a most exemplary manner.*] He devoted himself wholly to God and to works of piety; he used to frequent the Society of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the college of the Jesuits; and even condescended to visit the Hospitals in person; where it was his custom to wait upon the sick, make their beds himself, give them their food, and perform many other even of the lowest offices of charity to them. In this manner he lived till old age put an end to his days: *Romam reversus, totum se Deo ac pietatis operibus tradidit; Sodalitatem B. V. Assumptæ in domo professa Soc. Jesu frequentabat, Nosocomia adibat, ægrotantium cubilia circuibat, iisque sua manu lectos sternebat, cibum præbebat, atque alia, quantumvis sordida, pietatis officia præstabat; in quibus operibus senex est mortuus; atque in Æde nominis Jesu sepultura affectus* (2).

(2) Idem, ibid.

T.

AMAMA (SIXTINUS) Professor of the Hebrew tongue in the University of Franeker, was a man of very great learning. He was born in Friesland, and had studied under Drusius [*A*]. The University of Leyden, which is ever endeavouring to rob the neighbouring Universities of their best Professors, by offering them larger salaries, tried to draw him away from the University of Franeker (*a*), with a design to substitute him to Erpenius, who had been one of the most skilful men of his age in the Oriental Languages. Amama did not refuse this offer, yet he did not accept of it, but upon condition his superiors in Friesland should grant him leave, which they refused (*b*); and, no doubt, bettered his condition in such a manner, that he had no reason to complain of his not being Professor at Leyden. The first book he published was a specimen of a very fine design, viz. to censure the vulgate translation, which the Council of Trent has declared authentic. Before his whole design was executed, he published a Criticism upon the translation of the Pentateuch (*c*). This was what raised him to the rank of an author (*d*). While he was carrying on this Criticism, he was obliged to take in hand another work, which was to collate the Dutch translation of the Scripture with the Originals, and the exactest translations. That translation had been done from Luther's German version. He gave the publick an account of his labour in a work, which appeared (*e*) at Amsterdam in the vulgar tongue, and was entitled *Bybelsche Conferentie*, and is mentioned in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary [*B*]. Amama was so much taken up with the care of collating, that the publishing of that work, and of some grammatical pieces, diverted him a long time from applying himself to the

(*a*) In 1616.

(*b*) See the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus.*

(*c*) *Censura Vulgatæ Latinæ editionis Pentateuchi* Franekeræ 1620, in 4°.

(*d*) *Te obstetricante* (says he to Gomarus) *primus ille adolescentiæ meæ fœtus in dias luminis oras prodiit.* Anti-Barb. Biblic. Sixt. Amama p. 295. I think he had published before in 1618, a little treatise *de Decimis Mosaicis*, containing nine pages in 4°, which was reprinted at London in 1660.

(*e*) In 1623.

[*A*] *Amama studied under Drusius.*] This appears plain from several passages of the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*. As to Sinesius, whose disciple he is said to have been in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, I own he is altogether a stranger to me, and I question much whether he is known in the united Provinces.

[*B*] *This work is mentioned in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.*] We read in this Supplement, that, according to Mr. Simon, *Sixtinus Amama's main aim in that book was, to shew that the Dutch Bible, which the Protestants of the Low Countries used, and had been translated from Luther's German translation, was full of faults; which*, it is added, *he makes appear very plain.* To give a fuller information as to this matter, I must relate the very words of the author that are here quoted. *The Protestants of the Low Countries*, says Mr. Simon in his Letter to Mr. P. relating to the inspiration of the holy Scriptures, page 10, *grounded their reformation only upon a Dutch translation, which had been done from that of Luther; but at last . . . . resolved to go about a new translation. For that purpose Sixtinus Amama wrote a book in Dutch, entitled* Bybelsche Conferentie, *where he shews at length, that it was necessary a new Bible should be published for the use of the Dutch Churches. He asserts, that the Dutch translation, which was used in their church and had been done from that of Luther, contained in some places more faults than verses, of which he gives in*

(f) Sixt. Amama, *Anti-Barb. Biblic.* p. 160.

the cenſure of the vulgate (*f*), which he was ready to reſume, when he heard that Marinus Marſennus had confuted his critical remarks on the firſt ſix chapters of Geneſis [*C*]. Upon this, laying aſide every thing elſe, he applied himſelf entirely to make good his Criticiſm againſt the remarks of that Cenſor. This anſwer is one of the pieces contained in his *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, which he publiſhed in 1628. The other pieces are his cenſure of the vulgate on the Hiſtorical Books of the Old Teſtament, on Job, the Pſalms, and the Books of Solomon: to which are added ſome Diſſertations on particular ſubjects; particularly, one on the famous paſſage of the Proverbs, *The Lord created me in the beginning of all his ways*, wherein he ſhews, that thoſe who accuſed Druſius of favouring Arrianiſm were notorious ſlanderers. The *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus* was to contain two parts, and each part three books; but the author publiſhed only the firſt, which was reprinted after his death [*D*], and the fourth book was added to it, compriſing the criticiſm of the vulgate upon Iſaiah and Jeremiah. It is impoſſible to ward the blows he levels againſt the vulgate, or give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the reaſons whereby he ſhews the neceſſity of recurring to the originals. This is what few learned men of the Church of Rome deny; all they aim at is to maintain, for the reputation of their laſt council, that it did not pretend to ſubmit the originals to the authority of the vulgate. Whether this can be honeſtly ſaid, is a queſtion foreign to my ſubject. Our Sixtinus recommended ſo earneſtly the ſtudy of the original languages of the Bible, that ſome Synods, moved with the weight of his reaſons, decreed that ſuch only ſhould be admitted to the Miniſtry as underſtood, at leaſt in ſome degree, the Hebrew and Greek text of the Scripture [*E*]. I muſt not omit, among his other commendations, the zeal he ſhewed for rooting out a vice that prevailed as much in the Univerſity of Franeker as in the Univerſities of Germany, I mean the vice of drunkenneſs [*F*], which he inveighed againſt, with great energy, in a publick ſpeech which he made in 1621. He gave ſuch ſatisfaction to thoſe of Frieſland, that after his death, which

that work a great many inſtances. At p. 11, Mr. Simon writes thus, ... *It is true that the Calviniſts of the Low Countries rejected their ancient tranſlation, and compoſed a new one. But if they followed, in the new tranſlation, the method Sixtinus Amama propoſed in his* Bybelſche Conferentie, *it can by no means be exact; for in his emendations he is only directed by Pagninus, Junius and Tremellius, the Bible of Zurick, the French Bible of Geneva, the German of Piſcator, the Spaniſh of Cyprianus de Valera, the Italian of Diodati, the Engliſh of Geneva, and other modern tranſlations ... full of faults.*

[*C*] *When he heard that Marinus Merſennus had confuted his critical remarks on the ſix firſt chapters of Geneſis.*] He heard it from Mr. Rivet; and if he had not acquainted him with it, he might have been a long time without knowing any thing of the matter. He had never heard before that there was ſuch a man as Father Merſennus. He writes thus in his Epiſtle Dedicatory (1). *Abſque te fuiſſet, Cl. Rivete, nomen Merſenni, qui VI priorum Geneſeos capitum adverſus meas ſtricturas ſuſcepit patrocinium, etiamnum juxta cum ignariſſimis ignoraſſem. Tu primus mihi indicium, tu voluminis copiam feciſti, tu ad modeſtam & manſuetam replicationem hortamentis tuis me animaſti.* i. e. "Without you I had been entirely "ignorant of the name of Merſennus, who under- "took the defence of the ſix firſt chapters of Gene- "ſis againſt my criticiſm. You gave me the firſt no- "tice of it, you procured me the book, and you "encouraged me to a modeſt and civil reply." I am ſurprized he omitted in his *Anti-barbarus* the forerunner of his anſwer; for he had publiſhed it in 1627, under this title, *Epiſtola προόδρομος ad Marinum Merſennum* (2). Mr. Crenius has inſerted it in the third part of his *Animadverſiones* (3).

(1) It is dated the 27th of Dec. 1626.

(2) See *Catalog. Bibliothecæ Oxonienſis*, where inſtead of *Marſennum* we read *Marſennam.*

(3) Printed at Leyden in 1698.

[*D*] *It was reprinted after his death.*] At Franeker in 1656, 4to. This is the edition Mr. Baillet ſpeaks of in his *Anti*'s Vol. II. pag. 315. *I muſt not omit*, ſays he, *the Anti-Barbarus, which a Profeſſor of Hebrew in the Univerſity of Franeker in Frieſland, named Sixtinus Amama, publiſhed in* 1656, 4°, *upon the text of the Holy Scripture, in the town where he taught, ... The many ſhort diſſertations and diſcourſes this work is filled with do not make its œconomy very agreeable.* Note that his Criticiſm upon the Pentateuch of the Vulgate, together with his notes *In Libros Hiſtoricos, Pſalmos, Proverbia, & Eccleſiaſten*, which had never been printed, have been inſerted in the new edition of the great Critics (4).

(4) The Dutch edition in 1698. See *Bibliotheca novorum Librorum* for July and Auguſt 1698. p. 453.

[*E*] *Some Synods moved with the weight of his reaſons decreed, that ſuch only ſhould be admitted to the Miniſtry, as underſtood, at leaſt in ſome degree, the Hebrew and Greek text of the Scripture.*] The words of the Act that was made upon this by the Synod of Frieſland held at Harlingeras in 1624, are as follow: *Decretum eſt ut in poſterum Theologiæ candidati quotquot ad examen Miniſterii Eccleſ. admitti deſiderabunt, præter teſtimonia Senatus Academici & Theologiæ Profeſſorum exhibeant etiam teſtimonia Profeſſorum Ebreæ & Græcæ linguæ, quibus doceant ſe in prædictis linguis eos ſaltem progreſſus feciſſe, ut originalem veteris novique teſtamenti tantum mediocriter poſſint intelligere, utque in claſſe iſta, cujus examini ſe offerant, ejus quoque rei ſpecimen edere teneantur* (5). i. e. "It is decreed that from henceforth ſuch Can- "didates of Divinity as ſhall deſire to be admitted "to the examination for the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, "ſhall produce not only the teſtimonies of the A- "cademical Senate and of the Profeſſors of Divinity, "but alſo the teſtimonies of the Greek and He- "brew Profeſſors, importing that they have made "ſuch a progreſs at leaſt in thoſe tongues, as to "have gained a moderate knowledge of the ori- "ginal text of the Old and New Teſtament, and "that they ſhall be obliged to give a proof of it "in the claſs, wherein they offer themſelves to "examination." It appears from the ſame Act, that this commendable reſolution was owing to Amama's *Supplex Paræneſis*, whereof a great many copies were diſperſed among the members of the aſſembly.

(5) It is part of the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, and had been already printed twice.

[*F*] *I muſt not omit the zeal he ſhewed for rooting drunkenneſs out of the Univerſity of Franeker.*] The vigorous reſolutions that were taken againſt that are not to be chiefly aſcribed to Sixtinus Amama: he indeed contributed much to them; and had he only exhorted, and publicly congratulated thoſe who cleared the Univerſity of ſuch an abuſe, he would deſerve great commendations. He owns that Ameſius Profeſſor of Divinity and Hackting Profeſſor of Logic being admitted into the Academical Senate, and finding themſelves ſupported by the Rector of the Univerſity, undertook, with great courage and equal ſucceſs, the reforming of that diſorder. He congratulates them on that account, and dedicates to them his Oration *De Barbariæ morum*. The reader will be glad to hear how he expreſſes himſelf, and what difficulties the Reformers had to ſtruggle with. *Ad primam occaſionem ... intrepidis & commaſculatis animis horrendas illas & feroces belluas, ebrietatem & licentiam, quæ hic ſæviebantur, ex Academia ejeciſtis, ac Chriſtianam diſciplinam*

which happened in December 1629 (g), they ſhewed themſelves very generous to his children, as Nicholas Amama, who was one of them, acknowledges in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of a book [G].

(g) Therefore Konig, who makes him live in 1630, and F. Morin, who ſuppoſes in his *Exercitat. Biblicæ*, Part 1, p. 61, that he taught at Franeker in 1633, are miſtaken.

ciplinam jam deſperatum, Deo ſupra quam à quoquam ſperari potuiſſet benedicente, Academiæ redonaſtis. Cujus præclari & æterna gratitudine digniſſimi facinoris, ſicuti invidiam apud diſſolutam & barbaram juventutem ſuſtinuiſtis, & quaſi præpilatis haſtis objecti fuiſtis ſoli, ita & æquiſſimum cenſeo, ut vobis quoque præ aliis tam egregii operis gloriâ ſic tranſcribatur (6). i. e. "You have with intrepid and manly minds caſt out of the Univerſity thoſe abominable and ſavage beaſts, *Drunkenneſs* and *Licentiouſneſs*, that had their dens here, and have reſtored Chriſtian Diſcipline that had been deſpaired of, God giving a greater bleſſing than could have been hoped for by any man. Of which glorious deed that deſerves everlaſting gratitude as you have born the envy from the diſſolute and barbarous youth, and have alone expoſed your ſelves to their darts, ſo I think it very juſt, that the principal glory ſhould be aſcribed to you." He relates moſt hideous things concerning the debauchery that reigned in ſome Univerſities. All the new comers were enrolled in the ſervice of Bacchus, and forced to ſwear, with certain ſolemn ceremonies, by a wooden ſtatue of St. Stephen, that they would ſpend all their money. If any one happened to have more regard to the oath he had taken to the Rector of the Univerſity, than to the ſuppoſed oath to Bacchus, the debauched Students plagued him to ſuch a degree that he was obliged either to leave the Univerſity, or give himſelf up to the ſame vices. He has annexed to his Oration ſome Fragments of the complaints of Alſtedius upon the ſame ſubject. Bellarmin inveighs in his 20th Sermon againſt the ſame vice of drunkenneſs, which reigned in the Univerſity of Louvain (7).

(6) Sixtin. Amama *in Præliminar. Anti-Barbari Biblici.*

(7) Amama takes notice of it in the Epiſtle Dedicatory prefixed to his Oration *De Ebrietate.*

[G] *As Nicholas Amama acknowledges in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to a book.*] This book was printed in 1651, 8vo, containing pages 600, and entitled, *Diſſertationum Marinarum Decas.* The author ſhews a great deal of erudition, and often departs from Ariſtotle, without being attach'd to the principles of the modern Philoſophy. He has reformed the very Orthography.

☞AMAND (MARK ANTHONY GERARD, SIEUR DE SAINT) a French Poet of the 17th Century, was born at Roan in Normandy about the end of the year 1594. as he informs us himſelf in one of his *Triolets* (a), which was written in the year 1649, where he tells us, that he ſhould enter into the fifty ſixth year of his age at the cloſe of that year. Several authors have pretended, that he was the ſon of a *Gentilhomme Verrier* (b); but this ſtory is ſufficiently refuted by what he informs us himſelf in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the third part of his works, that his father commanded a ſquadron of ſhips in the ſervice of Queen Elizabeth of England for two and twenty years together, and that he was for three whole years priſoner in the Black Tower at Conſtantinople. Beſides he tells us, that his two brothers had been killed in a battle againſt the Turks, and that the youngeſt of them had been Cornet-Colonel of a French regiment under Guſtavus the Great King of Sweden, afterwards Captain of a Ship under Count Harcourt, and at laſt Colonel of a French regiment of foot in the ſervice of the Republic of Venice. He obſerves there, that the name of his family was Gerard; and therefore it is an error in Baillet and other writers to give it only as his Chriſtian name. His whole life was almoſt ſpent in a continual ſucceſſion of travels [A]; which, if we believe the celebrated Monſieur Boileau, was of no great advantage to his fortune [B]. We have a conſiderable number of miſcellaneous

(a) *Quand l'an qui court ſe fermera, J'ouvrirai mon douzieme luſtre.*

(b) *Gentilhomme Verrier* ſignifies a leſſer ſpecies of Nobility. The profeſſion of a dealer in glaſs [*Verrier*] is noble among the French; and a man does not debaſe his quality by engaging in it. See the Dictionary of *Trevoux* in the word *Verrier.*

[A] *His whole life was almoſt ſpent in a continual ſucceſſion of travels.*] He informs us of this in the Preface to his works, where he tells us, that he had never ſtudied, and was entirely ignorant of the Latin tongue. "It is true, continues he, the converſation which I have had with Gentlemen, and the variety of curious things which I have ſeen in my travels, as well in Europe as in Africa and America, joined to the ſtrong inclination which I have had from my earlieſt years to Poetry, have ſupplied the want of ſtudy in me." He values himſelf likewiſe in the Preface to his Poem, intitled, *Moyſe Sauvé*, upon his never having *paſs'd thro' the Ferula*, in hopes that his readers would have ſome regard to that conſideration, and treat his errors with the more indulgence. But ſeveral of the Criticks have ſhewn, that he was extremely miſtaken in that point. It appears alſo from his Poems, that in his youth he had ſeen Africa and America; that in the year 1643 he was in England in the retinue of Count Harcourt, Embaſſador Extraordinary from the Court of France; that in 1647 he was at Colioure in Rouſſillon; and that he ſent the ſame year part of his *Moyſe Sauvé* to the Queen of Poland. This Queen was Mary Louiſa de Gonzaga, who was married in 1645 to Ladiſlas Sigiſmond King of Poland, and in 1649 to Caſimir brother and ſucceſſor of Ladiſlas. Saint Amand made intereſt at that time for the place of Gentleman in ordinary of the chamber to that Princeſs, which he obtained two years after, viz. in 1649. The Abbé de Marolles in his *Memoirs* (1), claims the honour of having procured him this place with a penſion of three thouſand livres. He ſet out for Poland the ſame year, but being taken priſoner by the Scouts of St. Omers, he was carried to that town; where he continued for ſome time in priſon; ſo that he did not reach Poland till 1650. He did not ſtay there long, for he returned to France the year following, and ſpent the reſt of his days at Paris. It is not known when he took the voyages to Africa and America abovementioned (2).

(1) P. 167.

[B] *Was of no great advantage to his fortune.*] The Verſes of that celebrated Poet are as follows (3).

(2) *Mem. pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 14. p. 354, 355.

(3) Satyr 1.

Saint Amand n'eut du ciel que ſa veine en partage,
L'habit qu'il eut ſur lui fut ſon ſeul heritage:
Un lit & deux placets compoſoient tout ſon bien,
Ou, pour en mieux parler, Saint Amand n'avoit rien.
Mais quoi, las de trainer une vie importune,
Il engagea ce rien pour chercher la fortune;
Et tout chargé de vers, qu'il devoit mettre au jour,
Conduit d'un vain eſpoir il parut à la cour.
Qu'arriva-t-il enfin de ſa Muſe abuſée?
Il en revint couvert de honte & de riſée,
Et la fièvre au retour, terminant ſon deſtin,
Fit per avance en lui ce qu'auroit fait la faim.

That is:

" What but his vein had St. Amand from fate?
" The cloaths he 'ad on him were his whole eſtate;
" A bed, and two or three old ſtools were all
" The goods he properly his own cou'd call.
" But in a fitter phraſe I might have ſaid,
" He 'ad nothing of his own, nor ever had:
" Yet tir'd with a vexatious life, he pawns
" That nothing, and for court preferment yawns.

Thither

miſcellaneous Poems of this author [C], the greateſt part of which are of the comic or burleſque, and the gallant or amorous kind. But we find ſome among them, which ſhew us that he had not entirely abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures and the irregularity of his imagination; and it is ſaid that he was reclaimed from his debaucheries in the latter part of his life. Some perſons aſcribed this reformation of his to the diſtreſs of his circumſtances, which prevented him from indulging himſelf in ſo extravagant a manner as before (*c*). We ſee ſtrong marks of his devotion in his *Stanzas* upon Mr. Corneille's tranſlation of the *Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt*, which are the laſt and beſt verſes which he publiſhed (*d*). Mr. Broſſette in his notes upon Boileau tells us, that Saint Amand wrote a Poem upon *the Moon*, in which he paid a compliment to Lewis XIV of France, and particularly upon his ſkill in ſwimming, for that King, while he was young and lived at St. German's, uſed to exerciſe himſelf in ſwimming in the Seine. But the King could not bear this Poem to be read over to him; which diſgrace touched the author ſo ſenſibly, that he did not ſurvive it long. However this be, it is certain that he died in 1661, being ſixty ſeven years of age. The Abbe Olivet (*e*) places his death

(*c*) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 4. Part 2. Art. 1493. p. 229. edit. Amſterd. 1725.

(*d*) *Hiſt. de l'Academie Franç. avec des Remarques & des Additions de Mr.* l'Abbe Olivet. tom. 1. edit. 2. Paris 1733. pag. 331.

(*e*) Ibid.

" Thither to make his fortune he repairs,
" And loads of rhymes, to recommend him, bears,
" But how came off the bubbl'd Muſe at laſt?
" Why badly, and the future's like the paſt.
" Cover'd with ſhame and laughter he returns:
" In vain his loſs of time and trouble mourns.
" A fever ſeizes him, and ends his days,
" Which hunger elſe had done, with all his bays."

The Abbé Olivet obſerves, that there is not perhaps any other foundation for this Satyr than Monſr. Boileau's imagination, who thought without doubt, that the mentioning a name ſo well known as that of St. Amand's, would render his narration the more lively and poignant. For our author's Poems ſhew, that he did not wait ſo long before he ſollicited the favour of the Court, or publiſhed the Verſes, which he had written with that view (4). However his poverty was generally acknowledged; and this was chiefly occaſioned by his irregular manner of life, ſince it appears, that he had ſufficient to ſupport himſelf, if he had obſerved the bounds of moderation (5).

(4) *Hiſt. de l'Ac. Franc. par M. Peliſſon avec des Remarques & des Additions de Mr.* Abbé Olivet. p. 331. edit. 2. Paris 1730.

(5) *Mem. pour ſervir &c. ubi ſupra.*

[C] *We have a conſiderable number of miſcellaneous Poems of this author.*] His works are as follows: I. *Les Ouvres du Sieur de Saint Amand*; i. e. "The "Works of the Sieur de Saint Amand;" Paris in 4to, three volumes; the firſt in 1627, the ſecond in 1643, and the third in 1649. Theſe Poems have been reprinted ſeveral times. *Solitude*, an Ode, which is one of the firſt of them, is his beſt piece, in the opinion of Mr. Boileau (6); but there is one defect in it, which is, that in the midſt of a great number of very agreeable images, the author preſents to the reader very unſeaſonably the moſt ſhocking objects in nature, toads, ſnails with all the froth about them, the skeleton of a man, who had hang'd himſelf, and other things of that nature.

(6) *Reflexions Critiques ſur Longin.*

Là branle la ſquelete horrible
D'un pauvre Amant qui ſe pendit.
That is,
—— " There ſhakes the dreadful skeleton
" Of a poor lover, who had hang'd himſelf."

Stephen Bachot, Phyſician to the King, tranſlated it into Latin Verſe, and it is publiſhed in that language with the French original oppoſite to it, in a book of that author's entitled, *Parerga ſeu horæ ſubſecivæ*, Paris, 1686, in 12mo. In the third volume of St. Amand's works there is a very remarkable piece; it is a petition to the Chancellor Seguier for a privilege for making glaſs, which he preſented to him about the year 1638. It is not known upon what account he ask'd it, or whether he obtained it. This might perhaps give occaſion to the Poet Maynard to call him *a Gentleman of Glaſs* in the following Epigram:

Votre Nobleſſe eſt mince,
Car ce n'eſt pas d'un Prince,
Daphnis, que vous ſortés;
Gentilhomme de verre,
Si vous tombez à terre,
Adieu les qualitez.

(7) Vol. 2. p. 88. edit. 3. Amſter. 1713.

In the *Menagiana* (7) we find this Epigram, with ſome little variation; for the fourth verſe is placed firſt, and in the fifth line there is *par terre* inſtead of *à terre*.

It may not be improper to obſerve here, that tho' there are great faults in all his Poems, yet he had the talent of reading them in ſo agreeable a manner, that every one was charmed with them; and it was our author, whom Gombaud intended in theſe verſes:

Tes vers ſont beaux, quand tu les dis,
Mais ce n'eſt rien quand je les lis;
Tu ne ſeux pas joujours en dire,
Fais-en donc que je puiſſe lire.
That is,
" Sweet is your verſe, when by your ſelf 'tis read;
" But when I read it, all its charms are fled:
" Since you're not always preſent to rehearſe,
" To make me read, give ſpirit to your verſe."

II. *Stances ſur la groſſeſſe de la Reine de Pologne & de Suede*, 1650. i. e. " Stanzas upon the pregnancy " of the Queen of Poland and Sweden." There are ſix Stanza's of nine verſes each. III. *Moyſe ſauvé, Idyle Heroique*; i. e. " Moſes ſaved, an Heroic Idyl- " lium." Paris, 1653, in 4to, and in 1660, in 12mo. This Poem at firſt had a great many admirers. Thoſe, who valued themſelves upon being eſteemed good Judges, extoll'd it highly, not excepting even Monſieur Chapelain himſelf, who calls this piece *a ſpeaking Picture* (8). But it has ſince fallen into great contempt, aud Monſieur Boileau had it in view, when he wrote as follows (9):

(8) *Peinture parlante.* See Chapelain's Preface to his *Pucelle*

(9) *Art. Poetique*, Chant. 3. ver. 264.

N'imitez pas ce fou, qui decrivant les mers,
Et peignant, au milieu de leurs flots entr' ouverts,
L'Hebreu ſauvé du joug de ſes injuſtes maitres,
Met pour les voir paſſer les poiſſons aux fenetres,
Peint le petit enfant, qui va, ſaute, revient,
Et joyeux à ſa mere offre un caillou qu'il tient;
Sur de trop vains objets c'eſt arrêter la vûe.
That is,
" Nor imitate that fool, who to deſcribe
" The wond'rous marches of the choſen tribe,
" Plac'd on the ſides, to ſee their armies paſs,
" The fiſhes ſtaring thro' the liquid glaſs;
" Deſcrib'd a child, who with his little hand,
" Pick'd up the ſhining pebbles from the ſand.
" Such objects are too mean to ſtay our ſight."
Sir WILLIAM SOAMES.

The ſame writer likewiſe, in his reflection upon the eighth chapter of Longinus, (wherein the latter obſerves, that *it ſpoils all, to dwell long upon little things*,) remarks the ſame fault in our Poet in chooſing ſuch low and trifling circumſtances, inſtead of enlarging upon the many great ones, which ſo noble a ſubject offered to him. He remarks alſo, that he ſeems to place the fiſh at the window in the following verſes:

Et là, pres des ramparts que l'œil peut tranſ-
percer
Les poiſſons ébahis les regardent paſſer.
That is,
" There near the walls, thro' which the eye may
" pierce,
" The wond'ring fiſh look'd out, and ſaw them paſs."

" There is no body, continues the Critic, but Monſieur " Perrault, who does not perceive ſomething comi- " cal

death in the latter end of the year 1660; but as he tells us that he lived ſixty ſeven years, and it appears above that he was born about the end of the year 1594, we muſt fix it in the year 1661. Thoſe writers who place his death in 1659, are guilty of an error ſtill more flagrant (*e*). He was received a member into the French Academy from the firſt foundation of it by Cardinal Richelieu in the year 1633. And Mr. Peliſſon informs us (*f*), that in the year 1637, he deſired and obtained leave to be excuſed from the obligation of making a ſpeech in his turn, according to the regulation which had been made in that point, on condition that he ſhould compile, as he himſelf had offered, the comic part of the Dictionary, which the Academy had undertaken, and ſhould collect the groteſque and burleſque terms. This was a taſk very ſuitable to him; for it appears by his writings, that he was extremely converſant in that kind of language, of which he ſeems to have made a compleat collection among the markets and taverns, and places, where the lower rank of people reſort. Monſieur Boileau acknowledges (*g*), that he had genius enough for works of low humour and ſatyr, and that we find even in his ſerious writings ſeveral happy ſtrokes of wit; but the Critick adds, that he ſpoils all by the mean and trivial circumſtances which he every where makes uſe of. Mr. Roſleau likewiſe is of opinion (*h*), that he has written ſeveral good things amongſt a great many others, which are inordinately dull and inſipid.

(e) *Mem. pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 14. p. 358. edit. de Paris 1731.

(f) *Hiſt. de l'Académie Franc.* p. 101.

(g) *Reflexions Critiques ſur Longin.* c. 8.

(h) *Sentim. ſur quelques Ouvrages d'Auteurs qu'il a tûs.* pag. 75.

" cal in theſe two verſes, by which one would think " the fiſh had hired windows to ſtand at, and ſee " the Hebrews paſs. This is the more ridiculous, " becauſe fiſh hardly ſee any thing thro' the water; " their eyes being ſo placed, that if their heads had " been out of the walls, they could not very eaſily " have diſcovered the march of the Iſraelites. Not- " withſtanding which Monſieur Perrault pretends to " juſtify theſe Verſes, but by ſuch trifling arguments, " that in reality I ſhould think it would be an abuſe " of paper, if I made uſe of it to anſwer them. I " ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with referring him to " the compariſon Longinus mentions here out " of Homer. He may there ſee with what art this " divine Poet cloſes the great circumſtances, and " gathers them together. Yet I queſtion whether " he will conſent to this truth; for he is particu- " larly offended with Homer's compariſons, and " makes them the chief object of his pleaſantry in " his laſt Dialogue." IV. *Stances à M. Corneille ſur ſon Imitation de Jeſus Chriſt*; i. e. " Stanzas to " Monſieur Corneille upon his Imitation of Jeſus " Chriſt." Paris 1656, in 4to. There are ſeventy Stanza's of ſix verſes each. V. *Rome riditule*, which is publiſhed in the Collection of his works, was printed ſeveral times ſeparately or with other works of the ſame kind, in 4to and 12mo (10). There is an Italian tranſlation of it, which is printed. Mr. Chapelain in his MS. Letters, quoted by the Abbé Olivet (11), obſerves, that this piece was printed clandeſtinely at Paris in 1643, and that the Printer was thrown into priſon. There was likewiſe aſcribed to him a ſatyrical piece againſt the French Academy, entitled *The Comedy of the Academy*; but it appeared afterwards to be written by Monſieur St. Evremont (12).

(10) *Mem. pour ſervir*, &c. pag. 362.

(11) *Ubi ſupra.*

(12) *See* Peliſſon, *Hiſt. de l'Academie Franc. avec des Remarques & des Additions de M. l'Abbé d'Olivet*, p. 61. edit. de Paris 1730.

T.

AMASEUS (ROMULUS) Profeſſor of Greek and Latin at Bologna in the ſixteenth Century [*A*], and Secretary to that Senate (*a*), gained great reputation by his learning and employments. He was originally of Bologna, but born at Udine in Friuli. Pope Paul III invited him to Rome, and made him Preceptor to his grandſon Alexander Farneſe (*b*). He was afterwards employed in affairs of greater conſequence, and ſent to the courts of the Emperor, of the Princes of the Empire, and of Poland. No man of learning was more eſteemed at Rome than he, during the Pontificate of Julius III, whom he ſerved in quality of Secretary. *His tranſlation of Pauſanias*, and of *a work of Xenophon* (*c*), prove that he underſtood well the Greek tongue. He wrote alſo a volume of *Orations*, and *Scholas duas de ratione inſtituendi*. The two books, in which he ſhews, *that the Latin tongue is preferable to the Italian*, were never printed (*d*). Some ſay he died in 1558, being ſixty nine years old [*B*]. He left one ſon, called Pompilius, no ways inferior to himſelf; for he underſtood, tranſlated, and even taught Greek at Bologna (*e*). I think he only tranſlated two fragments of the ſixth book of Polybius [*C*]; where he ſhews more ſkill than Perot and Muſculus have done in their tranſlations of that author (*f*). However a learned writer taxes him with paſſing over the hard paſſages, contenting himſelf to acquaint the reader, that he might find them explained

(a) See note [*B*].

(b) And not his nephew, as *du Ryer* renders the word *Nepos* in Thuanus.

(c) *The expedition of Cyrus the younger.*

(d) Thuanus, lib. 21. p. 432. and the Additions of Mr. Teiſſier.

(e) Bumaldus quoted by Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 4. p. 400.

(f) This is Caſaubon's judgment. See Baillet, ibid.

[*A*] *Amaſeüs* (*Romulus*) *Profeſſor of Greek and Latin in the xvith Century.*] Moreri was not miſtaken here in his Chronology, which therefore was not to be altered, as it has been in the Dutch edition, where the ſixteenth Century has been ſtruck out, and the fourteenth put in its room. I find three things in that article, which ought to have been corrected. I. It is too dry and empty. II. It ought to have been under the word *Amaſeüs*, and not under the word *Romulus*. III. It ought not to have been ſaid, that Amaſeüs tranſlated the works of Xenophon; but that he tranſlated the ſeven books, which Xenophon wrote upon the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

[*B*] *Some ſay he died in* 1558, *being* 69 *years old.*] Thuanus was under a miſtake when he wrote that Romulus Amaſeüs died in 1558. For this Romulus *was dead in* 1552. *We can prove it from a Letter of Giovanni Antonio Serone, an intimate friend of Romulus, dated the* 20*th October of that year, and to be found in Turchi's Collection, pag. m.* 257. This is what Mr. de la Monnoie has done me the honour to write to me. If it is true that Amaſeüs died in 1558, it is not without ground that ſome ſay he lived 69 years; for his birth-day is marked in the figures of Luke Gauric on the 24th of June 1489 (1). In this work of Gauric I have met with ſome particulars, which I ſhall inſert here. Amaſeüs was lean, very tall, bald, and had a little head. He was Secretary to the Senate of Bologna, and taught Rhetoric in that city with an annual ſalary of 300 crowns. He taught afterwards at Rome in the time of Paul III, and enjoyed on that account a penſion of 600 crowns a year: *Nutu Pauli III, ex lectura in urbe habebat* 600 *aureos.* This is what Thuanus was ignorant of.

(1) See fol. 72. *verſo* of the Venice edition in 1552, of theſe figures of Gauric.

[*C*] *Pompilius Amaſeüs only tranſlated two Fragments of the ſixth book of Polybius.*] Pompilius Amaſeüs after tranſlating theſe Fragments, which treat of the military diſcipline of the Romans, thought fit to illuſtrate them with a Commentary, which is lodged among the Manuſcripts of Thuanus's Library (2). This Manuſcript is in Italian. The author tranſlated the Fragments both into Latin and into his mother-tongue.

(2) See the Catalogue of this Library, p. 453.

explained elsewhere (*g*). As to his father, every body allows him to have been a great admirer of perspicuity and politeness of style: he enlarged what was too concise, shortened what was too prolix, and cleared up the obscure passages (*b*). His translation of Pausanias stood in need of Sylburgius's revisal.

(*g*) *Huetius de claris Interpret.* p. 122. edit. Batav.

(*b*) This is Mr. Huet's judgment, ibid.

AMASTRIS, niece of the last Darius, and wife of Dionysius, Tyrant of Heraclea. See his history in the article of that DIONYSIUS, where you will also find the city of Amastris founded by this Princess.

AMBOISE (FRANCIS D') deserves a place among those, whom the profession of learning has raised to honours in the world. He was son of a Surgeon to Charles IX, and maintained by that Prince in the College of Navarre, during his study of Rhetoric and Philosophy. He was afterwards school-master in the same College, for we find that in 1752 he had already taught the second form four years. In 1572 he was made Sollicitor of the French nation. He applied himself afterwards to the Law, and became one of the best Advocates of the Parliament of Paris. From this employment he passed to that of Counsellor in the Parliament of Bretagne; and lastly, was raised to be Master of Requests (*a*), and Counsellor of State (*b*). He travelled into several remote countries [*A*]. In his youth he published a great many French verses, and some Latin pieces too, which he must have looked upon as not very honourable to him, after he was raised to publick employments; for they savour much of a man who is ready to write upon whatsoever subject the present time offers, who sends his Muses to beg on all sides, sometimes with compliments of condolence, and sometimes with congratulations, as though he had been appointed the Compliment-bearer of Parnassus to the great Lords. I shall mention in the remarks, the titles of some of his works [*B*], which, in my opinion, will not contribute so much to the immortalizing of his name, as the pains he took to collect the manuscripts of Peter Abelard [*C*], and to add an Apologetic Preface to them, which is

(*a*) *Ex Midd. Thirioti Laudatione Hadriani Ambæsii.* See p. 356, 709, and 800. *Historiæ Gymnasii Navarræ.* Joan. Launoj.

(*b*) In the edition of the works of Abelard, he has the title of *Equitis, Regis in sanctiore Consistorio Consiliarii Baronis Chartæ, &c.*

[*A*] *He travelled into several remote countries.*] (1) Du Verdier Vau-Privas observes, that *Francis d'Amboise wrote at Warsaw a description of the Kingdom of Poland, when Henry Duke of Anjou, now King of France, was elected King of Poland* (2). This is one of his travels. From the words I have quoted we cannot be positive whether he attended the new King on his journey into Poland, or was there when that Prince was elected. This last is the only one we should have taken them in, had du Verdier Vau-Privas been an exact writer.

(1) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Francoise*, p. 86.

(2) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoise*, p. 363.

See Francis d'Amboise's *Treatise upon Devices*, where it is recorded (3), that at the time of this election, he was in that country at the Bishop of Valence's house.

(3) Pag. 42.

This *Treatise upon Devices* is a posthumous work; and was printed at Paris in 1620 by Adrian d'Amboise, the author's son, who the following year published in the same city a small Treatise of his own composing, entitled *Moral Devices*.

[*B*] *We shall mention the titles of some of his works.*] *An Elegy on the death of Anne de Montmorency, Peer and Constable of France, with a Latin Panegyric, and a French Ode on the misfortune that befell France*, in 1568 (4). *A Panegyric upon the marriage of Henry of Lorrain Duke of Guise, and Catherine of Cleves, Countess of Eu*, in 1570 (5). *The Tomb of Messire Gilles Bourdin, the King's Attorney-General in his court of Parliament at Paris, containing three Sonnets, an Elegy translated from the Latin of Anthony Valet, and some Latin Hendecasyllabic Verses*, in 1570 (6). *The Amours of Clion*, containing, among other things, a Poem entitled, *The desperate, or amorous Eclogues*, in 1572 (7). *Facetious Amours, containing several merry stories*, and among others that which he styles, *the Neapolitan Women*, in 1584. This piece is the translation of an Italian Comedy. At the beginning of it he disguises himself under the name of *Thierry de Timophile, G. Picard*, and uses the same disguise in his *Funeral Lamentations upon some Animals*, which he translated from the Italian in 1576, and in his *Dialogue, and Familiar Conversation of Ladies*, which he published in 1583. La Croix du Maine, to whom I am indebted for these hints, tells us, that this writer *understood many languages*, and that he published divers works in Latin. His collection of *Devices* was published after his death, in 1620.

(4) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoise*, p. 365.

(5) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Françoise*, p. 87.

(6) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoise*, p. 365.

(7) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Françoise*, p. 87.

[*C*] *The pains he took to collect the Manuscripts of Peter Abelard.*] His care and diligence well deserve to be ackowledged by the Public; since we are indebted to him for an excellent edition of the works of that celebrated Logician. This edition contains, I, the Letters which Abelard and Heloisa wrote to each other, with the account he himself gave of his misfortunes, prefixed to them. II, The Letters he wrote to other persons, and those that St. Bernard, the Abbot of Clugni &c. wrote about his errors, his condemnation, and his death; together with some Treatises, which one of his Disciples published for him. III, Some Dogmatical Treatises of Abelard, as *the Explanation of the Lord's Prayer, of the Apostles Creed, and of that of St. Athanasius*; *An Answer to some of Heloisa's Questions*; *A Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans*. IV, *Various Sermons on the chief Festivals*. V, *An Introduction to Divinity*, which contains his book upon the Trinity. VI, The learned Notes of Andrew du Chêne upon the *History of Abelard's Misfortunes*. Besides these there are other works of this author, which have never yet been printed. Their titles are to be seen in Father Oudin's Supplement (8), which also informs us, in what Libraries they are lodged. Francis d'Amboise caused the rules, which Abelard wrote for the Nuns of Paraclet, to be translated into French. Many were displeased with his apologetic Preface; and some have given out, that it was the occasion of the proceedings of Rome against the work he published. *And if the works of Abelard were lately, put into the* Index Expurgatorius *of Rome, that, in my opinion, is not to be imputed to him, but to the author of the Preface, who, instead of warning the reader against such and such passages in Abelard's works, takes upon him to defend him: and from thence sprung all the evil.* Thus writes the author of the *Antiquities of Melun*, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris (9). It cannot be said, properly speaking, that he wrote the *Life of Peter Abelard* (10): he only gives a succinct account of his chief adventures, and that not without a great many mistakes, which it would not be proper to censure here. However, I may well say, without departing from my subject, that Francis Amboise by publishing Abelard's works did not do him that great honour he imagined. The public did not find that vast acuteness and energy in them which had gained him so great a reputation during his life. *As to the works of Abelard*, says Sebastian Roulliard (11), *they do not answer, in my opinion, the great commendations which so many eminent writers have bestowed upon him. I am therefore persuaded that the whole excellence of this author consisted in a ready wit, an eloquent speech, and a philosophical genius, which render'd him formidable and invincible in all kinds of disputes. We have seen the like happen in our time, to two or three writers, who were greatly esteemed on account of some of these good qualities, and yet their works, when published, were far from answering the common expectation.*

(8) Pag. 413.

(9) Sebast. Roulliard, p. 350. His book was printed at Paris 1628, 4°.

(10) It is however said in the *Catalogus Autorum Catalogorum*, &c. of Mr. Teissier, p. 590.

Judgment passed upon the works of Abelard.

(11) *Hist. of Melun*, p. 348.

is prefixed to the edition of 1616 [*D*]. This Preface informs me of what I had not read in the Hiſtory of the College of Navarre, viz. that he publiſhed a ſhort *Treatiſe of the Council*, and a Preface to the *Hiſtory of Gregory of Tours* [*E*], wherein he defends that Hiſtorian againſt the imputations of Flacius Illyricus, but does not vindicate him with relation to the two Dionyſius's, the Areopagite, and the Corinthian. He is placed in Mr. Baillet's catalogue of diſguiſed Authors, under the ſuppoſed name of Thierry de Timophile.

I have ſomething to add about that edition of Peter Abelard's works, which is generally aſcribed to our Francis d'Amboiſe [*F*].

[*D*] *He added an Apologetic Preface to the works of Abelard, which is prefixed to the edition of* 1616.] The conveniency of arithmetical figures is attended with great inconveniencies. The Printers commit a thouſand faults, which the correctors do not perceive; and this occaſions the multiplying of beings, without any neceſſity; whereof we have an inſtance here. Some place this edition of Abelard's works in 1606 (12), others in 1626 (13); which will make many Authors ſay, that the works of Abelard were printed three times in the ſpace of twenty years; and, as ſome aſſert, that they were printed in folio in 1616 (14), this is a new means for the multiplying of editions without neceſſity.

(12) Launoius, *Hiſt. Gymnaſii Navarræ*, pag. 801.
(13) Father Oudin, *Supplement de Script. Eccleſiaſt.* p. 413.
(14) *Spizelius Specim. Biblioth. Univers*; Konig, *Bibl. vet. & nova*; *Chriſtoph. Hendreich, Pandectar. Brandenburg.* initio.

[*E*] *He publiſhed a Preface to the Hiſtory of Gregory of Tours.*] I do not queſtion but this is the edition of which the Abbot de Marolles writes thus (15): *His Hiſtory of France* (he means Gregory of Tours) *which is his chief performance, was formerly tranſlated by Claudius Bonnet*, a Gentleman of Dauphine (16), who ſtyled himſelf Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law; upon this Hiſtory Mr. Hemery d'Amboiſe, Maſter of Requeſts, wrote a long Preface, addreſſed to Madam Henrietta Balzac, Marchioneſs of Verneuil, and printed at Paris by Claude de la Tour, 1610, 8vo.

(15) Preface upon Gregory of Tours.
(16) It is not to be found in Allard's *Biblioth. de Dauphiné.*

[*F*] *I have ſomething to add about that edition of Peter Abelard's works, which is generally aſcribed to our Francis d'Amboiſe.*] As this remark is not my own, I ſhall ſet it down in the words of the perſon that imparted it to me (17). "The name of Mr. d'Amboiſe is prefixed to ſome copies of Abelard's works; and the name of Andrew du Cheſne to others with this title, *Petri Abælardi, Sancti Gildaſii in Britannia Abbatis, & Heloiſſæ conjugis ejus, quæ poſtmodum prima cœnobii Paraclitenſis Abbatiſſa fuit, opera, nunc primum eruta ex MSS. Codd. & in lucem edita ſtudio ac diligentia Andreæ Quercetani, Turonenſis. Pariſiis, Nic. Buon*, 1616, *in* 4*to*. It is very likely that this edition is owing to Du Cheſne. For in the Epitome of the patent, which is at the beginning of Du Cheſne's copy, we read, among other things, that thoſe pieces were printed *opera & ſtudio Quercetani*; whereas in the copy, that bears the name of Amboiſe, no mention is made of the perſon that was at the pains to collect them. So that one would think, if it were allowed to indulge conjectures, that Du Cheſne, (out of ſome motive unknown to us, and which authors have not judged proper to tranſmit to poſterity,) yielded the glory of his undertaking to Mr. d'Amboiſe, who was then in a condition to make him a ſuitable return for a ſacrifice of this nature. But however that may be; the two copies I have ſeen of Du Cheſne and d'Amboiſe are not quite uniform; for inſtance, that of Du Cheſne begins with an Epiſtle Dedicatory addreſſed to Mre. Benjamin de Brichanteau, Biſhop of Laon, and Abbot of Saint Genevieve. The ſuppoſed edition of Mr. d'Amboiſe has neither this Epiſtle, nor the Preface which Du Cheſne added to it. In this Preface Du Cheſne after informing his reader, in general terms, who Abelard and Heloiſa were, gives an account of what he has done towards the perfecting, as far as lay in his power, the edition of that celebrated Logician's works: he commends all thoſe who helped him with their manuſcripts, and owns himſelf indebted to Mr. d'Amboiſe for the letters, and ſome other pieces. To this Preface are annexed the *Teſtimonia veterum de Abælardo & Heloiſſa*, which are not in Mr. d'Amboiſe's copy. As to Mr. d'Amboiſe's edition, it contains an Apologetic Preface in favour of Abelard, which is not in Mr. Du Cheſne's edition. In other regards the two editions are quite uniform, and anſwer one another page by page. It will not perhaps be amiſs to acquaint the Public with theſe two titles, leſt they ſhould give an occaſion to increaſe ſtill more the number of the editions of Abelard's works, as it has already been obſerved.

(17) Manuſcript Memoirs imparted by Mr. Lancelot Under-Librarian of Mazarine Library at Paris.

AMBOISE (ADRIAN D') a younger brother of the former, raiſed himſelf to as great preferments as the other, for he was advanced to the dignity of a Biſhop. He likewiſe had his ſhare in the liberality of Charles IX, who maintained him a long time in the College of Navarre, and was equally favoured by Henry III. He was Fellow of the College of Navarre (*a*) when he was choſen, in 1579, Rector of the Univerſity of Paris. During his Rectorſhip, the Univerſity begged of the King the confirmation of their privileges; and he addreſſed him as ſpeaker, being accompanied by many Doctors. He took the degree of Licentiate in Divinity in 1582; on that occaſion the panegyrical ſpeech was pronounced by Michael Thiriot, who, among other encomiums, mentioned his pedigree, ſaying, that he was deſcended of a very noble family [*A*]. He

(*a*) Socius Navarricus, *Launoius Hiſtoria Gymnaſii Navarræ*, p. 360.

[*A*] *Thiriot among other Encomiums ſays he was deſcended of a very noble Family.*] Nevertheleſs this author in his Panegyric upon the Son mentions in plain terms, that his father was a Surgeon. I have borrowed the word *nevertheleſs* from Mr. de Launoi, who writes thus, "Attamen Thiriotus ait, *Hadrianum* "*fundatiſſima & nobiliſſima ſatum eſſe familia.* His "enim verbis utitur: *Franciſcus primum in duorum* "*inferiorum Navarræ ſodalitiorum diſciplinam re*"*ceptus eſt, & Caroli IX liberalitate ad Rhetoricas* "*& Philoſophicas Inſtitutiones eruditus. Deinde* "*humaniores literas ibidem docuit &c.*" i. e. "*Ne*"*vertheleſs Thiriot ſays*, that Adrian deſcended "from a very ancient and noble Family. *For he ex*"*preſſes himſelf in theſe words*: Francis was firſt "received into the ſchool of two of the inferior "ſocieties of Navarre, and by the liberality of "Charles IX inſtructed in Rhetoric and Philoſophy. "Afterwards he taught polite Literature in the ſame "place (1)." Theſe two authors might be eaſily reconciled, by ſaying that the Latin expreſſion *nobiliſſima familia* does not import what the French call *a very noble family*, ſince Surgery in France is not the profeſſion of *a Gentleman*: This is what Thiriot meant. If Mr. de Launoi took that expreſſion in the ſame ſenſe, the proofs he produces are both uſeleſs, and without any force. It is uſeleſs to prove that the character of a Gentleman is given to one, when he is ſaid, in expreſs terms, to come of a very noble family, in the ſenſe in which the French take that word; and if to prove a thing ſo plain in itſelf, one ſhould ſay, that ſuch a perſon had been a Fellow of the College of Navarre, or, that he had taught there the ſecond form; it would be very plain, that he minded not what he ſaid. Such proofs of Nobility were never admitted. It is therefore very likely

(1) Launoius, *Hiſt. Gymnaſii Navarr.* pag. 799, 800.

He was Preacher and Almoner to the King, and Head of the College of Navarre (*b*), when the Univerſity of Paris in 1594, took an oath of allegiance to Henry the Great. About the ſame time he was made Rector of the Pariſh Church of St. Andrew in Paris, and in 1604 Biſhop of Treguier. He died the 28th of July 1616, and was buried in his

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 371, 372.

likely, that not only Michael Thiriot, but Mr. de Launoi too, underſtood by *nobiliſſima familia*, a family that deſerved ſome regard, and made a good figure; but not a Gentleman's family. This ought to be minded in the Latin Panegyrics upon Men of learning; for we ſhould be greatly miſtaken if we imagined all thoſe to be Gentlemen, of whom it is ſaid, *nobili loco, nobili genere, nobili proſapia oriundi*. I know that Francis d'Amboiſe ſtyles himſelf *Eſquire*, in his edition of Abelard's works, but that proves, at moſt, that either he, or his father, had been raiſed to the rank of a Gentleman, and not that his father was a Gentleman and Chirurgeon at the ſame time. A thought comes into my head, which you ſhall have as cheap as I have it, viz. that perhaps the Anceſtors of Francis d'Amboiſe fell from their rank, and he obtained the reſtoration of his family to its former dignity. Nay, who knows but that he was deſcended from a baſtard of the illuſtrious family of Amboiſe? This ſeems to have moſt appearance of truth; for he tells us, that he went to the Convent of the Paraclet to collect there all the works of Peter Abelard he could, and that he was well received by the Abbeſs Mary de la Rochefoucaut, his relation, *whoſe grand mother by the father's ſide*, ſays he, *Antonietta d'Amboiſe, wife to the Lord of Barbeſieux, Knight of the Order, was the only daughter of Guy d'Amboiſe, and grand-daughter and heireſs to Charles Lord of Chaumont, Marſhal of France:* ſo that the whole inheritance of that moſt ancient family fell to her, and ſhe transferred the eſtate of the elder branch to the family of Rochefoucaut. *Totam vetuſtiſſimam familiam crevit, & primogenita noſtra ad Rupifocaldos tranſtulit* (2). It is ſomewhat extraordinary that the ſon of a Surgeon to Charles IX ſhould have ſpoke in this manner (*a*). Note, that it is undeniable, that a branch of the illuſtrious family d'Amboiſe either remained obſcure, or fell into a mean condition. The Surgeon to Charles IX was perhaps come of that branch.

(2) Franc. Amboeſus, *Præfatione Apologetica in opera Abælardi.*

§ (*a*) This man's deſcendants ſuppoſe themſelves to be a branch of the illuſtrious family of Amboiſe, becauſe they bear the ſame name; but their ſuppoſition is evidently falſe, ſince there is no manner of doubt but that,

I, John d'Amboiſe, father of Francis d'Amboiſe, was a native of Douai in Flanders, and Surgeon to five Kings of France ſucceſſively, viz. Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III; that he was naturalized by Letters dated the 29th of January 1566, in quality of Valet de Chambre and Surgeon to Charles IX; that he died the 13th of December 1584; and was enterred in the church of Saint Gervas at Paris, with Mary Fromager his wife, who was daughter to John Fromager, ſworn Surgeon to the Châtelet at Paris, and alſo Surgeon to the King.

II, That Francis d'Amboiſe, Son of John, was Baron of la Chartre on the Loire, and Lord of Hémeri and Vezeul in Touraine &c. Counſellor, and afterwards Preſident in the Parliament of Bretagne: Advocate general of the great Council in 1586; Maſter of Requeſts in 1597; a Privy-Counſellor; and laſtly Counſellor of State in 1604; that he married on the 15th of January 1594 Margaret Couſinet, daughter of a Notary of Meaux, who in 1634 was ſtill alive: that in the month of July 1589 he was knighted by Henry III in conſideration of the ſervices his father had done to four of that Prince's predeceſſors.

Here follows a copy of his Letters Patent of Knighthood; granted by King Henry III, in the month of July 1589 to Francis d'Amboiſe, Preſident of the Parliament of Bretagne.

HENRY by the grace of God King of France and Poland, to all thoſe that are, and ſhall be, greeting. As it is honeſt and reaſonable that men of virtue ſhould be raiſed to titles and honours ſuitable to their merit, in order to encourage others to aſpire, by the ſame means, to the ſame, or to more ſublime dignities; we do hereby notify, that we being duly informed of the great, commendable, and virtuous deeds, actions, and behaviour of our dear and well beloved Mre. Francis d'Amboiſe, Lord of Vezeul, Counſellor and Advocate General of our Great Council, and Preſident of the Parliament of Bretagne, remembring the ſervices his deceaſed father has done to four Kings our Predeceſſors, and to us, and conſidering the great, acceptable, and faithful ſervices the ſaid d'Amboiſe has done us, as well in many employments and commiſſions he has been truſted with in this our kingdom, and when he went into Poland at the time of our election, as in the diſcharge of his two employments, in two of our ſupreme courts, which ſervices the ſaid d'Amboiſe continues moſtly near and about our perſon in many and divers manners, and hoping that he will acquit himſelf ſtill better for the future, deſiring to confer ſome kind of reward upon him in conſideration of his ſervices, and to raiſe him to a title and degree of honour, as his virtue and actions well deſerve, that by his example both his poſterity and other men of virtue and honour may be encouraged to behave themſelves in the like manner towards us, and this our crown; on theſe and other motives inducing us thereunto, have created him Knight, and honoured him with this title, in the preſence of many Princes and Lords of our blood, and other perſons of great diſtinction, that he may thereby enjoy and uſe for the future the title of Knight, with all the rights of Nobility, and all the honours, authority, privileges, exemptions, prerogatives, and pre-eminencies in all honourable aſſemblies, as well in judgment as elſewhere, as in the whole latitude they are enjoyed by other Knights, whether created by us, or by the Kings our Predeceſſors. We therefore enjoin our beloved and truſty ſubjects, holding our Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Sheriffs, Judges, or their Lieutenants, and all our beloved Juſtices, Officers and Subjects, each in his reſpective capacity, according to the tenor of theſe preſents, to make, ſuffer and allow the ſaid d'Amboiſe to enjoy and uſe fully and peaceably the ſaid rights of knighthood, honours, prerogatives, privileges, immunities and liberties belonging thereunto as above, and is cuſtomary on like occaſions. For ſuch is our will and pleaſure; and to the end this our gift and grant may remain for ever to the glory of the ſaid d'Amboiſe and his poſterity, we have cauſed our ſeal to be ſet to theſe preſents. Given at Pontoiſe in the month of July, the year of our Lord 1589, and 16th of our reign. Signed HENRY, and counter-ſigned by the King, POTIER, and aſide, *viſa contentor*. Signed COMBAUD, and ſealed with the great ſeal of green wax hanging by ſtrings of green and red ſilk.

III, That Anthony d'Amboiſe, his ſon, Baron of Hemeri &c. married, the 20th of October 1632, Anne de la Hiliere daughter of John Gabriel de la Stiliere, Governor of Amboiſe, and of Louiſa du Gaſt; and that after being Lieutenant of the Artillery in 1634, Colonel of the Regiment of Touraine, and Governor of the town and caſtle of Trino in Piedmont, he died Lieutenant General of the King's forces.

IV, That Charles Julius d'Amboiſe his ſon, likewiſe Colonel of the Regiment of Touraine, married Charlot du Gaſt, his own couſin, the 22d of September 1672.

And V, That of this marriage was born Giles-Anthony d'Amboiſe living in the city of Amboiſe in Touraine, where he married the 17th of January 1700, Paule Guichard daughter of the Mayor of the ſaid city, by whom he had one ſon and two daughters, who were alive in 1716.

It is ſuppoſed in a ſmall book, entitled *Index funereus Chirurgorum Pariſienſium ab anno* 1315 *ad annum*

his Cathedral, where we read great commendations of him in his epitaph [*B*]. He wrote no books, to my knowledge, except a French Tragedy entitled, *Holophernes*, which was printed in 1580 (*c*).

(*c*) Launoi, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* p. 800.

* James d'Amboiſe, brother of Francis, married Mary Longis, daughter of Joſeph Longis, Procurator to the Parliament, died the 5th of Auguſt 1605, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Nicholas in the Fields at Paris. He was father of Anne d'Amboiſe, his only daughter, married to David de Mondezir, Governor of la Fere in Picardy, and afterwards Lieutenant Gov. of Verdun.

num 1714, printed at Trevoux by Stephen Ganeau, in 1714, 12mo, that Francis Adrian, and James d'Amboiſe * ſons of John, were ſprung from the illuſtrious family d'Amboiſe †: and upon this falſe ſuppoſition, he, who is the only one that now remains of the iſſue of Francis d'Amboiſe, takes upon him to wear the entire coat of arms belonging to that noble family.

Had the late Mr. Bayle adviſed with me, when he began his Hiſtorical Dictionary, he would have wrote with more exactneſs and better grounds, on ſeveral things concerning Genealogies, which are advanced in his work, and, as they have not been afterwards redreſſed, will remain, in contradiction to truth, in all the editions of this excellent work ‡. REM. CRIT.

[*B*] *We read great commendations of him in his Epitaph.*] The reader perhaps will be glad to find his Epitaph here: I ſhall therefore copy it from Mr. de Launoi.

Amboeſi, pater eruditionum,
Argiva & Latia madens Minervâ,
Paulina in cathedra diſerte præco,
Idemque hæreſeos ſevere cenſor,
Priſcorum nova norma Epiſcoporum,
Antiſtes pie, pauperum patrone,
Cuſtos virginitatis atque amator,
Tu quocunque ieris, ſequeris agnum.

" Amboiſe, the father of learning,
" Well vers'd in Greek and Roman literature,
" Eloquent Preacher in St. Paul's chair,
" And ſevere cenſurer of hereſy,
" The new law of old Biſhops
" Pious Prelate, the Patron of the poor,
" The preſerver and lover of chaſtity;
" Wherever thou goeſt, thou ſhalt follow the
" lamb.

† *M. Joannes d'Amboiſe, pater Caſtelletti Chirurgus Regius ex nobiliſſima Amboeſiorum gente oriundus, tres habuit filios, in ſuo quiſque ſtatu percelebres . . . . Franciſcus, ſcilicet, Adrianus & Jacobus.* Index funereus Chirurgorum Pariſienſium, p. 22, 30, 32, &c.

‡ From Memoirs imparted by Mr. d'Hozier in 1716.

AMBOISE (JAMES D') a younger brother of the former, followed his father's profeſſion, and attained to a great ſkill in it; but after having given ſufficient proofs of his capacity in Surgery, he roſe ſome degrees higher, and took the degree of Doctor of Phyſick [*A*]. This promotion happened between the year 1582 and 1597; for Pineau witneſſes in a book he wrote in 1597 upon the ſigns of virginity, that James d'Amboiſe was then Doctor of Phyſick, but that he was only Maſter of Arts and Batchelor of Surgery, when with great dexterity he diſſected in the preſence of many famous Maſters a woman that was hanged in 1597 for the murder of her own child (*a*). Beſides, it is certain, that in 1582 he was but a Surgeon (*b*), and that he was Licentiate in Phyſick, and the King's Phyſician in 1594, when he was elected Rector of the Univerſity of Paris (*c*). The oath of allegiance which that Univerſity took to Henry the Great, and the action they entered againſt the Jeſuits happened in his Rectorſhip. There are ſtill extant two Latin Orations, which James d'Amboiſe pronounced, as Rector, before the Parliament, the 12th of May, and the 13th of July 1594; they are very ſevere againſt the Jeſuits. He had been a Member of the College of Navarre before he was Rector (*d*).

(*a*) See note [*A*].
(*b*) *Mich. Thiriot Laudat. Hadri. Amboſii* 1582. *apud* Launoium, *Hiſtoriæ Gymnaſii Navarræ*, p. 799.
(*c*) *Apud* Launoium, *Hiſt. Gym. Navarr.* p. 368. See alſo *Apology for Chaſtel*, p. 194.
(*d*) Launoius, ibid.

[*A*] *He followed his father's profeſſion, and attained to a great skill in it, and took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic.*] This may be proved from two paſſages: the one of Thiriot (1); *Natu minimus paternam, hoc eſt, ulceribus medendi artem amplexatus, multis ſalutarem manum feliciſſimè præbet*; i. e. " The youngeſt followed his father's profeſſion, that of curing " wounds, and has had a ſucceſsful hand with many." The other of Pineau; *Jacobus Amboſianus in artibus magiſter, & in chirurgia Baccalaureus (nunc autem in utrâque medicinâ doctor & medicus regius* (2);) i. e. " James d'Amboiſe, Maſter of Arts " and Batchelor in Surgery, but now Doctor in " both faculties of Phyſic and Royal Phyſician." Mr. de Launoi takes this to be the Surgeon of Charles IX, but is miſtaken.

(1) *Apud* Launoium, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* p. 799.
(2) Pinæus *de Virgin. notis* lib. 2. cap. 8.

AMBOISE (MICHAEL D') Eſquire and Seignor of Chevillon, flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. In his works he choſe a warlike, or rather a poetical name (*a*), which was no great imbelliſhment to them, nor could prevent his being buried in oblivion together with the vaſt number of his Poems. We neither find him, nor Francis d'Amboiſe, in Mr. Baillet's immenſe Collection, though he imagined, as we may preſume, that the title of his works would entertain for a long time the curioſity of the readers. One of his books entitled *Venereal Epiſtles, Fancies, Complaints, Epitaphs, thirty four Rondeaux, and three Ballads*, was printed at Paris in 1556. Another of his works is entitled *Le Blaſon de la Dent* (*b*). *The Counter-Epiſtles of Ovid* (*c*); that is, the letters he compoſed in anſwer to thoſe, which Ovid's Heroines wrote to their huſbands or gallants, promiſed great charms, but yet underwent the fate of his other poetical pieces, and are equally unknown. He ſet up for a tranſlator, and rendered into French verſe *four Satyrs of Juvenal* (*d*), *the 10th book of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, the Eclogues of Baptiſta Mantuanus* (*e*), and the Italian treatiſe of Antonio Phileremo Fregoſo, entitled *the Laughter of Democritus, and Tears of Heraclitus* (*f*). He wrote in heroic verſe a Lamentation on the death of Meſſire William du Bellai, Lord of Langey (*g*), and in proſe, the *Guidon des gens de guerre* (*h*). See the *Bibliotheque* of du Verdier Vau-Privas.

(*a*) The fortunate Slave.
(*b*) Printed at Lyons in 1537.
(*c*) Printed at Paris 1541.
(*d*) Printed at Paris 1543.
(*e*) Printed at Paris 1530.
(*f*) Printed at Paris 1547.
(*g*) Printed at Paris 1543. La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Franſoiſe*, p. 122.
(*h*) Printed at Paris 1543.

☞AMBOISE (GEORGE D') a famous Cardinal, and prime Miniſter to Lewis XII King of France, of a noble and ancient family [*A*], was born in the year 1460. As he was

[*A*] *Of a noble and ancient family.*] His father Peter d'Amboiſe, Lord of Chaumonte upon the river Loire, was deſcended from Peter Lord of Berrie, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth Century, and whoſe grandſon Stephen married Margaret d'Amboiſe, by whom he had John, who after the death

was a younger ſon his parents reſolved to make him a Clergyman, and accordingly he was made a Doctor of Canon Law, while he was ſtill very young, and before he had made any conſiderable progreſs in learning: People of Quality thinking at that time that learning would diſgrace them, it was much eaſier to obtain the title of Doctor, than to acquire the neceſſary qualifications for it. D'Amboiſe was but fourteen years of age when part of the Canons of Montauban choſe him for their Biſhop. Though the reſt of their brethren had elected a Prieſt of that Church, who was a man of years, of great learning, merit, and experience, yet young d'Amboiſe carried it againſt him, by the intrigues of his brethren, and by the credit, which the eldeſt of them had with King Lewis XI. Some time after he was made Almoner to that King, in which poſt he behaved himſelf with great caution and prudence, which was abſolutely neceſſary under a Prince ſo ſuſpicious as Lewis was, who conſidered as ſo many enemies all thoſe who did but in the leaſt diſpleaſe him (*a*). Lewis XI dying the 30th of Auguſt 1483, his ſon Charles VIII ſucceeded him, and being but fourteen years of age, there aroſe great diſputes at the court of France concerning the Regency; and though the States of the Kingdom ordered that there ſhould be no Regent, that the King ſhould be crowned immediately, and the Kingdom governed in his name by a Council, of which the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon ſhould be Preſidents, and that the Lady De Beaujeu, Lewis XI's eldeſt daughter, ſhould take care of the King's education. The Duke of Bourbon readily complied with theſe regulations, but the Duke of Orleans was exaſperated, and would have immediately ſhewn his reſentment, had not his friends repreſented to him, that it was proper he ſhould ſtrengthen his party before he undertook any thing againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. D'Amboiſe, who was one of his moſt zealous partizans, and who had daily acceſs to the King, reſolved to inſpire him with as much inclination and eſteem for the Duke as he could, and to make him hate the Lady De Beaujeu (*b*), who being the King's Siſter and Governeſs, ruled the whole Kingdom in his name. He prevailed ſo far with him, that at laſt he conſented that his friends ſhould carry him away, to deliver him from the ſlavery in which the Lady De Beaujeu kept him. But this miſcarried through the treachery of the perſon who was to carry d'Amboiſe's letters to thoſe who were in the plot, and who communicated them to the King's Governeſs. D'Amboiſe was thereupon arreſted with one of his brothers, and with the celebrated Philip de Commines; and being queſtioned about this affair, returned an anſwer, which put it out of the power of his enemies to find him guilty [*B*]; yet he continued two years in priſon, and was at laſt (*c*) ſet at liberty by the means of the Lady de Beaujeu's Confeſſor, on condition that he ſhould not appear at court, but retire into his dioceſe. He bore this kind of baniſhment very impatiently [*C*], and wrote ſeveral very ſubmiſſive letters to the Dutcheſs of Bourbon (*d*), but to no purpoſe. She ſuſpected him, and thought, that if he returned to court, he would oppoſe her deſign, and contrive ſome plot to ſet the Duke of Orleans, his good friend and patron at liberty, who had been impriſoned, becauſe he had lately been engaged in a civil war againſt the King (*e*). Though d'Amboiſe employed the credit of his brothers and of all their friends, who were very numerous, the Dutcheſs could not be prevailed upon to give him leave to come to court. However after fifteen months ſhe granted it, but only on condition that his brothers ſhould anſwer for him, that he would not engage in any intrigue, which might diſpleaſe that Princeſs. D'Amboiſe would have promiſed any thing to be at liberty, but he was ſo firmly attached to the Duke of Orleans, that notwithſtanding all his promiſes, he was reſolved to let no opportunity ſlip, in order to deliver his patron out of priſon, and he employed all his endeavours ſo vigorouſly in this affair, that at laſt he brought it to a happy iſſue [*D*].

(a) Le Gendre, *Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe*, Liv. 1. tom. 1. p. 7. 10.

(b) *Hiſt. de Louis XII. par St. Gelais*, 4to, pag. 51. *ap. eund.* ib. p. 17.

(c) In the month of Feb. 1489.

(d) Thus the Lady de Beaujeu was called, after her husband had inherited the Dutchy, and all the eſtate of the elder branch of the houſe of Bourbon. Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 33.

(e) Le Gendre, ibid. p. 26.

death of his couſin Mathilde or Mahaut d'Amboiſe (who left no iſſue) inherited all the eſtate of the houſe of Amboiſe, and took the name and arms of that family. This happened in the year 1256; ſince that time none of John's deſcendants ever bore the name of Berrie; they all took that of Amboiſe, and have ennobled it by their merit as well as by the high poſts and dignities they have enjoyed. Peter d'Amboiſe, our Cardinal's father, was Lord Chamberlain to Charles VII and Lewis XI Kings of France; he married Ann de Beüil, Daughter of John IV, Lord of Beüil, great Maſter of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Infantry of France. Peter had eight daughters and nine ſons by Ann his wife, and our George d'Amboiſe was the youngeſt or at leaſt the youngeſt but one of all theſe ſons (1).

(1) Le Gendre, *Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe*, tom. 1. Liv. 1. p. 1-3.

[*B*] *An anſwer which put it out of the power of his enemies to find him guilty.*] Being asked by the Commiſſaries choſen by the Parliament, whether he was not one of the Conſpirators, and whether he did not do all that lay in his power, to have the King carried away, he anſwered boldly, that he had his orders for what he had done, and that he referred to what the King himſelf would declare. This anſwer rendred the action that was begun againſt him ſo difficult, that thoſe, who had begun it, thought fit to drop it. For how could they proſecute a man, who ſpoke thus? How could they puniſh him for a crime, of which the King himſelf, who was then about ſeventeen or eighteen years old, was alſo guilty (2)? This is my author's obſervation; but I doubt whether it will appear very juſt to the reader. For tho' the King had conſented to the reſolution of thoſe, who would reſcue him out of the hands of the Regent, yet it was treaſon to inſpire the King with ſuch a deſign. If d'Amboiſe's plea is good, any Counſellor, who adviſes a King to do an evil action, may plead the King's conſent, and thus evade the puniſhment, which he deſerves for his criminal advice.

(2) S. Gelais, *Hiſt. de Louis XII.* p. 57. *ap. eund.* ibid. p. 25.

[*C*] *He bore this kind of baniſhment very impatiently.*] Though he was then about thirty years of age, he was not yet conſecrated Biſhop, and having not acquired thoſe virtues and qualities, which are requiſite in a Biſhop, he could not exerciſe his functions with dignity: and beſides being uſed to the buſineſs and intrigues of the Court, he did not like ſuch a retired life as he was obliged to lead in his Dioceſe; ſo that he deſired nothing more than to come and exerciſe his function of Almoner to the King (3).

(3) Le Gendre, ibid. p. 36.

iſſue [*D*]. The Duke of Orleans being at liberty, and having procured the marriage of the King with Ann Princeſs Sovereign of Britany, he was in great favour at court, and d'Amboiſe his favourite ſoon felt the happy effects of it. For he was ſoon made Archbiſhop of Narbonne, but that See being too diſtant from the court, he left it with pleaſure for a See more conſiderable ſtill, I mean, that of Roan [*E*] in Normandy, having been choſen by the Chapter the 21ſt of Auguſt 1493. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of that Archbiſhoprick, the Duke of Orleans, who was Governor of Normandy, made him his Lieutenant General in that Province, with a power to act as if he had been Governor in chief. That Province was then in the utmoſt confuſion; the Noblemen oppreſſed the people, the Judges were corrupted or awed, the ſoldiers, who had been diſbanded ſince the late wars, infeſted the whole country, robbing and murthering all the travellers whom they met, but in leſs than a year's time d'Amboiſe by his conduct and prudence had the pleaſure to ſee the publick peace and tranquillity reſtored in the Province, which had been committed to his care. Charles VIII having reſolved in 1494 to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, and to go himſelf into Italy for that purpoſe, the Duke of Orleans ſet out before him, and d'Amboiſe, who ſeldom left the Duke, thought proper to viſit his Dioceſes, where he ſtaid but a very little while, but during his ſhort ſtay he regulated every thing ſo well, that he was in hopes to leave it in as good order as if he had reſided there. However he was not without ſome ſcruples about his non-reſidence; but as his Hiſtorian obſerves (*f*), ſome perſons of good ſenſe, who had not leſs probity, though they did not affect a ſevere air, or an outward ſhew of reformation, repreſented to him, that if he adhered to the perſon of the Duke, he would be able to procure infinitely more good to the Church and State, than if he reſided in his Dioceſe. D'Amboiſe yielded to this advice, and reached the Duke ſoon enough to be a witneſs of the victory he gained over the Fleet of the Neapolitans. After this victory Charles VIII made himſelf maſter of the whole Kingdom of Naples in eight days time. D'Amboiſe was in hopes that the Duke of Orleans being in Italy would go to Rome and procure him a Cardinal's Cap, but he was diſappointed by the Duke's ſickneſs, which prevented his journey to Rome, and obliged him to ſtay at Aſt (*g*). The King of France having ſoon after loſt his conqueſts in Italy, reſolved to recover them again; and to avoid the danger of loſing them a ſecond time, he entered into a treaty with ſome of the Princes of Italy, the firſt article of which was, that he ſhould begin with making himſelf maſter of the Milaneſe, which Dutchy was to be given to the Duke of Orleans, who was made Generaliſſimo of this new expedition. Accordingly the Duke ſent his equipage before him, but when every one expected that he was going to put himſelf at the head of the army, he ſuddenly altered his reſolution, and

(*f*) Id. ibid. p. 64.

(*g*) A city in Piedmont.

[*D*] *He uſed his endeavours ſo happily in this affair, that he brought it to a happy iſſue.*] Finding it was impoſſible to prevail with the Dutcheſs of Bourbon, who was inexorable, he thought the beſt way was to inſinuate himſelf into the King's favour, and to inſpire him by degrees with favourable ſentiments for the Duke. Charles VIII was now twenty years of age, and ſuffered impatiently, that his ſiſter ſhould rebuke him; and the young Lords, with whom he uſed to divert himſelf, often upbraided him with being too much ſubject to his ſiſter. D'Amboiſe uſed to take hold of theſe opportunities to ſpeak to the King in behalf of the Duke of Orleans. But what contributed moſt to the Duke's liberty was the following incident. Francis II was Duke of Britany, Ann his eldeſt daughter was to inherit his Dutchy. She was but twelve years old, when her father died, and had lately been married by Proxy to the Archduke Maximilian, ſon of the Emperor Frederic III (4); but this marriage was not yet conſummated. This marriage alarmed the Court of France, who could not but be extremely diſpleaſed to ſee that the Province of Britany would be annexed to the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. The Earl of Dunois, who was very much in favour with Ann of Britany, undertook to break her marriage with the Archduke, and to marry her to the King of France. She was a very beautiful Lady, and the King was already in love with her. But the greateſt difficulty was to perſuade that Princeſs, becauſe the King of France was actually in war againſt her; and ſhe could not eaſily conſent to marry an enemy. Dunois finding it very difficult to perſuade her, deſired d'Amboiſe to acquaint the King, that nobody was ſo proper to prevail with that Princeſs as the Duke of Orleans, who had been in love with her, and to whom that Princeſs bore ſtill ſome good will, tho' he was then married (5). Tho' the King earneſtly deſired to have this affair ſucceed, yet he was ſo much uſed to follow his ſiſter's (6) dictates, that he did not dare to take any reſolution without her knowledge. But at laſt being encouraged by d'Amboiſe, and by the young Courtiers, who could not bear to ſee him in a manner his ſiſter's ſlave, he went himſelf to deliver the Duke of Orleans out of Priſon, without giving the Dutcheſs of Bourbon the leaſt notice of his deſign. The Princeſs of Britany had ſtill ſome good will for the Duke of Orleans, as we have obſerved; but as there was then no probability that ſhe could ever marry him, he prevailed with her to marry the King (7).

(4) Or IV, according to ſome authors.

(5) With the King's youngeſt ſiſter.

(6) The Dutcheſs of Bourbon.

(7) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 415, 53.

[*E*] *He left it for that of Roan.*] When the Archbiſhoprick of Roan was become vacant, the King and the Duke of Orleans ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Chapter of that Cathedral, deſiring them to elect d'Amboiſe. The Deputation was compoſed of the moſt eminent and powerful Lords of the Court, and of the principal Officers of the city of Roan, and Province of Normandy. The Canons anſwered that they had a very great reſpect for the King, that they honoured the Duke, and eſteemed the perſon propoſed to them; but as it was a matter of conſcience, they would act with the utmoſt caution and prudence, and examine thoroughly what was moſt conducive to the welfare and happineſs of their Church. But this anſwer was calculated only to ſalve the appearances, and to keep at leaſt a ſhadow of liberty; for how could they refuſe conforming to the dictates of the Court (8)? This is my author's reflexion, who ſeems thereby to diſapprove that Princes ſhould meddle with the elections of Biſhops. It does not become us to determine which is moſt for the peace and ſecurity of Church and State, that Clergymen ſhould be choſen either by the people, by their brethren, or by the Sovereign; but we cannot forbear laying before the reader an obſervation of the celebrated Father Paul. That excellent author lays it down as matter of fact, that the beſt Biſhops were made by Princes, and that whenever the Clergy had the conducting of their own elections infinite diſorders enſued (9).

(8) Id. ibid. p. 57.

(9) See Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Traité des Benefices*, § 9.

and gave ſome frivolous pretence for his ſtaying at home. The King was exceedingly diſpleaſed at this, and accuſed d'Amboiſe of being the author of the Prince's change; and indeed this Prelate had repreſented to the Duke, that the King being in a bad ſtate of health could not live long; that therefore the Duke would act very imprudently to be abſent from court at a time that he was very near mounting the throne (*h*), for he was now the next heir to the crown, ſince the death of the Dauphin, the King's only ſon, which happened a little while after the conqueſt of Naples. This advice which d'Amboiſe gave the Duke would have coſt him dear [*F*], if the King had lived ſome time longer, but he died April the 7th, 1498, and by his death the Duke of Orleans aſcended the throne under the name of Lewis XII, and d'Amboiſe became his prime Miniſter. The firſt thing he did in the very beginning of his adminiſtration made him very much beloved by the whole nation: It was the cuſtom in France, when a King came to the crown, to lay a tax upon the people for defraying the charges of the Coronation, and for wiſhing joy to the new Sovereign; but by d'Amboiſe's advice this tax was not levied at the acceſſion of Lewis XII, which perſuaded the people, that the prime Miniſter was ſincere, when he promiſed to do all that lay in his power to eaſe the nation of the burden under which ſhe had long groaned. And indeed immediately after the Coronation d'Amboiſe diminiſhed a tenth part of all the taxes, and ſtill continued to leſſen them, till he had reduced them to one third of what they were before (*i*), and notwithſtanding the wars in which the Kingdom was involved afterwards, yet none of the taxes that had been taken off were again laid upon the people, during d'Amboiſe's adminiſtration (*k*). This is ſo much more to the honour of this Miniſter, that there are few, very few, on whom ſuch an encomium can be juſtly beſtowed. D'Amboiſe's Hiſtory is henceforth ſo much interwoven with the Hiſtory of France and the adjacent countries, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give an account of that famous Stateſman, without tranſcribing the whole Hiſtory of his time; and as this would make this article run to an exorbitant length, we muſt content ourſelves with ſelecting ſuch particular circumſtances in his life, as are moſt remarkable. Moſt of the Judges in all the Courts of France being mercenary, they ſuffered themſelves to be bribed or awed, ſo that thoſe perſons that were poor or unſupported could never have juſtice done them againſt the rich or powerful. Another grievance was, that all law-ſuits laſted ſo long, were ſo expenſive, and attended with ſo many *ebicanes* and captious evaſions, that people choſe rather to give up their own property, than to endeavour to recover it by a tedious and precarious courſe of law. D'Amboiſe reſolved to redreſs all theſe grievances: He ſent for thoſe Judges and Lawyers, who paſſed for the moſt honeſt and learned, and charged them to examine what was to be done in order to have juſtice impartially adminiſter'd, to leſſen the time and expences of law-ſuits, and to prevent corruption and all ill practices in the Judges (*l*). When the perſons, whom he had appointed for that purpoſe, had declared what was to be altered in the ancient laws, and what new laws it was proper to enact, d'Amboiſe took upon himſelf the trouble of examining exactly their performance, and having made ſome improvements in it, he publiſhed theſe new regulations thro' the whole Kingdom, by the King's authority. And having been made Governor in chief of Normandy, ſince the King's acceſſion to the Crown, he went himſelf into that Province, with the important title of General Reformer, to eſtabliſh his new code there (*m*). Whilſt this affair was upon the carpet, the Prime-Miniſter undertook another more difficult ſtill, which was to diſſolve the King's marriage with Jane of France, Lewis XI's eldeſt daughter. Tho' this was a very difficult attempt [*G*], d'Amboiſe found means

(*h*) Le Gendre, ibid. p. 78.

(*i*) Father Daniel (*Hiſt. de Franc.* tom. 7. p. 7.) ſays only, the King remitted the people one third of all the taxes.

(*k*) Le Gendre, ibid. Liv. II. p. 87, 88.

(*l*) Id. ibid. p. 92.

(*m*) Idem, ibid. p. 102, 103.

[*F*] *D'Amboiſe's advice to the Duke would have coſt him dear.*] The King ſuſpecting d'Amboiſe of being the author of that advice, was exaſperated againſt him, and could not forgive him that he ſhould look upon him as a dying man. D'Amboiſe's enemies knowing he was under the King's diſpleaſure took that opportunity to ruin him entirely. This Prelate had been obliged to uſe ſome ſeverity in order to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity in the Province of Normandy, by which means he had provoked againſt him a great many perſons, who uſed to enrich themſelves by plundering and oppreſſing the people. They reſolved to be revenged, and repreſented to the King that in a little time he would loſe all his authority in Normandy, that the Duke of Orleans acted in that Province more like a Sovereign than like a Governor, and that d'Amboiſe his Lieutenant or Deputy exerciſed there an unlimited authority. The intention of this cabal was to deprive the Duke of Orleans of his government, and to have d'Amboiſe baniſhed to Aſt; the King being very much diſpoſed to hearken to their inſinuations, they would certainly have compaſſed their deſign, if the King's death had not prevented it (10).

(10) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79, 81.

[*G*] *This was a very difficult attempt.*] The Prime-Miniſter knew very well, that this deſign would expoſe him to the cenſure not only of thoſe, who love to co-oppoſe in every thing the conduct of the Government, but alſo of pious perſons, who conforming their actions to the moſt ſtrict rules of morality, think it a crime in others to recede in the leaſt from thoſe rules, tho' it be to promote the public good. But d'Amboiſe deſpiſed ſuch cenſures; he conſidered that the intereſt of the Kingdom required, that the King ſhould have children; but Lewis XII had none, and no hopes of having any by his Queen. The greateſt difficulty for the divorce was to have the Pope's conſent. To prevail with the holy Father, the King promiſed to marry Cæſar Borgia his ſon to a daughter of the King of Naples and to give him a good penſion. On theſe conditions the Pope conſented to name Commiſſaries for enquiring into the cauſes of the divorce. Theſe reaſons were, that Lewis had never given his conſent for this marriage, and that he had not conſummated it. Theſe reaſons would have been good, ſay my author, if they had been true. But it was obſerved with regard to the firſt, that Lewis had never complained of his being forced to marry Jane of France, or if he did complain at firſt, yet he had lived a long time with

means to bring it to a happy iſſue, by procuring to Cæſar Borgia, Pope Alexander VI's ſon, the Dutchy of Valentinois, with a penſion of twenty thouſand Livres. Alexander in return ſent d'Amboiſe a Cardinal's Hat, and the King augmented his ſalary. The new Cardinal procured afterwards the King's marriage with Ann of Britany, the late King's widow, though the inhabitants of Britany were very much averſe to it [*H*]. When Lewis XII was proclaimed King, he added to his titles that of Duke of Milan, which he claimed as principal heir of Valentine his grandmother, only ſiſter and ſole heireſs of Duke Philip-Maria, the laſt legitimate Prince of the houſe of Viſconty (*n*). Accordingly the Cardinal-Miniſter engaged the King to invade the Milaneſe, and that he might not be diſappointed, he prevailed with all the powers of Italy not to oppoſe this undertaking [*I*]. D'Amboiſe, though Archbiſhop of Roan, Cardinal, and Prime-Miniſter, was at that time honoured with a new dignity. The Pope, to ſecure him to his own intereſt, made him his Legate through the whole Kingdom of France, at which every one was very much ſurprized [*K*]. But d'Amboiſe acted in that poſt with ſo much prudence and wiſdom, that both the King and the Pope were ſatisfied with his conduct (*o*). When he had taken poſſeſſion of his Legateſhip, he went with the King into Italy, where, by the good orders he had given, the French army ſucceeded ſo happily, that in twenty days (*p*) the Dutchy of Milan and the State of Genoa (*q*) fell into the hands of Lewis XII (*r*). But he did not keep this conqueſt long, for the Milaneſe revolted ſoon after the King and the Cardinal were returned into France. This revolt made all the French murmur againſt the Cardinal, as if he had been the occaſion of it; and indeed it is very difficult to excuſe him entirely [*L*]. The King himſelf, though he loved him, began to be moved with the reproaches that were caſt upon his Miniſter. But d'Amboiſe had ſo great an aſcendant over his maſter, that he

(*n*) Id. ibid. pag. 86.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 124.

(*p*) Daniel, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 7. p. 27.

(*q*) Genoa was at that time in the power of the ſons of Francis Sforza. Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 130.

(*r*) In 1419.

ſoon

with her, without proteſting againſt his marriage. As to the ſecond reaſon, it could hardly be believed, that he had cohabitated ſo long with her, without conſummating his marriage, eſpecially after his ſpouſe had done all that lay in her power, and took a great deal of pains, to deliver him out of priſon in the reign of Charles VIII. Theſe conſiderations would have rendred the divorce very difficult, if the queſtion had been about private perſons; but when the public good is concerned, when a whole Nation deſires that a Prince ſhould have children, mere probabilities become ſtrong proofs, eſpecially if one of the parties concerned, who might juſtly exclaim againſt the divorce, ſeems to conſent to it. Jane of France did not oppoſe her divorce, either thro' inſenſibility, or becauſe ſhe had no hopes of having juſtice done her. She ſubmitted to the ſentence by which her marriage was declared void, having been perſuaded to it by d'Amboiſe, in whom ſhe confided very much. The Pope confirmed that ſentence, and Cæſar his ſon brought the Bull into France; and in return the King married him, not to the Princeſs of Naples, who refuſed him, tho' ſhe was herſelf deſcended from a baſtard; but to Charlotte of Albret, a Princeſs of great merit and perfect beauty (11).

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 94, 98.

[*H*] *The inhabitants of Britany were very much averſe to the marriage of Ann of Britany with Lewis XII.*] Lewis had been in love with Ann of Britany for twelve years, and ſhe loved him before ſhe was married to Charles VIII, to which marriage ſhe conſented only to prevent the entire ruin of her Dutchy of Britany. Finding it was now her intereſt as well as her inclination to marry Lewis XII, ſhe eaſily gave her conſent to it. They were nearly related, but it was eaſy to get the Pope's diſpenſation, ſince the King had already done ſo much for him. One thing only vexed the Queen Dowager, and that was, the fear ſhe was in, that if ſhe married the King, the Dutchy of Britany would become a Province of France, to which ſhe would by no means conſent, deſiring to ſecure the independency that Dutchy had enjoyed till then. It was for this ſame reaſon that the inhabitants of Britany were againſt the intended marriage, and for that very reaſon the French deſired it. The expedient, which the Miniſter found out to remove the fear of the former, and to ſatisfy at the ſame time the deſire of the latter, was to inſert in the marriage-contract, that Britany would be ſubject to the King's authority in ſuch a manner as to preſerve its liberty, and that it ſhould be governed by its own ancient laws and cuſtoms; and the Queen herſelf ſhould receive the revenues of that Dutchy (12). The event has ſhewn that the fears of the Queen Dowager, and of the inhabitants of Britany were but too well grounded, that Province having like the reſt of the Kingdom been ever ſince ſubject to the abſolute authority of the Kings of France.

(12) Id. ibid. p. 100, 101.

[*I*] *He prevailed with all the powers of Italy not to oppoſe this undertaking.*] It was very natural for them to fear, that if the King of France became powerful in Italy, they ſhould all very ſoon be reduced to the condition of ſubjects, or vaſſals to him: But d'Amboiſe knew not only how to remove their fears, but alſo to raiſe their hopes. He promiſed the Pope that the French ſhould aſſiſt his ſon Cæſar Borgia to conquer Romagna. He flattered the Florentines, that thoſe places, which Charles VIII had taken from them, and had delivered to thoſe of Piſa, ſhould be reſtored to them: And by this means he engaged them to aſſiſt the French with troops, proviſions, and money. He promiſed the Venetians, that they ſhould have for their ſhare Cremona with its territory, and all the country that lies beyond the river Adua. How blind muſt all theſe Powers have been, ſince they did not perceive, that if they ſuffered the King of France to eſtabliſh himſelf in their neighbourhood, they gave themſelves a Maſter, who would certainly ruin them all at one time or other! The true intereſt was to unite all their forces in order to keep the French beyond the Alps (13).

(13) Idem, ibid. p. 120, 121.

[*K*] *The Pope made him his Legate . . . . at which every one was very much ſurprized.*] One might quote on this occaſion theſe words of our Lord, *No man can ſerve two maſters* (14): For how was it poſſible for the ſame perſon to be at once the Pope's and the King's Miniſter? How could the Pope and the King, who have often different intereſts to debate, truſt their affairs in the hands of the ſame perſon? And when theſe Princes happen to be at variance, how can the ſame perſon be faithful to both at the ſame time? D'Amboiſe did not regard ſuch diſcourſes, which were common at court, and among all ſorts of people. As he had a great inclination to be Pope, he was glad to act in a manner as a Pope in France, till he could do it over all Chriſtendom. His Hiſtorian adds, that he was ſo prudent that he exerciſed his Legateſhip in ſuch a manner, as never to act either againſt the authority of the Pope, or the liberty of the Kingdom, even during the greateſt miſunderſtanding and diviſions between the King and the Pope (15).

(14) Matt. vi, 24.

[*L*] *It is very difficult to excuſe him entirely.*] 1. He had given the government of Milan to a man (16) ſo haughty, proud, and covetous, that he ſoon made himſelf extremely odious to the inhabitants of Milan. D'Amboiſe knew his character, but he thought that being an Italian, he would be better obeyed, than a foreigner. 2. He gave the brave

(15) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 124.

(16) John James Trivulce.

ſoon pacified him, after which he did not much regard the envious inſinuations of his enemies. He immediately reſolved to repair the loſs, which the Kingdom had ſuſtained, by endeavouring to recover the Milaneſe. He went himſelf again into Italy, and in a little time he made himſelf maſter of the whole Dutchy, and took Lewis Sforza priſoner (*s*), but his conduct at that time was very far from being generous [*M*], for it was rather by means of money, and by treachery, than by the bravery and courage of his army, that he vanquiſhed the enemy. Being at Milan he treated that city in a very haughty manner [*N*], though he ſpared the lives of the inhabitants. He now took much better meaſures to ſecure his conqueſts than he had done the firſt time. He deprived John James Trivulce of the government of Milan, becauſe by his haughtineſs and his extortions he had very much contributed to the late revolt. Chaumont d'Amboiſe, the Miniſter's nephew, was put in Trivulce's place, and was alſo made General of the armies in Italy. Chaumont was a very young man of great hopes, but had not yet any conſiderable reputation or experience, ſo that the choice his uncle made of him was generally diſapproved. But he ſoon convinced all the world by his courage and prudence, that he was not unworthy the high poſts with which he was intruſted. The Cardinal alſo reſtored the military diſcipline, made new regulations, and took effectual methods to have the Laws put in execution. He put in the ſeveral cities ſuch garriſons as were ſufficient

(*s*) April the 10th 1500.

Stuart d'Aubigny a ſhare in the command of the army with Trivulce: but for this he was very much blamed; becauſe theſe Generals being both very haughty could never agree, and their miſunderſtanding could not but create new conteſts not only among the inhabitants, but even in the very army. And indeed they could not ſuffer one another; and their miſunderſtanding came to ſuch a height, that if the one deſired any thing, it was a ſufficient reaſon for the other to oppoſe it. 3. He left but very few troops in the towns of the Milaneſe, being afraid to oppreſs the people, and in order to gain their affection. But this, ſaid his enemies, was very imprudent, conſidering the unſteady, reſtleſs, and ſeditious temper of the people (17). Theſe are the reaſons for which d'Amboiſe was blamed, and it muſt be confeſſed, that if he acted as a generous man, who had a good opinion of his friends, and of the people he conquered, he acted alſo as a bad Politician, who ought never to truſt thoſe, whom he has vanquiſhed by the force of arms. Conqueſts cannot be kept but by the ſame means by which they are made.

(17) Le Gendre, ibid. p. 132-139.

[*M*] *His conduct at that time was far from being generous.*] Part of Lewis Sforza's army conſiſted of Swiſs; and Sforza not receiving money, as he expected, to pay them, they threatned him, ſometimes to plunder his towns, ſometimes to return into their own country, or to join the French army. D'Amboiſe knowing their diſcontent and murmurs, he ſent ſome Emiſſaries among them, who promiſed them a large ſum of money, if they would abandon their General, and a much greater ſum, if they would deliver him up to the French. His offers were accepted; the Swiſs of Sforza's army told him, they were reſolved not to fight againſt the Swiſs, their friends and relations, who were in the French army; and immediately they all retired into the city of Novara. The unhappy Prince not knowing which courſe to take, was obliged to follow theſe traytors. He had no ſooner enter'd the city, but the French army ſurrounded it, leſt he ſhould eſcape out of their hands. In this laſt extremity the only reſource of Sforza was to entreat the Swiſs, and to offer them money to induce them to maintain a ſiege in Novara, or at leaſt make a general ſally to conceal his eſcape. But they would not hearken to him, becauſe he had nothing to give them at that time. The only favour he could obtain from them, was, that he ſhould be permitted to go out with them in the habit of a Swiſs, to try if he could eſcape in that diſguiſe; for they had agreed with d'Amboiſe that they ſhould go out of Novara like a vanquiſhed army with their pikes reverſed, and their colours folded up. But this was not enough for the Cardinal; fearing to loſe his prey, he required that the Swiſs ſhould go out of the city two together only, and file through the French army drawn up in two lines. This was a moſt ſure way to prevent Sforza's eſcape; and indeed he was ſoon taken, having been either betrayed, as it was then the general opinion, or diſcovered, notwithſtanding the diſguiſe he was in (18).

(18) Id. ibid. p. 149-153.

[*N*] *He treated that city in a very haughty manner.*] As ſoon as Sforza was in the power of the French, the Citizens of Milan ſent deputies to d'Amboiſe to implore his mercy. The Cardinal anſwered their prayer only by a ſevere look; and going to Milan, he did not lodge in the Duke's palace, as the inhabitants had deſired him, but in the caſtle, where there was ſtill a French garriſon; and the cannons of the caſtle were turned againſt the city, as though the intention had been to deſtroy it: The citizens were under a terrible conſternation; they let d'Amboiſe know that they ſubmitted their poſſeſſions and their lives to his mercy, and to mitigate his reſentment, the men, women and children, ſome in mourning clothes, others in ſack-cloth, all in tears, went to the caſtle, and falling upon their knees before the gate of it, cried in a doleful manner, *Mercy! Mercy!* A rumour had been ſpread, that the Garriſon was going to ſally out, to deſtroy the city by fire and ſword. But the Cardinal's intention was only to ſtrike a terror upon the citizens; yet without ſhewing that he was inclined to mercy, he ordered them to meet on Good-friday (19) in the court of the town-houſe, there to hear their ſentence. Accordingly the Gentry, Citizens and common people of Milan met at the appointed time and place; not in a crowd and in confuſion, but in ſeveral bodies diſtinguiſhed by different ſtandards, forming a proceſſion, at the head of which were placed the young children, in order to move the Cardinal's compaſſion, who from a window of the caſtle viewed the proceſſion. When they were arrived at the town-houſe, D'Amboiſe began his march, being cloathed in the Cardinal's garments, and having his croſs carried before him. In this kind of a triumph he was attended by all the Nobility of the army, and by an infinite number of people, who followed him to the town-houſe. At the upper end of the court there was a large amphitheatre; in the midſt of which they had erected a throne, on which the Cardinal ſeated himſelf, having on each ſide the principal Officers civil and military. As ſoon as he arrived, the Nobility, Citizens and people of Milan, who waited for him in the court, fell down upon their knees, and continued in that ſituation, whilſt their Speaker bare-headed and on his knees, made a long ſpeech to beg pardon for what they had done, promiſing in their name, that they would be faithful and loyal for the future. The Speaker happening to quote the example of St. Peter, and to ſay that this Apoſtle's fall ſerved to ſtrengthen his faith, the Cardinal interrupting him, ſaid with a threatening voice, St. Peter denied his Maſter three times; but if this people ſhould commit again the ſame fault, there will be no more pardon for them; Milan will be deſtroyed to the very foundation, and all the people put to the ſword without the leaſt mercy. Theſe words tho' ſevere, yet gave the people hopes that for this time they ſhould be pardoned; and accordingly, when another perſon, who ſpoke by the Cardinal's command, had reproached them in a very ſtrong tho' noble manner with their inconſtancy and infidelity, d'Amboiſe with a loud voice pronounced the Act of Grace in the King's name.

(19) A. D. 1500.

(20) Id. ibid. p. 158-162.

ſufficient to prevent a new revolt of the inhabitants (*t*). He ſent the reſt of the French army to ſerve one part under the Florentines, and another much more conſiderable under Ceſar Borgia Duke of Valentinois I; but in this he ſeems to have conſulted his private intereſt much more than that of his King and Country, as we ſhall ſhew in the Remark [*O*]. D'Amboiſe having ſettled every thing in the Milaneſe returned into France, where he was received by the King, the Nobility, and the People, with the greateſt honours that can be imagined. Lewis XII maſter of the Milaneſe and of Genoa, reſolved alſo upon the conqueſt of the Kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand King of Caſtile and Arragon had the ſame deſign, though the King of Naples was his relation. The King of France and Caſtile entered into a treaty, by which they agreed to divide the Kingdom between them. Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria; and Lewis's ſhare was Abruzzo, Terra-di-Lavoro, and the city of Naples. D'Amboiſe was the author of this partition-treaty, and all the people of France murmured againſt him, for having made ſuch an alliance with Ferdinand, who having no regard for his oath or promiſes, would one time or other find means to deprive the French of their ſhare. D'Amboiſe to excuſe himſelf ſaid, that this partition had already been mentioned in the reign of Charles VIII; but it was anſwered that times were now altered, and that Lewis being maſter of the Milaneſe and of Genoa, was in a much better condition than his predeceſſor, to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, and to keep it after it was conquered. D'Amboiſe not regarding theſe murmurs, thought of nothing elſe but of putting his ſcheme in execution; and accordingly the Kingdom of Naples was conquered in a very little time, and ſoon became the occaſion of a war between Lewis and Ferdinand, each of them claiming the Capitanate (*u*). Lewis pretended that it belonged to Abruzzo, and Ferdinand maintained that it was a part of Apulia. This diſpute made the people murmur more than ever againſt the treaty which the Cardinal had made, becauſe they were afraid that this would involve them in a dangerous war againſt the King of Caſtile. D'Amboiſe was in hopes of avoiding the war, by making a treaty with Philip Archduke of Auſtria, ſon-in-law to Ferdinand, and father of the famous Emperor Charles V. But General Gonſalvo, who commanded Ferdinand's army in the Kingdom of Naples, refuſed to proclaim the peace, which the Archduke

(*t*) Le Gendre, ibid. 160--166.

(*u*) It is a ſmall county of the Kingdom of Naples, but ſo fruitful, that from an hundred leagues round about, people ſend their cattle to graze there in the winter, and the duty paid for it to the King amounts yearly to two hundred thouſand ducats; that is, about an hundred thouſand pounds.

[*O*] *He ſeems to have conſulted his private intereſt, more than that of his King and Country.*] With regard to Piſa, the Cardinal can be charged only with having acted imprudently, tho' perhaps he had no private view. Piſa and Florence were formerly two famous Commonwealths; and as they were neighbours, they were jealous of one another, and had been a long time at war together, till at laſt Piſa was entirely ſubdued by the Florentines. When Charles VIII went into Italy to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, he reſtored Piſa to its ancient liberty; and that city was ſince ſo well fortified, that the Florentines durſt not beſiege it. After the death of Charles VIII, the Florentines offered Lewis XII his ſucceſſor to aſſiſt him with money and proviſions for the conqueſt of the Milaneſe, if in return he would promiſe to lend them, if not money, at leaſt his troops to take Piſa. Lewis having agreed to this propoſal, no ſooner was the war of Milan finiſhed, but the Florentines preſſed him to perform his promiſe. Thoſe of Piſa on the other hand made ſeveral offers to the King, to diſſuade him from aſſiſting their enemies. The King's anſwer was, that he referred this affair to d'Amboiſe's deciſion. The Cardinal was very much perplexed to determine this matter; General Trivulce and ſome other Lords maintained, that it was not the King's intereſt to encreaſe the power of the Cities and Princes of Italy, but to keep them all in ſo low a condition, that they might be an eaſy prey for the French, whenever they ſhould think proper to attack them. On the other ſide, it appeared not only juſt, but even prudent to perform the promiſe that had been made to ſuch powerful Allies, as the Florentines then were. This reaſon, ſays my author, prevailed with d'Amboiſe, and engaged him to aſſiſt the Florentines (21). We may obſerve here, that with reſpect to the juſtice of aſſiſting the Florentines, there is no probability, that d'Amboiſe much regarded it; but as to the prudence of this action it may be very much diſputed, ſince the French were at that time ſo powerful in Italy, that they had no occaſion to fear the Republic of Florence. Or if that Republic was then formidable, would it not become much more ſo, by conquering Piſa and all the tetritories belonging to it? Nay it appeared ſoon after, that the Cardinal did not much fear the Florentines: They had not been able to conquer Piſa, tho' aſſiſted by the French troops. And the Piſans offering a ſum of money to the King of France, if he would take them under his protection, the King accepted their propoſal, notwithſtanding the complaints of the Florentines, who were themſelves obliged to enter with d'Amboiſe into a treaty, by which they promiſed to aſſiſt the French with money, proviſions, and men for the expedition of Naples (22). This makes me ſuſpect that the Cardinal had ſome ſecret reaſon for aſſiſting the Florentines againſt the Republic of Piſa. But as to the ſuccour he ſent to the Duke of Valentinois (23), it is plain that he acted from a view to his own private intereſt. His Hiſtorian tells us, that d'Amboiſe could hardly perſuade General Trivulce and ſome other great Officers of the neceſſity there was to ſend a body of troops to Borgia, to aſſiſt him in conquering all the cities of Romagna. France had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with that Duke's conduct, nor with that of his Father Pope Alexander VI. Tho' the Pope had promiſed to aſſiſt the French with men and money for the conqueſt of Milan, he had been ſo far from keeping his word, that a great many ſuſpected him, of having fomented the late revolt, and of being entred ſecretly into the league, which ſome Princes of Italy had made, to reſtore the family of Sforza. Beſides, Borgia the Pope's natural ſon was a very dangerous man, who made no ſcruple to break his word, and therefore was not to be truſted: and it was to be feared, that when he ſhould have made himſelf powerful by the help of the French, he would ſoon become the worſt of their enemies, and would do his utmoſt to ſend them back again beyond the Alps. Theſe reaſons were very ſtrong againſt aſſiſting him; but ſince the French had promiſed it, ſays my author, they could not refuſe it, without offending the Pope, which would have been very dangerous in thoſe circumſtances. But he adds, that there was another reaſon, which perhaps affected d'Amboiſe more; which was, that the time of his Legateſhip was juſt expiring, and he very much deſired, that the Pope would ſtill continue him his Legate. Alexander VI never did any thing out of generoſity, but uſed always to ſell his favours very dear. So that d'Amboiſe, to obtain from the Father what he deſired for himſelf, was obliged to aſſiſt the ſon (24). This was the true reaſon, why he ſent a great part of the French army to ſerve under the Duke of Valentinois, and in return the Pope continued him Legate in France, with a much greater power than that he had before (25).

(21) Id. ibid. p. 166--168.

(22) Id. Liv. 3. p. 182.

(23) Cæſar Borgia.

(24) Id. Liv. 2. p. 168--170.

(25) Id. ibid. p. 170.

Archduke had ſworn to in the name of his father-in-law, till he had received orders from Spain, and in the mean time he attacked the French ſo ſucceſsfully, that in eighteen months he drove them out of all the places they held in the Kingdom of Naples. This gave the enemies of the Prime-Miniſter a freſh occaſion to murmur againſt him, as though he had neglected to ſend freſh ſupplies to the French army in Italy. The Cardinal, to appeaſe theſe complaints, raiſed a powerful army, by which he was in hopes of recovering the Kingdom of Naples. But his own ambition rendered this new expedition unſucceſsful. The French troops in their march to Naples were come within about ſix leagues diſtance from Rome, when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was dead. He went immediately to Rome, and was ſo much the more in hopes of being choſen Pope, that he had a ſtrong party amongſt the Cardinals, and that thoſe Princes who had the greateſt intereſt to exclude him, ſeemed inclined to promote his advancement. The Emperor had ſeveral times flattered him that he would ſupport his intereſt; and the artful King of Caſtile had given the King of France ſome hopes of a ſpeedy peace, and aſſured the Miniſter that he would facilitate his acceſſion to the Papal Chair, in order to prevent them both from carrying on the war vigorouſly againſt him. D'Amboiſe depending too much upon theſe fair promiſes [P], thought he could not fail of the triple crown. But no ſooner were the Cardinals met in the Conclave, but he found he was diſappointed. Cardinal Francis Piccolomini Archbiſhop of Sienna was unanimouſly choſen, and took the name of Pius III; but as he died the twenty ſixth day after his election, d'Amboiſe conceived new hopes [Q], and was a ſecond time diſappointed, Cardinal Rovera having been choſen without oppoſition, who took the name of Julius II. This Pope, to comfort d'Amboiſe for the loſs of St. Peter's Chair, continued him in the Legateſhip of France, and made him alſo his Legate for Avignon and Britany (x). D'Amboiſe's impatient deſire of the Popedom was very detrimental to the affairs of France. For having delayed, at the requeſt of the Cardinals, the army that marched to Naples, they arrived a whole month too late to make an advantage of the weak condition in which the Spaniard's then were, and thus gave them time to ſtrengthen themſelves. Some other circumſtances, too long to be related here, concurred alſo to ruin entirely the affairs of the French in the Kingdom of Naples (y). D'Amboiſe ſeeing there were no hopes left to recover that Kingdom, thought now of ſecuring the Milaneſe, which the King of Caſtile threatened to attack [R]. But the moſt formidable enemy was the Emperor, who was ready to march into Italy with a very powerful army, either to invade the Milaneſe for himſelf, or to reſtore it to Sforza's family. D'Amboiſe went himſelf to the Emperor, and managed him with ſo much art and prudence, repreſenting to him that it was his intereſt to diſtruſt the King of Caſtile, and to enter into an alliance with France, that he prevailed with him to conclude a treaty, by which it was agreed, that Charles, the Archduke of Auſtria's ſon, and the Emperor's grandſon ſhould marry Lewis XII's daughter, though they were both ſtill but children. Another condition of the treaty was, that the Emperor ſhould give the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe to the King of France, who in return was to pay the Emperor an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns in two payments, and a pair of golden ſpurs every year. This treaty was very advantageous to France, becauſe it maintained the King in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, and obliged the King of Caſtile to ſign a truce with France. It was very happy for the Prime-Miniſter to have made this alliance, ſince if he had miſcarried in his undertaking, he would probably

(x) Britany was not yet annexed to the crown of France.

(y) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, Liv. 3, p. 173–264.

[P] *D'Amboiſe depended too much upon thoſe fair promiſes.*] He took ſo little care to hide his ambition, that he choſe for his Motto theſe words of the 119th Pſalm, *O Lord, put me not to ſhame* (26), or *ſuffer me not to be diſappointed in my expectation.* But the Cardinal's friends could not believe that the Emperor and the King of Caſtile were ſincere in the promiſes which they had made him; becauſe it was natural for them to think, that if d'Amboiſe was raiſed to be Pope, he would declare himſelf againſt them in favour of Lewis, his ancient Maſter, his friend, and his benefactor. D'Amboiſe could alſo eaſily perceive, that the Cardinals in the Conclave had no thoughts of raiſing him to the Papal Chair. For the Heads of the ſeveral parties publickly declared, that in the preſent circumſtances it was neceſſary for the good of the Church and the holy See, to make choice of a Pope, who would not favour particularly any of the Princes of Europe, and eſpecially thoſe of Italy, and who by his reſolution and wiſdom would unite thoſe who were at war together, and who without eſpouſing any party, would only apply himſelf to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity (27). Theſe conſiderations ſhould have perſuaded our Cardinal that his hopes were vain and ill-grounded. But ſuch is the weakneſs of men blinded by ambition, that they are always inclined to flatter themſelves, and to hope, that what they earneſtly wiſh for, will certainly come to paſs.

(26) Ver. 31.

(27) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, Liv. 3. p. 252.

[Q] *He conceived new hopes.*] The Duke of Valentinois and Cardinal Aſcanius Sforza gave him their words, that he ſhould certainly be now choſen. Nay the former appeared ſo zealous for d'Amboiſe, that he obliged all the Cardinals who were his dependants to promiſe upon oath, that they would vote for him. But notwithſtanding their oath, it was not likely, that to oblige Borgia, who had but very little power ſince his father's death, they would act againſt the intereſt of the King of Spain, who was their Sovereign, by placing a Frenchman in St. Peter's Chair. Beſides there was no reaſon to think, that Cardinal Sforza was ſincerely in d'Amboiſe's intereſt, ſince the only hope of Sforza's unhappy family was, that a new Pope would reſtore to them the Duchy of Milan, which they could not expect from ſuch a man as d'Amboiſe, who was entirely devoted to the King of France (28).

(28) Id. ibid. p. 255, 256.

[R] *The King of Caſtile threatned to attack the Milaneſe.*] A rumour had been ſpread that the Spaniſh army was advanced to conquer the Milaneſe; whereupon d'Amboiſe made all the haſte poſſible to go into that Dutchy, to keep the people in awe, and fortify the cities, and augment their garriſons. This rumour was ill-grounded; for Gonſalve (29), ſurnamed the Great Captain, who had the command over the Spaniſh Forces in Italy, was wholly employed in ſecuring his conqueſts, without having then the leaſt thought of making any other (30).

(29) His name was *Gonſalve Ferdinand de Corduba.*

(30) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, p. 274.

bably have loſt all his credit with the King, conſidering the ſtrong party that was formed againſt him at court [S]. But the ſucceſs of his negotiations with the Emperor put it into his power to avoid the ſtorm. He gained ſo much glory and reputation by them, that being returned to court his enemies durſt not ſpeak a word againſt him (z). Not long after d'Amboiſe's return into France the ſtate of affairs was changed entirely by the death of Iſabella or Elizabeth *(aa)*, Queen of Caſtile, which occaſioned great diviſions in that Kingdom [T]. Ferdinand deſiring to keep in his hands the adminiſtration of Caſtile, which by the Queen's death fell to Jane of Caſtile, who was married to the Archduke of Auſtria, was willing to enter into a treaty with France. The Cardinal, who knew it was the intereſt of that Kingdom to weaken the power of the Archduke, entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, who conſented to marry Germana de Foix, ſiſter of Gaſton Duke of Nemours, on condition that the King of France ſhould renounce the right he pretended to have over part of the Kingdom of Naples, adding only, that if Germana ſhould die without iſſue, the King's pretenſions ſhould remain in full force. The Cardinal's view by this marriage was, that if Ferdinand happened to have a ſon by his ſecond wife, that ſon would inherit the Kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, of which the Archduke would be thus deprived. Notwithſtanding this view, the treaty was diſliked by ſeveral perſons of Lewis's Council, who ſaid that the King would have done better to give the Princeſs a dowry in money, than to renounce his right. But the Cardinal repreſented that the circumſtances were ſuch, that there was no hope of recovering at any time the Kingdom of Naples, without exhauſting France of men or money *(bb)*. It would engage us in the entire hiſtory of France and Spain, if we were to give a farther account of d'Amboiſe's negotiations in Italy, Spain, and Germany, and what we have ſaid of him being ſufficient to give the reader a notion of his character and abilities, we ſhall conclude this article, with obſerving that he died at Lyons in his way to Italy, in order to carry on the war againſt the Venetians, the 25th of May 1510, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the twelfth ſince he had been made Prime-Miniſter. His death was occaſioned by the gout in his ſtomach, to which he was very much ſubject, becauſe he could not forbear drinking a little more than was neceſſary. Never was the funeral of any King or Queen more ſumptuous, than that which was made for him *(cc)*. Mr. Le Gendre, who wrote his hiſtory, gives him the nobleſt character that ever any Prime-Miniſter had. And what will certainly ſeem ſtrange in our days is, that this Cardinal never held but one Church-preferment at once, and had no other revenue but that of his Biſhoprick, and his ſalary as Prime-Miniſter, beſides his own eſtate, which was inconſiderable, and the preſents which he received ſometimes from the King. During his adminiſtration he took all poſſible care to make the ſciences and trade flouriſh. He was a great encourager of learning, and very generous, of which we ſhall give ſome inſtances in the Remark *(V)*. So that we muſt not wonder, that he was as much beloved by the generality of the people as by his own

(z) Idem, ibid. p. 274-279.

(aa) She died Nov. the 26th, 1504.

(bb) Id. Liv. 4 p. 283, 296.

(cc) Id. lib. 5. p. 459.

[S] *A ſtrong party was formed againſt him at court.*] The Head of that party, and the moſt dangerous of the Prime-Miniſter's enemies was the Marſhal De Gié, a man of quality, of the illuſtrious family of Rohan, and one who had very great credit, becauſe he was in favour with the Queen, who had a prodigious influence over the King. The Queen eſteemed and loved De Gié, becauſe he was born her ſubject, was related to her (31), and had always been very zealouſly affected to her intereſt. This Lord, tho' loaded with riches and titles of honour, yet proud of the protection of a powerful Queen, paſſionately deſired to be at the head of the State; and inceſſantly told the Queen, that affairs would have been attended with much better ſucceſs, if he had had the management of them; and that it was d'Amboiſe's fault, that things ſucceeded ſo unfortunately. Tho' the King was perſuaded of his Miniſter's merit and fidelity, yet he was ſenſibly afflicted to have loſt in leſs than a year's time his reputation, the Kingdom of Naples, his armies, and his fleet, and the large ſums of money, which had been ſpent in raiſing his armies, and fitting out his fleet (32); ſo that it was eaſy for d'Amboiſe's enemies to exaſperate the King againſt him. But the treaty, which he concluded with the Emperor, ſoon gained him the King's favour again, and turned the edge of his reſentment upon De Gié, who was baniſhed the court by a ſentence of the Parliament of Toulouſe, the moſt ſevere of all the Parliaments in the Kingdom (33).

(31) The houſe of Rohan had been a long time ally'd to that of Britany.

(32) Le Gendre, ibid. p. 276, 277.

(33) Id. ibid. p. 281, 282.

[T] *Iſabella's death occaſioned great diviſions in the Kingdom of Caſtile.*] She had left by Will the Kingdom to Ferdinand her husband to govern it, and enjoy the revenues of it during his life, under the title of Adminiſtrator for their daughter, Jane of Caſtile. This occaſioned the diſcontent of all the Grandees, who favoured the Archduke. But Ferdinand without regarding their murmurings, continued to govern the Kingdom as he had done before the Queen's death, yet without taking any more upon him the title of King of Caſtile, for fear of exaſperating more and more the people againſt him. He had loſt their eſteem becauſe he had been too ſubmiſſive to the will of his Queen, and they hated him, becauſe he had been too ſevere againſt them. He endeavoured now by all poſſible means to regain their love and eſteem, but to no purpoſe; all his arts, his careſſes, his promiſes were unſucceſsful, which obliged him to have his recourſe to France. He propoſed to Lewis XII to enter with him into an alliance; his intention was to prevent the French from aſſiſting the male-contents, and to engage them to help him, if he had occaſion for it. For the male-contents had already ſent ſome perſons ſecretly into France, to ſollicit aſſiſtance of that Kingdom. But d'Amboiſe was far from granting their requeſt; becauſe if on the one ſide it was the French King's intereſt to keep up a diviſion between the Grandees of Caſtile, it was on the other ſide much more for his advantage, to hinder the Archduke, as much as was poſſible, from taking poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, for fear leſt in caſe of a war, which was very likely to break out ſoon, that Prince ſhould be in a condition of doing great prejudice to France, if he ſhould attack it at the ſame time on the ſide of the Pyrenean mountains, and on the ſide of Flanders (34).

(34) Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 289, &c.

[V] *He was a great encourager of learning, and alſo very generous.*] He ſent for the moſt learned Men, who were then in Europe, and ſettled them at Genoa, Milan, and eſpecially in France. He gave the famous Paulus Emilius a Canonſhip at Paris, that by the opportunity of

own maſter, which is perhaps the greateſt encomium that can be beſtowed on a Prime-Miniſter (*dd*).

(*dd*) Le Gendre, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 2. liv. 6. pag. 1-120.

living in that city, he might eaſily conſult the Regiſters of the Parliament, and ancient Records for the Hiſtory of France, which he was writing (35). As for d'Amboiſe's generoſity, his Hiſtorian gives us this particular inſtance of it: The Cardinal had built a very magnificent palace upon a ſpot of ground belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of Roan. A Gentleman, who had a piece of land near that palace, wanted to ſell it, and deſired one of the Cardinal's ſervants to offer it his Maſter. The ſervant ſoon found an opportunity to ſpeak to the Cardinal, and told him that he had prevailed upon the owner to ſell it cheap. This was far from the Gentleman's intention. As he knew that the Cardinal was very generous, he was in hopes that he would give a good price for it. He was not diſappointed in his expectations. The Cardinal ſent for him, and told him, that he was in the wrong to diſpoſe of an eſtate, which had been a long time in the family. But the Gentleman anſwered, that he had married his daughter, and wanted ready money to pay her portion; and that the reſt of the money, which he ſhould receive for his land, being put out at intereſt, would yield him as much income as his land did. D'Amboiſe replied, that he would do better to borrow money for a long term of years, and without intereſt. It is true, ſaid the Gentleman, but where ſhall I find a perſon, who will lend money without intereſt, and for a long term of years? There are ſome ſtill, who will do it, replied the Cardinal, and I will lend you the money, which you want for your daughter's portion, and grant you ſo much time to pay that ſum, that part of your yearly income will be enough for it, and you ſhall not be obliged to ſell your eſtate. Mr. Le Gendre obſerves on this occaſion, that he doubts, whether it is poſſible to find in the Hiſtory of the Romans, Greeks, or any other Nation, a more ſhining inſtance of generoſity than this (36).

(35) Id. tom. 2. lib. 6. p. 71.

(36) Id. ibid. p. 61-63.

AMBROISE, General of the Order of Camaldoli, ſee CAMALDOLI.

☞AMBROSE of an illuſtrious and rich family, but more eminent ſtill for his wit and happy genius, and eſpecially for his piety, lived in the third Century (*a*). He was engaged at firſt in the hereſies of the Valentinians [*A*], but he was reclaimed from his errors by Origen's diſcourſes (*b*), and became one of his greateſt friends. He not only adviſed him, but alſo aſſiſted him in the works he compoſed, by ſupplying him abundantly with every thing he wanted. He procured him above ſeven perſons to write under him by turns what he dictated, and ſome young girls, who wrote a very good hand, to tranſcribe his books; and paid generouſly all the charges that were neceſſary to maintain theſe ſeveral perſons (*c*). He was made a Deacon of Alexandria, and lived often with Origen; they ſtudied together ſo cloſely, that even during their meals they could not forbear comparing together the books of the holy Scripture; nay they uſed to ſpend part of the night in their ſtudies, as Origen himſelf tells us (*d*), who often ſent his books to Ambroſe, deſiring him to correct them. But it ſeems Ambroſe was not always faithful to his friend, and publiſhed to the world what was intended for him only as an intimate friend [*B*]. During the perſecution which the church ſuffered under Maximinus, Ambroſe was in great danger, but far from ſinking under the weight of the perſecution, he gloriouſly maintained the cauſe of Chriſtianity, together with one Protoctetus a Prieſt of the church of Cæſarea; for which reaſon Origen addreſſed to them both his book of Martyrdom (περὶ μαρτυρίου) (*e*), Moreri and his Dutch tranſlators (*f*) have miſtook Euſebius's meaning in this place [*C*]. Ambroſe wrote ſome letters, which are mentioned by St. Jerom (*g*), who ſays they are full of wit. The time when Ambroſe died is unknown.

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Lit.* Vol. 1. pag. 85.

(*b*) Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 18. ed. Reading, fol. Cambridge, 1720. p. 278.

(*c*) Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 287.

(*d*) *Apud* Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Euſebius, ib. cap. 18. p. 293.

(*f*) David Van Hoegſtraten en Mattheus Brouërius Van Nidek, and A. G. Luïſcius.

(*g*) In Catal. c. 16.

[*A*] *He maintained at firſt the hereſies of the Valentinians.*] This we learn alſo from Origen himſelf, in the preface to the fifth volume of his *Expoſition of St. John's Goſpel* (1). However ſome Authors have ſaid, that Ambroſe did not follow Valentinus's hereſy, but that of Marcion: For Epiphanius writes, τινὲς δὲ Ἀμβρόσιον ἔφασαν αὐ μὲν Μαρκιωνίτην, οἱ δὲ Σαβελλιανὸν; that is, "Some ſay, Ambroſius was a Marcioniſt, o-"thers a Sabellian:" where Epiphanius wrote by miſtake a Sabellian, for a Valentinian (2).

(1) *See* Valeſii *Annot. ad* Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 18. not. 2.

(2) Valeſius, ib.

[*B*] *Ambroſe was not always faithful to his friend, and publiſhed to the world, what was intended for him only.*] When Origen was accuſed of having publiſhed ſome errors and hereſies, his friends endeavoured to excuſe him, by ſaying that ſeveral things had been inſerted in his works by his enemies (3). But St. Jerom aſſerts (4), that Origen's works had not been corrupted nor altered, and that the errors, which are found in them, were held by him: He adds, that Origen himſelf confeſſed it in a Letter he wrote to Fabianus Biſhop of Rome, in which he ſays, that he repented of having written as he had done, and charges Ambroſe with raſhneſs and temerity, who had made public what had been compoſed in private (5). It appears by this complaint of Origen, that Ambroſe had not been ſo faithful to him, as he ought to have been; unleſs we ſay, this was only an evaſion of Origen, who notwithſtanding was not diſpleaſed that his books were in every one's hands.

(3) Rufinus, *ap.* François Bourgoign, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. Liv. 7. p. 970.

(4) Epiſt. ad Pammach. &c. *ap. eund.*

(5) Bourgoign, ibid. p. 971.

[*C*] *Moreri and his Dutch Tranſlators have miſtaken Euſebius's meaning in this place.*] They ſay, that Origen made an excellent exhortation to Ambroſe and Protoctetus, to encourage them to undergo the martyrdom. But Euſebius does not ſay this; his words are (6): Τότε καὶ Ὠριγένης τὸν περὶ μαρτυρίου συντάξει, Ἀμβροσίῳ καὶ Πρωτοκτήτῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἀναθεῖς τὸ συγγράμμα, ὅτι δὴ ἄμφω περίφασις οὐχ' ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ κατειλήφει. i. e. "At that "time (*under the Emperor Maximinus*) Origen wrote "his book of Martyrdom, which he addreſſed to "Ambroſe, and to Protoctetus a Prieſt of the Church "of Cæſarea; becauſe they had both been expoſed "to no inconſiderable danger." There is no mention here of Origen's exhortation to them. P.

(6) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 293.

☞AMBROSE (ST.) Biſhop of Milan, and one of the moſt eminent Fathers of the fourth Century, was deſcended of an illuſtrious Roman family, and born in Gaul in the year 333, as Dr. Cave informs us (*a*), or in 340, as Mr. Du Pin aſſerts (*b*). His father, who was of the ſame name, was at that time *Præfectus Prætorio* in Gaul, and reſided at Arles, the Capital of Gallia Narbonenſis (*c*), or at Treves, as others are of opinion (*d*). The birth of Ambroſe is ſaid to have been followed with a remarkable preſage

(*a*) *Hiſt. Litt.* Sæc. 4. *ad ann.* 374. p. 165. ed. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(*b*) *Bib. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 2. p. 250. edit. de Paris 1693.

(*c*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *See* Du Pin in note (*b*) pag. 293, 294. t. 2.

preſage of his future eloquence, for a ſwarm of bees came and ſettled upon his mouth as he lay in his cradle in the court of his father's palace; which prodigy happened likewiſe to Plato. Upon his father's death his mother returned to Rome with Ambroſe, who was then very young, and Marcellina his ſiſter, and Satyrus his elder brother, and took a particular care of their education. Marcellina took upon her a vow of Virginity, and received the veil from the hands of Pope Liberius. Ambroſe was excited by the domeſtic examples of piety, which he ſaw in his mother and ſiſter, to apply himſelf very early to the practice of religion. He made himſelf maſter of all the ſeveral parts of ſecular learning, and pleaded cauſes before Probus, who was *Præfectus Prætorio*, with ſo much eloquence, that he appointed him his aſſeſſor, and ſoon after made him Governor of the Provinces of Liguria and Æmilia. It is ſaid, that when he took his leave of Probus, the latter ſpoke to him in this manner; *Go, and govern as a Biſhop, and not as a Judge.* This was conſidered as a prediction of what followed. He ſettled at Milan, till in the year 374, upon the death of Auxentius Biſhop of that city, there was a prodigious conteſt between the Catholicks and Arians concerning the choice of a new Biſhop. This diſpute was ready to break out into an open ſedition among them, when Ambroſe thought it was his duty as Governor to go to the Church, in order to compoſe the tumult. He addreſſed himſelf to the people in a gentle and pathetic ſpeech, and exhorted them to proceed to their choice in a calm and friendly manner. While he was yet ſpeaking to them, the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice, *Let Ambroſe be Biſhop* (*e*). Such a ſudden and unexpected incident ſurprized him extremely, ſo that he retired immediately, and made uſe of every artifice to divert them from their reſolution of chooſing him [*A*]. But at laſt he was obliged to comply, and was baptized, being but a Catechumen before, and ordained Biſhop towards the latter end of the year 374, or the beginning of 375 (*f*). Soon after this he beſtowed all the money which he was poſſeſſed of upon the poor, and having intruſted his brother Satyrus with the management of his affairs, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and the diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Functions. About the year 377 the barbarous nations making an incurſion into the Roman Empire, he fled to Illyricum, and afterwards went to Rome (*g*). He had a peculiar averſion to the Arian Doctrine, and procured Secundianus and Palladius to be condemned in the Council held at Aquileia in 381. In the year 384 he was ſent to the tyrant Maximus, who had uſurped the Empire [*B*], and prevailed upon him not to paſs over into Italy. The Heathens being encouraged by theſe inteſtine commotions in the Empire, attempted to reſtore their religion, and employed Q. Aur. Symmachus, Prefect of Rome, a man of diſtinguiſhed eloquence, to plead their cauſe. This gave occaſion to the famous conteſt

(*e*) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 30.

(*f*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251.

(*g*) Cave, *ubi ſupra*, p. 166.

[*A*] *Made uſe of every artifice to divert them from their reſolution of chooſing him.*] He aſcended his tribunal, and commanded ſeveral criminals to be brought before him in chains, whom he ordered to be put to the torture, that he might appear to be a man of a cruel diſpoſition, and conſequently unworthy of the Prieſthood. When this method did not ſucceed, he procured ſeveral women of a proſtitute character to come to his palace, in order to raiſe a ſuſpicion upon his character. But the people ſaw, that all this was affectation and pretence, and perſiſted in their choice; ſo that he went away in the night to go to Pavia, but miſtaking the way, after he had travelled for a conſiderable time, he found himſelf at the gates of Milan. When it was diſcovered, that he had attempted to eſcape, the people ſet a watch over him, and ſent an account to the Emperor of what had paſs'd; while on the other hand Ambroſe wrote to him, in order to obtain his diſcharge. But the Emperor being highly ſatisfied with the choice, which they had made, not only confirmed his election, but gave orders to the Governor (1) of Italy to ſee that affair executed. Ambroſe made his eſcape again, and concealed himſelf at the houſe of a perſon, whoſe name was Leontius; but the Governor of Italy having publiſhed a Proclamation againſt thoſe who knew where he was, and would not declare it, Leontius thought himſelf under an obligation to diſcover him; ſo that all Ambroſe's efforts failing him, he was obliged to ſubmit (2). When he was baptized, and received ordination, Valentinian the Emperor, who was preſent, cried out with the utmoſt tranſport of Joy, "I "thank thee, O Almighty God, and our Saviour, "that thou haſt given to this man the direction of "ſouls of thoſe, whoſe bodies I had before intruſted to "his government; and haſt by this means declared "my choice of him to have been juſt." Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς θείας τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος ἀπήλαυσε δωρεᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐδέξατο χάριν, τοῦτον ὁ πάλαι ἄριστος Βασιλεὺς προσευλογοχέναι λέγεται τῷ Σωτῆρι & δεσπότῃ τὸν ὕμνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς γεγενημένοις παρῆν. Χάρις σοι, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ καὶ σῶτερ ἡμῶν, ὅτι τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνεχείρησα σώματα, σὺ δὲ ψυχάς. καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς ψήφους δικαίας ἀπέφηνας (3).

(1) *Vicarius Italiæ.*

(2) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251.

(3) Theodor. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 4. c. 7.

[*B*] *Sent to the Tyrant Maximus, who had uſurped the Empire.*] He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many noble exploits againſt the Scots, whoſe King Eugenius he had defeated and killed in battle. The Writers of thoſe times are not agreed of what country he was; ſome ſay he was born in Spain, and others in Britain; but he pretended himſelf that he was deſcended from Conſtantine the Great, and accordingly aſſumed the name of Flav. Clemens Maximus. Gratian the Emperor at firſt deſpiſed him as a perſon incapable of executing his treaſonable deſigns; but Maximus raiſed a conſiderable army againſt him, and attempted at firſt to deſtroy him by open force; however being diſappointed in that, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, in which he ſucceeded. He procured ſome perſons about Gratian to inform him, that his wife was coming to him, and intended to meet him on this ſide the Rhone, which runs by the city of Lyons, where the Emperor then was, who went out to meet her. In the mean time an aſſaſſin had by Maximus's orders placed himſelf in a litter, in which Gratian was told the Empreſs was. The Emperor with open arms ſtood ready to receive her, and the villain, whoſe name was Andragathius, ſuddenly ſtarted forth, and killed him upon the ſpot. Maximus having gained this point, ſent Ambaſſadors to Theodoſius to offer peace, and upon his acceptance of it to unite himſelf in a league with him againſt the enemies of the Roman Empire; or in caſe he rejected thoſe terms, to denounce war againſt him. Theodoſius received the Embaſſadors very honourably, and ſeemed to comply with the tyrant's demands; for he was apprehenſive leſt a refuſal ſhould provoke him to invade Italy and ſurprize Valentinian, who was then but thirteen years of age, and had neither

conteſt between St. Ambroſe and him about repairing the Altar of Victory. But Symmachus not only loſt his cauſe, but was ſoon after expelled the city (*b*), and commanded not to approach within an hundred miles of it (*i*). The petition which he preſented to the Emperor Valentinian the younger is ſtill extant; he employed all the ſtrong figures of rhetoric and the whole force of his eloquence in it (*k*); but with regard to the ſtrength and conviction of reaſon, we are not to expect it there. St. Ambroſe confuted this petition by two pieces, which have ſtill more eloquence in them. But Mr. Bayle in one of his letters againſt Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm* (*l*), is of opinion, that his reaſoning is very inconcluſive, and that he has been guilty of a great many paralogiſms; in ſhort, that he has advanced things entirely contrary to what he had aſſerted upon other occaſions, or affirmed afterwards. And yet he proteſts, that *he endeavoured only after ſolidity of reaſoning, leaving Symmachus all the glory of eloquence and politeneſs, becauſe it is the peculiar privilege of the Pagan Philoſophers to amuſe the mind with colours as falſe as their idols, and to ſay great things, not being capable of ſaying true ones* (*m*). We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of Mr. Bayle's exceptions [C]. St. Ambroſe

(*b*) Proſper *de Promiſſ.* pag. 3. cap. 38.
(*i*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*
(*k*) *Vide* Symmachi Epiſt. l. 10. Epiſt. 54.

(*l*) *Nouvellet Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme*, tom. 1. Lett. 2. p. 32. edit. Amſterd. 1715.
(*m*) *See* Mr. Flechier *Vie de Theodoſ.* lib. 3. n. 31.

neither experience nor forces ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, who was now become Maſter of Gaul and Spain. And Valentinian himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the danger which he was in, and diffident of the integrity of ſome who were near him, that he ſent St. Ambroſe to ſee if by the reputation of his wiſdom and ſanctity, he could reſtrain the Tyrant's unbounded thirſt of Empire, and prevail upon him to continue on the other ſide of the Alps. Maximus ſeemed highly pleaſed with St. Ambroſe's Embaſſy, either becauſe he had not as yet ſettled his affairs in Gaul and Britain, or at preſent was in want of money, the ſinews of war, without which his future attempts would prove vain and ineffectual. He careſſed St. Ambroſe in a very extraordinary manner, and asked him why Valentinian himſelf did not come in perſon, aſſuring him, that he ſhould have been as welcome to his arms, as if he had been his own ſon. St. Ambroſe excuſed Valentinian in a very handſome manner, telling him, that he was too young for ſuch a fatiguing journey over the Alps at ſo unſeaſonable a time of the year; and concluded, that he was not come to give him an account of his Maſter's actions, but to ſettle a mutual confidence and agreement between them, if he thought proper to accept it. In ſhort, he managed this affair in ſo dextrous a manner, that a peace was concluded according to his deſire, and Maximus was prevented from marching over into Italy (4).

(4) *Roman Hiſtory*, Vol. 3. pag. 199, &c. 5th edition 1720. *See* Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*; and Cave, *ubi ſupra*, and Fra. Ignat. Hyacinth. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 100.

[C] *We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of Mr. Bayle's exceptions.*] He ſuppoſes at firſt that a man of St. Ambroſe's warm imagination, and torrent of eloquence, would very frequently in the pulpit diſplay to the people the ſeverity of God's juſtice, who puniſhes the ſins of men by war, and peſtilence, and famine. It is morally impoſſible, that a man who preaches often, ſhould not have many times urged this topic. He muſt therefore contradict himſelf when he ridiculed Symmachus for repreſenting to the Emperor, that the Gods had ſent famine upon the earth, in order to revenge the injuries, which had been done to their Miniſters (5). "If "their Gods, ſays St. Ambroſe, revenge themſelves "upon the whole Empire on account of the injury "which had been done to a few particular perſons, "they are unjuſt, and the revenge is worſe than the "crime." *Quæ autem æquitas ut paucis ſacerdotibus dolentes victum negatum, ipſi omnibus denegarent, cum inclementior eſſet vindicta quam culpa* (6). This ſuppoſes that God never puniſhes the people in general for the injury which has been offered to ſome particular perſons; and the foundation of ſuch a manner of reaſoning muſt be this, that the juſtice of God does not permit him to involve the innocent with the guilty in the ſame puniſhment. Now this propoſition is directly oppoſite to the doctrine, which St. Ambroſe may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have frequently preached, that the plague, and war, and famine are the ſcourges, which God makes uſe of to puniſh men; ſince theſe calamities involve promiſcuouſly the good and vicious. Beſides this aſſertion is likewiſe contrary to the Scripture, which teaches us, that the ſingle vanity of David was the cauſe of God's deſtroying ſeventy thouſand of the Iſraelites. Add to this the conſideration of original ſin, which alone ought to have prevented St. Ambroſe from running on too precipitately in his confutation. His reaſoning is alſo inconſiſtent with a paſſage in the code of Theodoſius, which is as follows (7): *Shall we ſuffer any longer that the ſeaſons ſhould be reverſed by the wrath of heaven, the conſtitution of which has been ſo diſturbed by the perfidiouſneſs of the Pagans, that it cannot any longer obſerve the proportions of nature. For whence comes it that the Spring has loſt its uſual beauties? That the Summer deprived of its products has deceived the labour of the husbandman? That the immoderate cold of the Winter has rendred the earth barren; but from this cauſe that the order of nature has been interrupted, that the impiety of men might be chaſtiſed?* What could St. Ambroſe ſay to this? He muſt have been obliged to acknowledge either that the Emperor's Edict repreſented God as unjuſt, or that Symmachus had been refuted by an inconcluſive argument. It is ſtrange, that there ſhould be ſome certain maxims, which all religions make uſe of almoſt equally, but in ſuch a manner, that after they have made their advantage of them, they do not at all ſcruple to reject them, if they perceive, that the enemy thinks proper to make uſe of them. While the Pagans attacked the Chriſtians by imputing to them the miſeries of the Empire, the latter ridiculed this argument as trifling; but they themſelves applied it afterwards. Mr. Bayle then proceeds to ſhew St. Ambroſe's Paralogiſms, which he endeavours to do in the following obſervations; I, St. Ambroſe is not contented with treating Symmachus's opinion as abſurd, becauſe the vengeance of the Gods would extend to too many perſons; but he demands of him with an air of triumph, *Why they had ſuffered for ſo long a courſe of years, that the privileges of their temples ſhould be deſtroyed? Why they had ceaſed to revenge themſelves in one year only, as appeared from the plenty of the following? And why ſome provinces were fruitful enough even in the very year that the famine raged* (8)? This manner of reaſoning is juſt the ſame with the objections, which unbelievers ſo often urge againſt the Divine Providence. For if we ſpeak of the ſcourges which God makes uſe of to puniſh the violation of his Laws, they ask immediately, why he does this ſo late, or why he does not continue it? And they point out whole Nations, which, tho' they are not better than others, yet enjoy a perfect proſperity amidſt an almoſt univerſal calamity. II, Symmachus having introduced the City of Rome entreating the Emperors to reſtore to her that ancient Religion, which had reſcued her from the attacks of Hannibal and the Gauls: St. Ambroſe urges in reply to this two things, which are not the leaſt ſolid or convincing. He rallies in the firſt place the Roman Deities for not delivering the City till after it had been attack'd and beſieged by the enemy; and asks where Jupiter was, when nothing but the noiſe of the geeſe ſaved the Capitol. He obſerves in the ſecond place, that Hannibal having worſhipped the ſame Gods who were revered at Rome, it muſt neceſſarily happen, that they would have been conquered in the Carthaginian army, if they had proved victorious among the Romans. But he ſhould have reflected that the Scripture in an infinity of places mentions, that the enemies of the people of God inſulted him in the ſame manner, as himſelf did the Roman Deities. The Jews were baniſhed,

(5) *Nec rubigo ſegetibus obfuit nec avena fruges necavit. Sacrilegio annus exaruit. Neceſſe enim fuit perire omnibus, quod religionibus negabatur.* Sym. l. 10. Ep. 54.
(6) Ambroſ. Epiſt. 31.

(7) *Vid. Novel. lam 3 Theodoſii de Judæis, &c.*

(8) St. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 31.

Ambroſe met likewiſe with great oppoſition from the Arians, againſt whom he acted with the warmeſt zeal imaginable [*D*]. He was ſent a ſecond time to the tyrant Maximus

ed, the temple of Jeruſalem burnt, and the churches of the Chriſtians were frequently deſtroyed. With regard to the ſecond anſwer, to ſee the weakneſs of it, we need only conſider the monuments, which the French and Spaniards have conſecrated to God by way of thankſgiving for ſome victory or other. They are of the ſame Religion, and conſequently the ſame God who triumphed in France, muſt have loſt the advantage in Spain. III, Symmachus had repreſented to the Emperors, that they ought to ſecure to themſelves principally the ſecret aſſiſtance of the Religion of Rome, which had done ſuch great ſervices to their anceſtors. *Let this Religion*, ſays he, *protect you, and let us perform the duties of it* (9). St. Ambroſe replies, that he would not have the protection of idols, and that if they could protect their followers, they might do it. Thus far he ſpeaks reaſonably enough; but when he proceeds in this manner, addreſſing himſelf to the Emperors, *If theſe Gods cannot aſſiſt thoſe, who worſhip them, how can they protect you, who pay no regard to them?* he ſeems to copy the manner of ſpeaking of the Pagans themſelves, when the Chriſtians promiſed the Emperors the aſſiſtance of their prayers, tho' at the ſame time they were perſecuted themſelves. IV, But what ſhall we ſay of the difference which he makes between the Gentiles and Chriſtians? *The former*, ſays he, *deſire the Emperors to grant peace to their Gods; and the latter to pray Chriſt to grant peace to the Emperors.* This ſentiment is entirely falſe, and nothing but mere point and antitheſis. He ſhould have attacked the ſenſe of his antagoniſt, and not have refined upon his expreſſions. It is plain that Symmachus by this peace, which he deſired of the Emperors for his Gods, meant only the liberty of worſhipping them according to the ancient cuſtom; and we ſee evidently from his petition, that he promiſed the Emperors the protection of thoſe Gods. Where is then the oppoſition between the Chriſtians and Pagans, which Ambroſe imagined? Had he forgot that the Apologiſts of the primitive Church exhorted the Emperors not to perſecute it? Was not this asking peace for Jeſus Chriſt of the Emperors in the ſame ſenſe as Symmachus deſired it for his idols? V, Ambroſe likewiſe takes notice of other differences between them. *The former*, ſays he (10), *cannot bear the leaſt retrenchment of their revenues without complaining; while the latter diveſt themſelves of their fortunes, and even reſign their lives voluntarily. Privileges and penſions muſt be given to the Veſtals, as if they could not be chaſte for nothing; whereas the Chriſtian Virgins are contented with a coarſe veil, which covers their face, and renounce for ever the riches as well as the pleaſures of life; they find all the reward of virtue in virtue itſelf.* This is excellently well expreſſed; but Ambroſe muſt inevitably draw upon him the reſentments of the whole Catholic Church for nine or ten hundred years at leaſt; for he has condemned all the Prieſts and Monks, who have ever pleaded for the conſervation or recovery of their revenues; ſo that the difference between the Pagans and Chriſtians in theſe reſpects has been almoſt abſolutely extinguiſhed. Mr. Bayle afterwards attempts to ſhew, that theſe paralogiſms of Ambroſe are in ſome reſpect contradictions; becauſe there is no manner of doubt, that if an unbeliever or an heretic had attacked him in the manner, which will be propoſed immediately, he would have anſwered the very reverſe of what he replied to Symmachus. Suppoſe for inſtance, that an unbeliever ſhould have objected the victories gained over the Jews by the Pagans, the profanation of the temple of Solomon, the miſeries of the primitive Church, and ſhould have concluded from all theſe conſiderations, that the God of the Jews and Chriſtians was not the true God, it is certain Ambroſe would have evidently ſhewn the impertinence of theſe objections. He would therefore have contradicted himſelf, for he would have rejected at one time what he had urged as ſolid at another. Suppoſe that an heretical Emperor having deprived the Biſhops, Prieſts and Nuns of their revenues, ſhould have been petitioned to reſtore them, and have given their petition to an Advocate, to be examined. Suppoſe this Advocate in writing againſt this petition ſhould have addreſſed himſelf to the petitioners in this manner: *Gentlemen, you are thought to be ſincere Chriſtians; you ought therefore to renounce the advantages of this world; your Nuns ought to be chaſte without any reward, and to find the reward of virtue in virtue itſelf*; is it not a thing beyond the leaſt doubt, that St. Ambroſe would have diſapproved of the conduct of this Advocate? He would therefore have blamed in one place the reflections, which he had made uſe of in another; as was obſerved above, that he was diſpleaſed that the Pagan Prieſts and Veſtals would not live without their ſtipends. Thoſe, ſays Mr. Bayle, who are acquainted with the vigorous reſiſtance, which he made to the Emperor Valentinian, when the latter wanted to take away a Church from the orthodox three years after his confutation of Symmachus, will not doubt of the reaſonableneſs of this conjecture.

(9) Symmach. Epiſt. 54. l. 10.

(10) See Mr. Flechier, *Vie de Theodoſ.* l. 3.

[*D*] *Met with great oppoſition from the Arians, againſt whom he acted with the warmeſt zeal imaginable.*] Juſtina the Empreſs, and mother of Valentinian, who was an Arian, reſolving to reſtore Arianiſm at Milan, began with demanding of St. Ambroſe one of the churches, which was called the Portian Church, but he refuſed it; and the people ſurrounding the palace in a body, ſhe was obliged to leave him in poſſeſſion of his church, and even to deſire him to pacify the people. Some time after the Empreſs ſent and required of him in the Emperor's name not only that church, but the New Church likewiſe. He refuſed to obey this command, and anſwered with ſuch an intrepidity and reſolution of mind, as aſtoniſhed thoſe, who came with the Emperor's orders. This happened in the beginning of the year 385. On Palm-Sunday the ſame year Officers were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the Portian Church, while Ambroſe was officiating in the New Church. But the people being prodigiouſly enraged at this attempt, run thither immediately, and having ſeized one Caſtulus an Arian Prieſt, were juſt ready to raiſe a ſedition, if Ambroſe had not ſent his Prieſts and Deacons to appeaſe them. The Emperor ordered ſeveral of the ſeditious to be ſeized, and ſent ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of the church by violence. But this was not executed. On Holy-Wedneſday the ſoldiers were ordered to ſeize the New Church; but the people prevented it, and ſpent the whole day and night in ſinging Pſalms in it; and the next day the Emperor being touched with the reſolution and prudence of Ambroſe, who had prevented a ſedition, at the ſame time that he had continued inflexible in maintaining his cauſe, commanded the ſoldiers, who ſurrounded the church, to retire. The year following theſe conteſts were ſtill maintained, and the Emperor renewed his ſevere treatment of St. Ambroſe by an Edict in favour of the Council of Rimini. It was reſolved to give the Arians poſſeſſion of the Portian Church, and even to baniſh St. Ambroſe himſelf; but he was protected by the people of Milan, who ſecured him in his church, where he paſſed ſeveral days and nights in ſinging Pſalms and Hymns with them. It was propoſed to him, that he ſhould go to the palace, and hold a diſputation with Auxentius the Arian Biſhop; but he refuſed that offer, becauſe thoſe, who were to judge of this conference, were Laymen and Pagans. He agreed to ſubmit the determination of this diſpute to a Council, tho' he thought it was unreaſonable to diſturb the peace of the Church on account of a ſingle perſon, and to debate again what had been already decided. He then made a ſpeech againſt Auxentius; which highly provoked the Empreſs Juſtina againſt him. But at laſt ſhe ceaſed perſecuting him, when ſhe found, that his prudence and reſolution, and the prodigious eſteem, which he had among the people, render'd him ſuperior to all her efforts againſt him. Some writers have repreſented, as if the diſcovery of the relicks of St. Gervaſe, and St. Protaſe, and the miracles, which appeared at that time, contributed very much to reſtore the peace of the Church. This ſeems to be a very ſtrange and unintelligible reaſon, and it is extremely difficult to conceive any con-

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mus but without ſucceſs [*E*]. About three years after this he ſhewed a juſt indignation againſt the Emperor Theodoſius on account of the cruel maſſacre at Theſſalonica [*F*]. In the year 392 Valentinian the Emperor being aſſaſſinated by the contrivance of Arbogaſtes,

nexion between ſuch a cauſe and the effect abovementioned. But it is very probable that, as Mr. Du Pin obſerves (11), the true reaſon, which prevented Juſtina and the Emperor Valentinian from carrying things to an extremity, was the danger, which threatned the Empire from the tyrant Maximus's deſigns againſt it. Theſe unhappy circumſtances render'd Ambroſe's aſſiſtance of great importance.

(11) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 252.

[*E*] *He was ſent a ſecond time to the tyrant Maximus, but without ſucceſs.*] Valentinian found no perſon ſo proper to negotiate with Maximus as St. Ambroſe; and therefore ſent him to Treves, where the tyrant then reſided. He ſpoke to him with a great deal of ſpirit and reſolution; but he could not obtain any thing of him (12). On the contrary Maximus ſoon after marched into Italy, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Weſtern Empire; ſo that Valentinian was obliged to retire with his mother Juſtina, and Galla his ſiſter to Theſſalonica in *Illyricum*, in order to deſire Theodoſius's aſſiſtance, who defeated Maximus, and reſtored Valentinian to the Empire. This happened in the year 387. St. Ambroſe reſided during theſe commotions upon his Biſhoprick. When Theodoſius came into the Weſt, he ſhewed the ſame inflexibility towards him, as he had done towards Valentinian; and oppoſed his deſign of granting a Synagogue to the Jews (13).

(12) Cave, *ubi ſupra*, p. 166. and Fr. Ignat. Hyacinth. *ubi ſupra*.

(13) Du Pin, ib. and Ign. Hyacinth. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. ubi ſupra*.

[*F*] *On account of the cruel maſſacre at Theſſalonica.*] While Theodoſius continued in Italy, after the defeat of Maximus, an inſurrection happened at Theſſalonica, upon the following occaſion. There was a Charioteer, who had a violent affection for the Butler of Buthericus, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Illyricum*, and having ſollicited him to the unlawful gratification of his deſires, was caſt into priſon. But there happening to be an horſe-race, the people of Theſſalonica demanded, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty, becauſe he was a neceſſary perſon upon that occaſion. This being refuſed them, they raiſed a ſedition, and killed Buthericus himſelf (14), and ſtoned ſeveral of the Magiſtrates, and drag'd them along the ſtreets (15). Theodoſius being informed of this, commanded a certain number of the inhabitants to be put to death promiſcuouſly; by which means the city was filled with the blood of a great many innocent perſons; and among the reſt ſeveral ſtrangers, who were but juſt come to the city (16). No regard was had to any diſtinction of perſons; no form of trial obſerved; but *they were cut down like corn in the Harveſt*, as Theodoret expreſſes it (17), to the number of ſeven thouſand. Ἑπτὰ γὰρ, ὡς φάσιν, ἀνηρέθησαν χιλιάδας, ὑ κρίσεως ἠγησαμένης, καὶ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα τετολμηκότων κατακριθέντων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀμήτῳ πολλῶν ὁμοῦ δίκην ἀσταχύων καταῤῥιφθέντων. Sozomen gives a remarkable ſtory or two, which happened in this maſſacre. A Merchant came and offered himſelf to death to ſave his two ſons, who were ſeized, and promiſed all the gold that he had in reward for the favour. The ſoldiers being touched with pity gave him leave to chooſe one of his ſons; for they declared that they could not diſmiſs them both, becauſe they wanted to fill up their number. The father ſtood in a dreadful ſuſpence, looking ſometimes upon one of his ſons, ſometimes upon the other, with all the agony that can be imagined, and incapable of determining which of them he ſhould chooſe; till they were both of them put to death before his eyes. We are told likewiſe of a ſervant, who ſubmitted to death, to ſave his Maſter's life. At this time an aſſembly of Biſhops was held at Milan, who all expreſſed how much they abhorred ſo exceſſive a ſeverity in the Emperor. Upon which Ambroſe wrote a Letter to Theodoſius, in which, with a confidence not the leaſt injurious to the reſpect due to him, he repreſented the enormity of his crime, and exhorted him to make an atonement by a ſincere ſubmiſſion and repentance (18). The Emperor being arrived at Milan, was going to perform his devotions in the Great Church, when Ambroſe met him at the door, and denied him entrance, in theſe terms (19): "You do not, I believe, conſider, O "Emperor, the guilt of the maſſacre, which you "have committed; and tho' the violence of your "paſſion be now over, yet your reaſon has not yet "ſuggeſted to you the full extent of your crime. "Perhaps your Imperial Dignity may prevent you "from perceiving it, and caſt a cloud over your "underſtanding. However you ought to reflect upon the conſtitution of human nature, which is "very weak and obnoxious to mortality; and that "we are derived from the duſt, and muſt neceſſarily "be reſolved into it at laſt. Let not the ſplendor "of the purple, which inveſts you, deceive you ſo "far, as not to conſider the infirmity of the body, "which it covers. They are men of the ſame nature with yourſelf, nay they are your fellow-ſervants, whom you govern; for there is one Lord "and Sovereign of all, he, who created the univerſe. With what eyes will you therefore view "the temple of our common Sovereign, and with "what feet will you tread the ſacred floor? How "can you ſtretch out thoſe hands, which have been "defiled with ſo much innocent blood? How can "you receive the holy Body of our Lord in ſuch "polluted hands, or touch with your mouth his "precious blood, when you have commanded in "your paſſion the blood of ſo many perſons to be "unjuſtly ſhed? Depart therefore, and do not aggravate your former guilt by new provocations. "Receive the bond, which God himſelf, the Lord "of all nature, approves and recommends; for it "has a ſalutary power in it." The Emperor ſtruck with theſe words returned to his palace in all the diſtreſs of mind imaginable. About eight months after, at the ſeaſon of our Lord's Nativity, he ſat weeping in his palace, when Rufinus, an intimate confident of his, came and asked him the cauſe of his ſorrow. He told him that he thought himſelf inexpreſſibly unhappy, that when the church was open to the loweſt orders of mankind, it was ſhut to him; nay, that he was excluded from any hopes of heaven, becauſe Chriſt expreſly ſays, *Whomſoever ye ſhall bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven.* Rufinus offered to go, and perſuade the Biſhop to be reconciled to him; but Theodoſius alledged it was to no purpoſe, becauſe the ſentence was juſt, and Ambroſe would never pay ſo much regard to the Imperial Dignity, as to violate God's commands. But Rufinus ſtill perſiſting, and aſſuring him, that he could certainly prevail upon Ambroſe, the Emperor ſent him immediately to him, and being full of hopes of his ſucceſs, followed him ſoon after. But Ambroſe, when he ſaw Rufinus, expoſtulated with him in very ſevere terms, and asked him, whether he was not aſhamed to appear, ſince he had been the adviſer of ſo bloody a maſſacre? But when Rufinus began to entreat him, and told him, that the Emperor would be ſoon there, Ambroſe aſſured him, that he would refuſe him entrance into the church. "But if, ſays "he, he will carry his power ſo far as to act the "tyrant, I will readily ſubmit to death." Rufinus upon hearing this ſent the Emperor an account of the Biſhop's reſolution by a Meſſenger, and deſired him to continue in his palace. But the Emperor was upon the way thither when he heard this, and declared, that he would go and ſuffer the reproaches, which he deſerved. However he would not enter into the church; but deſired the Biſhop, who ſat in an apartment adjoining to it, to releaſe him from his bonds. Ambroſe told him, that his coming was tyrannical and preſumptuous, and that he trampled upon the Laws of God. "No, replied the Empe-"ror, I do not preſume to break thoſe Laws; nor "deſire to enter into the church contrary to the "conſtitutions of it; but I only entreat you, to "looſe me from my bonds, and to conſider the mercy of God, and not ſhut the door to me, which "he has opened to all ſincere penitents." "But "what inſtance of repentance, ſays Ambroſe, have "you ſhewn for ſo enormous a crime? By what "methods have you healed your wounds?" "It is "your office to preſcribe that, returned the Empe-"ror, and mine to ſubmit to it." Ambroſe upon this told him, that ſince he had before followed the dictates

(14) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 7. c. 25.

(15) Theodorit. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 5. c. 17.

(16) Sozomen. *ubi ſupra.*

(17) *Ubi ſupra.*

(18) *Roman Hiſtory*, vol. 3. c. 2. p. 230.

(19) Theodorit. l. 5. c. 18.

bogaſtes, and Eugenius uſurping the Empire, Ambroſe was obliged to leave Milan, but he returned thither the year following, when Eugenius was defeated. He died there the fourth of April 397, being fifty ſeven years of age, as Mr. Du Pin (*n*), and other writers are of opinion (*o*), or as Dr. Cave and Olearius (*p*) think, ſixty four years old. He was buried in the great church at Milan. He wrote a great many works, the moſt conſiderable of which is that *De Officiis* [G]. His ſtyle is not always equally elevated, but he adapts it, as St. Auſtin obſerves, to the ſubject which he treats of. It is ſometimes very negligent, at other times very elaborate, but it is always grave and noble. He is conciſe and ſententious in his manner of writing, and full of turns of wit. Thoſe pieces

(*n*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Fr. Ignat. Hyacinth. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 100. edit. *Auguſtæ Vindelicor.* 1727.

(*p*) *Bibliab. Script. Eccleſ.* vol. 1. p. 40. ed. Jenæ 1711.

dictates of his paſſion in giving ſentence, and executing it, he ſhould now make a Law, by which all criminals might have a reſpite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the ſentence and the execution, that there might be an opportunity of examining coolly whether the ſentence was juſt or not. This Theodoſius immediately aſſented to, and confirmed it with his own hand. When he was admitted into the church, he proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, and ſhewed all the marks of a ſincere repentance. After this he went up to the altar, and made his offering there, and then ſtood within the chancel (20), as he uſed to do. But Ambroſe ordered the Archdeacon to tell him, that this place was only allowed to the Prieſts, and not to others of any rank whatſoever; and to deſire him to retire from thence, and ſtand amongſt the reſt of the people. *For the purple*, ſays he, *makes Emperors, but not Prieſts.* Ἁλουργὶς γὰρ βασιλέας, οὐχ' ἱερέας ποιεῖ. The Emperor, ſtruck with this remonſtrance, anſwered, that he did not place himſelf within the chancel out of pride, but becauſe it was the cuſtom at Conſtantinople; however he thank'd him for correcting him in this point likewiſe. Theodorit is highly pleaſed with this inſtance of virtue both in the Biſhop and the Emperor. "I "admire them both equally, ſays he; the one on "account of his freedom of ſpeech, and the other "for his ready ſubmiſſion; I eſteem the ardent zeal "of the former, and the purity and ſincerity of the "latter's faith." Τοσαύτη καὶ τηλικαύτη καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ Βασιλεὺς διέλαμπον ἀρετῇ. Ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ ἔγωγε ἄγαμαι, τοῦ μὲν τὴν παῤῥησίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ὑποπίθειαν· καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ζήλου θερμότητα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν τῆς πίστεως καθαρότητα.

(20) Παρὰ τὰς πυλίδας. Theod. *ubi ſupra.*

[G] *The moſt conſiderable of which is that* De Officiis.] This is a Diſcourſe divided into three books upon the Duties of the Clergy; for tho' the word Clergy or Miniſters is retrenched in the edition of Rome and the later editions, yet it is expreſſed in all the Manuſcripts, and it is plain from the work itſelf, that Ambroſe wrote it for their uſe. But tho' he addreſſes himſelf to them, yet he treats of the duties common to all Chriſtians; of which he makes a particular application to the Clergy. It appears to have been written ſeveral years after he had been Biſhop, and very probably about the year 390 or 391, when peace was reſtored to the Church after the death of the tyrant Maximus (21). He has imitated in theſe three books the deſign and œconomy of Cicero's works *De Officiis*. He confirms, ſays Mr. Du Pin (22), the good maxims, which that Orator has advanced; he corrects thoſe, which are imperfect; he refutes thoſe, which are falſe; and he adds a great many others, which are prodigiouſly more excellent, pure, and elevated. The ſix firſt chapters of the firſt book are a Preface to the whole work, in which he enquires, when and how it is proper to ſpeak or to be ſilent. Biſhops are obliged by their function to explain the Word of God; but they ought to do it with humility, and to learn at the ſame time, that they teach others, in order to inſtruct them. This he applies to himſelf: "For having been removed at once, ſays he, from "the Tribunal of Juſtice and Civil Offices, and raiſed "to the Prieſthood, I have taught you what I had "not learned before, and was obliged to learn and "teach at the ſame time." He ſhews then the advantages of being ſilent upon proper occaſions; not that we are always to be ſo; ſince it is very reaſonable to ſpeak, if we do it with humility and moderation, and reſtrain our tongues within the bounds of reaſon. After this Preface he enters upon his ſubject concerning Offices or Duties; and obſerves that this word was not only in uſe among the Philoſophers, but that we find it likewiſe in Scripture. The Philoſophers diſtinguiſhed offices into three kinds, the *Honeſtum*, the *Utile*, and the *Dulce*. But St. Ambroſe tells us, that Chriſtians only acknowledge the firſt diſtinction, ſince they reſolve all into the happineſs of a future life; whereas the conveniences and pleaſures of this world are no real advantages or true pleaſures. He treats therefore of Duties only, with relation to the *Honeſtum*; and tells us, that this term of *Honeſtum* and *Decorum* was known to David, before the Philoſophers made uſe of it; to prove which he quotes Pſalm lxii. ver. 2. *Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion*; that is, "Praiſe becometh thee, O God in Sion." He adds ſeveral paſſages from St. Paul, where he ſpeaks of *Decency* and *Honeſty*. He obſerves, that Pythagoras followed David in enjoining ſilence to his Diſciples, but he makes a great difference between their precepts; becauſe that Philoſopher abſolutely prohibited them from ſpeaking, whereas David only directed them to ſpeak with moderation, and to be ſilent, when there was occaſion. He diſtinguiſhes duties into two kinds, one *leſs perfect*, which he calls *medium* or middle Duty, and the other *moſt perfect*. He explains this by Chriſt's words to the young man, who enquired of him what he muſt do to inherit eternal life. Our Saviour bid him at firſt *keep the commandments*. Theſe were the *leſs perfect duties*, to which ſomething elſe was wanting. The *perfect* duties are intimated in the following words; *If thou wilt be perfect, ſell all that thou haſt, and give it to the poor, and thou ſhalt have treaſure in heaven, and come, and follow me.* This gives occaſion to St. Ambroſe to recommend alms-giving, as one of the principal duties of a Chriſtian life. He treats there very amply concerning Providence, and ſhews in contradiction to the Philoſophers, that it extends over all creatures. But why then are the wicked in proſperity and affluence? This is the common objection. St. Ambroſe anſwers in the firſt place, that this proſperity does not make them really happy even in this life, becauſe the remorſe of their conſciences gives them inexpreſſible pain. He adds in the ſecond place, that we are not to be ſurprized at their ſeeming ſo happy in this life, whereas the good are often miſerable, ſince this is not a ſtate of reward or puniſhment, which is reſerved to another life, when the treatment of mankind ſhall be proportioned to their particular behaviour here. In ſhort, that God gives wicked men the advantages of this life, that they may have no excuſe at the day of judgment for tranſgreſſing his commandments. Having eſtabliſhed theſe general principles, he enters into a particular examination of the duties of every ſtate of life. He begins with thoſe which relate to the youth, and recommends to them above all things modeſty, which he proves to be very neceſſary to the Clergy. He adviſes them not to enter too much into the gaities of life, to avoid banquets and the familiar converſation with women, but to apply themſelves to the functions of their office. He gives them rules for the reſtraint of their anger and other paſſions, and for the regulation of their converſation, which ought not to be too full of raillery and ridicule; and then he preſcribes three maxims for their conduct, the firſt of which is, to keep their paſſions in ſubjection to their reaſon; the ſecond, to obſerve a due moderation; and the third, to do every thing properly and in order. He illuſtrates theſe rules by examples from the Old Teſtament. Having laid down theſe general rules, he proceeds to the particular virtues, comparing the ideas, which Chriſtians have of them, with thoſe of the Pagan Philoſophers; and endeavours to ſhew the ſuperiority

(21) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 258.

(22) Ibid.

pieces which he wrote with care are full of vivacity, judgment and ſpirit, and adorned with all the flowers of rhetorick. The reſt, though leſs poliſhed, have their graces likewiſe. His terms are well choſen, and his expreſſions noble. He diverſifies his ſubject by an admirable copiouſneſs of thought and language. He is very ingenious in giving an eaſy and natural turn to every thing which he treats of, and he does not want ſtrength and *pathos* where there is occaſion for it. As he was remarkable for joining in his conduct a ſurprizing generoſity and inflexibility with all the prudence and moderation imaginable, ſo he knew how to unite in his writings the freedom and authority of a Biſhop with the utmoſt meekneſs and charity. His treatiſes upon morality are the beſt part of his works, and thoſe which he laboured to moſt perfection. There are ſome of his letters which may be conſidered as maſter-pieces in their kind, eſpecially

ſuperiority of the former. Juſtice, for inſtance, among Chriſtians, will not permit them to return evil for evil; it will not allow any ſelfiſh conſideration, and takes place not only with regard to friends, but even open and declared enemies. The benevolence of Chriſtians muſt be univerſal, and extend even to their adverſaries. It is not vanity, but charity, which is the foundation of their liberality; they are obliged to give not only what is ſuperfluous to themſelves, but even what is neceſſary. Their fortitude conſiſts chiefly in ſuffering with reſolution and conſtancy, in defending the weak from violence, in ſubduing their paſſions, in deſpiſing the advantages of this world, and in loving and purſuing nothing but virtue. They preſerve an equality of temper, and a mind ſerene and undiſturbed amidſt the ſevereſt misfortunes. However, they never expoſe themſelves raſhly to danger, and do not ſcruple to fly when they find themſelves too weak to reſiſt perſecutions. In ſhort their temperance conſiſts in tranquillity of mind, meekneſs of diſpoſition, perfect modeſty, and exact honeſty. St. Ambroſe gives a particular account of the ſeveral branches of theſe virtues, and preſcribes rules for the obſervance of them, and propoſes ſome noble inſtances of them from Scripture, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. At the end of this book he inſiſts chiefly upon the virtues neceſſary to the Clergy, and recommends to them particularly diſintereſtedneſs and purity of manners; and he appears to incline ſtrongly to the opinion, that they were under an obligation to live in celibacy (23). He begins his ſecond book by enquiring, in what true happineſs conſiſts, which he reſolves into the knowledge of the Deity, and integrity of life; he obſerves, that all other advantages are ſo far from being our ſovereign good, that they do not render us the leaſt happier; while on the other hand, the evils and inconveniences of life do not make us more wretched; that temporal enjoyments, as riches, are real evils, becauſe they draw us off from attending to our greateſt and moſt important concern; whereas thoſe circumſtances, which are generally conſidered as wretched, as pain, and affliction are of advantage to us, by giving us an opportunity of improving in virtue. He proceeds then to ſhew, that there can be no real profit ſeparate from honeſty, and treats of friendſhip, fidelity, liberality, benevolence, civility, readineſs to aſſiſt the poor and afflicted, hoſpitality, and other virtues neceſſary to ſupport ſociety and commerce among men. He tells us, that nothing is ſo uſeful, as to be loved and reſpected, and nothing more diſadvantageous than the contrary. Mildneſs, civility, and modeſty procure an univerſal eſteem. Theſe virtues are as proper for Kings and Princes, as for private perſons. A man, who is generally loved, has the greateſt confidence placed in him. When we want advice, we muſt apply our ſelves to one who is as remarkable for his juſtice as his prudence. Theſe two virtues are inſeparable. Our charity ought to be regulated by reaſon, and directed in ſuch a manner, as to effect the greateſt good. He juſtifies himſelf for ſelling the ſacred veſſels, in order to redeem the captives. "The Church, ſays he, is eſtabliſhed without gold; if ſhe has it now, it is only with a deſign to beſtow it, and not to keep it for her ſelf; it is in order to aſſiſt the poor in their neceſſities. What can a Biſhop ſay for himſelf, who ſhould ſuffer the living members of Chriſt to periſh, merely to preſerve inanimate veſſels. Can he plead, that he was unwilling that the temple of the Lord ſhould be deprived of its ornaments? Will it not be anſwered, that it is not neceſſary that the Sacraments of the Altar ſhould be diſtributed in gold or ſilver; that the redemption of captives is an ornament infinitely more agreeable in the ſight of God; that theſe veſſels can never be rendred more valuable, than when they are employed in ranſoming the lives of Chriſtians; that the true treaſure of the Lord is that, which has the ſame effect as his blood. That we then ſee evidently, that it is a veſſel of the Lord, when we obſerve a double redemption in it, ſo that the outward veſſel redeems from the enemy thoſe very perſons, whom Chriſt has redeemed from ſin." In the firſt chapter of the third book he ſhews, that Scipio's maxim, that he was never more employed and leſs alone, than when he was alone, is older than Scipio; and that it was verified in a more illuſtrious manner in the characters of Moſes, Elijah, Eliſha, and the Apoſtles, who performed ſo many miracles, when they ſeemed to be engaged in no employment. He adds, that a good man is never alone, becauſe he is perpetually preſent with God; that he is never unemployed, becauſe he is always meditating; that he ſeems to be unknown, and yet ſtands in the moſt eminent point of view; that when death ſeems to extinguiſh him, he enjoys a more happy ſtate of exiſtence; that he is never more joyful, than when he ſeems to be in affliction; never richer, than when he ſeems poor, becauſe all his happineſs conſiſts in the rectitude of his mind. He affirms, that a good man ſhould never ſeek his own advantage at the expence of others; but on the other hand prefer their intereſt to his own. He enlarges upon this maxim, and ſhews, that it is contrary to the example and laws of Chriſt, to the laws of nature, the dictates of conſcience and the civil laws, to injure our neighbour, for our own intereſt. Upon this principle he determines, that a Chriſtian in caſe of a ſhipwreck ought not to take away a plank from his brother to ſave his own life; nay he proceeds ſo far as to aſſert, that it is not lawful for him to kill a robber, who attacks him; and to eſtabliſh this for a general maxim, that we ought never to preſerve our own lives at the expence of another's. The Philoſophers had advanced, that a wiſe man, tho' he were ſure of not being diſcovered, would not do any thing contrary to his duty; but as they had no example to prove this, they had recourſe to the fable of Gyges's Ring. St. Ambroſe confirms this by the examples of David and John the Baptiſt. In ſhort he evinces, that men ought in all caſes to prefer honeſty to profit. Upon which principle he maintains, that a man, who has a great ſtore of corn, ought not to keep it in his granaries, in order to ſell it dearer in time of famine. He condemns the practice of thoſe, who endeavour to inſinuate themſelves into the favour of others, that they may be their heirs. This is criminal in every perſon, but more eſpecially in the Clergy, who ought to leave dying perſons a full liberty of making their wills, as they think proper, without pretending to direct or influence them. He concludes this book with ſeveral obſervations with regard to friendſhip; which, he tells us, ought always to give way to honeſty. We ſhould never favour our friend, when he is in the wrong, or do him injuſtice, when he is in the right. We ought to reprove him, when he acts amiſs; to uſe the utmoſt freedom and ſincerity with him, and to ſupport him in all his exigencies. The foundation of friendſhip is a due regard to the Deity, without which there is no ſecurity of the continuance of it. Religion preſerves it, and forms an equality among friends. There can be no

(23) Idem, pag. 260.

ally thoſe which he wrote to the Emperors. We ſee, that the writer of them was a man educated under all the advantages of a court, and who had all that free and eaſy air which is only to be gained by a knowledge of the world. The manner which we may obſerve in moſt of his actions and diſcourſe, ſhews him to have been uſed very early to the management of great affairs, and that he had all the qualifications neceſſary for it. He was but very moderately learned, eſpecially in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. But as he lived in an age, wherein learning was cultivated, and had a penetrating genius, and a great facility of expreſſing himſelf, and continually employed himſelf in reading the Fathers, who wrote before him, he was enabled to diſcharge his function with great ſucceſs. This is the character which Du Pin gives of him (*q*). But Eraſmus tells us, that he has a great many quaint and affected ſentences, and frequently very obſcure ones (*r*). And it is certain, that with all his virtues, his writings are intermixed with many ſtrange and peculiar opinions [*H*]. It is ſaid, that he borrowed many things from the writings of the Greek Fathers, and eſpecially St. Baſil Archbiſhop of Cæſarea, who claimed them as his own (*s*); Baronius therefore is of opinion, that this was the reaſon why St. Jerom ſuſpended his judgment concerning him, *leſt on the one hand he ſhould be accuſed of flattery, and on the other the truth ſhould give offence* (*t*). However the Antients in general had a great opinion of his writings (*u*), and particularly St. Auguſtin, and Pelagius himſelf [*I*]. Paulinus wrote his life, and dedicated it to St. Auguſtin. This life is prefixed to St. Ambroſe's works, the beſt edition of which is that publiſhed by the Benedictine Monks in two volumes in folio at Paris in 1686 and 1690.

(*q*) P. 291, 292, tom. 2.

(*r*) *Ambroſius habet argutias, & ſententias affectatas, ſæpe etiam ſubobſcuras.* See Biſhop Wilkins's *Eccleſiaſtes*, or, *The Gift of Preaching*. 9. edit. London 1718, p. 128.

(*s*) Oudin, *Comment. de Script. & Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. Sæc. 4. fol. 655. edit. Lipſiæ 1722.

(*t*) *Ne in alterutram partem aut adulatio in me reprehendatur, aut veritas.* St. Hierom. *de Viris Illuſt.* cap. 124.

(*u*) *See* Proſper *in Chronic.* & *Caſſian.* l. 7. *De Incarnatione Domini.*

no friendſhip between perſons of different tempers; and it ought not to be founded upon intereſt; for friendſhip is a virtue, and not a mere traffic for advantage. It muſt be abſolutely exempt from every ſpecies of flattery (24). This work of St. Ambroſe was highly eſteemed formerly, and thoſe, who had leiſure, made abridgments of it, ſeveral of which are ſtill extant.

(24) Id. p. 262, 263.

But Mr. Barbeyrac, in the Preface to his French tranſlation of Puffendorf's treatiſe of the *Law of Nature and Nations*, appears to have no favourable opinion of St. Ambroſe's writings in general, and particularly of this work *de Officiis*. "We ſee, ſays he (25), "by the title and the manner in which he treats his "ſubject, that he deſigned to imitate *Cicero's Offices*. "But notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by a Lu"theran Divine (26), who publiſhed this work at "Wirtemberg in the year 1698, with ſome diſſerta"tions of his own; if we except the particular prin"ciples of the Goſpel, which Ambroſe has ſcattered "about in his work, with the examples and paſſages "of holy Scripture, which he perpetually cites, but "generally very ill applied, I don't ſtick to ſay, that "the copy is infinitely below the original, whether "you conſider the purity and eaſineſs of the ſtyle, or "the compoſition of the work, and the order of the "things contained in it, or the ſolidity of the "thoughts, and the juſtneſs of the reaſoning." Mr. Barbeyrac proceeds then to ſome particular objections againſt that work.

(25) See a Pamphlet intitled, *The Spirit of Eccleſiaſtics of all Sects and Ages as to the Doctrines of Morality, and more particularly the Spirit of the antient Fathers of the Church*, &c. p. 26, &c.

(26) Fortſchius, a Profeſſor.

[*H*] *His writings are intermixed with many ſtrange and peculiar opinions.*] He maintained, that all men indifferently are to paſs thro' a fiery trial at the laſt day; that even the juſt are to ſuffer it, and ſo be purged from their ſins; but the unjuſt are to continue in it for ever: that the faithful will be raiſed gradually at the laſt day, according to the degree of their particular merit (27); that the bow, which God promiſed Noah to place in the firmament after the deluge, as a ſign, that he never intended to drown the world again, was not to be underſtood of the rain-bow, which can never appear in the night, but ſome of viſible token of the Almighty. He carries the eſteem of virginity and celibacy ſo far, that he ſeems to regard matrimony as an indecent thing. He ſays very plainly (28), that before *the law of Moſes, and that of the Goſpel, adultery was not forbidden.* And he ſeems to condemn lending money to uſury, without any exception (29).

(27) *See* Dallæus *de vero uſu Patrum*, pag. 270, 271.

(28) Lib. 1. *De Patriarch. Abrah.* c. 4. *See* Daillè, *de Uſu Patrum.* p. 270, 271.

(29) *De Tobia*, c. 3. and 15. *See* Noodt, *de Pœn. & Uſur.* l. 1, c. 4. 10. p. 64.

[*I*] *Particularly St. Auguſtin, and Pelagius himſelf.*] The former makes uſe of his authority againſt the Pelagians (30), and tells us, that he was an excellent Miniſter of the Goſpel, whom he reverenced as a father, having been baptized by him; and that he himſelf had experience of his firmneſs in all circumſtances and dangers for the defence of the Catholic Faith both in ſpeech and writing; and that all the Roman Empire acknowledged the ſame. *Adhuc audi alium excellentem Diſpenſatorem, quem veneror ut patrem, in Chriſto enim per Evangelium ipſe me genuit, & eo Chriſti miniſtro lavacrum regenerationis accepi. Beatum loquor Ambroſium, cujus pro Catholicâ fide gratiam, conſtantiam, labores, pericula, ſive ſermonibus, ſive operibus, & ipſe ſum expertus, & mecum non dubitat orbis prædicare Romanus.* Pelagius likewiſe extols him very highly in a paſſage quoted by St. Auguſtin (31), where, he ſays, that the Roman Faith ſhines forth with a peculiar luſtre in his writings, and that he is the Flower of the Latin Writers; and that his doctrine and exact knowledge of the Scriptures could never be attacked by his enemies themſelves. *Ambroſius Epiſcopus, in cujus præcipuè libris Romana elucet fides; qui ſcriptorum inter Latinos flos quidem ſpecioſus enituit; cujus fidem & puriſſimum in Scripturis ſenſum ne inimicus quidem auſus eſt reprehendere.* T.

(30) *Contra Julian.* l. 1. c. 3.

(31) *De Gratia Chriſti*, c. 43.

☞AMBROSIUS (AURELIANUS) a famous General of the Britons in the fifth Century, was a man of the firſt quality, and of Roman extraction (*a*). It is the common opinion, that he was ſon to one of the Britiſh Monarchs, elected after the departure of the Romans (*b*). And ſome writers aſſert that he was ſon to Conſtantine, who was beheaded by Honorius. Gildas likewiſe informs us (*c*), that his parents had a ſovereign character, and were killed with their purple about them. As he was very young when his father died, he lay under no ſuſpicions from thoſe who ſucceeded to the crown. But when Vortigern was elected King, a powerful party declaring in Ambroſius's favour, he ſought every method to deſtroy the young Prince. This obliged Ambroſius to retire to Aldroen King of Armorica, who was related to him, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to put himſelf at the head of his party. Vortigern's jealouſy of him induced him to call in the aſſiſtance of Hengiſt the General of the Saxons. But this proved the ſource of great calamities to the nation, ſo that the Britons had recourſe to King Aldroen, who ſent over Ambroſius to relieve them [*A*].

(*a*) Gild. *Hiſt.* p. 16, 17.

(*b*) Rapin, *Hiſt. of England*, tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Tindal, vol. 1 B. 2. p. 97. 1ſt edit. 8vo, 1728.

(*c*) *Ubi ſupra.* *See* Beda, *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Gentis Anglor.* l. 1. c. 16.

them [*A*]. His ſucceſs was ſo conſiderable, that he had the weſtern part of the Kingdom, which was divided by the Roman High-way, called Watling-ſtreet, aſſigned to him. Hengiſt finding himſelf diſappointed of all his hopes of becoming maſter of Britain, endeavoured to effect that by fraud, which he could not accompliſh by force, and maſſacred in the moſt treacherous manner imaginable three hundred Britons [*B*]. This ſtruck the people with the utmoſt horror and indignation againſt the Saxons; and as Vortigern was ſuſpected to have been an accomplice in the maſſacre, becauſe he alone was ſpared, all his ſubjects in general deſerted him, and went over to Ambroſius. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf ſole Monarch of the Britons he aſſumed the Imperial Purple, after the manner of the Roman Emperors, and created Arthur, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war by many brave actions, a Patrician (*d*). He likewiſe renewed the war againſt the Saxons, and defeated Ella, one of their Generals, in the year 487. He is ſaid to have conven'd the Princes and Great Men at York, where he gave orders for repairing the churches which had been deſtroyed by the Saxons [*C*]. We have different accounts in authors concerning his death [*D*]. Gildas the Hiſtorian (*e*) extols him highly on account of his probity, temper and courage.

(*d*) Rapin, pag. 107, 108.

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra.*

AMELIA

[*A*] *Had recourſe to King Aldroen, who ſent over Ambroſius to relieve them.*] Guithelin, Archbiſhop of London, and Head of Ambroſius's party, repreſented to the Britons, that as this King had always ſhewn himſelf ready to aſſiſt them, they might now expect it upon ſo great an exigence; and ſince Vortigern, and Vortimer his ſon were not to be depended upon, it was neceſſary to invite over Ambroſius, who was deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and had all the qualifications proper to reſcue them from their preſent danger. The Britons immediately give their aſſent to him; and the Archbiſhop went over to the King of Armorica, who ſent ten thouſand men, under the command of Ambroſius, who all landed ſafely at Totneſs. This General was received with prodigious demonſtrations of joy; but this joy was not univerſal; for Vortimer's party, which was ſtill powerful, conſidered Ambroſius as one, who was come to uſurp the Crown under pretence of defending it. And Vortimer himſelf threatned to puniſh ſeverely thoſe, who ſhould join with him. This occaſioned inteſtine diviſions among the Britons, and expoſed them to the common enemy. "Ambroſius and Guithelin, ſays Mr. Rapin (1), ſeeing "this a fit time for their purpoſe, plotted together "the ruin of Vortigern and Vortimer. They began "with repreſenting to their party, that the ſon was "a Prince without courage or experience, and the "father an enemy to the Nation, as appeared by his "ſtrict ſtriendſhip with the enemies of the State, not "to mention his exceſſive liberalities, which obliged "his ſubjects to take the adminiſtration of affairs "out of his hands. That in vain therefore were "their preparations to drive out the foreigners, if "they did not firſt deſtroy theſe two domeſtic ene-"mies, who were in arms only to favour and aſſiſt "them. On the other hand, Vortigern and Vor-"timer told their friends, that Ambroſius under a "pretence of aſſiſting, was come to ſubdue them. "That the Archbiſhop was an ambitious man, who "ſought to put the crown on the head of Ambro-"ſius, only to get the adminiſtration of the govern-"ment in his own hands; than which, by reaſon "of his arrogance, nothing could more be dreaded "by the Britons. That they muſt ſhut their eyes "not to ſee that the deſigns of theſe two Heads of "their party were directly oppoſite to the good of "the Kingdom: That inſtead of marching their freſh "troops againſt the Saxons, they had done nothing "ſince their arrival, but plotted how they might op-"preſs thoſe, who were in arms for the defence of "their country." Theſe animoſities became ſo violent between the two parties, that they produced a civil war, which continued till the year 465. But at laſt they came to an agreement, that the Kingdom ſhould be divided between them.

(1) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 101.

[*B*] *Maſſacred in the moſt treacherous manner imaginable three hundred Britons.*] As ſoon as the peace was concluded between Hengiſt and the Britons, he affected to appear extremely well ſatisfied with it, and acted in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed, that he had no deſign of enlarging his conqueſts. The latter, charmed with this moderation of his, and unwilling to provoke a Prince, whoſe valour they had ſo often experienced, lived in the moſt friendly manner imaginable with him; and their averſion to the Saxons by degrees entirely vaniſhed. "Hengiſt omitted "nothing to keep them in a ſecurity, which would "draw them into the ſnare he was preparing for "them. He let them know, that his intent being to "live in perfect union with them, he ſhould be "glad from time to time to keep up a good under-"ſtanding between the two nations by mutual in-"terviews for pleaſure. Vortigern, a paſſionate "lover of ſuch diverſions, joyfully accepted his "propoſal, and went ſo far as to pay him the firſt "viſit, accompanied with three hundred of his prin-"cipal ſubjects. Hengiſt received them ſeemingly "in a very reſpectful and cordial manner. His en-"tertainment was ſplendid, and nothing was want-"ing, that might divert them. But towards the "end of the feaſt, the ſcene was changed. Hengiſt "had ordered matters ſo, that having artfully raiſed "ſome ſubject of diſpute, at a certain ſignal given, "the Britiſh Lords were all murthered. Vortigern, "becauſe Hengiſt had need of him, was only made "a priſoner. In vain did he complain of his baſe "treachery; he could not obtain his liberty without "delivering up to the Saxons a great part of his "Dominions bordering upon Kent, which they di-"viding into three Counties, gave them the names "of Suſſex, Eſſex, and Middleſex, which they re-"tain to this day. Not content with this, Hen-"giſt ravaged the neighbouring country in a merci-"leſs manner, and got poſſeſſion of London, Lin-"coln, and Wincheſter (2)." Dr. Stillingfleet (3) doubts of the truth of this maſſacre, becauſe Witichind relates one like it, which happened in Germany. But this does not prove, but that it might be repeated in Britain (4). Ambroſius is ſaid to have built Stone-Henge near Salisbury in memory of it.

(2) Ibid. p. 106, 107.

(3) *Antiquit. of Britiſh Churches.*

(4) *See* Note on Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 107.

[*C*] *Where he gave orders for repairing the churches deſtroyed by the Saxons.*] This is related by Geoffrey of Monmouth; Dr. Stillingfleet (5) is of opinion, that this account is agreeable to matter of fact. For the Britons having a conſiderable reſpite, after their advantage in the field, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Ambroſius and the reſt of the people ſhould endeavour to rebuild their churches, and reſtore the conveniences and honour of Religion. This relation of Geoffrey is confirmed by Matthew of Weſtminſter (6), who gives an ample account of the great zeal of Ambroſius in encouraging the Clergy, repairing the churches, and bringing divine worſhip into the former condition of ſolemnity and order. Beſides Geoffrey tells us, that in a Council of the Britons, Ambroſius gave directions for two Metropolitans to ſupply the vacancies of York and Caerleon, Sampſon being promoted to the firſt, and Dubricius to the other (7). This Matthew of Weſtminſter affirms was done in 490, and tells us, that they both flouriſhed to the year 507. He adds, that Sampſon being afterwards obliged to leave the country went over to Armorica, and was made Archbiſhop of Dole (8).

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, c. 5. p. 328.

(6) *Flores Hiſtor.* A. D. 438. *See* Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. 1. B. 1. Cent. V. p. 56. ed. Lond. 1708.

(7) Stilling. p. 329.

(8) *See* Collier, *ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *We have different accounts in authors concerning his death.*] We are told by Geoffrey of Monmouth (9), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (10), that twelve years after Ambroſius's ſucceſs againſt Ella, King of the South-Saxons and his ſons, Paſcentius, one of

(9) Lib. 5. c. 6.

(10) *Flores Hiſt.* A. D. 497.

AMELIA a city of Italy, called anciently Ameria, is ſituate between the Tiber and the Nera. Cato tells us, that it was founded nine hundred and ſixty four years before the war with Perſeus (*a*): As this war began the 581ſt year of Rome, Ameria, according to Cato's computation, was founded three hundred and eighty three years before Rome. Feſtus calls the founder of this city *Amirus*. It is plain from ſome inſcriptions, that this city was one of thoſe which the Romans called *Municipium*, as appears alſo from Tully's excellent Oration for Roſcius Amerinus. It acquired the right of a Roman Colony in the reign of Auguſtus (*b*). This city ſtands in a fruitful ſoil, and the hills that ſurround it, are covered with beautiful vineyards (*c*). It is not certain that the vines of Ameria were eſteemed by the Ancients. As I make this article only to rectify that of Moreri, I ſhall not enlarge upon it [*A*]. Leander Albertus ſtands in need alſo of correction [*B*].

(a) *Apud* Pliniu, lib. 3. c. 14.

(b) Cluverii, *Ital. Antiq.* lib. 2. cap. 7.

(c) Leandri Alberti, *Deſcriptio Italiæ*, p. 144.

Vortigern's ſons hired a Saxon to poiſon him at Wincheſter, which accordingly took effect. But we have a very different account given us by Henry of Huntington (11), and other Hiſtorians. They inform us, that in the battle which was fought between Ambroſius and Cerdick, a Saxon General, the former broke through the right wing of the Saxons, commanded by Cerdick, and routed them. But whilſt he was eagerly purſuing his victory againſt a body which made but a faint reſiſtance, Kenrick the ſon of Cerdick having had the ſame advantage over the right wing of the Britons, inſtead of purſuing them fell upon Ambroſius in the flank, and by that means gave Cerdick time to rally his troops, and complete the victory by an entire defeat of the Britons. Ambroſius, enraged to ſee the victory wreſted from him, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to renew the battle. He threw himſelf, in ſpite of his age and infirmities, into the midſt of the enemy, in order to animate his troops; but all his efforts, as Mr. Rapin obſerves (12), ſerved only to crown his glorious life with an honourable death. This happened in the year 508, near a place called by the Saxons, *Cerdick's Ford*, and now *Chardford* in Hampſhire. The name of Nazaleod, given by Hiſtorians to the Britiſh Monarch ſlain in this battle, occaſioned ſome writers to imagine that it was not Ambroſius. But Mr. Rapin prefers the opinion of Camden, and ſeveral other good Authors, who aſſert the contrary, "All "the Hiſtorians, ſays he (13), agree that Ambroſius "fell in battle. Now after the beginning of this "Prince's reign, there was no other battle, except "this, wherein a Britiſh Monarch was ſlain. Be"ſides, Hiſtorians would not have omitted to mark "the time of the death of ſo famous a Prince, had "it happened in ſome other action". Mr. Rapin's aſſertion, that all Hiſtorians agree that Ambroſius fell in battle, is too general; for we have ſhewn above, that Geoffry of Monmouth, and Matthew of Weſtminſter tell us, that he was poiſoned at Wincheſter. T.

(11) Lib. 2. *See* Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 117.

(12) Pag. 118.

(13) Ibid.

[*A*] *I make this article only to rectify that of Moreri.*] I. No author ever wrote, that *Ameria was built, during the war with Perſeus.* II. Pliny does not maintain, that *it was built before this war, in* 964. He only tells us that Cato ſaid ſo. III. Tully did not plead the cauſe of a Player born in this city: the Roſcius Amerinus for whom he pleaded was not Roſcius the Player, whoſe cauſe he likewiſe defended. IV. Theſe words of Virgil, *Atque Amerina parant lentæ retinacula viti* (1), i. e. "Amerian bands "ſuſtain the feeble vine," do not prove that the vines of *Ameria were eſteemed in his time.* The meaning of this verſe is, that the country about this city abounded with twigs, as pliable as oſiers, which were of great uſe in dreſſing the vines. *Virgas de quibus vites religantur: quæ virgæ abundant circa Amerinum oppidum.... Alii genus ſalicis dicunt, diſpari colore à cætera ſalice; nam eſt rubra, & ad connectendum aptior, quia præter morem lenta eſt* (2). i. e. "The twigs with which vines are faſtned grow in "plenty about Ameria.... Others ſay it is a kind of "oſier different from the other ſorts, in being red, and "fitter to faſten vines on account of its pliableneſs."

(1) Virgil. *Georgi* l. 1. ver. 265. This verſe is quoted very wrong by Moreri, *Atque Amerina parent lenta retinacula viti.*

(2) Servius *in Virgil.* ibid.

[*B*] *Leander Albertus ſtands in need alſo of correction.*] He makes Cato ſay that Ameria was rebuilt above 900 years before the war with Perſeus, and that it was firſt built by the Veientes, a people of Tuſcany, under the conduct of Ameroe daughter of the Italian Atlas and of Pleione. He ſuppoſes Pliny to have ſaid, that it was built 964 years before the war with Perſeus; and thus makes Cato and Pliny the broachers of two different opinions. Afterwards he endeavours to reconcile them in the following manner: *The Chronology of the one*, ſays he (3), *agrees pretty well with the Chronology of the other. Cato ſays*, above 900 years before the war with Perſeus, *and Pliny writes*, 964 years before the ſame war, *They may therefore be eaſily reconciled. Tho' the one uſes the word* rebuilding, *and the other the word* building, *we muſt not infer from thence, that they contradict one another; for the word* condere *uſed by Pliny is indifferently taken both for* founding *and* repairing. Theſe frivolous and chimerical diſputes will vaniſh, to the author's ſhame, by recurring to Pliny; for it is plain, that he broaches no opinion, but only ſays, *Ameriam..... Cato ante Perſei bellum conditam annis* 964 *prodidit* (4). i. e. "Cato "has related that Ameria was built 964 years before "the war with Perſeus."

(3) Leandri Alberti, *Deſcriptio Italiæ*, p. 144.

(4) Plinius lib. 3. cap. 14. *in fine.*

AMELIUS, a Platonic Philoſopher in the third Century, was a native of Tuſcany. His true name was Gentilianus; and he preferred the ſurname of *Amerius* to that of *Amelius*. He was twenty four years a diſciple of Plotinus at Rome, from whence he retired to Apamea, a city of Syria, and was there when Plotinus died. He adopted one Juſtin Heſychius of the ſame city (*a*); and this is, without doubt, what gave occaſion to the miſtake of Suidas, who wrote, that Amelius was a native of Apamea. That Author is equally miſtaken in aſſerting that Porphyrius was a diſciple of Amelius [*A*]. What we know for certain is, that Plotinus had a great eſteem for his diſciple Amelius, and that Amelius anſwered that eſteem with a particular veneration for Plotinus.

(a) Porphyrius *in vita Plotini.*

[*A*] *Suidas aſſerted, that Porphyrius was a diſciple of Amelius.*] Porphyrius himſelf writes, that when he began to ſtudy under Plotinus, Amelius had been eighteen years under the diſcipline of that Philoſopher (1). He adds, that he was Amelius's fellow-diſciple for the ſpace of ſix years, and that afterwards they both retired from Rome; he for Sicily, and the other for Apamea. They remained in their reſpective retirements, at leaſt to the death of Plotinus. Now as Porphyrius was then about thirty eight years of age, and had raiſed a greater reputation in Rome, than Amelius, it is not at all probable, that he became his diſciple. To this may be added, that Amelius in dedicating to him his Apology of Plotinus, deſires him to excuſe and correct his faults (2). To conclude, is not the ſilence of Porphyrius an argument of great weight againſt Suidas? Porphyrius is perpetually mentioning Amelius in the Life of Plotinus; and is it likely he would never have ſpoke of his ſtudying under him, had he really been his diſciple? Suidas perhaps was miſled by Theodoret, who calls Amelius, *the Head of the School of Porphyrius* (3).

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

Plotinus. When he began his ſtudies under that celebrated Philoſopher, he only knew what he had learnt of one Lyſimachus (*b*); but by his diligence and application got the ſtart of all his ſchool-fellows. He knew part of the inſtructions of Numenius by heart, and had been at the pains to collect and copy moſt of them. He made alſo copious collections of whatever he heard in the Philoſophical Conferences, and compoſed out of them an hundred treatiſes, with which he preſented his adoptive ſon. This is all he had brought to light when Porphyrius came to Rome (*c*); that is, after he had improved under the diſcipline of Plotinus for the ſpace of eighteen years. Afterwards he compoſed forty *Books againſt Zoſtrianus*, one of thoſe antient Hereticks both in matters of Philoſophy and Religion, who introduced ſuch a monſtrous mixture of the doctrines of the Goſpel and of the Philoſophers. The many Hereticks that ſprung up in the time of Plotinus, obliged him to arm againſt them. The province he choſe for himſelf was to defeat the Gnoſtics, while Amelius ſhould engage Zoſtrianus, and Porphyrius attack the pretended revelations of Zoroaſter. After this Amelius hearing that Plotinus was accuſed, as if he had adorned himſelf with the ſpoils of Numenius, drew his pen in defence of his maſter, and in three days time compoſed a work, which he dedicated to Porphyrius, and entitled, *Of the Difference between the Doctrine of Numenius, and that of Plotinus.* What I ſhall now relate is a ſtrong proof of the value Plotinus had for Amelius. As Plotinus was not at all fond of making a ſhew of his abilities, he was apt to leave ſome doubts in the minds of his hearers, and wanted, in ſome meaſure, to be forced, before he would diſplay the beſt of his Learning. This made Porphyrius propoſe ſeveral objections to him, in order to prove, that our ideas are not in our intellect (*d*). This is what Father Mallebranche has revived in our time. Plotinus, after reading the objections, deſired Amelius to anſwer them. The Opponent replied; Amelius anſwered his reply; and at laſt Porphyrius, having thoroughly underſtood the principals of Plotinus, yielded, and read his retractation in a full auditory. It is true that Longinus, whoſe judgment was ſo ſure, and criticiſm ſo formidable, thought his works too verboſe, but nevertheleſs placed him among the few Philoſophers, whoſe writings, in his opinion, deſerve any kind of eſteem [*B*]. He wrote a long letter againſt that which he received from Amelius concerning the nature of the Philoſophy of Plotinus. Amelius was very much addicted to Paganiſm, and a great obſerver of new Moons and Feaſts (*e*) [*C*]. In one of his books he quoted the beginning of St. John's Goſpel to confirm Plato's doctrine. This paſſage is cited by Euſebius (*f*), but more at length by Theodoret (*g*) and St. Cyril (*h*).

(*b*) He was a Stoic Philoſopher.

(*c*) In 263.

(*d*) Διὸ καὶ ἀντιγράψας προσήγαγον διακῦναι πειρώμενος, ὅτι ἔξω τῶ ὑφίστα τὸ νόημα. Porphyr. *in vita Plotini.*

(*e*) *Life of Plotinus* by Porphyrius.

(*f*) *Præparat. Evangel.* lib. 11. cap. 19.

(*g*) *Græc. Affection.* lib. 11. pag. 500.

(*h*) *In Julian.* lib. 8.

(3) Theodor. *Græcar. Affect.* p. 500.

(4) Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Empires* tom. 3. pag. 1084. Bruſſels edition.

rius (3), *that is*, according to Mr. Tillemont's explanation, *of the School of Plotinus, in which Porphyrius ſtudied* (4). *Suidas likewiſe ſuppoſes him to have been Porphyrius's Maſter*, continues Mr. Tillemont; *and we may alſo reckon Caſtricius Firmus among his diſciples, a man.... who did Amelius all manner of ſervice.* So that this modern author falls into the miſtake of Suidas, and goes even farther; for it manifeſtly appears from the Life of Plotinus, to which he refers us for what regards Caſtricius, that Plotinus was alive, while Caſtricius ſhewed at Rome ſuch an attachment for Amelius. Now it is certain, that while the latter was at Rome, he had no diſciples; but was himſelf a diſciple of Plotinus, and did not ſet up altar againſt altar.

[*B*] *Placed him among the few Philoſophers, whoſe writings in his opinion deſerve any eſteem.*] Their number is ſo ſmall, that it compriſes but two authors, Plotinus and Amelius; ſo much the greater was the glory of Amelius; nevertheleſs his works loſt very ſoon the eſteem they were in at firſt. Eunapius puts them in the ſame rank with thoſe of the two other fellow-ſtudents of Porphyrius, and pronounces the following ſentence againſt them all: Συγγράμματά γε αὐτῶν περισώζεται, λόγος δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς (5). *Quorum extant quidem volumina, ſed exiſtimatio prope nulla eſt* (6). i. e. "Theſe writings are "preſerved, but are in no eſteem." The reaſon he gives for this is, that they were without any politeneſs of language, and meerly dogmatical.

(5) Eunap. *in vitis Sophiſtarum*, p. 20.

(6) I quote the tranſlation of Hadrianus Junius, in which the word *prope* ſeems ſuperfluous.

[*C*] *He was a great obſerver of new Moons and Feaſts.*] I am ſenſible, that inſtead of *new Moons* it would be better to ſay with Marſilius Ficinus (7), *the firſt days of the month*; but I thought my expreſſion would be eaſier underſtood. Porphyrius expreſſes himſelf thus: Φιλοθύτου ὁ γεγονότος τοῦ Ἀμελίου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατὰ νουμηνίαν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐκπερίοντος (8). Now who can tax the Philoſophers with irreligion? Had they been impious and irreligious men, they would never have writ ſo much in favour of Paganiſm; nor would they have been the only writers, whom the Chriſtians had to ſtruggle with; for as to their Prieſts, their ignorance diſpenſed them from meddling with matters of that nature.

(7) *Per calendas ſacra faceret*, ſays he.

(8) Porphyr. *in vita Plotini.*

☞AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAI (ABRAHAM NICHOLAS) was born at Orleans in February 1634 (*a*). As after all our inquiries we could not procure an account of his life, we muſt content our ſelves with laying before the reader what we know of his writings. We may affirm however, that he was eſteemed at the court of France, ſince he was Secretary of an Embaſſy, which that court ſent to the Commonwealth of Venice, as appears by the title of his tranſlation of Father Paul's *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.* Another circumſtance of his life, which we learn from Mr. Bayle (*b*) is, that having been ſo bold as to publiſh ſome unwelcome truths, he was impriſoned in the Baſtile (*c*). The celebrated author who relates this, has not thought fit to tell us the particular reaſon for which Amelot was impriſoned. The firſt works which he printed were, *The Hiſtory of the Government of Venice*, and that of the *Uſcocks* (*d*). In the year 1683 he publiſhed three works, by which he gained much reputation, namely, a French tranſlation of Machiavel's treatiſe intitled *(El Principe)*; *The Prince*; *of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*; and *(Diſcours Politiques ſur Tacite) Political Diſcourſes upon Tacitus* (*e*). Theſe works were very well received by the publick; and indeed it appeared by them, that Amelot was a man very well ſkilled in Politicks, who wanted

(*a*) Moreri, Paris ed. 1732.

(*b*) *Nouvel. de la Repub. des Let.* 1684. tom. 1. p. 457.

(*c*) A Caſtle at Paris, which ſerves as a priſon for ſtate-criminals.

(*d*) A people of Croatia, who to avoid the tyranny of the Turks, fled to Segna or Zeng in Hungary: they are the greateſt Pyrates that infeſt the Gulf of Venice.

(*e*) Bayle, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 521. Theſe three books were printed at Amſterdam.

wanted neither that genius neceſſary to conceive the moſt elevated thoughts, nor the terms requiſite to expreſs them in their full ſtrength (*f*). He did not prefix his own name to the two laſt works we have mentioned, but diſguiſed himſelf under the name of *La Mothe Joſſeval*. No ſooner was his tranſlation of Father Paul publiſhed in France, but it was violently attacked by the Partizans of the Pope's unbounded power and authority; on which occaſion Amelot himſelf tells us a particular, which deſerves to be taken notice of in a Remark [*A*]. It is well known how different the opinions are, which the oppoſite parties of the church of Rome entertain concerning this work of Father Paul. At Rome he is ſtiled a notorious Heretick, whilſt the Venetians openly declare in his favour. In France Amelot's tranſlation had a wonderful ſucceſs; all the zealous aſſertors of the liberty of the Gallican Church, promoted the ſale of that book to the utmoſt of their power, though at the ſame time three different memorials were preſented to have it ſuppreſſed (*g*). But this ſerves only to ſhew the merit not only of the book itſelf, but alſo of the notes and reflections, which the Tranſlator has added to it, and that the reader may form a notion of thoſe reflections, we ſhall give ſome of them in a Remark [*B*]. When the ſecond edition of this tranſlation was publiſhed, it was violently attacked by the Abbé St. Real, in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Bayle, dated October 17, 1685 (*h*). Amelot defended himſelf in a letter to Mr. Bayle (*i*), and St. Real replied (*k*). Theſe authors writing againſt one another with great vehemence, and uſing ſome expreſſions which ſeemed too harſh, and unbecoming men of letters,

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) Bayle, *Rep. des Let.* Octob. 1688. pag. 1169.

(*i*) *Rep. des Let.* Dec. 1685, pag. 1361. and *Ouvr. de St. Real.* tom. 3. p. 190.

(*k*) In his Works, tom. 3. p. 194.

(*h*) Inſerted in Bayle's *Rep. des Let.* Oct. 1688. p. 1170. and in St. Real's works, tom. 3. p. 186. Hague ed. 1676.

Mr.

[*A*] *Amelot tells us a particular, which deſerves to be taken notice of.*] "A Batchelor of the Sorbonne, ſays he, asked one of my Printers, whether "the tranſlator of Father Paul was a good Catholic. If I had been preſent, I would have anſwer'd, as children do in the Catechiſm, *Yes by the "Grace of God*; and I ſhould not have told a lye; for "I am a good Catholic, as well as my whole family "has been above three hundred years. But this Gentleman's queſtion came from an higher quarter; "as he ſhewed ſoon after, by ridiculouſly railing a-"gainſt me, tho' he did not know me, and againſt "my book, which he had not read; for he did "not ſcruple to ſay, that whoever dared to read it, "was excommunicated *ipſo facto*. Therefore I think "myſelf obliged to declare, that I do firmly believe, "whatever Church Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman "commands me to believe, and whatever the holy "general Council of Trent has decided concerning "matters of faith. But having been educated and "inſtructed in the Gallican Church, and in the "Univerſity at Paris, of which I have the honour "to be a member, I do and will always believe, "what they believe and teach concerning matters of "diſcipline and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. This is "all that I intend to anſwer to three abuſive memorials that have been preſented by the Monks "againſt my book, the greateſt fault of which is, "that it is not favourable to their intereſt; but "this, I think, is not a ſufficient reaſon to favour "them ſo far as to ſuppreſs it (1)." Thus far Amelot; whence it appears, that he did not much regard the clamours of the Monks; tho' in the Preface to his tranſlation, in which he undertakes the defence of Father Paul againſt Cardinal Pallavicini, he tells us, that he will not attempt a formal apology for that famous Hiſtorian, not being inclined to enter the liſt againſt a mob of Friars, who bark againſt Father Paul, without knowing why. Another conſequence we may draw from his declaration is, that being a good Catholic, he is ſo much the more to be depended upon in what he ſays againſt thoſe of his own communion, or in favour of the Proteſtants.

(1) Amelot's declaration after his Preface, in the 2d and 3d ed. of Father Paul's *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*

[*B*] *We ſhall give ſome of his reflections in a remark.*] Father Paul obſerves (2) from St. Jerom, that the primitive Churches were in an ariſtocratical ſtate, being governed by the common *Presbytery*. Whereupon Amelot tells us, that "the *Presbytery* "was the Eccleſiaſtical College, in which the Biſhop indeed preſided, or was the Head, but which "exerciſed together with the Biſhop, the power "of ordaining, as well as of judging, as appears "from theſe words of St. Paul to Timothy (3), *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given "thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands "of the* PRESBYTERY. And Father Paul ſays (4), "that *the ancient government of the Church was de-"mocratical, ſince all the faithful had a ſhare in "the moſt eſſential deliberations:* But that government was really ariſto-democratical (5)." In the next page he makes another reflection, which is very free for a Roman Catholic. Father Paul ſays, that the Pope was highly pleaſed with the conduct of ſome Convents, which exempted themſelves from the juriſdiction of their Biſhop, to depend only upon the See of Rome. But by exemptions the Pope acquired in every city a great many ſubjects, who being protected by him, became in their turn his protectors, and the greateſt defenders of his power and authority. "Therefore, ſays Amelot (6), one cannot have too "watchful an eye upon the Monks, who form *im-"perium in imperio*, a foreign Monarchy within "the very bowels of the ſtate." This obſervation holds good with regard to the whole Roman-Catholic Clergy, who are more dependant on the Pope than on their ſecular Prince; and the ſame may be ſaid of thoſe Proteſtant Eccleſiaſtics, who would have the Clergy independent on the Civil Magiſtrate. In another place Father Paul (7) gives us the ſubſtance of a Remonſtrance drawn up by the Roman Catholic Divines in Germany, in which they repreſented the lawfulneſs of the Clergy's marriage. Upon which Amelot obſerves, that "the celibacy of "the Clergy is a Law eſtabliſhed to prevent the alie-"nating of the Church's eſtate; for which reaſon "Pope Pelagius was unwilling to confirm the Biſhop "of Saragoſa in his See, becauſe he had a wife and "family; and when he confirmed him, it was on "condition that his wife and children ſhould inhe-"rit nothing of his eſtate, but what he was poſ-"ſeſſed of at the time of his confirmation (8)." We ſhall not diſpute the reaſon alledged by Amelot, for the celibacy of the Clergy, tho' it appears by the example of England and Ireland, that the alienating of the Church lands may be prevented notwithſtanding the marriage of the Clergy. But there is another reaſon for their celibacy in the Church of Rome, which is, that married men are generally more attached to their country, and cannot ſo eaſily quit it, as ſingle men, who for that reaſon can better ſtudy how to obey or pleaſe the Court of Rome, tho' in oppoſition to their own Sovereign: And if they are obliged to leave their country, they can do it eaſily, as leaving no dear pledges behind them; which cannot be ſaid of married people. Their wives and children may generally ſpeaking be conſidered, as a kind of ſecurity to the whole ſtate of their loyalty and faithful behaviour. It is therefore the intereſt of the State, tho' not of what is called the Church, that Clergymen ſhould be married. Tho' Mr. Amelot's reflections be for the moſt part juſt and accurate, yet he is ſometimes miſtaken; of which we will give but one inſtance. Speaking (9) of Philip Landgrave of Heſſe, who was baſely deceived and impriſoned by Charles V. Amelot tells us, that "Charles put into the treaty which he made "with the Landgrave an *n* inſtead of a *w*, namely "*einich* which ſignifies *with*, inſtead of *ewith* which "ſignifies *without*; ſo that the condition, on which "the Landgrave ſurrendred himſelf to the Emperor, "became

(2) *Hiſt. du Conc. de Trente*, Liv. 2. p. 202.

(3) 1 Tim. iv. 14.

(4) *Traité des Benefic.* § 16. p. 83.

(5) Amelot, *Trad. du Conc. de Trente, ubi ſupra*, marginal note •.

(6) Ibid. p. 1203. note *

(7) Ibid. Liv. 8. p. 799.

(8) Amelot, ibid. note d.

(9) Ibid. p. 252. note d.

Mr. Bayle took upon him to ſuppreſs what was only perſonal, and to ſoften what appeared too violent (*l*). We ſhall give ſome account of this diſpute in a Remark [*C*]. In 1686 he printed *La Morale de Tacite, De la Flaterie*, in 12mo. In his critical diſcourſe prefixed to this work he gives us his opinion concerning the ſeveral Tranſlators and Commentators on Tacitus; he anſwers particularly d'Ablancourt, and ſhews by ſeveral inſtances, that he has committed a great many blunders in his tranſlation. In the courſe of his work, Amelot has collected about a hundred particular facts and maxims, which repreſent in very lively colours the genius of the Court Flatterers, and the dreadful force of their poiſoning diſcourſes. In the year 1690 he publiſhed at Paris a French tranſlation of the ſix firſt books of Tacitus's Annals, with hiſtorical and political remarks, which are not all equally conſiderable or juſt [*D*]. Beughem appears to be miſtaken, when he aſcribes to Amelot a tranſlation of Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes upon the firſt Decad of Livy* [*E*]. Amelot having employed his pen for ſeveral years together in writing on hiſtorical and political ſubjects, thought fit to try his ſtrength on religious ſubjects, and in 1691 he printed at Paris a tranſlation of Palafox's *Theological and Moral Homilies upon the Paſſion of our Lord*, in 12mo. Palafox was firſt Biſhop of Angelopolis, or *Los Angeles* in America, and afterwards of Oſma in Old-Caſtile. He had intitled his book on Chriſt's Paſſion, *The injuſtice committed in the death of Jeſus Chriſt our Redeemer (m)*. But that title not ſounding well in French, Amelot thought fit to alter it. That book contains ſeveral juſt obſervations, of which the reader will perhaps be pleaſed to ſee ſome inſtances [*F*]. We ſhould have obſerved that in 1684 Amelot printed at Paris a French tranſlation of Baltaſar Gracian's *Oraculo Manual*, with the title of *L'homme de Cour*, in 4to *(n)*. He has illuſtrated his tranſlations with ſeveral remarks, which contain either curious facts, or beautiful ſentences borrowed from Pliny the younger, Tacitus, &c. In his preface he defends Gracian againſt Father Bohours's

(*l*) *See* Bayle, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 1174, and 1360.

(*m*) We don't find that book in the catalogue given by Nic. Antonio (Art. Joannis de Palafox) except it be included in the general title of *Homilias de Tempore*.

(*n*) And in 12° at the Hague.

"became by that alteration contrary to his expec-
"tation, which was that he ſhould be kept *without*
"*perpetual impriſonment*; whereas the word *einich*
"made the words ſignify, *with perpetual impriſon-*
"*ment*." Thus far Amelot; it appears by this that he did not underſtand High Dutch, and that he truſted to his memory when he related this circumſtance, which he has entirely perverted; for it is thus. The Landgrave ſtipulated that he would ſurrender himſelf on condition that he ſhould not be impriſoned. The words were without *any* impriſonment; (*Einige* in High Dutch ſignifying any). But in the writings that were drawn up, they put *Eiwige* inſtead of *einige*, ſo that the words were, without *perpetual* impriſonment, of which the Landgrave did not take notice: and he was no ſooner in the Emperor's power, but he was put in priſon, and Charles thought, he ſhould ſufficiently perform his promiſe, if the Landgrave was ſet free but an hour before his death.

[*C*] *We ſhall give ſome account of his diſpute with Abbé St. Real.*] The Abbot having ſaid, that Amelot's tranſlation of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent is full of errors, mentions four, which in his opinion are very material. The firſt indeed is a miſtake of the tranſlator, who finding theſe words in his author, *Fu da tutti allegato il Concilio Laodiceno, Innocentio Primo Pontifice, il terzo Concilio Carthaginenſi, & Gelaſio Papa*, placed the Council of Laodicea under Pope Innocent I, and the third Council of Carthage under the Pope Gelaſius; whereas Father Paul ſpeaks of four different decrees, viz. thoſe of the Council of Laodicea, of Pope Innocent I, of the third Council of Carthage, and of Pope Gelaſius. Amelot owned this miſtake. The two next errors laid to his charge, are ſo trifling, if they be errors, that they do not deſerve any notice. The laſt is ſomewhat more conſiderable; Amelot tranſlates theſe words *Diſciplina de Coſtumi*, by the word *Diſcipline*, inſtead of *the Doctrine concerning manners* (10). In anſwer to this critic, he aſſerts, that there is no difference between the ſenſe of the word *Diſcipline*, and that of *the Doctrine concerning manners*; and that if he had ſaid *the Diſcipline of the Church*, or *the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, it would have been equivocal. But this is no ſatisfactory anſwer, as St. Real very juſtly obſerved in his reply (11); for in French the word *Diſcipline* always ſignifies the particular laws and practices, which relate to the governing or regulating the Church, and never what we call *Morality les mœurs*. However, ſuch inconſiderable errors ſhew that Amelot's tranſlation muſt be good, ſince if it had given room for a more ſevere cenſure, St. Real, who intended to diſcredit it, would not have ſpared it.

(10) *La Doctrine des Mœurs.*

(11) In his Works, tom. 3. p. 197, 198.

[*D*] *His remarks upon* Tacitus *are not equally conſiderable or juſt.* Here follows the judgment of an ingenious author upon Amelot. "Mr. Amelot de
"la Houſſaye, ſays he (12), has made a large col-
"lection of political Obſervations upon *Tacitus*, as
"far as the thirteenth Annal inclusive; ſome of
"them are pertinent and uſeful, but many of them
"inſipid and little worth. The very firſt which he
"makes is flat and poor, *Dèſque la Royauté com-*
"*mence a degénerer en Tyrannie, le peuple aſpire à*
"*la liberte*, i. e. ("As ſoon as a King's government
"begins to degenerate into tyranny, the people
"long for liberty.)" Mr. Gordon adds ſome other inſtances of Amelot's reflections, which, it muſt be owned, are trite, and void of force and inſtruction: But it cannot be denied that the greateſt part of them are of another ſtamp. As to Amelot's tranſlation, the ſame judicious author juſtly prefers it to that of d'Ablancourt (13), who if he has any advantage over Amelot, it is only with regard to his ſtyle and language, which is a very ſmall advantage. Mr. de Beauval (14) ſays, "If Amelot's tranſlation is more
"accurate than that of d'Ablancourt, it may be doubt-
"ed whether it be more polite." But who would not chuſe accuracy before politeneſs?

(12) Gordon, *Diſcourſes upon Tacitus*, prefixed to his tranſlation, Vol. 1. Diſc. 2. Sect. 12. p. 28.

(13) Ibid. p. 30.

(14) *Hiſt. des Ouvr. des Sçavans*, 4 Juin, 1690, p. 465.

[*E*] *Beughem is miſtaken, when he aſcribes to Amelot a tranſlation of* Machiavel's Political Diſcourſe upon the firſt Decad of Livy (15).] He refers us for this to the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, T. xx. pag. 328; and indeed we find there an account of that tranſlation, and Amelot is mentioned as the tranſlator of Machiavel's *Prince*; to which tranſlation he added notes of his own, and alſo juſtified his author againſt thoſe, who have attacked him. It is ſaid in that account, that the new tranſlator of Machiavel's *Political Diſcourſes*, has alſo endeavoured to juſtify him; but it is not ſo much as inſinuated that Amelot is the tranſlator. So that Beughem muſt be guilty here of a miſtake.

(15) In his *Bib. Erud. Curioſa*, tom. 2. p. 9.

[*F*] *Some obſervations contained in Palafox's book of Homilies.*] It contains very uſeful inſtructions for perſons of every rank, and eſpecially for Biſhops, Preachers, Governors, and Judges. The author having explained Judas's crime and his misfortune, exhorts them to avoid, as a dangerous precipice, all covetouſneſs, and meddling with money. In explaining that particular paſſage of the xith chapter of St. John's Goſpel, where the Apoſtle deſcribes the Council, which the Princes of the Prieſts and Phariſees held againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and in which it is ſaid, *What do we? For this man doeth many miracles &c.* (16), the Biſhop of Angelopolis is of opinion, that theſe words were pronounced by Caiaphas only,

(16) Vers. 47.

Bouhours's *Critique*, and tells us why he aſcribes this book to Baltaſar, and not to Laurence Gracian; on which occaſion he relates ſeveral particulars concerning that author and his writings, of which he gives us a catalogue. Baltaſar Gracian was a Spaniſh Jeſuit, who died in 1658, aged fifty four years (*o*). Beſides his own obſervations Amelot has alſo added to this work of Gratian ſeveral chapters taken from this author's other books, either entire, or the ſubſtance of them. He alſo tells us, that he has altered the title, becauſe it appeared too oſtentatious and hyperbolical; and that that of *L'homme de Cour*, *The Courtier*, was more proper to expreſs the ſubject of the book, which is a kind of a political code, or a collection of the fineſt maxims for regulating a court-life. Frederic Leonard a bookſeller at Paris, propoſed in the year 1692 to print a collection of all the treaties of peace between the Kings of France and all the other Princes in Europe, ſince the reign of Charles the Seventh to the year 1690. Amelot who had read theſe treaties publiſhed a ſmall volume in 12mo (*p*), containing a preliminary diſcourſe upon theſe treaties, full of political reflections, by which it appears, that *Politicks* may be defined *the art of impoſing upon men* as well as of *governing them*. For Amelot ſhews, that moſt Princes, when they enter into a treaty, think more how they may evade the performance of what they agree to, than how they ſhall accompliſh their promiſes; on which occaſion he tells us two facts, which deſerve to be communicated in a Remark [*G*]. Amelot alſo publiſhed a new edition of Cardinal D'Oſſat's Letters (*q*) in 1697, with ſeveral obſervations of his own, which, as he himſelf tells us in his advertiſement or preface, may ſerve as a ſupplement to the Hiſtory of the reigns of Henry III and Henry IV Kings of France." Laſtly, we have hiſtorical and political obſervations by Amelot, inſerted in the ſecond volume of the *Recueil des Traitez de Paix &c.* publiſhed at the Hague in four volumes in folio, by James Bernard, afterwards Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Miniſter at Leyden. But we own we cannot tell whether theſe *Obſervations* be different from the preliminary diſcourſe mentioned above; Beughem diſtinguiſhed them (*r*), but I very much ſuſpect him to be miſtaken. Amelot, notwithſtanding his great genius, his elevated mind, and his elaborate works, had the fate of moſt of the learned men, to live in want; and would have fallen into the utmoſt diſtreſs, had it not been for the help he received from a certain Abbot, diſtinguiſhed by his learning and merit, as much as by his birth, if we may credit the continuators of Moreri's Dictionary (*s*). Amelot died at Paris in December 1706, being then very near ſeventy three years of age. We need not give here his character. He has himſelf drawn his own picture in his works, and the few abſtracts we have given of them in our remarks are ſufficient to give thoſe readers, who have not read his books, an idea of his genius.

(*o*) Bayle, *Repub des Lett.* 1684. tom. 1. p. 521, 523.

(*p*) It contains but 290 pages.

(*q*) Reprinted at Amſterdam in 1732, in five vol. 12mo, with ſome additional remarks of Amelot, not to be found in his edition of 1697.

(*r*) See his *Bibliographia Eruditorum Curioſa*, tom. 2. p. 10. and tom. 4. p. 4.

(*s*) In the word Amelot.

only, who preſided in the Council, and that the text aſcribes them to the whole Council, becauſe they all admitted the Preſident's opinion, without contradicting it. Whereupon he makes a long diſcourſe, to ſhew how dangerous it is, that one, who preſides in any aſſembly, ſhould open his opinion firſt, becauſe by this he awes in a manner the other Judges, and deprives them of the liberty of giving their advice (17). This is a very juſt obſervation, and ſhould be taken notice of in more than one place.

(17) *Journal des Savans*, tom. 19. anno 1691, pag. 245. Amſterd. edit.

[*G*] *Two facts, which we will communicate to the reader.*] The firſt is as follows: Lewis XI King of France hearing of the powerful league that was forming againſt him, deſired Francis Sforza, to adviſe what conduct he ſhould follow. Sforza anſwered him, that to render the league ineffectual, he muſt refuſe nothing of what they demanded of him; and that when he ſhould have granted to every one in particular what they asked, it would not be difficult for him to wreſt it afterwards out of their hands. Lewis hearkened to this advice, and it ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. The ſecond fact is this: Ferdinand V ſurnamed the Catholic was ſo far from concealing his treacherous manner of acting under any ſpecious pretence, that he uſed to glory in it; and one day as Quintana told him, that Lewis XII King of France complained, that Ferdinand had impoſed upon him twice already. *Twice!* cried he with an oath, he lies, a drunkard as he is, for I have impoſed upon him more than ten times (18). We need not make any reflection upon theſe facts. We ſhall only add what Villeroy, Secretary of State to a King of France, ſaid, "The intention of Princes "and of Miniſters of State is not, nor ought to be "ſubject to what they ſign even with their own "hand, but rather, what they ſign muſt be ſub-"ject to their intention." This may be a very good maxim; but the only fault of it is, that it renders all treaties uſeleſs and of no effect.

(18) *Biblioth. Univerſ. & Hiſt.* tom. 22. p. 517, 518.

☞AMELOTE (DENNIS) born at Saintes in the year 1606, was a famous writer amongſt the Roman Catholicks. He was ordained Prieſt in 1632, and maintained a great correſpondence with the Fathers of the Oratory (*a*); he wrote the life of Charles de Gondren the ſecond Superior of that Congregation, and publiſhed it at Paris in 1643 (*b*). In that life he ſaid ſomething of the famous Abbot of St. Cyran, which very much diſpleaſed the Gentlemen of Port-Royal [*A*], who to be revenged of him publiſhed a Libel againſt him intitled, *Idee generale de l'Eſprit & da Livre du P. Amelote*; that is, "A general repreſentation of F. Amelote's genius, and of his book." He was

(*a*) A Congregation of Prieſts, founded by Philip of Neri at Rome, about the year 1575, and in France the Oratory of Jeſus was founded by Cardinal Berulle in 1611. The Fathers of this Congregation are all Prieſts, and employ their time in teaching youths, and inſtructing young Clercs deſigned for Seminaries, Miſſions, &c.

(*b*) French Moreri, Article AMELOTE.

(1) John du Verger de Hauraxe, Abbot of St. Cyran, has gained a great reputation not only by his own writings, but alſo by the fame of his diſciples, Mr. Arnauld, Nicolle, and other Gentlemen of Port-Royal.

[*A*] *In the life of Gondren Father Amelote ſaid ſomething of the Abbot of St. Cyran* (1), *which very much diſpleaſed the Gentlemen of Port-Royal.*] We have not ſeen that life, but what Father Simon relates concerning the opinion, which Father Gondren had of the Abbot of St. Cyran, deſerves to be taken notice of. He tells us, that a friend of Father Amelote asked him one day, what he propoſed by attacking with ſo much vehemence the doctrine of the Port-Royaliſts, ſince he was a Thomiſt, and the principles of the Thomiſts appeared to ſeveral perſons more rigid and ſevere than thoſe of the Janſeniſts. --- Father Amelote, without anſwering this queſtion, ſaid, that Father Gondren, whoſe diſciple he had been, had given him a very ſtrange account of the Abbot of St. Cyran, and of his whole party.--- That

was so much exasperated by this Satyr, that he did all that lay in his power to injure them [B], so that they received more prejudice from him alone, than from the whole Society of the Jesuits (c). Father Amelote made a French translation of the New Testament with annotations, in four volumes 8vo, which were printed in the years 1666, 1667, and 1678. This translation is not very exact, if we may credit F. Simon, who tells us (d), that it contains some very gross blunders, especially in what relates to Criticism. This translation was dedicated to Mr. de Perefixe Archbishop of Paris, and the Translator used the Gentlemen of Port-Royal very ill in his discourse to that Prelate [C]; for which reason when the bookseller intended to print a new edition of Father Amelote's New Testament (e) after his death, the Port-Royalists used all their endeavours to suppress the dedication [D], which was done accordingly (f). When Father Amelote's translation was published, the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, who had also one ready for the press, published a report that F. Amelote had seen theirs, and even pretended to tell how their manuscript had been communicated to him. And indeed, says F. Simon, these two translations are very much alike in several places; but he adds, that those who have seen F. Amelote's original manuscript, assure us that it is full of rasures, and corrections of his own hand writing. His principal care in this translation was to find expressions more proper and elegant than those of the former versions; for which reason he committed his work, or at least the first part of it into Mr. Conrart's hands, to polish it, and correct whatever he should judge to be inelegant or improper. Mr. Conrart was a Protestant [E], perfectly skilled in the French tongue, but understood neither Greek nor Latin; so that it happened sometimes, that when he endeavoured to give a period a better turn, he dropped the true sense of the text, or at least enervated the force of it, for want of consulting the original [F] (g). F. Amelote also wrote

(c) F. Simon, *Bibl. Critique*, tom. 3. ch. 16. p. 182.

(d) Ibid. ch. 17. p. 183, 184.

(e) This second edition was printed in 1688, 4to.

(f) F. Simon, ibid.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 188, 189.

That Father Gondren found by the conversations he had with that Abbot, that he held unaccountable opinions concerning several matters of Religion, and openly ridiculed a great many decrees of the Council of Trent, saying very freely, that this Council was only an assembly of School-men, little acquainted with the doctrine of the Fathers, and especially with that of St. Austin (2). It is no wonder that Father Amelote should have offended the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, in his Life of Father Gondren, where he speaks of the Abbot of St. Cyran, since he enterained such a notion of that Abbot, who was the Hero of the Jansenists. We shall observe by the way, that the friend, who had that conversation with Father Amelote, is no other than Father Simon himself (3).

(2) Simon, *Bib. Critique*, tom. 3. ch. 17. p. 187, 188.

(3) Ibid. p. 186. in the note.

[B] *Father Amelote did all that lay in his power to hurt them* (the Gentlemen of Port-Royal.)] They had made a new French translation of the New Testament, and desired to have it printed. For that purpose they endeavoured to procure an approbation from some Doctors of the Sorbonne, and a privilege from the King. They had indeed some friends among the Doctors of Divinity, but at the same time very powerful enemies. And as to the privilege, it was impossible for them to prevail with the Chancellor Seguier to grant them one, for he hated them; and Father Amelot, whose advice the Chancellor generally followed in matters of Religion, broke all their measures (4), not only out of zeal for what he thought the true doctrine, or out of aversion to the Port-Royalists, but also out of a view to his own interest, since being shortly to publish his own translation, he was probably afraid, that the other would prejudice the sale of his.

(4) Id. ibid. ch. 16. p. 181, 182.

[C] *He used the Gentlemen of Port-Royal very ill in his discourse to that Prelate* (Archbishop Perefixe.] "You will be confirmed, says Father Amelote to "that Prelate, in that zeal, which obliged you to "take up the holy arms to defend the true Grace "of God, and the decrees of the holy See, against "the new heresy (5): You will daily strengthen "your self against these blind rebels, whose fury, "impostures, and calumnies add new splendor to "your glory, which they endeavour to cast a blemish upon. They place you in the same rank "with the Athanasius's and the Hilary's, when they "abuse you in the same manner as the Arians did "those great and holy Bishops (6)." Father Amelote's whole Dedication was full of such harsh and abusive language; but it was in return for the ill usage he had met with from these Gentlemen in the piece, which we have mentioned in the text of this article.

(5) That of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, and the other Jansenists.

(6) Simon, *ubi supra*, ch. 17. p. 185.

[D] *The Port-Royalists used all their endeavours to suppress the Dedication.*] Archbishop Perefixe, to whom Father Amelote had dedicated his translation, being dead, when the Bookseller undertook to publish a new edition of that translation, the Gentlemen of Port-Royal represented to him, that the old Dedication could be of no use, since the person to whom it was addressed was dead; that it was therefore his interest to make a new Dedication to the new Archbishop (7). This was a very prevailing reason with the Bookseller, who was Printer to that celebrated Prelate; so that he consented to what was desired of him (8). The same Gentlemen had already endeavoured to have that Dedication suppressed before Father Amelote's death. The famous Mr. Arnauld desired a Doctor of the Sorbonne, called Diroys, to speak to a friend of Father Amelote (9), and to represent to him, that the disputes concerning Jansenism being ended, and peace having been restored to the Church, the Gentlemen of Port-Royal were no longer to be styled heretics or rebels. Father Amelote answered that he would readily consent to the suppressing of his Dedications, if his antagonists would suppress the Libel they had published against him (10), and retract what it contained. Mr. Diroys having made his report to Dr. Arnauld, that Doctor, who was not much inclined to retract his libels, as Mr. Simon observes, promised, that it should never be reprinted. Upon which Father Amelote said, that if it was so, things should remain as they were. The author from whom we have extracted these particulars, adds (11) that Mr. Nicole is the author of the Libel against Father Amelote, and that to draw his character better, he went himself to pay a visit to that Father, who did dot know him personally.

(7) Mr. de Harlai.

(8) Simon, ibid. p. 184.

(9) That friend was F. Simon himself, see the quot. (3).

(10) *Idee generale de l'Esprit & du Livre du P. Amelote.*

(11) F. Simon, *ubi supra*, pag. 185, 186.

[E] *Mr. Conrart was a Protestant.*] "Do not wonder, says Father Simon (12), at Amelote's conduct, "who being a man of great piety, and rigidly *orthodox*, committed a book of such importance (13) "to the revisal of a Calvinist, who was extremely "zealous for his Religion. Weak men only can be "offended at this kind of correspondence. The illustrious Father Senauld had shewed Father Amelote the way. Tho' he was very eloquent for "his time, yet he used to give his works to Mr. Conrart to revise them. The Minister Claude has done "the same, and has very much improved by Conrart's directions, who was an excellent Master in "the French tongue." Why should the difference of opinions in matters of Religion hinder learned men from conversing with one another, and from giving one another all the assistance, in their power? None but bigots can object against this.

(12) Ibid. p. 189.

(13) His translation of the New Testament.

[F] *He dropt the force of the text &c. for want of consulting the original.*] Mr. Conrart had been

wrote *an Abridgment of Divinity*, a *Catechiſm for the Jubilee*, and a kind of *Chriſtian Manual* for every day (*Journée Chretiéne*) (*b*). Though this Father had always been a very zealous Anti-Port-royaliſt, yet he was very ill rewarded for all his labour and trouble. Towards the end of his life he ſued for a very ſmall Biſhoprick (*i*), and had the misfortune of meeting with a refuſal, though he had all the qualities requiſite to a Biſhop. He could not forbear complaining of this uſage to his friends, telling them that thoſe, whom he had often ſerved very effectually, had been very cold to him on this occaſion (*k*). He entered into the Congregation of the Oratory in 1650, and continued amongſt them till his death, which happened in 1678 (*l*).

(*b*) Moreri, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) That of Sarlat in the Province of Perigord.

(*k*) F. Simon, *ubi ſupra*, ch. 16. p. 182.

(*l*) Moreri, *ubi ſupra.*

deſired by the Proteſtant Synod in France, to correct the ancient tranſlation of the Pſalms, in verſe; but it was ſoon found that he was not equal to ſuch a task, notwithſtanding all his abilities, becauſe he did not underſtand Hebrew. If it be ſaid, that Marot ſucceeded very well in the tranſlation of thoſe Pſalms, which he undertook to put in verſe, tho' he was unacquainted with the original, we may anſwer that Marot was directed by the learned and judicious Vatablus. If the French Proteſtants had had a Vatablus among them, they would have found a Marot (14).

(14) Simon, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 190, 191.

AMES or AMESIUS (WILLIAM) an Engliſhman, and Profeſſor of Divinity at Franeker in 1622. He was greatly engaged in diſputes with the Arminians, and wrote ſeveral books againſt them [*A*]. He is one of the reformed Divines who has treated caſes of conſcience with moſt exactneſs and method. It is almoſt needleſs to mention that he wrote againſt Bellarmin (*a*); for every one knows that all the Proteſtant Controvertiſts of his time levelled their writings againſt the works of that Jeſuit. Ameſius compoſed a book entitled *Medulla Theologiæ*; and ſome pieces *againſt the Socinians*, *againſt Metaphyſics*, and in *favour of Puritaniſm*, of which he was himſelf a ſtrict profeſſor [*B*]. He publiſhed this laſt work in England in 1610. I ſhall not mention his *Lectures on the Pſalms*, nor his explanation of the Epiſtles of St. Peter. He did not die in 1639, as Henning Witte affirms in his *Diarium Biographicum*. The Epiſtle Dedicatory which was prefixed to his *Lectures on the Pſalms* in 1635, ſhews that he was dead at that time. The ſame Preface acquaints us, that after having ſerved the Univerſity of Franeker twelve years, he obtained leave to accept of the Profeſſorſhip at Rotterdam.

(*a*) His book is intitled, *Bellarminus enervatus.*

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral books againſt the Arminians.*] He began his diſputes, by word of mouth, with Grevinchovius, Miniſter at Rotterdam; but not having diſcharged his mind, becauſe interrupted, he continued them by Letters, and publiſhed both his own objections, and his adverſary's anſwers. The redemption of man by the death of Jeſus Chriſt, and Election founded upon the previſion of faith, were the ſubjects of the controverſy. Grevinchovius publiſhed another edition of their diſpute, at Rotterdam 1615, 4to. Ameſius replied, and entitled his reply, *Reſcriptio ſcholaſtica & brevis, &c.* He alſo wrote a book entitled, *Coronis ad Collectionem Hagienſem*, wherein he confutes the anſwers given by the Arminians to the Dutch Miniſters. His *Anti-Synodalia* contains remarks on the *Scripta Synodalia* of the Remonſtrants. It was printed at Franeker in 1629, and at Amſterdam in 1646, 12mo, &c.

[*B*] *He wrote in favour of Puritaniſm, of which he was a ſtrict Profeſſor.*] Some extracts of the book he publiſhed againſt Epiſcopacy in 1610, are to be found in the Preface I quote (1). This Preface informs us, that in his opinion there were no honeſt men in England, beſides the Puritans. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their averſion to theatres, oaths, balls, games, entertainments; the others were all gameſters, drunkards, ſwearers, and children of Belial. There was no medium between theſe two extremes, either to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, or to call back the Church of Rome from hell. *Hi ſcilicet ſoli inter Anglos viri boni, ſimplices, quadrati; quos ex ſcelerifugio ſit cognoſcere, quibus ex repudio ſpectaculorum, juramentorum, chorearum, alearum, & commeſſationum, inditum ſit nomen* Puritanorum: *reliqui verò inſignes aleatores potatores ſtrenui, religionis officia ſuſque deque habentes, verſati inſtitores Papiſtarum, ambitionibus pravis corrupti, juratores impii, homines denique vani, injuſti, turpes, & omnes filii Belial. . . . Adeoque vel è medio tollendum ementitum hunc Epiſcoporum ordinem, vel denuo Papam revocandum ab orco* (2).

(1) Grevinchovij Præf. *Diſſertationis Theolog. de duabus Quæſtionibus, &c.*

(2) Idem, fol. iii.

AMESTRIS, wife of Xerxes King of Perſia. See the firſt note of the Article MASISTES.

☞AMMIRATO or AMMIRATI (SCIPIO) an eminent Hiſtorian of the ſixteenth Century, was born at Lecca a city in the territory of Otranto in the Kingdom of Naples the 27th of September 1531. The family of Ammirato was originally of Florence, from whence it was expelled by the Gibelins. It produced ſeveral eminent perſonages, and among the reſt Thomas Biſhop of Lecca. Our Author was the ſon of James Ammirato. He began his ſtudies at Poggiardo, and continued them at Brunduſium, and in 1547 he went to Naples, in order to go through a courſe of Civil Law. But his natural inclination directed him chiefly to polite Literature, which expoſed him to ſome inconveniences [*A*]. Being at Barri with his father, he was deputed by that city to manage ſome affairs at Naples, which he executed with great ſucceſs.

[*A*] *His natural inclination directed him to polite Literature, which expoſed him to ſome inconveniencies.*] He made but very little progreſs in the ſtudy of the Law during the four years, which he continued at Naples; he had an averſion to it, and applied himſelf to it only out of obedience to his father. Beſides he was not well qualified naturally for that ſtudy, on account of the weakneſs of his memory, which would not permit him to retain the Laws, which were read to him. But above all he found ſo many charms in Poetry and the *Belles Lettres*, as engaged his whole attention. Being ſeized by a dangerous diſtemper, he was obliged to return to his native city, where he found his father highly diſpleaſed at the little progreſs, which he had made in the Law, and was ordered by him to return to Naples, as ſoon

ceſs. This began to inſpire him with ſentiments of ambition, which he thought he could not gratify by any method more effectually than by entering into the church; upon which he took holy orders from the Biſhop of Lecca, who had a great value for him, and gave him a Canonſhip in his church. This Prelate ſent him likewiſe to Rome, in order to ſollicit the Pope in his favour, and to procure him ſomething of more importance than a Biſhoprick. But the latter had maintained too vigorouſly the prerogatives of Biſhops in the Council of Trent, to gain the leaſt credit with the Popes, and ſo Ammirato could obtain nothing. This diſappointment, and the impoſſibility which he laboured under of continuing at Rome for want of money, put him upon a deſign of going to Venice, and entering into the ſervice of ſome Embaſſador, in order to ſee the ſeveral courts of Europe, that he might fix where he had the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs (*a*). But he was diverted from this deſign, and returned to Lecca [*B*]. Marcellus Cervini being choſen Pope in 1555, under the name of Marcellus II, Ammirato, who knew that Nicolao Majorano Biſhop of Molfetta, a city near Barri, had been formerly an intimate friend to the Pope, perſuaded him to go to Rome, and congratulate him upon his election, being in hopes that by attending the Biſhop in this journey, he might procure ſome place under the nephews of that Pope. But as they were preparing for this journey, the death of Marcellus broke all his meaſures, and deſtroyed his hopes. Upon this he retired to a country ſeat of his father's, where he applied himſelf very intenſely to his ſtudies. But having afterwards formed other ſchemes for his advancement, he was diſappointed in them likewiſe [*C*]. At laſt he determined to return to Naples, in order to engage again in the ſtudy of the Law, and to take his degrees in it. His reliſh for this profeſſion was not in the leaſt increaſed, but he thought that the title which he might procure would be of advantage to him in ſome reſpects. However he did not abſolutely execute this deſign, for he had not been ſix months at Naples, before he grew weary of it, and entered ſucceſſively into the ſervice of ſeveral Noblemen as Secretary to them, though he continued but a ſhort time with them. Upon his return to Lecca he was appointed by that city to go and preſent a petition to Pope Pius IV in their favour, which office he diſcharged with ſucceſs. As ſoon as he returned to Lecca he was invited by the city of Naples to ſettle there, and write the Hiſtory of that Kingdom. But the cold reception which he met with from the Governors, who had ſent for him, ſoon diſguſted him ſo highly, that he left the city with a reſolution never to return. They repented afterwards of their neglect of him, and uſed all poſſible means to recall him, but he continued inflexible. He went therefore to Rome, where he procured himſelf a great many friends, but not one patron to ſupport him; and having travelled over part of Italy he went to Florence, where he reſolved to ſettle, being engaged by the kind reception which the Grand Duke gave to Men of Letters. He was appointed to write the *Hiſtory of Florence*, and he received many inſtances of that Prince's bounty, which was increaſed after his work was publiſhed; for he was preſented

(*a*) *Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 4. p. 101, &c. edit. de Paris, 1728.

ſoon as he was recovered. But if he proved ſo deficient in the ſcience, which his father had ſo great a fondneſs for, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the other hand by his knowledge of polite Learning. His merit in this point raiſed him a great many admirers, and at the ſame time excited the envy of others; who endeavouring to find out ſome opportunity or other to injure him, met with one very favourable to their purpoſe, when he was obliged by a ſecond fit of ſickneſs to return to Lecca. There was publiſhed juſt at that time a Satire againſt the principal Men of the city; and this was immediately aſcribed to Ammirato. He being apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch an affair, thought proper to retire to Venice; but as his father would not ſupply him with money; he was ſoon obliged to return to Lecca, where the falſe report, which had been raiſed againſt him, was already cleared up (1).

(1) Ib'd tom. 3. p. 99, 100.

[*B*] *He was diverted from his deſign, and returned to Lecca.*] Alexander Contarini, who had heard of him, perſuaded him to change his reſolution of travelling, and engaged him to continue with him at Venice; which he conſented to, and during his reſidence there had an opportunity of contracting a friendſhip with the learned Men of that city. But fortune, which had been hitherto very unfavourable to him, would not permit him to continue long in that eaſe, which he enjoyed with his patron. The wife of the latter, who uſed to take a great deal of pleaſure in our author's converſation, having ſent him a preſent as a token of her friendſhip for him, ſome ill-natured perſons went to the husband, and repreſented that action to him in the moſt aggravating terms imaginable. This was ſufficient to excite the reſentments of a jealous husband. Ammirato was obliged to fly away immediately, in order to ſave his life, and return to Lecca. When he came thither, he could not find his father, who was then at Barri; upon which he went thither, but met with a very cool reception from him, his father being extremely angry to find him in no probable way of making his fortune, becauſe he had neglected the ſtudy of the Law, which he reproached him with very frequently.

[*C*] *He was diſappointed in them likewiſe.*] Cardinal Caraffa being choſen Pope under the name of Paul IV, his hopes of preferment began to revive; and he attended upon that Pope's niece to Rome, who profeſſed a great regard for him. But he ſoon after found himſelf diſappointed in his views by the diſputes, which happened in the Pope's family; and the reports, which were told to his miſtreſs concerning him, enraged her ſo prodigiouſly againſt him, that ſhe diſmiſſed him in the moſt ignominious manner. Upon this he returned home to his father, who received him, as he uſed to do, with all the terms of reproach imaginable, and aſcribed all his misfortunes to his ill conduct. But our author applied himſelf then to the ſervice of the Church, of which he was Canon, without neglecting however the ſtudy of polite Literature, which was the greateſt conſolation to him amidſt all the circumſtances of his diſtreſs. He likewiſe took the pains to form an Academy, to which he gave the name of *Tranſformati*. He ſpent four years in this calm and ſtudious manner of life; after which he applied himſelf to the Queen of Poland, Bonna, Sforza, the widow of Sigiſmond I, King of Poland, by the advice of John Laurentio Papacoda, who was afterwards Marquiſs of Capurſo (2); but the expectations, which he had conceived from that quarter, did not continue long; and he returned to his former retirement.

(2) Ibid. tom. 10. p. 135.

ſented with a Canonſhip in the Cathedral of Florence. The eaſy ſituation in which he was now placed, gave him an opportunity of applying himſelf more vigorouſly to his ſtudies, and writing the greateſt part of the works which we have of him [*D*]. He died in that city the 30th of January 1600, in the ſixty ninth year of his age (*b*). (*b*) Ibid. p. 107.

Some

[*D*] *The works, which we have of him.*] He wrote the Arguments in Italian verſe of the Canto's of Arioſto's *Orlando Furioſo*, which were firſt publiſhed in the edition of that Poem at Venice in 1548, in 4to. *Il Dedalione, Dialogo del Poeta*, at Naples, 1560 in 8vo, and in the third volume of his tracts, 1642. *Dedalion* is one of the two interlocutors in this Dialogue, in which the author enquires into the qualifications, which are neceſſary to form a Poet. *Iſtorie Fiorentine dopo la Fondatione di Firenze inſino all' anno* 1574; i. e. "The Hiſtory of Florence "from the foundation of it to the year 1574," printed at Florence 1600, *fol.* in two volumes. *Con l'aggiunte di Scipione Ammirato il Giovane*; i. e. "With the Additions of Scipio Ammirato the "Younger," at Florence 1647, in 4to. Scipio Ammirato the Younger, who made theſe additions to this work, and publiſhed ſeveral other works of our author, was named Chriſtoforo del Bianco, and was of Montajone, a caſtle in Tuſcany. He was not the leaſt related to Scipio Ammirato; but the latter having a great affection for him, made him a companion in his ſtudies, and left him all his eſtate by will, on condition that he would aſſume his name and arms. *Diſcorſi ſopra Cornelio Tacito*; i. e. "Diſcourſes upon Cornelius Tacitus," at Florence, 1598 in 4to, at Venice 1599 in 4to, at Helenopolis 1609 in 4to, at Padua 1642 in 4to. It was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed under this title; *Scipionis Ammirati Diſſertationes politicæ; ſive Diſcurſus in Cornelium Tacitum nuper ex Italico in Latinum verſi, quibus præmiſſæ ſunt ex eodem Tacito excerptæ Digreſſiones politicæ à Chriſtophoro Pflugio Equite Miſnico*; i. e. "Scipio Ammirato's political "Diſſertations or Diſcourſes upon *Cornelius Tacitus*, "lately tranſlated from the Italian into Latin; to which "are prefixed political Digreſſions extracted from "the ſame *Tacitus* by Chriſtopher Pflug Knight of "Miſnia," at Helenopolis 1609 in 4to. This work was extremely well received. Theſe Diſcourſes of our author upon *Tacitus* are forty two in number. Father Rapin gives the following judgment of them (3). Having obſerved that Tacitus had given a wrong turn to the minds of a great many perſons, by inclining them to the ſtudy of Politics, he proceeds thus: "It was upon this rock, that ſo many "Spaniſh Writers, as Antonio Perez, and ſo many "Italians, as Machiavel and Ammirato have ſplit. It "is only on account of the pompouſneſs of his ſtyle, "that the latter pleaſes the Wits ſo extremely, "whereas he is very little regarded by men of judg- "ment; for he deters them by the ſubtlety of his "reaſonings and reflections. He is ſo obſcure in his "expreſſions, that a perſon muſt be very converſant "in his ſtyle in order to underſtand his ſentiments. "His manner of criticizing is fine of itſelf; but it "becomes very groſs on account of the perpetual "inclination that he has to criticize upon every "thing. He has a great deal of ſublimity, becauſe "his ſentiments are always grand; by this means he "impoſes upon the reader; and he writes, not ſo "much with a deſign to pleaſe and inſtruct, as to "raiſe our admiration. There is ſomething great "and uncommon in him, which makes us excuſe "moſt of his faults; but there are ſo many things "to be ſaid of this author both for and againſt him, "that it is impoſſible to end, when we have once be- "gun. He is a man of a peculiar kind of genius, which "is of no uſe but for oſtentation; and can never "be reduced to the ordinary converſation of man- "kind." Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye, who quotes part of this judgment of Rapin in his critical Diſcourſe upon the authors, who have written Commentaries upon *Tacitus*, prefixed to his tranſlation of the *Annals* of that Hiſtorian, adds as follows: "I find however a great deal of good ſenſe in his "reaſonings and reflections, and I cannot but ac- "knowledge, that his maxims are very juſt and "proper. He affects very often to maintain prin- "ciples directly oppoſite to thoſe of Machiavel, "which he cenſures in a variety of places. What "is remarkable in him is, that tho' he quotes him "almoſt every where, and always with a deſign to "confute him, yet he never mentions him by name, "but only by the title of *Autor de Diſcorſi*, i. e. *the "Author of the Diſcourſes*, ſometimes by that of *Al- "cuno*, i. e. *a certain perſon*, and *Altri*, i. e. *others*, "as if he were afraid of caſting a blemiſh upon "his writings by naming Machiavel in them. His "ſtyle is nervous and conciſe, as that of *Tacitus* is, "which renders it ſometimes obſcure; and perhaps "he affected this particular fault in order to reſem- "ble his author the more. He intermixes very of- "ten modern examples with the ancient, that every "perſon may ſee, as he tells us in one of his Diſ- "courſes, that the truth of things is not changed "by the difference of times. In ſhort his Commen- "tary is unqueſtionably one of the beſt that we have "upon *Tacitus*." *Delle Famiglie Nobili Napollane*, i. e. "Of the Noble Families in Naples," part I. at Florence, 1580, in fol. Part II, at Florence, 1651, fol. *Diſcorſi delle Famiglie Paladina & l'Antoglietta*, i. e. "Diſcourſes upon the families Paladina and An- "toglietto," at Florence, 1605, in 4to. *Albero & Storia della Famiglia de Conti Guidi coll' aggiunte di Scipione Ammirato il Giovane*, i. e. "The Tree and "Hiſtory of the family of the Counts Guidi, with "the Additions of Scipio Ammirato the Younger," at Florence, fol. 1640, and 1650. *Delle Famiglie Fiorentine*, i. e. "Of the Families of Florence," at Florence, 1615, fol. The author wrote a ſecond part, which was never printed. *Veſcovi de Fieſole, di Volterra, e d'Arezzo, con l'aggiunta di Scipione Ammirato il Giovane*, i. e. "An account of the Biſhops of "Feſula, Volterra, and Arezzo, with the Additions "of Scipio Ammirato the Younger," at Florence, 1637, in 4to. Ammirato wrote theſe Lives, which are very ſhort, at the deſire of the Biſhops of thoſe cities, *Orazioni a diverſi principi, interno a i proparamenti, che s'avrebbono a fare contro la potenza del' Turco*; i. e. "Orations to ſeveral Princes con- "cerning the preparations, which are neceſſary for "them to make againſt the power of the Turks," at Florence, 1698, in 4to. *Opuſcoli varii*; i. e. "Various Tracts," at Florence, 1583, in 8vo. *Rime varie*; i. e. "Miſcellaneous Poems," printed in a collection of Poems by different authors, at Venice in 1553 in 8vo, and in Dolce's Collection at Venice 1564 in 12mo, and reprinted in 1586. *Poeſie Spirituali*; i. e. "Spiritual Poems;" at Venice 1634 in 4to, His Poetry is very pure and elegant. *Annotazioni ſopra la ſeconda parte de' Sonetti di Bernardino Rota, fatti in morte di Porzia Capece ſua moglie*; i. e. "Notes upon the ſecond part of "Bernardino Rota's Sonnets upon the death of his "wife Portia Capece;" at Naples 1560 in 4to. *Il Rota, o vero dell' Impreſe*; at Florence 1598 in 4to. *Della Segretezza*; i. e. "Of Fidelity," at Venice 1599 in 4to. *Gli Opuſcoli*; i. e. "Tracts," at Florence 1640, in three volumes in 4to. This Collection contains ſeveral of the works mentioned above, beſides a great many others, which were never publiſhed before. We find among his *Opuſcoli* or *Tracts* the ſpeeches which he made upon different occaſions, ſeveral of which were publiſhed ſeparately; and particularly the following. *Orazione nella morte di Franceſco Duca di Toſcana*; i. e. "An "Oration upon the death of Francis Duke of Tuſ- "cany," printed at Florence 1587 in 4to. *Orazione a Clemente VIII*; i. e. "An Oration to Pope "Clement VIII," Florence 1594 in 4to. *Orazione a Filippo II, Re di Spagna*; i. e. "An Oration to "Philip II, King of Spain," Florence 1594 in 4to. *Orazione a Clemente VIII*; i. e. "An Oration to "Clement VIII," Florence 1595 in 4to. This Speech is called the ſecond *Clementine*, and the following the third. *Orazione a Clemente VIII*; i. e. "An Oration to Clement VIII," Florence 1596 in 4to. *Orazione al Chriſtian. Enrico IV di Francia doppo la pace fatta con Spagna*; i. e. "An Oration

(3) *Inſtruction pour l'Hiſtoire*, p. 145. See *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 10. p. 135. edit. de Paris 1730.

Some writers have erroneouſly placed his death in 1603, and particularly Lorenzo Craſſo (c).

(c) *Elogii*, tom. I.

" to the moſt Chriſtian King Henry IV of France " after the peace concluded with Spain," Florence 1598 in 4to. *Orazione in morte di Filippo II. di Spagna*; i. e. " An Oration upon the death of King " Philip II of Spain," Florence 1598 in 4to. We are obliged to him for the firſt edition of the Italian Poems of Bernardin Rota, a Neapolitan, which he publiſhed at Naples in 1560 (4). T. (4) Ibid. p. 138, 139.

AMMONIUS. There have been ſeveral writers of this name. Atheneus quotes two very different works, both compoſed by one, whom he calls Ammonius. For one of them treats of *Altars and Sacrifices* (a), and the other of *the Courtezans of Athens* [A]. It is true he does not tell us, in expreſs terms, that they were both written by one and the ſame Ammonius; but neither does he inſinuate any thing to the contrary, or mention either the country of this Ammonius, or the age in which he flouriſhed. We are informed by others [B], that the author who treats of altars and ſacrifices, was a native of Lampria (b). Suidas, as now extant, mentions only Ammonius Saccas; but it is plain, that the genuine Suidas ſpoke of another; for what we read in his Dictionary could never have been ſaid of one and the ſame perſon. It is impoſſible the ſame Ammonius ſhould have renounced the Chriſtian Religion, and ſucceeded Ariſtarchus in the ſchool of Alexandria, before the reign of Auguſtus. And nevertheleſs this is what we read in Suidas about Ammonius. Could he be ſo ignorant as to believe things that were ſo incompatible? This, in my opinion, has not the leaſt appearance of truth. Some writers are of opinion (c) that the paſſage is not entire (d), that part being wanting, ſay they, in which Suidas ſpeaks of the Ammonius whom Atheneus mentions. If this their conjecture be true, it would follow from thence, that the treatiſe of *Altars and Sacrifices*, or that of the *Courtezans of Athens*, or both, was compoſed by a Grammarian who ſucceeded Ariſtarchus. The ſecond Ammonius, whom I deſign to give an account of in this article, was an Egyptian Philoſopher (e), and is frequently mentioned by Plutarch, who was his diſciple. See particularly pages 70 and 385 of his moral works, Franckfort edition 1620. But it is falſely aſſerted in Moreri's Dictionary, that Plutarch *commends him chiefly near the end of Ariſtotle's life* [C]. Moreri is equally miſtaken in what relates to Ammonius, ſon of Hermeas [D], to whom, among other books, he aſcribes one compoſed *in the reign of Valentinian*. This Ammonius was ſon and brother of the Philoſopher (f), and is thought by the Learned to have flouriſhed under the Emperor

(a) Athen. lib. 11. p. 476.

(b) A town of Attica.

(c) Jonſius *de Scriptor. Hiſt. Philoſ.* p. 169, and in the Index.

(d) Geſner quotes it in his *Bibliotheca*, and ſeems not to have been appriſed of the abſurdity it contains.

(e) Eunapius, *Proœmio Vitar. Sophiſt.*

(f) Suidas in Ἑρμείας. See the Article HERMIAS.

[A] *A treatiſe of the Courtezans of Athens* (1).] Thoſe, who in latter ages have written *Del Putaniſmo di Roma*, or of ſome other great city, were not the firſt who handled ſuch ſubjects. Divers works of this nature appeared in ancient times; but by good luck none of them have reached us.

(1) Athen. lib. 13. p. 567.

[B] *We are informed by others, that the author who treats of altars and ſacrifices was a native of Lampria.*] We are not told ſo by Harpocration, as Mr. Lloyd aſſerts; but by the author of the book *De Differentiis Vocum*, who by Voſſius and ſeveral others is called Ammonius. Had Mr. Lloyd copied Voſſius faithfully he would never have ſaid, *Ammonius Hiſtoricus ἐν τῷ περὶ Βωμῶν καὶ Θυσιῶν citatur ab Harpocratione in* Ἀμφαζόνιον, *uti & in voce* Ἐσχάρα. *Ex quo etiam diſcimus Lamprienſem fuiſſe, ut Geſnerus falſo Alexandrinum vocet.* Such are the faults of the Epitomizers, which I have ſo often taken notice of. Voſſius, after having ſaid what I have quoted down to the word Ἐσχάρα, adds, *ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Θυσιῶν ab Ammonio lib. de differ. voc. in* Βωμός. *Ubi & Λαμπρεὺς fuiſſe dicitur, ut Geſnerus falſo Alexandrinum vocet* (2). Lloyd, to ſave himſelf the trouble of copying the entire paſſage of Voſſius, and skipping a line tells us a notorious falſhood, Harpocration having no where ſaid, that the Ammonius he ſpeaks of, was a native of Lampria. If he had a mind to leave out any part of this paſſage, he ought to have pitched upon the laſt line, in which Voſſius is quite miſtaken; ſince Geſner never ſaid, that Ammonius, the author of the book of ſacrifices, was of Alexandria. There is ſtill another paſſage in Harpocration, where our Ammonius is quoted (3): Ἀμμώνιος ἐν τετάρτῃ περὶ Βωμῶν γράφει ταῦτα; i. e. " Ammonius " writes this in his fourth book of Altars." Thus the text of Harpocration has been corrected by the learned Mauſſacus: he puts *βωμῶν* inſtead of *κώμων*, ſince no one ever ſaid, that this author wrote a book of Towns or Villages. Valeſius approves of this emendation (4). As Ammonius wrote a book of the Courtezans of Athens, it would not be a quite improbable conjecture, if one ſhould ſay, that he compoſed another on debauched Feaſts, *περὶ κώμων*. Thus we ſhould have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that he wrote a book (according to the common reading of Harpocration,) upon the boroughs, or people of Attica. However the correction of Mauſſacus ſeems to me the moſt probable; and it ſeemed ſo to Voſſius alſo, who publiſhed it as his own. Valeſius quotes a paſſage out of the Scholiaſt of Hermogenes, wherein the author of the treatiſe upon Altars is called Ammonius of Lampria (5).

(2) *De Hiſt. Græcis.* p. 502.

(3) At the word Φίλος.

(4) Henr. Valeſius, *Notis in notas Mauſſaci ad Harpocration.* p. 111.

(5) Idem, ibid.

[C] *It is falſely aſſerted in Moreri's Dictionary, that Plutarch commends him chiefly near the end of Ariſtotle's Life.*] This Life of Ariſtotle is a mere chimera. Moreri confounds *Ariſtotle* with *Themiſtocles*; for near the end of Themiſtocles's Life Plutarch mentions Ammonius; but neither commends nor diſcommends him.

[D] *Moreri is equally miſtaken in what relates to Ammonius, ſon of Hermeas.*] He is guilty at leaſt of three or four palpable miſtakes. I, He knew not that Proclus flouriſhed under Theodoſius the Younger, and a long time after the reign of that Prince; for had he known it, would he ever have ſaid, that Ammonius, a diſciple of Proclus, wrote a book *under the reign of Valentinian?* would he have copied ſo faithfully the miſtakes of Father Rapin (6)? II, After what a ſtrange manner does he mark the reigns of the Emperors? Three Valentinians have reigned, and by the bare name of Valentinian, every one underſtands Valentinian the firſt, who died in 375. Now I leave the reader to judge, whether Proclus could have written under that Emperor. III. Had Moreri underſtood the author he copied, (I mean Father Labbe) he would have learned that Ammonius, diſciple of Proclus, and ſon of Hermeas, flouriſhed under the Emperor Anaſtaſius, who began to reign above thirty five years after the death of Valentinian III. IV, Father Labbe obſerves, that one Ammonius is frequently mentioned in the *Catena's* of the Greek Fathers on the Goſpel of St. John, and on other books of the Scripture; and inſinuates that this Ammonius, and Ammonius the ſon of Hermeas, are two different perſons. Inſtead of this, Moreri tells us, that ſome authors aſcribe the explanation of the Greek Fathers upon the Goſpel of St. John to Ammonius the ſon of Hermeas.

(6) Proclus under Julian, the ſecond Ammonius his diſciple, who wrote ſo well upon the book of Ariſtotle *de Interpretatione*, under the reign of Valentinian. Rapin, *Parallel between Plato and Ariſtotle*, p. 391.

peror Anaſtaſius, at the beginning of the ſixth Century, and to have written the *Commentaries*, that paſs under the name of Ammonius, *upon ſome treatiſes of Ariſtotle*, and particularly upon the book *de Interpretatione* (g). The author of this laſt Commentary tells us, in the very beginning of his work, that he was a diſciple of Proclus; and to him ſome aſcribe the *Life of Ariſtotle*, that goes under the name of Ammonius (b). It is he, without doubt, whom Zachary of Mitylene refuted: ſee Note [H] of the following article. Of him likewiſe muſt be underſtood a paſſage (i) of Photius, where mention is made of an Ammonius, who took great delight in explaining the antient Poets, and making critical remarks on the Greek tongue (k); and this is what has induced ſome writers to aſcribe to him the treatiſe *of the difference of Greek words* (l); though Menage takes Herennius Philo to have been the author of it (m). The ſame Ammonius, whom Photius mentions, had an Aſs, that reliſhed Poetry to ſuch a degree, that he uſed not to touch the food he had before him, but ſuffer hunger, rather than to interrupt his attention to the reading of a Poem (n). The third Ammonius, whom I ſhall take notice of here, was a Poet who lived in the fifth Century, and wrote a Poem upon the war carried on againſt Gainas King of the Goths, which he pronounced before Theodoſius the younger, who greatly commended it (o). I ſhall mention, in ſeparate articles, not only ſome moderns, who have born the name of Ammonius, but alſo an antient Philoſopher, who alone did it more honour than all the others together.

(g) Voſſius, *de Philoſoph. Sectis*, p. 90 and 113. Labbe, *de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 59.

(b) Jonſius, *Hiſt. Philoſ.* p. 300.

(i) Id. ibid.

(k) Photij *Bib.* num. 242, pag. 1040.

(l) Jonſius, *Hiſt. Philoſ.* p. 300.

(m) Menagius *in Diogenem Laërt.* lib. 2. num. 5.

(n) Photius, *Bibliotb.* num. 242, *ex* Damaſcio *in vita Iſidori Philoſophi.*

(o) Socrates, *Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt.* lib. 6. cap. 6; & *ex eo* Nicephorus, lib. 13. cap. 6.

AMMONIUS, ſurnamed Saccas [A], was born in Alexandria, and flouriſhed about the beginning of the third Century, and was one of the moſt celebrated Philoſophers of his age. He was brought up from his infancy in the Chriſtian Religion, and profeſſed it to his death, as his works ſufficiently witneſs. Euſebius relating this, accuſes Porphyry of a moſt notorious falſhood (a); for he tells us, that Ammonius renounced Chriſtianity, in which he had been educated, and embraced the common religion as ſoon as his age allowed him to philoſophize [B]. This eminent Philoſopher added a great luſtre to the ſchool of Alexandria, and raiſed the ſcience he profeſſed to a very honourable condition, though he had found it ſtrangely corrupted by the vain cavils of diſputants. Even the Chriſtian religion has proved the bad effects which attend ſuch idle ſpeculations, in the controverſies that have been raiſed by the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, by the Realiſts and Nominaliſts, who all pretended indeed to follow Ariſtotle, but could never put an end to their quarrels. What hot diſputes then muſt have reigned among the ancient Philoſophers, while being divided into various ſects, ſome condemned Ariſtotle, others Plato &c.? Their Philoſophy muſt have been a meer chaos of querks and cavils, which diſgraced their profeſſion. The only means to reſtore that ſcience to its former ſplendor was, to baniſh all manner of uſeleſs diſputes, and ſtick to the principles in which Plato and his diſciple had agreed, it being plain that ſuch principles were both the moſt certain and moſt important. And this was what induced Ammonius to make the reconciling of theſe two heads of different ſects his chief buſineſs [C]; and to clear up thoſe points, on which their ſuppoſed oppoſition was founded. The reputation he gained thereby can hardly be expreſſed. He was generally looked upon as an inſpired man, and one, whom God himſelf had taught [D], and put into that method. Moreri,

(a) Euſebius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 6. c. 19.

[A] *Ammonius ſurnamed Saccas.*] We are told by Ammianus Marcellinus (1) and Suidas (2), that he had this ſurname. He is commonly believed to have been at firſt a Porter, and this opinion is grounded on a paſſage of the ſame Suidas. I ſhall produce the words of the learned Henry Valeſius relating thereto: *Saccas videtur ex eo dictus Ammonius, quod mercibus ex portu Alexandrino comportandis victum ſibi quæſiviſſet, cujuſmodi homines Saccarios antiqui vocabant; ut videre eſt in codice Th. tit. De Saccariis portus urbis Romæ. Suidas*, Πλωτῖνος, *inquit*, μαθητὴς Ἀμμωνίου γενομένου σακκοφόρου (3). i. e. "Ammonius "ſeems to have been called Saccas, becauſe he lived "by carrying goods from the port of Alexandria, for "the ancients called ſuch people *Saccarii*. Suidas "ſays, Plotinus the diſciple of Ammonius, who had "been a Porter."

(1) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. *circa fin.*

(2) Suidas *in* Πλωτῖνος.

(3) Henr. Valeſ. *in Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 22.

[B] *Porphyrius tells us falſely, that Ammonius renounced Chriſtianity . . . . as ſoon as his age allowed him to philoſophize &c.*] His words are: Ὅτι δ' φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἥψατο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετέβαλετο (4). i. e. "As ſoon as he "came to the age of diſcretion, and had taſted of "Philoſophy, he immediately conformed himſelf to "the manner of living eſtabliſhed by the Laws." Theſe words proceed from the Spirit I have ſpoke of in the remark [E] of the article upon ABULPHARAGIUS.

(4) Porph. l. 3. *adverſus Chriſtianos*, *apud* Euſebium, *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 6. cap. 19.

[C] *He made the reconciling of Plato and Ariſtotle his chief buſineſs.*] This is what we read in a book which Hierocles wrote upon Providence; of which ſome extracts are to be found in Photius's *Bibliotheca*. *Such only*, ſays he, *as were poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of contradiction, fond of diſputes, or biaſſed by prejudices and ignorance, detected any oppoſition between the principles of Ariſtotle and Plato.* Τὺς μὲν ἐκόντας ἔριδι καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ σφᾶς αὐτὺς προσαναθέντας, τὺς δὲ καὶ προλήψει καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ δεδουλωμένους (5). The diſputants he mentions firſt were very numerous, before Ammonius cleared up the points that afforded matter to their controverſies: *Ammonii aliquando ſapientia orbi illuxit, quem etiam* divinitus edoctum *appellari prædicat. Hunc enim veterum Philoſophorum opinionibus perpurgatis, & rejectis, quæ utrimque excreverant, nugis, in præcipuis quibuſque & maxime neceſſariis dogmatibus concordem eſſe Platonis & Ariſtotelis ſententiam demonſtrâſſe* (6). i. e. "The wiſ- "dom of Ammonius ſhone upon the world, who, "he ſays, was called the *divinely taught*. For he "purged the opinions of the ancient Philoſophers, "and cut off the trifles with which they were over- "grown, and ſhewed the agreement in the opini- "ons of Plato and Ariſtotle in the principal and "moſt eſſential doctrines."

(5) Photius, *Bib.* num. 214. p. 549.

(6) Hierocles, *apud* Photium, ibid.

[D] *He was generally looked upon as a man inſpired.*] We have juſt now quoted a paſſage out of Hierocles, containing the words, ὃν καὶ θεοδίδακτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ὑμνῶ, i. e. "who, he ſays, was called the "*divinely taught*." We ſhall now produce another, in which the ſame author acquaints us, that the diſciples of Plato and Ariſtotle were ſo fond of immortalizing their diſputes, that they even falſified the text of their Principals, in order to make them contradict one another. This diſorder reigned to the time of Ammonius, God's own diſciple, who, being taught

reri, and ſeveral others were ſtrangers to the true motive of ſuch high commendations [*E*]. Thoſe who affirm, that he inſtructed his diſciples in the Chriſtian religion, under an oath of ſecrecy, are greatly miſtaken [*F*] Some have confounded his theological works with thoſe of other writers [*G*], but at laſt every one has had his own. Ammonius had, among his other diſciples, Plotinus and Origen. He died about the year 230 (*b*). He

(*b*) According to Cave, *Hiſt. Lin.* pag. 72.

the philoſophical truths by inſpiration, examined the grounds of the two ſects to the bottom, reconciled them, and propoſed to his diſciples a new ſyſtem, quite free from ſuch trifling points as fomented uſeleſs diſputes. Ἕως Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Θεοδιδάκτου, οὗτος γὰρ πρῶτος ἐνθουσιάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινὸν, καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας ὑπεριδὼν, τὰς πλείστων ὄντως φιλοσοφίαν προσιεμένους, εἶδε καλῶς τὰ ἑκατέρου, καὶ συνήγαγεν εἰς ἓν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀγασίασεν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παραδέδωκε πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρίμοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν αὐτῷ συγγενομένων Πλωτίνῳ καὶ Ὠριγένει καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἀπὸ τούτων (7). i. e. "Till the divinely "taught Ammonius. For he firſt of all being led "by a kind of rapture to the truth of Philoſophy, "and deſpiſing the opinions of many, who had "brought a great reproach upon Philoſophy, gained "a thorough inſight into the doctrine of each ſect, "and reconciled them, and delivered a Philoſophy "free from contentions to all his hearers, particu-"larly to his learned ſucceſſors, Plotinus and Ori-"gen."

(7) Ibidem, num. 251. p. 1381.

[*E*] *Moreri, and ſeveral others were ſtrangers to the true motive of ſuch commendations.*] "Ammo-"nius, ſays Moreri, applied himſelf chiefly to the "divine Philoſophy of Jeſus Chriſt; in which ſtu-"dy he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was looked up-"on as one, who had been inſtructed by God him-"ſelf; whence he was called Theodidactus." In this he is quite miſtaken. I do not mean thereby to queſtion Ammonius's learning in matters of Divinity; all I intend is, that however skillful he was in Divinity, he did not acquire the name of Theodidactus by that knowledge, but by his lectures of Philoſophy, in which he ſpoke of Plato and Ariſtotle; but not a word of Jeſus Chriſt, or the Goſpel. As his auditory was made up indifferently of Pagans and Chriſtians, he did not meddle with matters of Religion, and much leſs of piety. Surely Hierocles, who was a Pagan Philoſopher, would never have beſtowed ſuch elogiums upon him, had the name of Theodidactus been owing to his knowledge in points of Religion. I am apt to believe that Ammonius did not paſs for a Chriſtian among the Pagans; and this perhaps was what gave Porphyry occaſion to ſay, that Ammonius had abandoned the Chriſtian Religion, as ſoon as he began to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. The Chriſtians knew who he was, and his book, in all appearance unknown to the Pagans, were to his brethren ſo many proofs of his belief. Had Plotinus known, that he was an enemy to the reigning Religion, he would not have ſhewn ſuch an attachment to his diſcipline; for the Chriſtians in thoſe times made no great figure.

[*F*] *Thoſe, who affirm, that he inſtructed his diſciples in the Chriſtian Religion under an oath of ſecrecy, are greatly miſtaken.*] I was ſurprized to find Father Labbe guilty of this miſtake. *Idem Porphyrius*, ſays he (8), *in vita Plotini, Platonicæ ſectæ Philoſophi, narrat Ammonium Religionis Chriſtianæ arcana diſcipulis ſuis ſub ſilentii religione communicaſſe, & Herennium, Originem, atque Plotinum obſtrinxiſſe, cumque Herennius primus eam fregiſſet, nec Originem, nec Plotinum promiſſis ſtetiſſe.* i. e. "The "ſame Porphyry, in his Life of Plotinus the Platoniſt, "relates, that Ammonius communicated the ſecrets "of the Chriſtian Religion to his diſciples, under "an obligation of ſecrecy, and that he bound after "this manner Herennius, Origen and Plotinus; and "that, when Herennius had firſt broken his pro-"miſe, neither Origen nor Plotinus would keep "their promiſes." Theſe words contain two palpable miſtakes: in the firſt place, it is falſe, that Ammonius obliged his diſciples to ſwear, that they would diſcover what they ſhould learn from him to nobody. In the ſecond place, it is falſe, that Porphyrius ſpeaks of any thing but philoſophical matters. All that Porphyrius ſays, may be reduced to this: Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus had agreed among themſelves not to impart to others what they had learnt of Ammonius, it ſeeming to them exceeding noble and curious. Plotinus was as good as his word; but not Herennius, whoſe example was followed by Origen. This is not a proper place to ſhew, that the Origen mentioned here is not the Origen that wrote ſo many books, and made ſo many allegorical explanations of Scripture; but as moſt of my readers may not have at hand a Plotinus to recur to, I ſhall ſet down here his very words: Ἑρεννίῳ δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει καὶ Πλωτίνῳ συνθηκῶν γεγενημένων μηδὲν ἐκκαλύπτειν τῶν Ἀμμωνίου δογμάτων, ἃ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροάσεσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκεκάθαρτο, ἔμενε καὶ ὁ Πλωτῖνος, σεμνὸν μέν τισι τῶν προσιόντων. τηρῶν δὲ ἀνέκπυστα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου δόγματα. Ἑρεννίου δὲ πρώτου τὰς συνθηκὰς παραβάντος, Ὠριγένης μὲν ἠκολούθει τῷ φθάσαντι Ἑρεννίῳ (9). i. e. "But when Herennius, and Origen, and Plotinus "had agreed together not to reveal the doctrines "of Ammonius, which they had admired as the "moſt pure they had heard, Plotinus continued "ſtedfaſt, entertaining indeed thoſe who came to "him, but yet keeping the ſecrets of Ammonius "unrevealed. Herennius firſt broke the agreement, "and Origen followed his example." Both the miſtakes of Father Labbe are to be found in Lucas Holſtenius (10), which is ſurprizing.

(9) Porphyrius, *in vitâ Plotini.*

(10) Lucas Holſten. *de vita & Scriptis Porphyrii*, pag. 28.

[*G*] *Some have confounded his theological works with thoſe of other Writers.*] St. Jerom ranks Ammonius among the Eccleſiaſtic Writers, and aſcribes to him, beſides other works, the invention of the Evangelical Canons (11); adding that they ſerved Euſebius as a model for the compoſing of a great work. If this be true, Euſebius is a great impoſtor; for in one of his Letters (12), wherein he explains the nature and uſe of his ten Canons upon the Concordance of the Goſpels, he aſſures us that they were contrived by himſelf on occaſion of a work of Ammonius, entitled *Monoteſſaron*, or *Diateſſaron*. The following text ſhews us in what this work differs from the Evangelical Canons. *Theſe Canons are but indexes of ſuch paſſages of the Goſpel as are to be found in one, two, three, or four Evangeliſts, whereas the harmony or concordance of Ammonius* (entitled alſo Diateſſaron, or Monoteſſaron) *contains the entire text of the four Evangeliſts. Euſebius made uſe of this work in compoſing his Canons, which refer thereto, and are, as it were, an index to it* (13). It is therefore falſly aſſerted by Moreri, that the Evangelical Canons, and the Harmony of the Goſpel are one and the ſame work. Victor Biſhop of Capua, Zachary Biſhop of Chryſopolis, Trithemius, and ſeveral moderns, follow St. Jerom in aſcribing the invention of the Evangelical Canons to Ammonius, without minding the above mentioned Letter of Euſebius. We find here another great miſtake. The *Bibliotheca Patrum* contains two Harmonies of the four Goſpels; one of them was aſcribed to Tatianus by Victor Biſhop of Capua, who tranſlated it into Latin (14) about the year 545, and prefixed a Preface to it (15). Upon this Ammonius was ſuppoſed to have written the other. But it happens quite otherwiſe; for the harmony, which the Biſhop of Capua aſcribes to Tatianus, contains all the genealogies of Chriſt, that are recorded by the Evangeliſts; whereas Tatianus left out all ſuch paſſages of the Goſpels as could prove that Chriſt was the ſon of David (16). On the other hand, theſe paſſages are wanting in the Harmony which are aſcribed to Ammonius (17). Sixtus Senenſis, Georgius Ederus, and divers others have followed Victor's. But Zachary, Biſhop of Chryſopolis, made it plainly appear, above five hundred years ago, that Ammonius is the true author of this Harmony (18); and his opinion is followed by Baronius. Father Oudin's obſervation, relating to this ſubject, deſerves particular notice. He tells us, that the Harmony, which was tranſlated into Latin by Ottomarus Luſcinius, and is aſcribed to Ammonius in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* printed in 1575, was neither written by Ammonius, nor Tatianus (19). The book Ammonius wrote *De Conſenſu Moſis & Jeſu,*

(11) Hieronym. *de Script. Eccleſ.* cap. 55.

(12) *Ad Carpianum*; it was printed together with the ten canons, *de conſonantia quatuor Evangeliorum*, and prefixed to Robert Stephens's new Greek Teſtament, Paris edition in 1550. *See* F. Labbe, *de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p 308, and p. 58.

(13) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 120. Amſterdam edition.

(14) Bellarmin. *de Script. Eccleſ.* pag. 226. Oudin, *Supplem. de Script. Eccleſ.* pag. 15.

(15) Labbe *de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 57.

(16) As it is atteſted by Euſebius and Theodoret. *See* Labbe *de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 57.

(17) Cave, *Hiſt. Litt.* p. 72.

(18) *Commentar. in eam Harmoniam, apud* Labbe, *de Script. Eccleſ.* pag. 57.

(19) Oudin, *de Script. Eccleſ.* p. 15.

(8) Labbe *de Script. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. p. 58.

He ought, in my opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from Ammonius the Peripatetic [*H*], who was, according to Philoſtratus, the moſt learned and beſt read man of his age.

I find a great miſtake in one of the Commentators upon Boëtius. For he imputes chiefly to Ammonius the depraving of Plato's doctrine about the eternity of the world [*I*], which is a notorious untruth.

Jeſu, has not reached us: nor any other of his works, if we give credit to Henry Valeſius: *Hujus Ammonii, quod ſciam, hodie nihil extat*, i. e. "there is nothing "of this Ammonius extant that I know of," ſays he in his Commentary on the laſt chapter of the 22d book of Ammianus Marcellinus. Had he then forgot the Harmony of the Goſpels inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or did he take that work not to have been done by Ammonius? As Hadrian Valeſius has made no remarks on this paſſage in the ſecond edition, he was, as plainly appears, of his brother's opinion.

[*H*] *He ought, in my opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from Ammonius the Peripatetic.*] A very learned writer is not for making any ſuch diſtinction. *Hic eſſe videtur*, ſays he (20), *Ammonius Peripateticus Philoſophus, quem πολυγραμματώτατον fuiſſe ſeculi ſui teſtatur Philoſtratus in Sophiſtæ Hippodromi vita, quo qui plura legiſſet neminem ſe vidiſſe.* i. e. "He ſeems "to be Ammonius the Peripatetic Philoſopher, whom "Philoſtratus, in the Life of Hippodromus the So-"phiſt, teſtifies to have been the moſt voluminous "writer of his age, and that he had never ſeen "any one who had read more." But had he minded the paſſage of Longinus that is quoted in Plotinus's Life, he would have diſtinguiſhed theſe two Philoſophers without the leaſt heſitation. Longinus obſerves, that ſome Philoſophers wrote books, and that others taught *viva voce*; he names ſome Platonics, as well as Stoics, or Peripatetics, of each claſs, and places in the ſecond Ammonius and Origen, both, according to him, diſciples of Plato; adding that he was acquainted with them, and that they excelled all the Philoſophers of their age. Οἷς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου προσεφοιτήσαμεν, οὐδ' ἁπάσιν οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸς εἰς σύνεσιν διενεγκοῦσι (21). Afterwards he names ſome Stoics of the ſame claſs; that is, among thoſe, who either did not write at all, or wrote very little; and laſtly ranks in the ſame claſs two Peripatetics, viz. Ammonius and Ptolomæus; adding, that they both, but particularly Ammonius, ſurpaſſed, in Philology, all the learned men of their age. Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος φιλολογώτατοι μὲν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸς ἄμφω γενόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Ἀμμώνιος. ὁ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐκείνῳ γέγονεν εἰς πολυμαθείαν παραπλήσιος (22). This is the Ammonius Philoſtratus mentions, and, of courſe, a different perſon from the Ammonius, who taught Philoſophy at Alexandria, and was Maſter to Plotinus and Origen. Longinus's Letter acquaints us, that theſe two learned Peripatetics only wrote ſome Poems and Speeches. This great Critic believes they did not deſign that their works ſhould be tranſmitted to after-ages, becauſe with that view they would have written with more exactneſs.

[*I*] *It has been wrongly imputed to Ammonius that he depraved Plato's doctrine relating to the eternity of the world.*] That the miſtake may appear in its full light, I ſhall ſet down, at length, the Commentator's own words. *Nulla autem Platonis ſententia eſt, quam fœdius corruperint, & obſtinatius defende-rint veteres Platonis interpretes; ſeu quia eorum alii ita ſentirent, ſeu ut Chriſtianam fidem impugnarent. Eorum ſignifer Ammonius fuit, fidus alioquin & illuſtris doctrinæ Platonicæ aſſertor; quem Zacharias dialogo cui* AMMONIUS *titulus eſt, confutavit. Mox ejus diſcipuli, Plotinus paſſim libris ſuis; & quod mirum eſt ne à magiſtro diſſentiret, fax illa fidei, Origenes; cujus errorem S. Methodius lib. περὶ τῶν γενητῶν, ut eſt apud Photium, redarguit* (23). i. e. "There "is no opinion of Plato which the old Commenta-"tors on that author have more ſhamefully corrupt-"ed, and more obſtinately defended: whether be-"cauſe ſome of them thought ſo, or to oppoſe the "Chriſtian Faith. Ammonius was the ring-leader, "who in other reſpects was a faithful and illuſtrious "aſſertor of the Platonic doctrine; whom Zacharias, "in his Dialogue intitled *Ammonius*, confuted. He was "followed by his diſciple Plotinus, every where in his "books; and what is ſurprizing, by Origen, that light "of the faith, leſt he ſhould diſſent from his maſter; "whoſe error is confuted by Methodius in his book "περὶ τῶν γενητῶν, as it is in Photius." It is plain he ſpeaks here of Ammonius, the Preceptor of Origen. Could he have been guilty of ſuch a miſtake, had he had recourſe to the originals, and not quoted from others the treatiſe of Zachary? For in the very beginning of that treatiſe we are informed, that the Ammonius, againſt whom it was compoſed, was ſtill alive, and taught at Alexandria, with great oſtentation, after having ſtudied at Athens under Proclus. The author, I mean Zachary, Biſhop of Mitylene, lived in the 6th Century, aſſiſted at the Council of Conſtantinople in 536; and therefore could not refute the Preceptor of Origen. However it is true, that the Philoſopher Ammonius, whom he confutes, taught, that God and the world were, and ever would be, coeternal. This work of Zachary was tranſlated from the Greek into Latin by Genebrard, and inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (24). Poſſevin obſerves, that Caniſius cenſures Geſner, for having ſaid, that Zachary's work *De Mundi Æternitate* was different from his other work entitled *Ammonius* (25). This cenſure would have been as juſt, with regard to the Epitomizer of Geſner, as it is unjuſt upon Geſner himſelf, who ſays in expreſs terms, that the dialogue entitled *Ammonius*, and the treatiſe *De Rerum Æternitate*, ſeem to him to be one and the ſame work. I cannot help obſerving here, how much I was ſurprized to find, that in the 6th Century, a Pagan Philoſopher was Profeſſor in Alexandria, and allowed to maintain the eternity of the world, in oppoſition to the Chriſtian belief. He was ſo far from concealing his opinion, that he openly taught it, and no doubt it was publicly known, that he gained over to his party a great many of his diſciples. One of theſe (26) was afterwards firſt Profeſſor of Phyſic in the ſame city, and maintained, with great earneſtneſs, the ſame opinion. This is what we gather from the treatiſe of Zachary of Mitylene.

(20) Hadr. Valeſius, *in Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. 22. p. 344. edition folio.

(21) Longinus, *apud* Porphyr. *in vitâ Plotin.*

(22) Idem, ibid.

(23) Renatus Vallinus, *not. ad* lib. 5. Boëtii *de Conſolat. Philoſoph.* p. 96.

(24) It is to be found in the 11th volume of the *Biblioth. Patrum*, p. 331, &c. of the Paris edition, in 1644.

(25) Poſſevinus *Appar.* tom. 2. pag. 552.

(26) His name was *Geſſius*. See the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. 11. pag. 339.

AMMONIUS (ANDREW) a native of Lucca, went to ſeek his fortune in England about the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, where in all likelihood he would have made it, had he not been prevented by death [*A*]. He applied himſelf to the *Belles Lettres*, and Latin Poetry; and it is chiefly in regard of his Latin verſes, that

[*A*] *He would in all likelihood have made his fortune in England, had he not been prevented by death.*] This is not a conjecture of mine, but the opinion of Eraſmus. *Periit*, ſays he (1), *& apud Gallos Fauſtus, & apud Britannos Andreas Ammonius, quorum alter diu regnavit Lutetiæ, alter ad ſummam dignitatem emerſurus erat, ſi vita diuturnior contigiſſet.* That is, "Fauſtus died in France, and Andrew Ammonius in "England, the firſt of whom flouriſhed a long time at "Paris, and the other would have riſen to the high-"eſt dignity, if he had lived longer." He thought ſo, not only while the wound was recent, that is, ſoon after his death, when his grief might have made him break out in ſuch praiſes; but alſo many years after when the firſt impreſſions of ſorrow were worn out. *Quam multos*, writes he in 1524 (2), *hic ex veteri ſodalitio deſidero. Primum Andream Ammonium Lucenſem: Deum immortalem, quanta ingenij dexteritate, quam fideli memoria præditum! Tum animus quam erat excelſus, quam alienus a livore, quam alienus a ſordibus! Hunc & ſuis dotibus, & omni principum applauſu florentem, maximis rebus deſtinatum, ſubita mors intercepit natu minorem annis quadraginta. Cujus equidem deceſſum non poſſum non dolere, quotie-*

(1) Eraſmi, Ep. 24. lib. 2. pag. 132. *Scripta an.* 1518.

(2) Idem, Ep. 5. lib. 23. p. 1210.

that he deſerves to be ranked among authors [*B*]. There paſſed a great friendſhip and correſpondence by way of letters between him and Eraſmus. Ammonius lodged for ſome time in Sir Thomas Moor's houſe (*a*), and afterwards in St. Thomas's College (*b*), for he was not in ſuch circumſtances as to hire or keep a houſe of his own. He wrote to Eraſmus, that he was ſorry he had left Rome, and no ways pleaſed with his circumſtances in England (*c*). The advice which Eraſmus gave him is ſo very agreeable to the artful methods which are made uſe of in puſhing one's fortune [*C*], that we cannot think he ſuggeſted it in good earneſt. He alſo wrote ſome Iambics in his praiſe, which are exceeding fine, and ſhew that Ammonius was endowed with a thouſand good qualities both of body and mind (*d*). But as poetical commendations are not to be much relied upon, we ſhall produce in our remarks ſome paſſages of Eraſmus's proſe-compoſitions, which will redound more to the glory of his friend. Fortune at laſt began to ſmile upon Ammonius, for he was made Secretary to Henry VIII (*e*), and honoured by Pope Leo X with a publick character at the court of that Prince (*f*). He might have riſen higher, if he had not died before he was forty years of age. He was in the army in 1513, when the Engliſh gained the battle of the *Spurs*, and made themſelves maſters of Teroüenne and Tournay. He wrote verſes on theſe victories, and alſo on that which the Engliſh obtained over James IV King of Scotland. He died of the Sweating Sickneſs [*D*] in

(*a*) Eraſmi, Ep. 2. lib. 8. p. 408.
(*b*) Idem, Ep. 23. p. 424
(*c*) Idem, Epiſt. 25. p. 426. Ep. 11. p. 413.
(*d*) Idem, Ep. 22. p. 422.
(*e*) Balæus *ap. Simlerum*, Epit. Geſneri.
(*f*) *Andreas Ammonius tuæ ſanctitatis, apud Anglos* Nuncius *literis ſignificabit.* Eraſmus, Ep. 6. lib. 2. p. 104.

ties in mentem venit, quam mihi fuerit jucunda ejus familiaritas. That is, "How many of my old companions have I loſt? In the firſt place Andrew Ammonius of Lucca. Good God, what a lively genius he had, and what a faithful memory! And then, how lofty was his ſoul, how free from envy, how free from baſeneſs! When his own qualifications and the applauſe of Princes had opened him a way to the greateſt affairs, he was ſuddenly ſnatched away before he was forty years of age. Whoſe loſs I cannot but lament, as often as I recollect how delighted I was with his acquaintance.

[*B*] *It is chiefly in regard of his Latin verſes that he deſerves to be ranked among authors.*] The catalogue of Ammonius's poems is to be found in the epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheca*. It contains the following pieces; *Scotici conflictus Hiſtoria, lib.* 1; *Bucolica, ſeu Eclogæ, lib.* 1; *de Rebus nihili, lib.* 1; *Panegyricus quidam, lib.* 1; *Epigrammata, lib.* 1; *Poëmata diverſa, lib.* 1. Balæus is quoted for this catalogue. The piece entitled *Panegyricus quidam*, is a Poem on the victories obtained by the Engliſh at the battle of the Spurs, and at the taking of Terouënne, Tournay, &c. Eraſmus paſſes his judgment on this Poem in one of his letters (3) dated the day of St. Thomas 1510, which is a convincing proof that the dates have been afterwards added to ſome of his letters, and that very careleſly too. Beſides, his letters are ſtrangely diſpoſed, and ſome anſwers placed ſeveral pages before the letters to which they are anſwers (4).

(3) The 20th of the 8th book.
(4) See the article CARMILIANUS.

[*C*] *Artful methods which are made uſe of in puſhing one's fortune, &c.*] "Be aſhamed of nothing, "ſays he to him, thruſt your ſelf into every one's "buſineſs; *elbow out whomſoever you can, give no "quarter* (5): ſupplant every one; meaſure your "love and hatred with your profit; give nothing but "to ſuch as will return it with uſury; be complaiſant "to every one, and in every thing; have always "two ſtrings to your bow; give out you are courted by others; feign that you will depart, and get "every thing ready for your journey; ſhew letters "inviting you elſewhere with great promiſes." *Principio perfrica frontem, ne quid uſquam pudeat. Deinde omnibus omnium negotiis te miſce, protrude quemcumque potes cubito. Neminem nec ames, nec oderis ex animo, ſed omnia tuo compendio metiare. Ad hunc ſcopum omnis vitæ ratio ſpectet. Ne quid des, niſi unde ſperes fœnus; aſſentare omnibus omnia. At iſta vulgaria ſunt, inquis. Age, quando ita vis, accipe peculiare conſilium, ſed heus in aurem. Noſti* τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ζηλοτυπίαν, *hac in tuum bonum abutere. Duabus ſedeto ſellis. Suborna diverſos procos qui te ambiant. Minare & appara diſceſſum. Oſtende literas, quibus magnis pollicitis avocaris. Subducito te nonnunquam, ut ſubtracta copia deſiderium acuat* (6). Alciat uſed this trick (7).

(5) This is one of Moliere's verſes in his *Remercîment au Roi.* The paſſage is as follows. *Jettez-vous dans la foule, & tranchez du notable; coudoiez un chacun, point du tout de quartier, preſſez, paſſez, faite le diable, pour vous mettre le premier.*
(6) Eraſmi, Ep. 13. l. 8. p. 414.
(7) See Remark [*D*] of the article ALCIAT.

[*D*] *He died of the Sweating Sickneſs.*] See the hiſtory of Henry VIII's divorce by Mr. le Grand, who informs us what kind of a diſtemper this was. It was called "*the Sweating Sickneſs*, becauſe ſuch "as were ſeized with it died ſweating. This kind "of plague broke out firſt in 1486, for it had never "been heard of till that time. All remedies proved "unſucceſsful; ſo that it ſwept away vaſt numbers "of people, before the Phyſicians knew what to "preſcribe for their patients. It ſeemed at firſt to "be a puniſhment ſent from heaven upon the Engliſh alone; for they were every where ſeized with "it, at the ſame time that it ſpared the foreigners "with whom they lived (8)." Mr. le Grand produces, among other pieces, atteſting the truth of what he advances (9), a Letter of the Biſhop of Baionne, who was then Embaſſador from France at the court of England, wherein mention is made of this diſtemper. The Embaſſador himſelf was ſeized with it, and Anne Bullen likewiſe; for at laſt it neither ſpared Engliſh nor foreigners, and our Ammonius, tho' an Italian, died of it in 1517, notwithſtanding his ſobriety, which he relied upon. On this occaſion Sir Thomas More wrote to Eraſmus thus: *In his*, that is, among the many that are dead, (*quod tibi quoque dolori eſſe doleo*) *Andrea noſtro Ammonio, in quo & literæ, & omnes boni magnam fecere jacturam. Is valde ſibi videbatur adverſus contagionem victus moderatione munitus: qua factum putavit, ut quum in nullum pene incideret, cujus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc è ſuis id malum attigerit; id quod & mihi, & multis præterea jactavit non admodum multis horis antequam extinctus eſt, nam hoc ſudore nemo niſi primo die perit. Ego, uxorque & liberi adhuc intacti, reliqua familia tota revaluit. Hoc tibi affirmo, minus periculi in acie, quam in urbe eſſe* (10). i. e. "Amongſt the dead "(which I know you alſo will be ſorry for) is Andrew Ammonius, in whom the learned world and "all good men have had a great loſs. He thought "himſelf ſufficiently defended againſt the contagion "by his temperance in diet: which he thought was "the cauſe, that, when there was hardly any body "ſeized with it whoſe whole family had been not "infected, all his own had eſcaped, of which he "boaſted to me and many others but a few hours "before he died, for no body dies of this ſweat but "on the firſt day. I and my wife and children have "eſcaped hitherto, and all the reſt of the family is "recovered. This I affirm to you, that there is leſs "danger in the fields than in the city.

(8) Le Grand, *Hiſt. of Henry VIII's Divorce*, tom. 1. p. 94; he quotes Godwin.
(9) See vol. 3, of his *Hiſtory of Henry VIII: Divorce*, p. 137, 152.
(10) Mori Epiſt. 4. lib. 7. *inter Eraſmianas*, p. 386.

* [It may not be improper in this place to add a more particular account of the *Sweating Sickneſs*, from our learned Caius, as he is quoted by Dr. Freind (1). *"It began at firſt in 1483, in Henry "the ſeventh's army, upon his landing at Milford-"Haven, and ſpread itſelf in London, from the 21ſt "of September to the end of October. It returned "here five times, and always in Summer: firſt in "1485; then in 1506; afterwards in 1517; when "it was ſo violent, that it killed in the ſpace of "three hours: ſo that many of the Nobility died, "and of the vulgar ſort, in ſeveral towns, half often periſhed. It appeared the fourth time in 1528, "and proved mortal then in the ſpace of ſix hours: "many of the Courtiers died of it, and Henry the "eighth himſelf was in danger. In 1529, and only "then,

(1) *Hiſt. Phyſ.* vol. 2. p. 333, &c.

in 1517 [*E*]. One of the chief ſervices he did Eraſmus, was to ſend him now and then down to Cambridge ſtore of wine [*F*]. What he writes to him in one of his letters, viz. that the burning of ſo many Hereticks had raiſed the price of wood, muſt be looked upon as an Hyperbole [*G*].

" then, it infeſted the Netherlands and Germany, " in which laſt country it did much miſchief, and " deſtroyed many, and particularly was the occaſion " of interrupting a conference at Marpurgh between " Luther and Zuinglius about the Euchariſt. The " laſt return of it with us, was in 1551: in Weſt- " minſter it carried off 120 in a day, and the two " ſons of Charles Brandon, both Dukes of Suffolk, " dyed of it. At Shrewsbury particularly, where " our author Caius reſided, it broke out in a very " furious manner. The deſcription he gives of it is " terrible like the plague of Athens. He very pro- " perly calls it a peſtilent contagious fever, of one " natural day: the *ſweat* itſelf he reckons, only as " a ſymptom or criſis of this fever. The manner " of its ſeizure was thus: firſt it affected ſome par- " ticular part, attended with inward heat and burn- " ing, unquenchable thirſt, reſtleſsneſs, ſickneſs at " ſtomach and heart, (tho' ſeldom vomiting) head- " ach, delirium, then faintneſs and exceſſive drow- " ſineſs. The pulſe quick and vehement, and the " breath ſhort and labouring. Children, poor, and " old people leſs ſubject to it. Of others ſcarce any " eſcaped the attack, and moſt died: in that town, " where it laſted ſeven months, periſhed near a thou- " ſand. Even by travelling into France, or Flan- " ders: they did not eſcape: and what is ſtranger, " even the Scotch were free, and abroad the Eng- " liſh only affected, and Foreigners not affected in " England. None recovered under twenty four hours: " at firſt the Phyſicians were much puzzled how to " treat it; the only cure was to carry on the ſweat, " which was neceſſary, for a long time; for if ſtopt, " it was dangerous, or fatal. The way therefore " was to be patient, and lie ſtill, and not to take cold. " If nature was not ſtrong enough to do it, art " ſhould aſſiſt her in promoting the ſweat, by " cloaths, medicines, wine, &c. The violence of " it was over, in fifteen hours; but no ſecurity till " twenty four hours were paſſed. In ſome there " was a neceſſity to repeat the ſweating; in ſtrong " conſtitutions, twelve times. Great danger to re- " move out of bed; ſome who had not ſweated " enough fell into very ill fevers. No fleſh in all the " time, nor drink for the *firſt* five hours. For in " the *ſeventh*, the diſtemper encreaſes; about the " *ninth*, delirium; ſleep to be avoided by all means. " It appeared by experience, as the Lord Bacon ob- " ſerves, that this diſeaſe was rather a ſurprize of " nature, than obſtinate to remedies, if it were in " time well treated. For when proper care was " taken, the patient generally recovered."]

ADD. REM.

[*E*] *He died in* 1517.] As the Letter of Sir Thomas More I have juſt now quoted, is dated the 19th of Auguſt 1520, it ſeems that the death of Ammonius did not happen in 1517; for is it likely, that Sir Thomas More would have let three years paſs without mentioning it in his Letters to Eraſmus? I anſwer, that this objection does not at all counterballance the Letters, in which Eraſmus himſelf writes of the death of Ammonius. He obſerves in the 24th Letter of his ſecond book, and in the 20th of his third book, both dated 1518, that that year proved fatal to the men of learning, to Muſurus, Paleottus, Fauſtus Andrelinus, and Ammonius. In the 31ſt Letter of the third book, dated the 9th of September 1517, he mentions the death of Ammonius (11). There is no miſtake in the date of this Letter, for Eraſmus ſpeaks in it of the King of Spain's departing, as of a thing that happened then; and it is certain that he ſailed at the beginning of September 1517. Balæus therefore was miſtaken by a year, when he placed the death of Ammonius in 1518 (12); and Eraſmus might have truly ſaid in 1518, *many great men are dead this year*. For one of the Letters was written in March; and he, by the expreſſion *this year* meant the ten or twelve preceding months. This is confirmed by a Letter of Bombaſius (13), dated (and without any miſtake) the 6th of December 1517, wherein it is ſaid, that Muſurus died at Rome that Autumn, and that Paleottus died eight months before.

(11) *Ammonij mortem acerbiſſime fero.* Eraſmi Epiſt. 31. lib. 3. pag. 198.

(12) *Apud* Simlerum *in Epitom. Geſneri.*

(13) The 23d of the 2d book.

[*F*] *He uſed to ſend down to Eraſmus at Cambridge ſtore of good wine.*] In the Letters theſe two friends wrote to one another, they often mention the ſending of wine; but the following paſſage will better convince us than any other, that Eraſmus was no enemy to wine, and that he would have choſen to live in a place infected with the plague, rather than to drink water. *Simul atque Anglicum ſolum tetigi, ubi locorum eſſes rogare cœpi, ſiquidem Cantabrigienſem peſtem fugere te ſcripſiſti. Unus tandem Sixtinus mihi dixit, te quidem Cantabrigiam ob peſtem reliquiſſe, & conceſſiſſe neſcio quo, ubi cum vini penuria laborares, & eo carere gravius peſte duceres, Cantabrigiam repetiiſſe, atque inibi te nunc eſſe. O fortem Baſſarei commilitonem, qui in ſummo periculo ducem deſerere nolueris* (14). i. e. " As ſoon as I arrived in England, I began " to ask where you was, for you had writ me word " that you had fled from the plague at Cambridge. At " length I was told by Sixtinus alone, that you had left " Cambridge indeed on account of the plague, and " gone I know not whither; but when you found " you could get no wine, and thought that want to " be worſe than the plague, that you was gone to " Cambridge again, and was there at preſent. O " the brave fellow ſoldier of Bacchus, that would " not forſake your General in the greateſt danger.

(14) Ammonius *Epiſt. ad Eraſm. inter Eraſmianas* Ep. 40. lib. 8.

[*G*] *What he writes to him in one of his letters, viz. that the burning of ſo many Hereticks* (α) *had raiſed the price of the wood, muſt be looked upon as an Hyperbole.*] Theſe were neither the Papiſts, nor the Proteſtants, whom Henry VIII perſecuted, without diſtinction, after he had denied the Pope's Supremacy. They differed widely from both, for the letter, in which mention is made of the puniſhments inflicted upon them, bears date November 1511. All the fires that they could kindle, were not ſufficient to root them out, as appears from what follows. *Lignorum precium auctum eſſe non miror, multi quotidie Hæretici holocauſtum nobis præbent, plures tamen ſuccreſcunt. Quin & frater germanus mei Thomæ, ſtipes verius quam homo, ſectam (ſi diis placet) & ipſe inſtituit, & diſcipulos habet* (15). That is, " I do not wonder that the price of " wood riſes, for we have many hereticks ſacrificed " every day, and yet more come up in their room. " Nay my Thomas's own brother, more a ſtock than " man, has inſtituted a ſect of his own forſooth, and " has diſciples.

(15) Ammonius Ep. 8. lib. 8. *inter Eraſmianas*, pag. 410.

§ (α) They were ſome Wickliffiſts who ſtill remained. See *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation*. REM. CRIT.

(*a*) So he is named by Eraſmus. Valerius Andreas calls him *Lævinus*.

AMMONIUS (LIVINUS) (*a*) diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Carthuſians of Flanders, not only by the employment of Procurator, with which he was honoured in Ghent, his native country, but likewiſe by his learning and piety (*b*). He was greatly eſteemed by Eraſmus, who, as appears from two letters he wrote to him, looked upon him, as one who had got the better of the prejudices and paſſions which are common to men of his profeſſion [*A*]. He imparted, in confidence, to Eraſmus the uneaſineſs he

(*b*) *Livinus Ammonius vir eruditione juxta ac pietate inſignis.* Eraſmi, Epiſt. 23. lib. 28. page 1704.

[*A*] *Eraſmus looks upon him as one who had got the better of the prejudices and paſſions which are common to men of his profeſſion.*] Otherwiſe Eraſmus would never have been ſo free with him as to write to him, that the enemy of mankind had been concerned in the inſtitution of Cloyſters; tho' he might

he was under, and the reſolution he had taken to bear with patience the hardſhips of his condition. No doubt but he wiſhed for more leiſure to improve his mind with better ſtudies; but that was what his ſuperiors did not like, chuſing rather to keep him in ignorance, and wholly taken up with the external obſervances of the Order. He deſerved however to be ranked among authors, and the titles of his works are to be found in Moreri; but the citation of Vander Linden is not to be depended upon [*B*]. (c) The 94th of the 20th book, and the 20th of the 25th.

might well have told him, that the moſt ſtupid and ignorant are generally the moſt eſteemed in the Monaſteries, where the chief merit is placed in obſerving with exactneſs their rules and ceremonies. *Quum interdum mecum reputo, Ammoni cariſſime, cujuſmodi ingenia premantur ac ſepeliantur in iſtis ceremoniis, interdum ſubit animum cogitato fortaſſis humana, iſtiuſmodi vitæ ergaſtula non ſine inſtinctu Satanæ fuiſſe inducta. . . . Ac fere fit, ut quo quiſque indoctior ſtupidiorque eſt, hoc in iſto vitæ inſtituto pluris habeatur, tumidus fiducia ceremoniarum, & alieni ſpiritus iniquus æſtimator* (1). i. e. "When "I ſometimes reflect, my dear Ammonius, what "genius's are oppreſſed and buried in thoſe cere- "monies, I cannot help thinking that ſuch Cloiſters "were inſtituted by the influence of Satan... and "it generally happens that the more unlearned and "ſtupid any one is, the more he is eſteemed in this "way of life, being vain with the dependance on "ceremonies, and an unjuſt judge of another's mind."

(1) Eraſm. Epiſt. 20. lib. 25. pag. 1361.

[*B*] *The citation of Vander Linden is not to be depended upon.*] This author did not write the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, where his name has been put for that of Valerius Andreas. It was the Catalogue of Phyſical Writers that he compoſed.

☞AMONTONS (WILLIAM) was born the laſt day of Auguſt 1663. His father was a Lawyer, who having left Normandy ſettled at Paris. Mr. Amontons was ſtill in the third form of the Latin School, when after a conſiderable illneſs he remained ſo deaf, that he was obliged to renounce almoſt all converſation with men. Being thus abandoned to his own reflections, he began to think of inventing new machines, and undertook at firſt one of the moſt difficult deſigns in Mechanicks, or perhaps the only one that is impoſſible, I mean, the perpetual motion. He ſoon found out that there were ſome principles in that Science which he muſt abſolutely know, if he would not ſpend his time and labour in vain. He applied himſelf therefore to the ſtudy of Geometry, though his relations endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, in which they were certainly in the right, if the Sciences are conſidered only as a way to preferments. It is poſitively affirmed, that Mr. Amontons would never employ any remedy to cure his deafneſs, either becauſe he thought it incurable, or becauſe it increaſed his attention, like that antient Philoſopher who is ſaid to have put out his eyes, that he might not be diſturbed in his profound meditations. Mr. Amontons applied himſelf to the arts of Drawing, of Surveying Lands, and of Building; but in a ſhort time he formed a more noble deſign, and added to that part of Mechanicks which relates to the common arts and neceſſaries of life, the knowledge of thoſe more ſublime laws which regulate the whole Univerſe. He ſtudied with great care what regards the Barometers, Thermometers, and Hygroſcopes, and in the year 1687, being yet but twenty four years of age, he preſented a new Hygroſcope to the Royal Academy of Sciences, which was very much approved. He alſo propoſed to Mr. Hubin, a famous Enameller, the thoughts he had conceived concerning new Barometers and Thermometers, but Mr. Hubin had prevented him in ſome of his thoughts, and did not much regard the other, till he made a voyage into England, where the ſame thoughts were propoſed to him by ſome of the Fellows of the Royal Society. There is an invention of Mr. Amontons, which may perhaps be looked upon only as a piece of wit, and nevertheleſs is very ingenious; he found out a method to acquaint people at a great diſtance in a very little time of whatever one pleaſed [*A*], ſo that a perſon at Paris, for inſtance, might in three or four hours time acquaint a perſon at Rome with a piece of news, without diſcovering it to any one elſe in the whole interval between thoſe two cities. In the year 1695 Mr. Amontons publiſhed a book intitled, *Remarques & experiences Phyſiques ſur la conſtruction d'une Nouvelle Clepſydre, ſur les Barometres, Thermometres & Hygrometres (a)*. That is, "Obſer- "vations and Experiments concerning the manner of making a new Hour-glaſs, and "concerning Barometers, Thermometers, and Hygroſcopes." This is the only book which he wrote, beſides the pieces, which we have of him in the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences*, and in the *Journal des Sçavans*. Tho' the Hour-glaſſes made with water, ſo much in uſe among the Ancients, be entirely laid aſide, becauſe the Clocks and Watches are much more uſeful, yet Mr. Amontons took a great deal of pains in making his new Hour-glaſs, being in hopes that it might ſerve at Sea, it being made in ſuch

(a) Printed at Paris, in 12mo.

[*A*] *A method to acquaint people at a great diſtance of whatever one pleaſed, in a very little time.*] The method was as follows. Let there be people placed in ſeveral ſtations at ſuch a diſtance from one another, that by the help of a teleſcope a man in one ſtation may ſee a ſignal made in that next before him; he muſt immediately make the ſame ſignal that it may be ſeen by perſons in the ſtation next after him, who communicate it to thoſe in the following ſtation, and ſo on. Theſe ſignals may be as letters of the Alphabet, or as a cypher underſtood only by the perſons who are in the two diſtant places, and not by thoſe who make the ſignals. The perſon in the ſecond ſtation making the ſignal to the perſon in the third, the very moment he ſees it made in the firſt, the news may be carried to the greateſt diſtance in as little time as is neceſſary to make the ſignals in the firſt ſtation. The diſtance of the ſeveral ſtations, which muſt be as few as is poſſible, is meaſured by the reach of a teleſcope. Mr. Amontons tried this method in a ſmall tract of land before ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank at the court of France. For tho' he had not the art of introducing himſelf into the world, yet his merit had made him known to the greateſt Princes (1).

(1) Fontenelle, *Hiſt. & Mem. de l'Academ. des Sciences, ann.* 1705, p. 191.

ſuch a manner, that the moſt violent motion could not alter the regularity of its flowing, whereas a great agitation infallibly diſorders a Clock or a Watch. One may ſee in Mr. Amontons's book with how much art his Hour-glaſs was made, and there is no probability that he fell in with any thing of what the Ancients had invented. When in 1699 the Royal Academy was newly regulated, Mr. Amontons was admitted a Member of it, and read there that ſame year his new Theory of *Friction* (*b*), in which he has happily cleared up a very important part of the Mechanicks. Afterwards he produced his new Thermometer, an invention not only uſeful in practice, but which alſo opens a new ſcene for ſpeculation. We ſhall give in a remark a catalogue of all the pieces which Mr. Amontons [*B*] either read in the Royal Academy, or which are printed in the *Journal des Sçavans*. Amontons had a particular genius for making experiments; his notions were delicate and juſt; he knew how to prevent the inconveniencies of his new inventions, and had a wonderful ſkill in executing them, ſo that the ſpirit of the famous Mariote, ſo famous for the ſame talents, ſeemed to revive in him. He enjoyed a perfect health, and as he led a very regular life, he was not ſubject to the

(*b*) Concerning bodies, whoſe motion is retarded by their rubbing againſt one another.

[*B*] *A Catalogue of Mr. Amontons's writings.*] Beſides the book mentioned in the text of this article, he wrote *Deſcription d'un Hygrometre nouveau*; i. e. "A Deſcription of a new Hygroſcope," inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of March the 8th, 1688 (2). *Lettre touchant la Conſtruction d'un nouveau tube pour faire le vuide à une ſi petite hauteur perpendiculaire qu'on voudra*; i. e. "A Letter concerning the "conſtruction of a new tube, to make a *vacuum* at a "perpendicular but as little a height as is deſired," inſerted in the ſame Journal March the 10th, 1688 (3). Both theſe pieces have been tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted in the Tranſactions of Leipſic (4). *Moyen de ſubſtituer commodement l'action du feu a la force des hommes & des chevaux*. i. e. "A Method "to employ eaſily the activity of the fire, inſtead "of the ſtrength of men or horſes," inſerted in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences (5). *De la reſiſtence cauſée dans les machines, tant par les frottemans des parties, qui les compoſent; que par la roideur des cordes qu'on y employe, & la maniére de calculer l'un & l'autre*; i. e. "Of the reſiſtance "produced in machines, not only by the friction "of their ſeveral parts, but alſo by the ſtiffneſs of "the ropes employed in them; with a method to "calculate the reſiſtance produced by both theſe "cauſes." Mr. Amontons added to this piece a table of the different degrees of reſiſtance. All this is inſerted in the ſame Memoirs (6). *Diſcours ſur quelques proprietez de l'air, & le moyen d'en connoitre la temperature dans tous les climats de la terre.* i. e. "A Diſcourſe upon ſome qualities of the air; "with a method to know its temperature in every "climate of the earth (7)." Mr. Amontons gives us in this Diſcourſe a deſcription of a new and accurate Thermometer, and tells us that in order to pitch upon a fixed degree of heat he takes boiling water, becauſe he has found by experience, that when water boils, it has the greateſt degree of heat it can ever have, ſo that here is a common ſtandard, which every one may eaſily know. But Mr. Bernard in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (8) made ſome objections againſt Mr. Amontons's ſuppoſition, which the reader will perhaps be pleaſed to find here. "The water boils, ſays he, when its parts have mo- "tion enough to ſurmount the weight of the air, "which preſſes upon it, and bubble up. But it is "not true, that the ſame degree of heat is always "requiſite to produce that effect; for according as "the air will be more or leſs heavy, or, which a- "mounts to the ſame, according as it will be more "or leſs elaſtic, the water will want more or leſs "heat, or more or leſs ſtrength to bubble up, that "is to ſurmount the preſſion of the air: ſo that in "thoſe places, where the quick-ſilver is ſupported "at a greater height in the Barometer, water, when "boiling, will be hotter, than on thoſe places "where the quick-ſilver falls lower, and in one and "the ſame country, according as the weather will "be dry or wet, water, when boiling, will be "more or leſs hot, becauſe it will want more or "leſs heat in order to boil, that is, to ſurmount the "reſiſtance of the air. This obſervation is ſo cer- "tain, that if water, which to the touch appears "but luke-warm, and conſequently is ſtill very far "from boiling, be put under the *recipient*, it be- "gins to boil as ſoon as the air is drawn out of "the *recipient*. I might obſerve further, that all "ſorts of waters not being equally heavy, the ſame "degree of heat is not requiſite to make them boil." Notwithſtanding theſe obſervations, which ſeem very juſt, it may be affirmed, that the heat of boiling water is a ſtandard as exact as can be deſired in matters of natural Philoſophy, in which we muſt not hope ever to attain a mathematical exactneſs. In his Diſcourſe which gave us occaſion to make theſe remarks, Mr. Amontons proves, that "one and the "ſame degree of heat, tho' never ſo little, can en- "creaſe more and more the power of the air's ela- "ſticity or ſpring, provided the weight, with which "the air is preſſed, becomes greater and greater." And in another Diſcourſe (9) he proves, that "the "new experiments we have concerning the weight "and elaſticity of the air make it known, that a "very ſmall degree of heat can reduce the air in- "to ſo violent a condition, as alone to cauſe the "moſt terrible earth-quakes." That ſame year, he read a Diſcourſe intitled, *Le Thermometre reduit à une meſure fixe & certaine; & les moyens d'y rapporter les obſervations faites avec les anciens Thermometres*; i. e. "The Thermometer reduced to a fixed and "determinate meaſure, with a method to determine "by it the obſervations made by the ancient Ther- "mometers." On the 24th of July 1703 Mr. Geoffry read before the Academy of Sciences at Paris a Table of the different degrees of heat extracted from the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (10), and the 4th of Auguſt 1703 Mr. Amontons made ſome obſervations (11) upon that Table. He ſays there, that there is no reaſon to place the fixed degree of heat or cold to the inſtant in which water begins to freeze, as the author of that Table does, ſince there are other liquors which freeze with more or leſs difficulty than water. But to this it might be anſwered, that water being the moſt common of all liquors, this was a ſufficient reaſon to make uſe of it. We make this obſervation only to ſhew that the moſt ingenious authors love ſometimes to cavil. In 1704 he wrote a piece (12) to ſhew that all the effects of the Barometers either double or ſingle, which had been made till then, were produced not only by the greater or leſſer weight of the air, but alſo by its greater or leſſer heat, and gave a method to prevent ſuch a defect for the future. That ſame year he read another Diſcourſe upon Barometers (13). In 1705 he gave a deſcription of a Barometer without mercury, to be uſed at ſea (14). He alſo ſhewed in another Diſcourſe, that "thoſe experiments, which are "alledged to prove, that liquors are condenſed and "cooled immediately before they are dilated or "rarified at the approach of heat, do not prove any "ſuch thing, but that this apparent condenſation "is only the effect of the dilatation of the glaſs, "or the other veſſels in which theſe liquors are con- "tained (15)." That ſame year he communicated to the Academy "the experiments on the chymical "liqueſactions, and cold fermentations made by Mr. "Geoffry, and repeated in the vaults of the Aca- "demy's Obſervatory (16)." And likewiſe ſome experiments concerning the *rarefaction* of the air (17). Laſtly, he read four Diſcourſes concerning the height of the quick-ſilver in Barometers (18). This is all the account we can give of Mr. Amontons's writing. A fuller account would require draughts, which are not proper for a work of this kind.

(2) Niceron, *Mem. pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hom. Illuſt.* tom. 13. p. 355.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 356.

(4) *Acta Eruditorum, ann.* 1688, p. 374, 376.

(5) *An.* 1699. p. 154.

(6) Pag. 157--182.

(7) *Mem. de l'Acad. des Scien. Ann.* 1702, pag. 204, &c.

(8) *Ann.* 1706, Sept. pag. 253.

(9) *Mem. de l'Acad. des Scienc. Ann.* 1703. pag. 125.

(10) Of April 1701.

(11) Extant in the *Mem. de l'Acad.* 1703, pag. 233.

(12) In the *Memoirs* for that year.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid. *Ann.* 1705. p. 62.

(15) Ibid. p. 100, &c.

(16) Ibid. pag. 111.

(17) Ibid. p. 155.

(18) Ibid. the three firſt from p. 300 to 310, the fourth in p. 352, &c.

the leaſt infirmity, but all of a ſudden he was ſeized with an inflammation in his bowels, which ſoon mortifying, became the occaſion of his death, which happened the eleventh of October (c) 1705, he being then forty two years and near two months old. He had a wife, by whom he left but one daughter, aged two months at the time of his deceaſe. When death ſnatched him away he was meditating ſome new and uſeful inventions concerning Printing, Building of Ships, and the Plough. What we have of him ſhews, that whatever he thought poſſible muſt be ſo beyond exception, for the genius of invention, which generally ſpeaking is ſubtle, bold, and ſometimes too preſuming, was in him attended with all the judgment, caution, and even diffidence, that was neceſſary to aſcertain the ſucceſs of his new diſcoveries. His moral character was not leſs ſhining than his philoſophical genius. A natural honeſty appeared through all his conduct, with ſo little affectation, that one might eaſily perceive he could never deviate from it. His candor and ſincerity were ſuch, that if he could maintain them in the little correſpondence he had with men, he would never have acquired them by converſing with mankind. His modeſty and baſhfulneſs hindered him from rendering himſelf known otherwiſe than by his works, and his merit alone making his court for him, it was almoſt impoſſible for him to advance in the way to preferment (d). This is Mr. de Fontenelle's reflection, which is very little to the honour of the preſent age.

(c) The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Repub. les Lett.* is miſtaken, when he places Mr. Amonton's death in the latter end of Sept. See *Rep. des Let.* 1706. Fevrier, p. 217.

(d) *Hiſt. & Mem. de l'Academie des Sciences, Ann.* 1705, pag. 189, 194. Dutch edit.

AMPHARES, one of the Lacedæmonian Ephori, was the chief means of the tragical death of King Agis. We have related elſewhere (a), that this Prince, after the reſtoration of Leonidas his Collegue, took ſanctuary in a temple, whither Amphares, and many others went frequently to viſit him with great familiarity, and uſed to accompany him when he went from thence to the baths, and from them back to the temple. But one day as he was returning home, Amphares ſeized him in order to oblige him to appear before the Ephori, and give an account of his conduct. He was hurried away to priſon, whither the Ephori, and their Aſſiſtants went immediately to try him. The King proteſted, that he had had no other deſign than to ſettle matters on the ſame foot as Lycurgus had left them, and that he ſhould never repent of ſuch a commendable deſign. It was upon this they condemned him to death, and commanded him to be carried to the place of execution (b). But thoſe, whoſe province that was, thought it ſuch a ſtrange and unheard of thing to lay their hands on the King's perſon, that they ſhewed themſelves averſe from complying with that order (c); inſomuch that Demochares, one of Amphares's friends, was obliged to take the executing of it upon himſelf. In the mean time Ageſiſtrata, mother of Agis, being informed of the danger her ſon was in, haſtened to the gate of the priſon, with Archidamia her mother, demanding that her ſon might be allowed to plead his cauſe before the people. Upon this Agis was immediately ſtrangled; and at the ſame time Amphares came out to aſſure Ageſiſtrata that no harm ſhould be done to her ſon, and that both ſhe and her mother, if they pleaſed, might go in and ſee him. They both went into the priſon; but Amphares cauſed Archidamia immediately to be hanged, and Ageſiſtrata to be conducted to the place where her mother had been executed. The firſt object that preſented it ſelf to the eyes of this Lady, was the body of her ſon lying on the ground, and that of her mother hanging by it. She helped the executioners to take it down, laid it on the ground by the body of her ſon, and kiſſing Agis, cried out, *that he had undone himſelf, and drawn them into that misfortune by his too great lenity and good-nature.* At theſe words Amphares told her, that ſince ſhe approved of her ſon's conduct, ſhe ſhould be treated after the ſame manner. Ageſiſtrata, without any ſurprize, offered her neck to the executioner, only ſaying, that ſhe heartily wiſhed the whole might redound to the good and welfare of her country (d). The people were highly provoked at ſuch a violent and extraordinary proceeding, but came to no reſolution; for the maxim, *People make a great noiſe, and then grow eaſy*, which is proper on a thouſand occaſions, proved very true on this. The fear Amphares was in of being obliged to return to Ageſiſtrata what ſhe had lent him, inſpired him with ſuch a wicked reſolution. Plutarch, to whom I am indebted for this article, tells us what was ſaid on occaſion of King Agis's death [A]. I ſhall relate it, as I have promiſed to do (e).

(a) In the article AGIS.

(b) It was in the priſon, and called *Decas.*

(c) Ἀποστρεφομένης καὶ φυγόντας τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ὁ Θίμιτον ἀνδὰ νενομισμένον Βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν. Plutarch. *in Agide*, pag. 804.

(d) Μόνη γὰρ συνηνέγκαι ταῦτα τῇ Σπάρτῃ Plutarch. *in Agide*, p. 804.

(e) In the article of AGIS.

AMPHIARAUS,

[A] *Plutarch tells us what was ſaid on occaſion of King Agis's death.*] Theſe three executions did not ſtrike ſuch terror into the people, that they durſt not ſhew their concern for Agis, or hatred to Leonidas and Amphares. They looked upon the putting of theſe three perſons to death, as the moſt enormous and deteſtable crime that had been committed at Lacedæmon from the firſt coming of the Dorians into Peloponneſus, to that time. For even the enemies had a particular regard, in the heat of the battles, for the perſon of the Kings of Sparta; and uſed, out of veneration to the Majeſty of thoſe Princes, to face about, when they ſaw them coming up to them. And this is the reaſon, why the Spartans in ſo many battles with the other nations of Greece had loſt but one King (1), till the time of Philip father to Alexander the Great. They did not allow the Maſſenians, that Theopompus had been killed by Ariſtodemus, but that he had been only wounded by him. Agis was the firſt King that was put to death in the city; a Prince, who had formed a very noble deſign, and worthy of his country, at an age which makes men wink at ſome faults and overſights. His friends had better reaſon to complain of him than his enemies; his friends, I ſay, for they reproached him with too much good nature and indulgence, with ſaving Leonidas, and truſting others. His mother's words deſerve to be recorded; Ἡ πολλή σε, ὦ παῖ, εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπόλεσε μεθ' ἡμῶν. i. e. "O ſon, "your great modeſty, good nature, and humanity "have deſtroyed you and us." This is what Plutarch relates in the Life of Agis.

(1) Viz. Cleombrotus at the battle of Leuctra.

I have related preciſely what Plutarch ſays; but now

AMPHIARAUS, one of the moſt celebrated Prophets among the Pagans, was ſon to Oïcleus, and great-grandſon to Melampus [*A*], who had received part of the Kingdom of Argos as a reward for a very conſiderable piece of ſervice he had done the women of that country (*a*). This diviſion of the Kingdom occaſioned the diſcords that reigned in the time of Adraſtus King of Argos, who, not being able to withſtand Amphiaraüs's party, was forced to abandon his Kingdom (*b*). For Amphiaraüs had uſurped the crown, after having put to death Talaüs, Adraſtus's father (*c*). However the match that was afterwards concluded between Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle, ſiſter to Adraſtus, put an end to that quarrel, and reſtored Adraſtus to his throne. I mention this elſewhere (*d*); and alſo the new broils, in which Eriphyle, to whom both parties had referred the difference, decided in favour of Adraſtus to the prejudice of her huſband. The trick ſhe played her huſband, during the preparations for the expedition of Thebes, was a very baſe action. Amphiaraüs, knowing by the ſpirit of Prophecy, that he ſhould loſe his life in that war, hid himſelf in order to avoid it, but his wife being prevailed upon by a preſent, diſcovered the place he lay hid in (*e*), ſo that he was forced to accompany the other Princes in that expedition, which proved fatal to him; for the earth being ſplit aſunder by a thunderbolt, both he and his chariot were ſwallowed up in the opening [*B*]. Thoſe who write that this happened the very day the army encamped before Thebes are miſtaken (*f*), for he died the day of the retreat, and

(*a*) See the article of MELAMPUS.

(*b*) Pindarus, Od. 9. *Nemeor.* pag. 608.

(*c*) *See* Benoit, *Comments upon Pindar*, ibid. p. 608, 609.

(*d*) See Note [*F*] of the article ADRASTUS.

(*e*) See the article ALCMEON ſon of Amphiaraus.

(*f*) Charles Stephens and Lloyd in their *Dictionaries*. Oliver on Val. Max. near the end of the 8th book, and divers others.

now ſhall add to his account one reflection, which is, that in Hiſtory we ſhall find that more good-natured, or weak Princes, have been driven from the throne on account of their good nature and weakneſs, than bad Princes by reaſon of their wickedneſs. The latter find in their own wickedneſs more reſources againſt all the contrivances of their enemies, than the former in the juſtice of their cauſe, or the loyalty of their ſubjects. See note [*F*] in the article upon EDWARD IV.

[*A*] *Amphiaraüs was great-grandſon to Melampus.*] Here follows the Genealogy of Amphiaraüs. His father Oïcleus was ſon of Antiphates, ſon of Melampus, ſon of Amythaon, ſon of Cretheus and Tyro, which Tyro was daughter of Salmoneus, who reckoned Deucalion as his great-grandfather by the father's ſide (1). This is what we are told by Diodorus Siculus. Homer (2) goes no higher than to Melampus, father of Antiphates, father of Oïcleus, father of Amphiaraüs. Melampus was, according to theſe two authors, great-grandfather to Amphiaraüs; but, according to the Scholiaſt of Æſchylus, only his grandfather; for he diſpoſes the generations thus: Amphiaraüs ſon of Oïcleus, ſon of Melampus, ſon of Amythaon, ſon of Cretheus, ſon of Æolus, ſon of Hellen, ſon of Jupiter (3). We muſt not forget, that Hypermneſtra (4) daughter of Theſtius (5) was Amphiaraüs's mother, and that Apollo, according to ſome authors, was his father (6). We read in Apollodorus, as well as in the Scholiaſt of Æſchylus, that Cretheus was ſon of Æolus (7); and, of courſe, brother of Salmoneus, of Siſyphus &c. Tyro, his niece, had had two twins by Neptune, before ſhe was married to him, viz. Pelias and Neleus (8). He had three ſons by her, viz. Æſon, Amythaon, and Pheres (9). See Apollodorus, where you will find that Amphiaraüs was related to almoſt all the illuſtrious perſons of Greece.

(1) Diodorus Siculus lib. 4. cap. 70. p. 257, 258.

(2) Homerus, Odyſſ. lib. 15. p. 460, 461.

(3) Schol. Æſch. *in ſeptem ad Thebas*, ver. 575.

(4) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 63.

(5) Hygin. cap. 70.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Apollod. lib. 1. pag. 27, 43.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Idem, ibid. p. 45.

[*B*] *Both he and his chariot were ſwallowed up in the opening.*] Pindar and Apollodorus are in the number of thoſe, who tell us, that the earth was ſplit aſunder by a thunder-bolt, and that Jupiter did it out of kindneſs to him; becauſe otherwiſe he had had the diſhonour to be killed by Periclymenes, who purſued him.

ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρεϊ
σχίσεν κεραυνῷ πατρὸς ἐξ
Ζηνὸς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα,
κρύψεν δ' ἅμ' ἵπποις,
ἀνδρὶ Περικλυμένῳ πρὶν
νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν
θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν (10).

(10) Pindari, *Nemeor.* Od. 9. p. 611, 612. *See* Apollodorus, l. 3. pag. 193.

" Now Periclymenes drew near,
" And aiming well his pointed ſpear
" Had pierc'd Amphiaraüs back
" With a diſgraceful wound:
" But pitying Jove inclin'd to ſave
" The honour of a man ſo brave,
" His pow'rful light'ning threw,
" Which gave the earth a hideous crack.
" Down ſunk the Hero and his horſes too
" Within the yawning ground."

From this paſſage, and another of the ſame Poet (11) appears, that Amphiaraüs, and his chariot were ſwallowed up at the ſame time; and this is the common tradition (12), tho' we are told by ſome, that his chariot, (he being fallen from it in the battle) was carried empty to another place (13). As the temple of Amphiaraüs ſtood at ſome diſtance from a certain village, called Harma (which name it muſt have had from his chariot) they ſuppoſe, that the temple was raiſed in the place, where the Prophet died, and the village built in the place, whither his chariot had been carried (14). Pauſanias calls it a city, and ſays in expreſs terms, that it was built in the place, where Amphiaraüs and his chariot were ſuppoſed to have been ſwallowed up by the earth (15). This was the opinion of the Tanagrians; but the Thebans ſhewed another place on the high-way, that leads from Potniæ to Thebes, ſurrounded with pillars, of which they told the two following miracles, viz. that the birds never ſettled upon them, and that no animal ever offered to touch the graſs that grew there (16). Stephanus Byzantinus tells us, in contradiction both to the common tradition, and to the very author he quotes (17), that the city of Harma was ſo called, becauſe Amphiaraüs retired thither on his chariot and the inhabitants refuſed to deliver him to thoſe who purſued him (18). Does he not ſuppoſe thereby, that he ſaved himſelf, and gave the lye to a great many authors, who take for granted, that he was ſwallowed up by the earth? The great Salmaſius imagined, that two or three words were wanting in this article of Stephanus Byzantinus; namely, that after mentioning the chariot of Amphiaraüs, he ſpoke of the chariot of Adraſtus, to whom belongs what he relates about the denial of the inhabitants (19). This is a very ingenious conjecture, and may be confirmed by a paſſage out of Strabo, where we are told, that the inhabitants of Harma in Bœotia, ſaved Adraſtus, after his chariot had been broke in that place (20). There is no room for ſuch a conjecture in favour of Euſtathius; it being plain, that, according to him (21), Amphiaraüs and not Adraſtus was ſaved by thoſe of Harma.

(11) Pindar. Od. 6. Olymp. p. 98.

(12) *See* Diodorus Siculus, l. 4. cap. 68.

(13) Strabo, lib. 9. p. 278.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 296.

(16) Idem, ibid. p. 288.

(17) He quotes Pauſanias, l. 9.

(18) Steph. Byzant. at the word Ἅρμα.

(19) *See* Berkelius's notes on this paſſage of StephanusByzantinus.

(20) Strabo, lib. 9. p. 278.

(21) Euſtath. *in Iliad.* l. 2. pag. 266.

It is to be obſerved here, that Strabo fell into a miſtake, which Salmaſius takes care to cenſure. Ἐν ταύτῃ δέ πῃ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράειον ἐστὶ τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον, ὅπῃ φυγόντα τὸν Ἀμφιάραον, ὡς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς,

Ἐδέξατο μεγῆσα Θηβαία χθὼν
Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις, καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ (22).

(22) Strabo, l. 9. p. 275.

That is, " About which place there is an Oracle of " Amphiaraüs, that was formerly much regarded, " where, according to Sophocles,

" The Theban earth wide gaping ſwallow'd up
" Arms, horſes, chariot, and the charioteer."

and the ſiege had laſted ſome time. This tragical adventure has afforded matter to a great many writers, and from thence it proceeds, that the circumſtances of it have been related very differently. This kind of death gave occaſion to ſome bad reflections [C]. The

Strabo intends to prove, that the Oracle of Amphiaraüs, in the territory of Oropus, ſtood in the place, where that Diviner had been ſwallowed up by the earth; and to this purpoſe produces two verſes from Sophocles, in which it is averred, that the earth opened in the territory of Thebes, to ſwallow up Amphiaraüs and his chariot. This is what Salmaſius cenſures, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon (23). Iſaac Voſſius takes Strabo's part; but ſhews on this occaſion, that an eager deſire of finding out faults in the works of an adverſary, is a very dangerous guide. *Deſinat quoque mirari*, ſays he (24), *quod multi Oropum urbem in regione ſive agro Thebano collocârint. Recte enim hoc ab illis factum, cum Oropus non ſui juris, ſed propria fuerit Thebanorum. Hoc manifeſte Dicæarchus docet,* Ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Ὠρωπίων οἰκεῖα Θηβῶν ἐστί. i. e. "Let him ceaſe alſo to wonder, that many "have placed the city Oropus, in the country of "Thebes. For they were in the right ſo to do, "ſeeing Oropus was not a free town, but under the "juriſdiction of the Thebans; as is plainly told by "Dicæarchus, in theſe words, *The city of the Oro-* "*pians belongs to the Thebans.*" In the firſt place, Dicæarchus's propoſition, taken without any limitation of time, is falſe; for Oropus was the ſubject of a long diſpute between the Athenians and Thebans, and at laſt conquered by the Athenians, after the city of Thebes was ſubdued by Philip King of Macedon (25). In the ſecond place, if Oropus belonged to the Thebans, it does not follow, that it was ſituate in the territory of Thebes, *in agro Thebano*. An author, whom Plutarch quotes, writes, that the city of Harma was built in the place, where the battle was fought between the Argians and Thebans, and where Amphiaraüs was ſwallowed up (26). This is a miſtake in point of Geography; but not near ſo ridiculous as the ſtory the ſame author tells us, that the day before the fight an eagle carried away the ſpear of Amphiaraüs, while the Generals were at dinner, flew up in the air with it, and that the ſpear falling down ſtuck in the ground, and became a tree, τὸ δὲ παγὲν ἐς γῆν δάφνη ἐγένετο (27). Here follow the words of the Scholiaſt of Statius, which have been cenſured: *Civitas in illo loco poſt condita eſt, in quo hiatus terræ Amphiaraüm recepit, quæ Amphiarma vocatur, ut Homerus ait, quod illic currus, quem Græci ἅρμα vocant, deciderit, in quo etiam oraculum eſt, quod Græcè Amphiaraon vocatur.* i. e. "A city was af- "terwards built in the place, where the opening of "the earth ſwallowed up Amphiaraüs, which is cal- "led Amphiarma, according to Homer, becauſe the "chariot, which in Greek is called ἅρμα, fell in "there, where there is alſo an Oracle called in Greek "Amphiaraon." Barthius pretends (28), that the Scholiaſt's quotation is no ways to the purpoſe, becauſe no ſuch thing is ſpoken of in that book of the Odiſſey, where mention is made of Amphiaraüs (29). He adds, that perhaps Homer's name was interpolated by a miſtake of the tranſcribers; and that, if this excuſe be not admitted, we muſt own that the Scholiaſt's memory failed him; a fault pretty familiar to him, as well as to many others. *Vel alium ergo autorem nominavit, intruſo nunc Homeri titulo, Lutatius, vel errorem erravit, nec ipſi inſolitum, nec aliis paris momenti auctoribus infrequentem* (30). This cenſure is not juſt, there are other miſtakes here that better deſerved to be cenſured; for firſt the town that was built in the place where Amphiaraüs periſhed, was called *Harma*, and not *Amphiarma*. Secondly, Homer only names it, without making any remarks on its etymology; Οἵ ῥ' ἀμφὶ ἅρμα νίμοντο (31); i. e. "And thoſe who lived about Harma." Thirdly, the Oracle of that Prophet was not at Harma.

I ſhall cloſe this remark with a paſſage out of Barthius, who acquaints us, that ſome have fancied the Pagans in this adventure alluded to the puniſhment inflicted upon Corah and Abiram. *Placet non plane abſurdam conjecturam veteris adnotatoris proponere, per hunc caſum alludi à Paganis ſcriptoribus ad vindictam divinam in ſacerdotes Hebræi populi,* Datamum *nimirum &* Abiramum, *quos non rite rebus ſacris miniſtrantes Deus omnipotens coram omni illa gente vivos ad inferos per hiatum terræ ſubitum dejecerit. Ei rei reſpondere nonnihil etiam poſterius dicti vocabulum; facile enim ex* Abiramo *gentilium deliria* Amphiaraüm *feciſſe, quem, Iſraelita gente jam eo loco remota, quo loco iſta abſorptio acciderit, conſecraſſe poſtea, Satana inſtituente oraculum. Et inde cultum impii hominis aliorſum longe lateque propagatum* (32). i. e. "I would propoſe a conjecture of "an old annotator, that is not very abſurd; name- "ly, that the Pagan writers allude in this opening "of the earth to the divine vengeance that fell up- "on the Prieſts of the Hebrews, Dathan and Abi- "ram, whom the Almighty ſent alive to hell thro' "a ſudden opening of the earth before all the peo- "ple, becauſe they did not perform the divine rites "in a proper manner. That the name of the latter has "ſome reſemblance; for it was eaſy for the dreams "of the Gentiles to make Amphiaraüs out of Abi- "ram, whom they afterwards worſhipped, when the "Iſraelites were removed far from the place where "the judgment fell upon him, the Devil at the "ſame time forming an Oracle. And hence the "worſhip of that wicked man has ſpread far and "near."

[C] *This kind of death gave occaſion to ſome bad reflections.*] It was thought derogatory to the order eſtabliſhed by nature, according to which the parts of a compound that is deſtroyed, ought to return each of them to their proper place; for inſtance, when a man dies, his ſoul ought to return to heaven, from whence it came; and his body to the earth, of which it was formed. Now Amphiaraüs did not enjoy this common benefit; for the earth, having ſwallowed up both his body and ſoul, was not ſatisfied with what came to her ſhare, but retained what no ways belonged to her, which Theodamas the Diviner in a certain manner reproaches her with.

Liceat, pretor, ordine belli
Pugnaces efflare animas, & reddere cælo.
Nec rape tam ſubitis ſpirantia corpora buſtis.
Ne propera: veniemus enim quo limite cuncti
Qua licet ire via (33).

" O give us leave to breathe our warlike ſouls,
" In ranks of war, and ſend them back to heav'n.
" O do not ſnatch our bodies yet alive,
" Nor make ſuch haſty graves, we ſoon ſhall come
" The uſual way.———

A Commentator ſays to this purpoſe, *Iniquitas manifeſta Telluri hic exprobratur, qua animam Amphiarai cum corpore egerit deorſum* (34). i. e. "The Earth is "here evidently reproached with injuſtice, in ſwal- "lowing up the ſoul of Amphiaraüs with his body." He had juſt before related ſome very noble ſentiments of Epicharmus. *Man was made up of two parts united together; they ſeparate, and each of them returns to the place from whence it came, the earth to the earth, and the ſpirit to heaven: there is nothing here to be found fault with.* Καλῶς οὖν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος συνκρίθη, φησὶ, καὶ διεκρίθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθε πάλιν, γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δὲ ἀνώτω, τῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν; οὐδὲν ἔν (35). We often meet with this thought in the Pagan writers (36), and even in Lucretius, as I obſerve elſewhere (37); which ſhews, that they had at leaſt ſome dim knowledge of truth. But ſuch as imagined that the ſoul of Amphiaraüs was not allowed to return to its firſt principle, were in a very groſs error. For had it not been immaterial, but only of the nature of the Stars, yet it might have found its way out. Such Poets, as fancied that he fell alive into hell, made the return of his ſoul to the celeſtial regions ſtill more difficult; it being far more eaſy to riſe high, when one is already above the level of the earth, than in ſtarting from the center. But ſuch poetical fancies deſerve no attention; and perhaps my readers may take it amiſs, that I have copied the following verſes:

Ecce

(23) Salmaſ. *Exercit. Plin. in Solin.* p. 167.

(24) Iſaac Voſſius *in Pompon. Melam.* p. 152.

(23) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33. See in Pinedo's notes upon Stephanus Byzantinus, at the word Ὠρωπὸς, ſome paſſages which prove that this town belonged to the Athenians.

(26) Triſimachus, lib. 3. *de Conditis urbibus, apud* Plutarch. *in Parallelis*, p. 307.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Barthius *in Stat. Theb.* l. 8. ver. 207. tom. 2. p. 831.

(29) Odyſſ. Θ, ver. 245.

(30) Barthius *in Statij Theb.* lib. 8. tom. 2. pag. 831.

(31) Homer. *Il.* lib. 2. ver. 499.

(32) Barth. in 7. lib. *Thebaïd, Statij* ver. 784, p. 773. tom. 3.

(33) *Statius Thebaid.* lib. 8. ver. 323.

(34) Barthius *in Statium.* tom. 3. pag. 862.

(35) Plutarch. *de Conſolat.* p. 110.

(36) *See* Barthius, who cites many of them in his *Comments on Statius*, tom. 2. pag. 284.

(37) In the remark [E] of the article PRUDENTIUS.

The Pagans believed, that Amphiaraüs returned from hell [D], and even pointed out the place of his reſurrection (g). He was ranked among the Gods; temples were dedicated to him, and his Oracle [E] as well as the ſports that were inſtituted in honour of

(g) See the quotation 45.

Ecce alte præceps humus, ore profundo
Diſſilit, inque vicem timuerunt ſydera, & umbræ.
Illum ingens haurit ſpecus, & tranſire parantes
Mergit equos, non arma manu, non fræna remiſit:
Sicut erat, rectos defert in Tartara currus (38).

(38) Statius Thebaid. lib. 7. ver. 816.

" The gaping earth diſclos'd a hideous wound,
" Down ſinks the Prophet, and his horſes ſtill,
" In act to draw. His arm ſtill ſhakes the ſpear;
" Still holds the reins; all down together go
" To hell.———

He came alive before the fatal ſiſters, who did not break off the thread of his life, till his appearing in the infernal regions, with his chariot, put them in a terrible fright.

Quin cominus ipſa
Fatorum deprenſa colus: viſoque paventes
Augure, tum demum rumpebant ſtamina Parcæ (39).

(39) Id. ib. lib. 8. ver. 11.

" The diſtaff of the fates was then ſurpriz'd;
" Nor did the trembling ſiſters break the thread,
" Before the ſeer appear'd.———

It will not ſeem ſo ſtrange, that I ſhould obſerve how the Poet contradicts himſelf. He ſuppoſes, that Amphiaraüs, a little before he was ſwallowed up, returned to Phœbus all the prophetical enſigns, as things he could not carry along with him to the kingdom of Pluto:

Accipe commiſſum capiti decus, accipe laurus
Quas Erebo deferre nefas (40).

(40) Idem, ibid. lib. 7. ver. 784.

" Receive the honours of my head, the Bays,
" Which cannot lawfully to hell be carried.

In another place he introduces Phœbus owning, that his Prophet came down to hell attired with all the enſigns of his dignity:

Utinam indulgere precanti
Fata darent! en ipſe mei (pudet) irritus arma
Cultoris, frondeſque ſacras, ad inania vidi
Tartara, & in memet verſos deſcendere vultus (41).

(41) Idem, ibid. lib. 9. ver. 652.

" O would the Fates but hear my earneſt pray'r!
" I ſaw but ſaw in vain my Prophet's arms,
" And ſacred leaves, and eyes caſt up to me,
" To hell deſcend.———

Barthius, who detected this contradiction, obſerves that ſeveral ſuch like are to be met with in this Poet's Thebais. *Hoc genus plurima connivet magnanimus hic vates, & duodecim tamen annorum limam referre vult ſuam Thebaidem* (42). i. e. "There are many "ſuch ſlips as theſe in this lofty Poet, notwithſtanding the twelve years he ſpent in correcting of his "*Thebais.*"

(42) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 3. p. 773.

[D] *The Pagans believed that Amphiaraüs returned from hell.*] Some authors affect to ſay, that he diſappeared: Ἀμφιάραος δὲ χανούσης τῆς γῆς ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸ χάσμα μετὰ τοῦ ἁρμάτος, ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο (43). i. e. "Amphiaraüs, when the earth opened, fell into the "chaſm with his chariot, and was ſeen no more." Apollodorus gives the reaſon of his diſappearing, which was, that Jupiter rendered him immortal. Ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἅρματι ... ἐκρύφθη καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν (44). i. e. "He and his chariot were ſeen no "more; for Jupiter made him immortal." This perhaps is what made the Rabbiniſts ſay, that the Pagans alluded to the hiſtory of Enoch. Other authors do not ſcruple to ſpeak plainly, but openly own, that Amphiaraüs died, and really deſcended into the Kingdom of Pluto; but that he afterwards returned to the upper regions. They even pointed out the place of his aſcenſion; which was a fountain near the temple, which the inhabitants of Oropus (45) had built him. This fountain was worſhipped after a very particular manner; for no ſacrifices were offered there; people neither uſed it in purifications, nor for waſhing their hands; but only uſed to throw a piece of gold, or ſilver coined into it, after they had recovered their health by means of the Oracle. Ἔστι δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες αὐτὴν ἐς αὐτὴν, οὐδ' ἐπικαθαρσίοις ἢ χερνίβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες. Νόσου δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου, καθίεσαν ἄργυρον ἀφιᾶσι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραον λέγουσιν ἐκ θεοῦ (46). i. e. "There is a fountain at Oropus, near "the temple, and is called by the name of Amphiaraüs, in which they neither ſacrifice, nor think it "lawful to uſe the water to purify or waſh the hands. "Thoſe only who have recovered of ſome diſeaſe "by the advice of an Oracle caſt a gold or ſilver "coin into the fountain; for it is ſaid that Amphiaraüs roſe here when he was made a God." It is to be obſerved, that the reſurrection of Amphiaraüs was not univerſally believed, and ſome were not afraid to deny it in the public theatre; as appears from the following verſe quoted by Tully:

(43) Diod. Siculus, lib. 4.

(44) Apollodorus lib. 3. p. 193.

(45) A city ſituate between Attica and Bœotia.

(46) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 33.

Audiſne hæc, Amphiarae, ſub terram abdite (47).

(47) Cicero *Tuſcul. Quæſtion.* lib. 2. *ſub finem*

" Do'ſt thou hear this, O Amphiaraüs, that art hid " under the earth."

[E] *Temples were dedicated to him; his Oracle became very famous.*] The inhabitants of Oropus were the firſt who ranked him among the Gods, building him a temple diſtant twenty furlongs from their city, in the place where he had been ſwallowed up with his chariot (48). We have obſerved already (49), that authors do not agree about the true ſituation of the place, where that happened. But let that be as it will, all Greece approved the proceeding of the Oropians in deifying the Prophet, and agreed that his Oracle was to be conſulted in the temple they had built him (50). What greatly recommended him to the eſteem of the people, was, as we are told by Pauſanias, a Collection of Oracles in hexameter verſe, in which the author of that Collection had inſerted the Prophet's anſwer relating to the war of Thebes. This gained him a great deal of credit; for men were anciently poſſeſſed with this opinion, viz. that ſuch only, as were inſpired by Apollo, anſwered *viva voce*, that is by way of Oracle, to thoſe who came to conſult with them. The whole Province of the other Diviners was to interpret dreams, and declare to the people what was prognoſticated by the birds and victims. But how great ſoever was the advantage our Amphiaraüs gained thereby over his brethren; yet people were not perſuaded that he was to be put upon a level with Apollo; for they came to conſult with him only in order to have an anſwer while they were aſleep; which proves, that in his life time he applied himſelf chiefly to the interpretation of dreams. This ſeems to me the ſubſtance of what Pauſanias relates (51); which, as I find, has not been well tranſlated by Romulus Amaſæus, to whom I prefer Vigenere, tho' I cannot ſay, that his tranſlation is very exact. I ſhall give it ſuch as it is. *Jophon the Cnoſſian one of the Interpreters of the Oracles, publiſhed thoſe of Amphiaraüs in hexameter verſe; which gained him the people to ſuch a degree, that all on a ſudden they flocked to him from all parts; for not one of the Soothſayers, except ſuch as were inſpired by Apollo, anſwered as Oracles; their province being either to interpret dreams, or to judge of future events by the flying of the birds, or the bowels of the victims. By this it ſeems, that Amphiaraüs applied himſelf chiefly to foretel things by dreams. From whence we may infer, that, after his apotheoſis, he gave riſe to this manner of divining. And ſuch as conſult him ought in the firſt place to be duly purified, which purification, or cleanſing, conſiſts in offering a proper ſacrifice to this God, and performing the ceremonies that are required either by him, or the others, whoſe names are written there. After this, and the ſacrificing of a weather, they ſpread his ſkin on the ground, and ſleep on it, expecting*

(48) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 33.

(49) In remark [B].

(50) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 33.

(51) Idem, ibid.

of this new God (*b*), were very famous. He was believed to excel chiefly in divining by dreams [*F*]; but that was not all, for he was the first that divined by fire. He was so provoked against his wife, that he enjoined the children he had by her to put her to

(*b*) *See* Benoit upon Pindar, Od. 7. Olymp. pag. 143.

petting the answer of the God, which is given to them, while asleep (52). Philostratus will acquaint us with some other ceremonies that were practised there. *The Gods*, says he (53), *used to give answers to such as are sober. For there was in Greece a Prophet, called Amphiaraüs. Here the King interrupted him, saying, perhaps you mean the son of Jocleus, who in returning from Thebes, was swallowed up by the earth: the very person, answered Apollonius; who to this day gives Oracles in the territory of Athens, and sends dreams to those who demand them, on what subjects they please. But the Priests of the country enjoin those, who go thither for advice, to abstain one whole day from all manner of victuals, and three from wine; to the end that, their thoughts being thus purified, they may better understand, and hearken to the reasons of what will be revealed to them in their sleep. Now were wine a soporiferous medicine, Amphiaraüs would, no doubt, have prescribed it to such as were to dream; and ordered that they should not go down into the most retired parts of the temple, where answers were given, till they had filled their bellies with as much victuals as they could hold, and drank wine so as to be as full of that liquor, as a bottle.* Remember, that Philostratus assures us, that in Apollonius's time, the Oracle of Amphiaraüs maintained the same reputation it formerly had; tho' Plutarch owns, that all the Oracles of Bœotia (54), and this among the others, had ceased (55). Neither ought we to quibble upon Apollonius's placing this Oracle in Attica, and not in Bœotia, as Plutarch does; for they both speak of the same place; but as the territory of Oropus was the subject of a long dispute between the Athenians and Thebans; the former pretending it belonged to Bœotia, and the latter that it was a part of Attica (56).) Some authors might have placed the temple of Amphiaraüs in Bœotia, and others in Attica. Clemens Alexandrinus is another evidence against Philostratus's Hero, for in objecting to the Pagans the silence of their Oracles, he makes express mention of the Oracle of Amphiaraüs (57). It will not be amiss to observe here by the by, that he also mentions him in another place, which has been corrupted by his translator †, which is as follows: Ἡ τὸν Ἀμφιάρεων τὸν σὺν τοῖς ἑπτὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύσασι μιᾷ γενεᾷ τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως πρεσβύτερον φερόμενον (58). i. e. "Or Amphiaraüs, who with the seven persons "that went to the Theban war is reckoned one "generation older than the taking of Troy."

(52) Vigenere upon Philostratus's *Amphiaraüs*, p. 400. of vol. 1.

(53) Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius*, lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 478. I make use of Vigenere's translation.

(54) Plutarch. *de Oraculorum defectu*, p. 411.

(55) He excepts that of Leadea.

(56) *See* Pausanias, lib. 1. p. 33; and Strabo, l. 9. pag. 275.

(57) Clemens Alexandrin. *in Protrept.* p. 9.

† He translates πρεσβύτερον *posterior* instead of *prior*.

(58) Idem, *Stromat.* lib. 1. pag. 334. c. *Barthius on Statius*, tom. 2. pag. 138, adopts the translator's mistake, and ascribes it to Clemens Alexandrinus.

We learn from Herodotus in what esteem this Oracle was had; for he tells us, that of all the Oracles, which Crœsus King of Lydia, commanded to be consulted, this, and that of Delphi, were the only ones that gave proper answers, and received presents of that Prince (59). It is somewhat strange he should add, that the presents sent by Crœsus to the Oracle of Amphiaraüs, were placed in the temple of Apollo Ismeniensis, in the city of Thebes (60). Why were they not consecrated in Amphiaraüs's own temple, or, at least, sent to any other city, rather than to Thebes, whose inhabitants were upon very dishonourable terms with that oracle? For they were not allowed to sleep in Amphiaraüs's temple, which was the only means of consulting with him about future events. The reason of this prohibition was, that Amphiaraüs having left the Thebans to choose, whether they would be served by him as their Diviner, or as their companion in war, they chose to have him in the latter capacity; all this we read in Herodotus (61), who makes so clear a distinction between the temples of Apollo Ismeniensis and Amphiaraüs, that it is amazing how Barthius could say, that they were one and the same temple (62). Herodotus relates what I have just now hinted at, in speaking of an European who was sent by Mardonius to consult the oracles of Greece. But by what dream Amphiaraüs notified to the King of Persia's General his bad destiny, is what Herodotus knew not. Plutarch, who was better informed, relates it (63). We are told by some authors, that Amphiaraüs used to appear to such as came to advise with him. Ἀμφιάραος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τροφώνιος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ χρησμῳδοῦσί τε καὶ φαίνονται· ἄστροις δὲ παντάχοῦ τῆς γῆς διατάττουσιν ὥσπερ ἀστέρες περίπολοι (64). That is, "Amphiaraüs and "Trophonius in Bœotia and Amphilochus in Ætolia "give revelations, and appear, and rule over all the "earth, like travelling constellations." If I am not mistaken, they mean, that he was seen in dreams. But let that be as it will, it is certain, that no less veneration was paid to his Oracle, than to that of Delphi, of Dodona, or of Jupiter Hammon, as Valerius Maximus assures us. *Eadem gens summo consensu ad Amphiaraüm decorandum incubuit, locum in quo humatus est, in formam conditionemque templi redigendo, atque inde oracula capi instituendo. Cujus cineres idem honoris possident quod Pythicæ Cortinæ, quod aheno Dodonæ, quod Hammonis fonti datur* (65). That is, "The same people were earnest about "honouring Amphiaraus, by making a temple "where he sunk into the ground, and instituting "an Oracle in it. His ashes are in the same "repute with the Pythian tripod, the cauldron "of Dodona, or the fountain of Hammon." Tully says less, but however mentions it with commendation. *Amphiaraüm sic honoravit fama Græciæ, Deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab ejus solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur* (66). "Greece paid "such honours to Amphiaraüs, that he was account-"ed a God, and the ground where he was buried was "thought oracular.

(61) Idem, l. 8. cap. 134.

(62) Barthius *in Statium*, tom. 2. pag. 137.

(63) Plutarch. *de Oraculorum defectu*, p. 412.

(64) Aristides, *Orat. in Æsculapi. ad. apud* Barthium *in Statium*, tom. 2. p. 138.

(65) Val. Max. lib. 8. *sub fin.*

(66) Cicero *de Divinat.* lib. 1. c. 40.

It is true, there was a temple of Amphiaraüs at Corinth (67), but both Pomponius Mela (68), and Solinus (69) are mistaken, in asserting that there was one at Rhamnus too, for it was not there, but near Oropus, as I have already observed, and can prove from Dicæarchus, Strabo, Pausanias, &c. See Isaac Vossius's *Commentaries on Pomponius Mela*, p. 151.

(67) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 65.

(68) Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. c. 3.

(69) Solinus, cap. 7.

[*F*] *He excelled chiefly in divining by dreams; but that was not all, for he was the first that divined by fire.*] As to this invention, I can only quote the following words of Pliny. *Aruspicium Delphus*, (invenit) *ignispicia Amphiaraüs, auspicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum & somniorum Amphyctyon* (70). That is, "Delphus was the au-"thor of foretelling by the altars, Amphiaraüs by "fire, Tiresias of Thebes by birds, and Amphyctyon "by strange sights and dreams." This prerogative is no where mentioned by Statius, though he often takes occasion to commend Amphiaraüs for his skill in foretelling future events by divers ways.

(70) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56.

Quis mihi fidereos lapsus, mentemque sinistri
Fulguris, aut cæsis saliat quod numen in extis,
Quando iter, unde moræ, quæ sævis utilis armis,
Qua pacem magis hora velit, quis jam omne futurum
Proferet, aut cum quo volucres mea fata loquentur (71)?

That is,

"Who shall inform me what the falling Stars
"Or left hand thunders bode; who shall declare
"From victims entrails when I should begin
"My journey, when desist; what time is best
"For war, and what for peace; who shall foretell
"My future destiny, to whom shall birds
"My fate reveal?

(71) Statius, *Thebaid.* lib. 8. ver. 177.

So he expresses the grief of the whole army, on occasion of Amphiaraüs's death. In another place he writes thus:

Quantum subito diversus ab illo
Qui tripodes, lauruſque sequi, qui doctus in omni
Nube salutato volucrem cognoscere Phœbo (72).

That is,

"How suddenly unlike
"The Prophet that on Phœbus' laurel'd shrine
"Attended and explain'd the boding song
"Of all the feather'd kind."

(72) Id. ib. lib. 7. ver. 706.

I forbear quoting other passages of the same nature, but

to death as ſoon as their age could allow them (*i*). Great commendations have been beſtowed upon him, and this amongſt others, that he ſtudied not only to appear an honeſt man, but to be ſo [*G*]. A proper ſubject for reflections [*H*]. Apollodorus, I think is the only author who counts him among the Argonauts (*k*); for he is not ranked

(*i*) This was put in execution by his ſon Alcmeon; ſee his Article.

(*k*) Apollodorus, lib. 1. pag. 53.

but cannot help obſerving that Statius lays no ſtreſs on the chief prerogative of that diviner, which was to divine by dreams, as has been already ſaid (73). He was the firſt that abſtained from beans, as prejudicial to that ſcience (74). Πρῶτος δὲ ἀπέσχετο κυάμων Ἀμφιάραος διὰ τὴν δι' ὀνείρων μαντείαν (75). It will not be amiſs to acquaint the reader, how Amphiaraüs became a Prophet. He went into a certain houſe as great a ſtranger to future events as any other, but came out of it endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy. From that time the houſe was ſhut up, and called the *Prophetic Houſe*. For it had the ſame virtue as to Prophecies, that Mount Parnaſſus has, according to Poets, with regard to verſes;

(73) In remark [*E*].

(74) See remark [*I*] of the article PYTHAGORAS.

(75) Geoponicor. lib. 2. *apud* Barthium *in Statium*, tom. 2. pag. 137.

Nec in bicipiti ſomniaſſe Parnaſſo
Memini, ut ſic derepente Poëta prodirem (76).
That is,
" I don't remember that I ever ſlept
" On high Parnaſſus, that I ſhould become
" A Poet on a ſudden.

(76) Perſius *in Prolog.* ver. 2.

There a man became a Prophet in one night; ſo that one might ſay on that occaſion, good luck came to one ſleeping. You will find in the paſſage I ſhall now quote, that this change happened to Amphiaraüs at Phlia (77). Ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔστιν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. εἰς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάρεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς, μαντεύεσθαι τότε πρῶτον, ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ἤρξατο. τέως δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάραος τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἰδιώτης τε καὶ οὐ μάντις. κλῆσαι δὲ τὸ οἴκημα ἀπὸ τούτου συγκλείσαι τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον (78). That is, " Behind the market-place there is a houſe " called *Prophetic* by the Phiaſians. Amphiaraüs " coming hither, and ſleeping one night in it, be- " gan immediately to propheſy, as the Phiaſians re- " port, though before he was ignorant and unin- " ſpired. From that time the houſe has been ſhut " up."

(77) A city of Peloponneſus.

(78) Pauſanias, lib. 2. p. 56.

[*G*] *Great commendations have been beſtowed upon him, and this amongſt others, that he ſtudied not only to appear an honeſt man, but to be ſo.*] Adraſtus in his complaints on the death of Amphiaraüs, declares that he has loſt the eye of his army, a man equally fit for propheſying and fighting.

Ποθέω στρατιᾶς
Ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, ἀμφότερον,
Μαντίν τ' ἀγαθὸν
Καὶ δορὶ μάρναται (79).

(79) Pindar. Od. 6. Olympior. ver. 26.

And indeed he was not one of thoſe Prophets that act only with the mind; his arm was formidable too, and he excelled in bodily exerciſe. He is ſaid to have made a horrible ſlaughter of his enemies the very day he died.

Ardet inexpleto ſævi Mavortis amore,
Et fruitur dextra, atque anima flagrante ſuperbit.
Hic hominum caſus lenire & demere fatis
Jura frequens, quantum ſubito diverſus ab illo, (80).
Innumeram ferro plebem ceu letifer annus,
Aut jubar adverſi grave ſideris, immolat umbris
Ipſe ſuis (81).

(80) What is wanting here has been quoted in the laſt remark, quotation (72).

(81) Statius, *Theb.* lib. 7. ver. 703.

" With love of war his ſoul is all on fire,
" He glories in his arm and daring mind:
" Tho' us'd unhappy mortals to relieve
" From threatning death. How ſuddenly unlike.

" ——— As by a blaſt
" Of ſickly Autumn or the fatal ray
" Of ſome malignant Star, whole multitudes
" Before him fall, a grateful ſacrifice.

In one word, he was a Prophet of that bravery and valour which became one who was inveſted both with the royal and prophetical dignity. Statius ſtyles him the Prophetic King:

Jamque erit illa dies, quo te quoque conſcia fati
Templa colant, reddatque tuus reſponſa ſacerdos.
Talia fatidico *peragunt ſolemnia* Regi (82).

(82) Idem, ibid. lib. 8. ver. 206.

" In future times ſhall holy temples riſe
" And own thy fate: then ſhall thy Prieſt declare
" Thy Oracles, and the prophetic King
" With ſolemn rites adore. ———

As to his dexterity in thoſe exerciſes, wherein the Greeks thought it ſo glorious to carry the prize, I ſhall only ſay, that our Amphiaraüs won it both in the races, and the Play of the Diſcus, when the Nemean ſports were celebrated by the Heads of the army on their march againſt Thebes (83). The following words of Steſichorus deſerve notice:

Θρώσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος
Ἄκοντι δ' νίκασεν Μελέαγρος (84).

(83) Apollodor. *Bibliot.* lib. 3. p. 189.

(84) Athen. lib. 4. c. 21. p. 172.

As to the noble accompliſhments of his ſoul, ſee the eighth book of the *Thebais*, and the Tragedy of Æſchylus entitled, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, *Septem contra Thebas*, out of which I ſhall quote a paſſage in the remark [*I*], and three fine verſes in the next remark. See alſo the great commendations that are beſtowed on him in regard of modeſty in a fragment of the Emperor Julian (85).

(85) Pag. 303, of Julian's works Leipſick edition 1696.

[*H*] *A proper ſubject for reflections.*] We ſhall firſt relate the action: " Ariſtides (86) was never elated " by any honours he received, nor dejected by the " contempt or denials he met with, but always ſe- " rene and eaſy; it being his fixed opinion that a " man ought to be entirely at his country's com- " mand, and ready to ſerve it on all occaſions with- " out the leaſt proſpect of honour or profit. Thence " it came to paſs that the day a Play of Æſchylus, " entitled *The ſeven Leaders againſt Thebes*, was act- " ed, at the ſpeaking of theſe verſes made by the " Poet in praiſe of Amphiaraüs,

(86) Plutarch. *in vita Ariſtidis*, pag. 320. I uſe Amyot's tranſlation. See the ſame Plutarch *in Apophtheg.* pag. 186. & *de audiendis Poetis*, pag. 32. [We make uſe of the tranſlation printed at London in 1727.]

" *He aims at real worth without the ſhow,*
" *Reaping the fruits that in a rich mind grow,*
" *Whence ſage advice and noble actions flow;*

" The eyes of all the audience were turned upon " Ariſtides, as the perſon to whom this great enco- " mium was moſt applicable. For he had ſo ſtrong " an inclination to juſtice as not to be influenced " againſt it by favour or friendſhip; nor, which is " ſtill more difficult, by anger and malice." This is the higheſt commendation a man can deſerve. If Amphiaraüs deſerved it, he was worthy of admiration: Ariſtides, who was thought to deſerve it, was an incomparable man. Here follow the words of Æſchylus in praiſe of Amphiaraüs, in the Tragedy entitled Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, *Septem contra Thebas*, Verſ. 598.

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.
Βαθείαν ἄλοκα δίκης φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.

We ſhall make a few reflections on a ſubject that affords a great many. And I, If the Pagans did not practiſe true virtue, they had at leaſt a right notion of it; for they have celebrated ſuch as, in their virtuous actions, had neither riches or praiſes in view, and deſpiſed thoſe who practiſed virtue in order to be eſteemed, commended, and applauded by the Public. Let a man be as void of ſelf-intereſt as he pleaſes, with regard to profit, riches, and employments; if he is not equally diſintereſted as to praiſes, he has made no great ſtep to virtue, but only avoided the moſt viſible ſnares that lye in his way; he is not yet cured of all ſelf-love, nor does he enjoy full liberty; his chains are only ſomewhat more looſe: in one word, he is in the number of thoſe, whom Mr. Eſprit deſcribes in his Treatiſe on the falſeneſs of human virtues. If we apply to all our virtues

ed among them either by Apollonius, Hyginus, or Valerius Flaccus. He is counted among the wiſe men who have had the misfortune of being engaged in enterpriſes that were managed by perſons of no conduct [*I*]. A very deplorable, but too frequent a caſe. The

the fine rule Seneca offers us, with regard to the virtue of liberality, they will prove true, and without it nothing but mere ſhadows of virtue. That great Philoſopher in anſwering this objection; "Muſt "not the perſon, upon whom I have beſtowed a be- "nefit, know from what hand it came," writes thus: *Quid ergo? ille neſciet à quo acceperit? Primum neſciat, ſi hoc ipſum beneficii pars eſt. Deinde multa alia faciam, multa tribuam, per quæ intelligat & illius auctorem. Denique ille neſciat accepiſſe ſe; ego ſciam me dediſſe. Parum eſt, inquis. Parum ſi fœnerare cogitas; ſed ſi dare quo genere accipienti maxime profuturum erit, dabis: contentus eris te teſte. Alioquin non benefacere delectabat, ſed videri benefeciſſe. Volo, inquis, ſciat: debitorem quæris; volo utique ſciat: quid ſi illi utilius eſt neſcire? ſi honeſtius, ſi gratius? non in aliam partem abibis? volo ſciat: ita tu hominem non ſervabis in tenebris? non nego, quoties patitur res, percipiendum gaudium ex accipientis voluntate: ſin adjuvari illum & oportet, & pudet; ſi quod præſtamus, offendit, niſi abſconditur; beneficium in acta non mitto. Quidni? ego illi ſum indicaturus me dediſſe; cum inter prima præcepta ac maxime neceſſaria ſit, ne unquam exprobrem, imo ne admoneam quidem? Hæc enim beneficii inter duos lex eſt alter ſtatim obliviſci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam* (87). That is, "Let him not know it, if "that be any part of the benefit; and then I will "do many things, and give much that he may not be "ignorant of the author of it. Laſtly he may not know, "that he has received it, but I may know that I "have beſtowed it. You will ſay this is nothing. "I grant it, if you intend to get by it; but if you "deſign to beſtow in ſuch a manner as ſhall be of "the greateſt benefit to the receiver, you will be "content with your own teſtimony. Otherwiſe "you do not delight in doing good, but in ſeem- "ing to do ſo. You would have him know it, you "ſay: why then you want a debtor. You would "have him know it: but what if it is more for "his advantage not to know it? what if it is more "honourable or more agreeable? will you not then "alter your mind? But you would have him know "it; therefore you would not ſave a man in the "dark. I do not deny but that as often as the thing "will bear, there is a ſatisfaction ariſing from the "pleaſure of the receiver: but if he muſt both be "aſſiſted and be out of countenance; if what we "do offends unleſs it be concealed, I would not "make my favour public. But ſhould I let him "know that I did it, when it is one of the firſt and "moſt neceſſary precepts, that I ſhould not reproach "him with it, nor ſo much as put him in mind of "it? For this is the mutual law of benefits between "two perſons, that one ſhould inſtantly forget that "he gave it, and that the other ſhould never forget "that he received it."

(87) Seneca, *de Benefic.* l. 2. cap. 10.

II, It ſeldom happens that glory is the only reward, which thoſe propoſe to themſelves, who are not ſatisfied with the bare teſtimony of their conſcience. If we look narrowly into the actions of ſuch as aſpire both to be, and appear, honeſt men, we ſhall find, that their ambition has ſomething elſe in view, beſides the joining of the reality of virtue with the appearance of it. Praiſes by themſelves are of ſmall or no ſubſtance, and therefore inſufficient to content their deſires: credit alone ſeems to them too ſpiritual a reward, unleſs it be helped, and, as it were, incorporated with the conveniencies of life. They therefore come ſoon to employ the approbation of the Public as a means to raiſe a favourable opinion of their virtue in the minds of thoſe, who diſpoſe of the employments, that they may thereby be put in a way to acquire riches, and content all their paſſions. So that the ſafeſt way to maintain a purity of mind, is to follow the foot-ſteps of Amphiaraüs and Ariſtides. Endeavour to be an honeſt man, without minding, whether or no you are look'd upon as ſuch. For the deſire of being reckoned a man of virtue is attended with more dangerous conſequences, than you imagine.

III, It is a ſaying, commonly aſcribed to Socrates, that the ſhorteſt way to virtue is, to ſtrive to be in ourſelves ſuch as we are willing others ſhould take us to be. *Semper id egiſti, ut qualis haberi velles talis eſſes: quam viam ad gloriam proximam & quaſi compendiariam Socrates eſſe dicebat* (88). i. e. "You "have always taken pains to be ſuch an one as you "have deſired to be accounted: which Socrates ſaid "was the moſt ready and compendious way to glo- "ry." I ſhall add the very words of Socrates: Σωτομωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδός, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅτι ἂν βούλῃ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γιγνέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι (89). i. e. "It is the eaſieſt and "beſt way, my Critobulus, to be that good man you "would fain ſeem to be." This is a very wiſe and judicious piece of advice; for the deſire of having a fair outſide, and being publicly commended, is ſo ſtrong, and common even to thoſe, who are not very fond of being really virtuous, that we may depend upon our attaining to a high degree of virtue, if we ſtudy to make the real ſtate of our ſoul anſwer the opinion we deſire others ſhould entertain of us. However we muſt own that this way to virtue is not quite ſo free from all ſelf-intereſt, as that which was trod by Amphiaraüs. Appear to be an honeſt man, and be one: enjoy the reputation of a man of virtue, but take care to deſerve it; don't lay claim to praiſes you are unworthy of: This is what Socrates adviſes, who is not for depriving us of the praiſes that are due to virtue. But Amphiaraüs would have ſaid; Endeavour to be virtuous, without caring what opinion men may entertain of you, whether they commend you, or not.

(88) Petrus Alcyonius, *in Medice Legato priore, circa finem.*

(89) Xenophontis *Memorab.* lib. 2. pag 474. and Charpentier's *Tranſlation*, pag. 160. See alſo Plato, Epiſt. 4. p. 1274; Cicero's *Offices* book 2. ch. 12. pag. 227. what Poſtel has ſaid in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his *Hiſtoires Orientales*, upon this verſe of the 16th Epiſtle of the 1ſt book of Horace. *Tu rectè vivis, ſi curas eſſe, quod audis.*

IV, You may perhaps ſay, that the one is never found without the other, and that, if the reputation of an honeſt man is often gained by falſe virtues, that is, by diſguiſing a wicked mind under a fair out-ſide, it may be ſtill more ſafely obtained by real virtues; concluding from thence, that Amphiaraüs, and others of his character, piqued themſelves on deſpiſing what they well knew they ſhould certainly obtain. To this I anſwer, that it is frequently an eaſier matter to be an honeſt man, than to paſs for one; and that there is no manner of connexion between the one and the other. You may be an honeſt man by only withſtanding your own paſſions; but to have the character of one, you muſt ſtrive againſt, and triumph over, the paſſions of other men. You may happen to have ſome no leſs paſſionate than crafty enemies, who will diſperſe a thouſand ſlanderous reports highly prejudicial to your reputation: if thoſe who hear them be credulous, they likewiſe become diſperſers of calumnies; if incredulous, they raiſe difficulties againſt them, and thereby ſhew your enemies how they ought to give an appearance of truth to their falſe reports. In the mean time you know nothing of the matter; and tho' you did, could you go about making apologies from place to place? Being an honeſt man, as I ſuppoſe you are, how can you be acquainted with the cunning tricks of your adverſaries, and know in what fraudulent manner men of vulgar minds are to be dealt with? Would you not rather chooſe to leave them in their error, than to loſe your time in diſputing every inch of ground with your adverſaries. All the pains you could take would not be ſufficient to get the better of the bad impreſſions their malice had occaſioned in the minds of credulous men, ill inclined, and more apt to be prevailed upon by men of that character, than by all the eloquence and reaſon you could uſe.

We ſhall obſerve in the remark [*L*] of the article of CÆSAR, that Salluſt beſtowed upon Cato Uticenſis the ſame elogium Æſchylus gives to our Amphiaraüs.

[*I*] *He is counted among the wiſe men who have had the misfortune to be engaged in enterprizes that were managed by perſons of no conduct.*] It is no matter whether the words of the Commentary on this text be mine or not. I ſhall therefore take the liberty to uſe the obſolete expreſſions of one of Philoſtratus's

The manner in which he comforted a mother, who lamented the death of her ſon [K], requires a remark. I ſhould be glad to know the particulars of the action which the Partizans

(90) Vigenere upon *Philoſtratus's Amphiaraüs*, pag. 403, 404, of the 1ſt vol. edition in 4to.

loſtratus's Commentators (90). *We may obſerve here a clear inſtance of our poverty and miſery, viz. that men of great wiſdom and probity pay dear for the raſh undertakings of the fooliſh and perverſe: that ſuch a raſh, ill-humoured, and quarrelſom fellow as Tydeüs, a diſturber of the publick peace and quiet, bore, though a ſtranger ſuch a ſway, as to carry on a war, no ways neceſſary, and which occaſioned their univerſal ruin, againſt all the remonſtrances, predictions, and warnings of one, who not only was the wiſeſt man of Greece, but even looked upon as a Prophet. And that thoſe alſo who oppoſed ſuch an undertaking with probable and very juſt reaſons, had a great ſhare in the dangers they had been brought into by the raſhneſs of others. So true it is, that bad councils are generally preferred to good ones. Hence Æſchylus in his Tragedy* de Septem ad Thebas, *where he introduces Etheocles bewailing the wiſe and good Amphiaraüs, had reaſon to exclaim thus:*

Φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὀρνίθοις βροτοὺς
Δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστάτοις.
Ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
Κάκιον, οὐδὲν καρπὸς ἐκ κομιστέος: &c.

" *O what a misfortune is it,* ſays he, *that an honeſt* " *man ſhould have any thing to do with wicked and* " *deteſtable mortals! Nothing in the world is worſe* " *than bad company, from which no advantage can* " *be reaped..... This Prophet* (*I mean the ſon of* " *Oicleus*) *a man of prudence, juſtice, ſincerity, and* " *probity, a great foreteller of things to come, be-* " *cauſe he has to do with wicked and preſumptuous* " *men, deprived of all good ſenſe amd underſtanding,* " *who prepare to come againſt us with a great equi-* " *page, ſhall be drawn with them* (*this being Jupi-* " *ter's pleaſure*) *into ruin and deſtruction.*" This is what Vigenere writes. We muſt not imagine that Amphiaraüs hoped the juſtice of the cauſe (91) would make amends for the bad conduct of the leaders, for he was too wiſe a man to entertain any ſuch thoughts, knowing that all human helps are as neceſſary to carry on, with ſucceſs, a juſt, as an unjuſt war (92); and that thoſe who defend a juſt cauſe, are generally got the better of, if they are not as well provided with them, as thoſe who ſtand up for a bad one. He is therefore, with great reaſon, propoſed as an example of the ſacrifice a man muſt make, on ſome occaſions, of his own prudence or life to other conſiderations. Read the following words of Tully: *Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus ſum deeſſe Pompeij ſaluti, cum ille aliquando non defuiſſet meæ. Itaque vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, ſic ego prudens & ſciens, ad peſtem ante oculos poſitam ſum profectus* (93). But to return to our ſubject; we may with reaſon reproach our Prophet with the diſproportion of his lights, and turn them into ridicule. He foreſaw that he ſhould be killed, if he went to the war; but he did not foreſee that he ſhould go, and that, in ſpite of all his precautions, he ſhould be forced to engage in that enterpriſe (94).

(91) In this war the Thebans were in the wrong; and nevertheleſs, they had the battle prove advantageous to them.

(92) See remark [C] in the article BRUTUS (MARCUS).

(93) Cicero *Ep.* 6. lib. 6. *ad Familiar.*

[K] *The manner in which he comforted a mother, who lamented the death of her ſon, requires a remark.*] Plutarch, after ſuggeſting the reaſons that are proper to be uſed to comfort ſuch as are grieved for the untimely death of their children adds (95), " And therefore methinks that Amphiaraüs in a cer- " tain Tragedy of a Poet did not impertinently and " without good purpoſe, comfort the mother of " Archimorus, who took it to the heart and grieved " exceſſively that her ſon a young infant died before " the ordinary time: for thus he ſaith unto her;

" *Il ne fut one homme de mere né*
" *Qui n'ait eſté en ſes jours fortuné*
" *Diverſement; il met ores ſur terre*
" *De ſes enfans, ores il en enterre,*
" *Lui-meſme apres en fin s'en va mourant;*
" *Et toutes fois les hommes vont plorant*
" *Ceux qui dedans la biere en terre ils portent;*
" *Combien qu'ainſi comme les eſpies ſortent*
" *D'elle, qui ſont puis apres moiſſonnez:*
" *Auſſi faut-il que les uns nouveaux nez*
" *Viennent en eſtre, & les autres en iſſent,*
" *Qu' eſt il beſoin que les hommes gemiſſent*
" *Pour tout cela, qui doit ſelon le cours*
" *De la nature ainſi paſſer tous jours?*
" *Il n'y a rien grief a ſoufrir, ou faire,*
" *De ce qui eſt a l'homme neceſſaire.*

That is,

" No man there is of woman's body born,
" But in his days much travel he doth bear.
" Children ſome die the parents long beforn,
" And are by them enterred: then they reare
" And get young babes, for thoſe that buried were.
" Laſtly, themſelves into the graves do fall,
" This is the courſe, this is the end of all:
" Yet men do for them weep and ſorrow make
" Whoſe bodies they on biere to earth do ſend,
" Although in truth a way direct they take,
" As ears of corn full ripe, which downward bend;
" As ſome begin ſo others make an end.
" Why ſhould men ſigh and grieve at nature's lore,
" What muſt, ſhall be, think it not hard therefore.

In ſhort, every man ought both in meditation within himſelf, and in earneſt diſcourſe alſo with others, to hold this for certain, that the longeſt life is not beſt. Plutarch, methinks, has not quoted theſe verſes in their proper place; for they contain nothing that relates more to the death of young people, than of others: nay, the compariſon of the ears of corn is quite impertinent, in order to appeaſe the ſorrow that is occaſioned by the untimely death of the perſon deceaſed; for, generally ſpeaking, the corn is never cut before it is ripe. It would be far more proper to lay before one on the like occaſions what happens to the fruits of trees; for if we count, for inſtance, the apples, when they are in bud, and turn to count them every week, we ſhall find that their number grows daily leſs and leſs, and that ſeldom the half of them comes to maturity. However Amphiaraüs's reaſons are pretty good; but they contain nothing extraordinary: he even concludes with maxim, that is more proper to exaſperate than to cure the evil (96). We ſhall ſee by and by how his reaſons were criticiſed by the Philoſopher Carneades.

(96) See the art. FOULQUES, remark [E].

Amyot has not tranſlated well the following Greek word of Plutarch, ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ Ἀμφιάρεως, *by Amphiaraüs in a Poem.* This tranſlation plainly inſinuates, that Amphiaraüs wrote a Poem, whereas the meaning of Plutarch is, that Amphiaraüs is introduced by a Poet, uſing the abovementioned reaſons. This Poet is Euripides. *Dicuntur nonnulli in mœrore, cum de hac communi omnium conditione audiviſſent, ea lege nos eſſe natos, ut nemo in perpetuum eſſe poſſe expers mali, gravius etiam tuliſſe. Quocirca Carneades, ut video noſtrum ſcribere Antiochum, reprehendere Chryſippum ſolebat laudantem Euripideum carmen illud:*

Nemo mortalis eſt, quem non attingat dolor,
Morbuſque: multi ſunt humandi liberi;
Rurſus creandi. Morſque eſt finita omnibus.
Quæ generi humano angorem nequicquam afferunt:
Reddenda eſt terræ terra (97). *Tum vita omnibus*
Metenda ut fruges: ſic jubet neceſſitas.

(97) The Greek verſe related by Plutarch *de Conſolatione*, p. 110, and which anſwers this, is the following, Εἰς γῆν φέροντες τὴν δι' ἀναγκαίως ἴχυι. Barthius *in Statium*, tom. 3. pag. 275, conjectures, that we ought to read, Εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν κ' ἀναγκαίως ἴχυι.

(94) See the *Commentary upon the Life of Apollonius*, tranſlated into French by Vigenere, lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 488.

(95) Plutarch. *de Conſolatione ad Apollonium*, pag. 110, 111. I uſe Amiot's tranſlation, tom. 1. p. 786.

[We make uſe of the old Engliſh Tranſlation of Dr. Holland.]

Negabat genus hoc orationis quicquam omnino ad levandam ægritudinem pertinere. Id enim ipſum dolendum eſſe dicebat, quod in tam crudelem neceſſitatem incidiſſemus. Nam illam quidem orationem ex commemoratione alienorum malorum ad malevolos conſolandos eſſe accommodatam (98), i. e. " Some are ſaid to " have been afflicted in their grief, when they heard " of this condition which is common to all, that we " are born on theſe terms, that no man ſhould be " always free from evil. Whereupon Carneades, ac- " cording to our Antiochus, uſed to reprove Chry- " ſippus for commending thoſe verſes of Euripides. " *There is no mortal exempt from pain and diſeaſes:* " *many children are to be buried, and more to be begot-* " *ten: Death is the end of all. This afflicts mankind* " *in*

(98) Cicero *Tuſculan. Quæſtion.* lib. 3. cap. 25.

(l) In the article MELAMPUS, note [F]. * Now Tivoli.

Partizans brought againſt his Prieſts [L]. I have ſhewn elſewhere (l) the inſufficiency of an argument produced to prove the truth of his prophecies. He left a great many children [M], and one of them founded the city of Tibur * in Italy. Pliny obſerves this in relating ſome curious particulars concerning the long life of trees.

" *in vain. Earth is to be reſtored to earth. Life is* " *to be reaped like corn: for ſo it is commanded* " *by fate.* He denied that this kind of diſcourſe " brought any relief to ſorrow. For he ſaid even " that was to be lamented, that we lay under ſuch a " cruel neceſſity. For that this way of talking was " ſuited to comfort the envious, by commemorating " the misfortunes of others." We ſhall now relate the anſwer to this cenſure of Carneades. *Mihi vero longe videtur ſecus. Nam & neceſſitas ferendæ conditionis humanæ, quaſi cum deo pugnare cohibet, admonetque eſſe hominem, quæ cogitatio magnopere luctum levat: & enumeratio exemplorum, non ut animum malevolum oblectet, affertur, ſed ut ille qui mœret, ferendum ſibi id cenſeat, quod videat multos moderate & tranquille tuliſſe* (99). i. e. " But it ſeems quite " otherwiſe to me. For both the neceſſity of bearing " the conditions of human life, reſtrains us from " ſtriving as it were with God, and admoniſhes us " that we are men, the thought of which greatly " eaſes our grief; and the enumeration of examples " alſo is produced, not to delight an envious mind, " but that he who grieves ſhould think that he " ought to bear what he ſees others have born with " moderation and tranquillity.

(99) Idem, ibid.

[L] *The Partizans entered an action againſt his Prieſts.*] I may be allowed to ſtyle thoſe ſo, who were appointed by the Republic of Rome to gather the taxes in the Provinces. The lands conſecrated to the immortal Gods were by the law tax-free; upon this the Prieſts of Amphiaraüs pretended, that the lands belonging to their God were not liable to taxes. *The text of the law,* ſaid they, *without doubt, is clear, and plainly in our favour.* To this the Partiſans anſwered, that the law was not to be underſtood of ſuch lands, becauſe they were conſecrated to a perſon that was dead, who of courſe could by no means be look'd upon as one of the immortal Gods. Tho' this argument was ſuggeſted by avarice, and not zeal for religion (which tax-gatherers never mind in points of intereſt) yet it was of ſuch force, that they ought to have carried the cauſe. However I believe they were caſt. It is a great pity all the writings belonging to that law-ſuit have not been preſerved. This alone has reached us. *An Amphiaraüs Deus erit, & Trophonius? noſtri quidem publicani, cum eſſent agri in Bœotia Deorum immortalium excepti lege cenſoria, negabant immortales eſſe ullos, qui aliquando homines fuiſſent* (100). i. e. " Shall Amphiaraus be a God, and Tro- " phonius? Our Publicans, when ſome lands in " Bœotia were exempted from the tax as belong- " ing to the immortal Gods, denied that any were " immortal who had been men." Had they been allowed to go on, they would have laid a tax on moſt of the Gods, and made no manner of diſtinction between many lands that were conſecrated to them, and thoſe that were held by ſoccage. For what title of divinity or immortality could have held good againſt their exceptions? What favours might they not have expected in the court of a Commiſſioner, who had received orders to ſupport them in their pretenſions? They need only have ſet on foot an inquiſition into falſe worſhip, to be able ſoon to ſee a conſiderable reduction of them. But how could they be ſecure of ſuch Partizans? We ſhall ſee in another place (101) how ſolid the following argument ſeemed to ſeveral Heathens: *He is dead: and therefore ought not to be adored as a God.*

(100) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. c. 19.

(101) In the article TROPHONIUS, remark [A].

[M] *He left a great many children.*] I have made an article upon his two ſons, Alcmeon and Amphilochus. I do not find that any of the Greek Poets, now extant, mention Tiburtus who was likewiſe one of his ſons; tho' they ſpeak of Eurydice, Demonaſſa, and Alcmene, all three daughters to Amphiaraus and Eryphile (102). Let us hear what Pliny writes of Tiburtus. *Tiburtes originem multo ante urbem Romam habent. Apud eos extant ilices tres, etiam Tiburto conditore eorum vetuſtiores, apud quas inauguratus traditur. Faiſſe autem eum tradunt filium Amphiarai, qui apud Thebas obierit una ætate ante Iliacum bellum* (103). i. e. " The Tiburtes had " their beginning long before Rome, they have a- " mongſt them three ever-green oaks, older even " than their founder Tiburtus, who was ſaid to have " had his inauguration under them. They pretend " that he was the ſon of Amphiaraus, who died at " Thebes one generation before the Trojan war." I believe Pliny tells us a falſity; for how could the three oaks, under which Tiburtus, Founder of Tibur, and ſon of Amphiaraus, is ſuppoſed to have been inaugurated, ſtand to the reign of Veſpaſian? It is to be obſerved, that Tiburtus, according to Solinus, was not the ſon, but the grand-ſon of Amphiaraus. I ſhall quote his words in the article TIBUR.

(102) Pauſanias, lib. 5. p. 165.

(103) Plinius, lib. 16. cap. 44.

AMPHILOCHUS, ſon of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle (a) was a celebrated diviner, and accompanied his brother Alcmeon in the ſecond war of Thebes (b), and helped him, as ſome ſay, to make away with Eriphyle (c); but moſt authors are of a contrary opinion. The altar that was conſecrated to him in Athens (d) did not contribute ſo much to the glory of his name, as the Oracle he had at Mallus in Cilicia [A], which city was founded by him, and Mopſus, after the Trojan war (e). Afterwards they fell out, and killed each other in a duel, as I obſerve elſewhere (f). We are told by ſome writers, that

(a) Pauſanias, lib. 5. pag. 165. (b) Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. 195. (c) Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 197. (d) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 33.

(e) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 464. See alſo Cicero *de Divinat.* lib. 1. cap. 40.

(f) In the article MOPSUS.

[A] *The Oracle he had at Mallus in Silicia.*] Pauſanias aſſures us, that this was the trueſt Oracle that was extant in his time. From whence we may infer, that all the Oracles were not ſilenced by the eſtabliſhing of the Chriſtian Religion. Τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς, καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέσταλον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ (1). i. e. " Amphilochus has an altar amongſt the Athenians, " in their very city, and in Mallos a city of Cilicia " an Oracle which is the moſt infallible of any in my " time." The anſwers of this Oracle were given by dreams, Ἐστὶν ἐν Μαλλῷ πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστήριον, καὶ χρᾷ δι' ὀνειράτων (2). " There is at Mallos " a city of Cilicia, an Oracle of Amphilochus, which " gives anſwers by dreams." Such as came to adviſe with the Oracle uſed to paſs a night in the temple, and that night's dream was the anſwer they came for. Dion Caſſius mentions a picture done by order of Sextus Condianus, and repreſenting the anſwer he received of the Oracle in the reign of the Emperor Commodus (3). The following paſſage out of Lucian will convince us, that in his time Amphilochus was look'd upon as a great Prophet. Ὅποτε γὰρ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπανήειν οἴκαδε, ἀκούων τὸ ἐν Μαλλῷ τοῦτο μαντεῖον, ἐπιφανέστατον τι, καὶ ἀληθέστατον εἶναι, καὶ χρᾶν ἐναργῶς πρὸς ἕπος ἀποκρινόμενον, οἷς ἂν ἐγγράψας τὶς εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον παραδῷ τῷ προφήτῃ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐν παράπλῳ πειραθῆναι τοῦ χρηστηρίου, καὶ τὰ περὶ μελλόντων συμβουλεύσασθαι τῷ Θεῷ (4). i. e. " When I " returned home from Egypt, hearing that the Ora- " cle at Mallos was very perſpicuous and very true, " and that it was ſo punctual, that it anſwered to a " word whatſoever was delivered to the Prophet in " writing; I thought it would be right for me to " try the Oracle, as I ſailed by it, and conſult the " God in ſomething relating to futurity." Obſerve the circumſtance related by Lucian; viz. that the queſtions were propoſed to the Oracle of Amphilochus in writing. It would be to no purpoſe to ſay, that Lucian himſelf forged the account he gives in that work; for ſuch an objection no ways enervates the force of my proof, it being plain Lucian would never

(1) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 33.

(2) Xiphilin. *in Epitome Dionis*, p. 285, 286.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Lucianus *in Philopſeude*, pag. 500. tom. 2.

that Amphilochus was killed by Apollo (*g*). He was both a King and a Prophet (*b*), for he reigned at Argos. It is true, he could not maintain himſelf in that Kingdom, but went out of it diſcontented, and built a city in the Bay of Ambracia [*B*]. Livy is guilty of a miſtake in a paſſage I ſhall quote [*C*]. There are ſome things in Moreri which deſerve to be cenſured [*D*]. We muſt not confound our Amphilochus with the other,

(*g*) Strabo, lib. 14. p. 465.
(*b*) Cicero *de Divinat.* lib. 1. c. 40.

ver have ſaid, that the Oracle of Amphilochus was very famous, had no one come to conſult it for a hundred years before that time. This is Mr. Van Dale's anſwer to this objection (5). He quotes alſo another paſſage from the Hiſtory of the falſe Diviner Alexander, in which Lucian atteſts, that the Oracle of Mallus was very famous. He might have produced a third paſſage, which I think is ſo clearly in favour of this remark, that I ſhall ſet it down at length. Τὸν Τροφώνιον, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ ὁ μάλιστά μοι ἀποπνίγεις τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον. ὃς ἐναγοῦς ἀνθρώπου καὶ μητραλοίου υἱὸς ὢν, θεσπιῳδεῖ ὁ γενναῖος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, ψευδόμενος τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ γοητεύων τοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἕνεκα (6). i. e. "I am grievouſly "concerned, O Jupiter, about Trophonius, but "chiefly about Amphilochus: who tho' he was "the ſon of an impious man and a murderer of "his mother, yet he is become a famous Prophet in "Cilicia, uttering many lies, and juggling for two "*oboli*." We ſhall examine below upon what grounds Lucian tells us, that Amphilochus was not the ſon, but the grand-ſon of Amphiaraüs. But in the mean time we may obſerve, that the Oracle of Amphilochus was in repute in Plutarch's time. Ἔτι δ' ἥκμαζεν ἐμοῦ παρόντος καὶ τὸ Μόψου καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεῖον (7). i. e. "Whilſt I was there, the Oracle of "Mopſus and Amphilochus were ſtill flouriſhing."

(5) Van Dale, *de Oraculis*, pag. 98.

(6) Lucian. *in Deorum Concilio*, pag. 957. tom. 2.

(7) Plut. *de Oracular. defectu*, p. 434. C.

[*B*] *He went out of Argos diſcontented, and built a city in the bay of Ambracia*] We are told ſo by an Hiſtorian of great note. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μετὰ τὰ Τροϊκὰ εἰκαδεὺς ἀναχωρήσας, καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω, ἐν τῷ Ἀμβρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας. καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας, καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας (8). i. e. "Amphilochus the ſon of Amphia- "raüs returning home after the Trojan war, and "not being pleaſed with the ſtate of affairs at Ar- "gos, founded Argos Amphilochium and the reſt "of Amphilochia in the bay of Ambracia calling "the city Argos after the name of his own country. "And this city was the biggeſt of all Amphilochia, "and has the moſt powerful inhabitants."

(8) Thucydides, lib. 2.

This paſſage of Thucydides is quoted by Strabo, who adds ſomething to it, viz. that Amphilochus being diſſatisfied with the Government eſtabliſhed at Argos retired into Acarnania, where he inherited his brother's eſtate (9). Thucydides ſays no ſuch thing, and conſequently Strabo is in the wrong to make him ſay it. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he eſpouſes the opinion of Thucydides are miſtaken (10); for he prefers to him the Hiſtorian Ephorus, who wrote, that the city of Argos Amphilochium was built by Alcmeon, who called it after the name of his brother: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν τὸ Ἄργος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν κτίσμα Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (11). i. e. "After Ambracia follows Argos Amphilochium, which "was founded by Alcmæon and his children." It is wrong to ſay, that Apollodorus follows neither Thucydides, or any other author, in aſſerting that Amphilochus was the ſon of Alcmæon (12); for he ſays nothing, but what is atteſted by Euripides (13). It is to be obſerved, he ſays that Amphilochus was adviſed by Apollo to go and live at Argos Amphilochium.

(9) Strabo, l. 7. p. 225.

(10) Berkelius *in Steph. Byzant.* p. 124.

(11) Ephorus, *apud* Strabonem, lib. 7. p. 225.

(12) Berkelius however ſays ſo in his notes upon Steph. Byzantinus, p. 124.
(13) Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 201.

It will not be amiſs to obſerve how Thucydides and Strabo diſagree in their accounts. The one tells us, that Amphilochus, on his return to Argos from the ſiege of Troy, having found affairs in a condition he did not like, retired towards the Bay of Ambracia, where he founded a city (14). The other aſſerts that Amphilochus, having built the city of Mallus in Cilicia, after the ſiege of Troy, returned to Argos; but not liking the poſture of affairs there, returned to Cilicia, where he was killed, and buried (15). Here follow new difficulties. Euripides writes, that Alcmæon became mad, abuſed Manto, the daughter of Tireſias, and had a ſon and daughter by her; the ſon was called Amphilochus, and the daughter Tiſiphone (16). This Amphilochus, by the direction of an Oracle, went to ſettle at Argos Amphilochium. We have already obſerved (17), that Lucian ſuppoſes the Amphilochus, whoſe Oracle was ſo famous at Mallus, to have been the ſon of Alcmæon. Others maintain that he was ſon to Amphiaraüs. In ſo perplexed a matter we have but two ways to take; the one is, to ſay, that there was only one Amphilochus, whoſe hiſtory has been related by halves, that is, by authors who have omitted part of his adventures. The other is, to ſuppoſe, that there have been two Amphilochus's, the one ſon to Amphiaraüs, and the other to Alcmæon, and that the authors have aſcribed ſome things to one which belonged to the other. I am apt to believe, that Amphilochus, who had an Oracle in Cilicia, was ſon to Amphiaraüs, and that the other, who ſettled in Acarnania, was ſon to Alcmæon. The city of Argos in Cilicia was built by Alcmæon and his ſons. Τὸ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν κτίσμα Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (18). This is my firſt proof. Amphilochus, ſon to Alcmæon, was adviſed by the Oracle to go and ſettle in this Argos (19). Here is my ſecond proof; Pauſanias obſerves, that the poſterity of Melampus reigned in Argos, till ſuch time as Amphilochus retired, after the ſiege of Troy, to that country, which was called from him Amphilochia (20). This is Argos Amphilochium and the neighbouring country. Now there are ſix generations between Melampus and this Amphilochus. Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαί τε ἓξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἓξ εἰσὶ μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (21). This therefore cannot have been the ſon of Amphiaraüs, as Pauſanias aſſerts, but of Alcmæon. And indeed Melampus was the father of Antiphates, the father of Oïcleus, the father of Amphiaraüs, the father of Alcmæon, the father of Amphilochus. If you end with Amphilochus, Amphiaraüs's ſecond ſon, you will not find the ſix generations mentioned by Pauſanias; and this is my third proof.

(17) In the foregoing remark, quotation (6).

(18) Strabo, lib. 7. p. 225.

(19) Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. 201.

(20) Pauſanias, lib. 2. p. 60.

(21) Idem, ibid.

[*C*] *Livy is guilty of a miſtake in a paſſage I ſhall quote.*] He miſtook the ſon for the father in the following words of his 14th book. *Inde Oropum Atticæ ventum eſt, ubi pro Deo vates Amphilochus colitur, templumque vetuſtum eſt fontibus riviſque circa amœnum* (22). i. e. "From thence he came to Oropus, "a city of Attica, where Amphilochus is worſhipped "for a God, and has an ancient temple delightful on "account of the ſprings and rivulets about it." Pauſanias, who made ſuch matters his particular ſtudy, and had a great talent that way, deſerves more credit than Livy. Now he not only aſſures us, that the inhabitants of Oropus built a temple to Amphiaraüs; but moreover ſeems to inſinuate, that Amphilochus had no ſhare in the altar, which was divided into ſix parts, each part being conſecrated to ſome Hero, or God (23). We find, that the ſons of Amphilochus, but not Amphilochus himſelf, are named in this diviſion. I own, that the coherency of the diſcourſe may make us believe that Pauſanias did not leave him out: I ſhould willingly correct the Greek text of that author, and inſtead of καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου, read, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀμφιλόχου, ſee the margin (24). But after all, this would not make Amphilochus the God of the temple in Oropus.

(22) Titus Livius lib. 45. cap. 27. It is certain that the principal Deity mentioned by that Hiſtorian was Amphiaraus; he ſhould therefore have ſaid, *ubi pro Deo vates Amphiaraüs*, and not *Amphilochus colitur*; i. e. "where the Pro- "phet Amphia- "raus, and not "Amphilochus "is worſhipped "as a God."
(23) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 33.
(24) Perhaps the words of Pauſanias ought to be tranſlated thus; *ex filiis* (Amphiarai) *Amphilocho.*

[*D*] *There are ſome things in Moreri which deſerve to be cenſured.*] I, Amphilochus is not *a certain Greek Captain mentioned by Homer in his Odyſſey*, for all that Homer ſays is, that Alcmæon and Amphilochus were ſons to Amphiaraüs (25). II, Homer having ſaid ſo, Moreri ought not to have expreſſed himſelf thus; *they ſay, he was the ſon of Amphiaraüs and Eryphile.* He ought to have paid a greater reſpect to Homer's authority; for no writer, how little ſoever converſant with the ancients, would have uſed here the expreſſion, *They ſay.* III, Plutarch's Amphilochus and Homer's are one and the ſame perſon, and therefore Moreri ought not to have made them two. To him belonged the Oracle of Mallus in Cilicia. IV, He ought not to have ſaid, that he

(25) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 15. ver. 248.

other, whom a gooſe fell in love with [*E*]. I ſhall inſert below in a note what Pliny and other authors have wrote upon this ſubject.

brought an anſwer of the Oracle to one Theſpeſius of Solos (26); for this is transforming a God into a Meſſenger. V, He omits a circumſtance, which by all means was to be taken notice of; viz. that Theſpeſius led a good life after his reſurrection. See Plutarch (27).

(26) This fault has been corrected in the Holland editions.

(27) Plutarch. *de Sera numinis vindicta*, p. 563, & *ſeq.*

[*E*] *We muſt not confound him with that Amphilochus, whom a gooſe fell in love with.*] Here follows what Pliny writes upon this ſubject. *Quin & fama amoris* (anſeri) *Ægii dilecta forma pueri Olenii* (28). This is according to Father Hardouin's emendation of the text; for in the other editions we read: *Argis dilecta forma pueri nomine Olenii.* Two faults then had crept into the text; one relating to the place, where the gooſe was in love; the other relating to the youth ſhe was in love with. This happened not at Argos, but in the city of Ægium (29); and the perſon, whom the gooſe was in love with, was called Amphilochus, and not Olenus; tho' he was ſurnamed Olenus, as being a native of Olene. Theſe emendations were ſuggeſted by the following paſſage of Ælian. Ἐν Αἰγίῳ τῆς Ἀχαΐας παιδὸς Ὠλενίου χάνος, ὄνομα Ἀμφιλόχου ἠράσθη χήν. Θεόφραστος λέγει τοῦτο (30). That is, "In Ægeum a city of Achaia, "a gooſe was in love with an Athenian boy, "whoſe name was Amphilochus, and who was "an Athenian by birth. Theophraſtus relates this." The ſame ſtory is related by Athenæus, who quotes Clearchus and Theophraſtus, but there is one fault which has crept into his text; for inſtead of ἐν Ἀργείῳ, you muſt read ἐν Αἰγίῳ. Without this emendation, we ſhould have reaſon to think that Father Hardouin went too far, when he ſaid, *Neque enim Argis, ſed Ægii prope Sicyonem res geſta narratur* (31). Do we not find in the tranſlation of Athenæus, *apud Argivos puerum amavit anſer*, and in the Greek text, ἐν Ἀργείῳ δὲ παιδὸς ἠράσθη χήν (32)?

(28) Plinius, lib. 10. cap. 22.

(29) In Achaia near Sicyon. See Pauſanias, l. 7. pag. 230.

(30) Ælianus, *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 5. cap. 29. See Father Hardouin's *Emendat.* 21. in lib. 10. Plinii p. 474.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Athen. lib. 13. cap. 8. pag. 606.

AMPHITRYON, ſon of Alcæus [*A*], ſon of Perſeus, is leſs known by his own exploits, than by his wife Alcmena's adventure, which has afforded a ſubject to the Comic Poets [*B*]. Alcmena was daughter to Electryon, King of Mycenæ. The ſons of Pterelaus made an irruption into the territories of this Prince, which proved fatal to them, for they all loſt their lives in that expedition (*a*), but they had likewiſe deſtroyed all the ſons of Electryon (*b*). Electryon in making the due preparations for the revenging of their death, truſted Amphitryon with his Kingdom, and his daughter Alcmena, obliging him to take his oath that he would not enjoy her. Thoſe who accompanied the ſons of Pterelaus, had drove along with them all Electryon's flocks into the country of Elis. The flocks were redeemed by Amphitryon, who, in delivering them to their lawful owner, was unfortunately the cauſe of that unhappy Prince's death [*C*]. As this occaſion was greedily laid hold on to drive him out of the country of the Argians, he fled with Alcmena to Creon King of Thebes, and received of him the ceremonies of expiation. Afterwards he prepared for a war againſt the Teleboes [*D*], with a deſign to revenge the death of Alcmena's brothers, ſhe being determined not to marry upon any other terms [*E*]. In order to engage Creon in this expedition, he was forced to deliver him from a fox, which occaſioned a great deal of miſchief. He compaſſed this enterprize by means of Cephalus, who lent him the dog that Procris had brought from the Iſland of Crete. Amphitryon, aſſiſted by divers other nations, entered the territories of Pterelaus, and laid them waſte; but he was chiefly indebted for the good ſucceſs

(*a*) Except one who remained behind to guard the ſhips, Apollodorus, lib. 2. pag. 97.

(*b*) Except Licymnius his natural ſon. Apollodorus, ibid. pag. 99.

[*A*] *Son of Alcæus.*] Apollodorus writes, that Hipponome, the daughter of Menœceus was Amphitryon's mother (1). Others make him the ſon of Lyſidice, daughter to Pelops; and ſome will have him to be born of Laonome, daughter of Guneüs (2). It is to be obſerved, that he was his wife's uncle; for his ſiſter Anaxo was Alcmena's mother (3).

(1) Apollodor. lib. 2. p. 97.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 8. p. 248.

(3) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *He is leſs known by his own exploits than by his wife's adventure, which has afforded a ſubject to the comic Poets.*] Plautus's Comedy, entitled *Amphytrion*, is one of the beſt he wrote, if we will ſtand to the judgment of Madam le Fevre, who tranſlated it into French, with excellent notes. See the laſt remark of the article TELEBOES. One of Moliere's Comedies bears the ſame title, and is reckoned one of his beſt pieces. He has borrowed a great many hints from Plautus, but gives them a new turn; and if by theſe two pieces alone we were to decide the diſpute, that has been on foot ſome time ſince, between the ancients and moderns, I am of opinion, that Mr. Perrault would carry his cauſe. There are ſome delicacies and fine turns in Moliere's *Amphitryon*, which far exceed the jeſts of the Latin *Amphitryon*. How many things was he obliged to ſtrike out of Plautus's Play, which would not have been liked on the French ſtage? With how many new graces and touches was he obliged to ſet it off, in order to make it pleaſe, as it did? If we only compare the two Prologues, we ſhall find, that the modern author is far ſuperior to the other. Lucian furniſhed Moliere with the ſubject of his Prologue, but not with the thoughts; and no good judge will ſay here,

That is,

"Who by tranſlating well and diſpoſing ill,
"Out of a good Greek Play has made a bad Latin
"one."

(4) Terent. Prol. *Eunuch.* ver. 7. *Qui bene vertendo, & eas deſcribendo male, ex Græcis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas* (4).

I beg this may not be taken wrong: for I not only own, that the Amphitryon of Plautus is one of his beſt pieces, but that it is abſolutely, in ſome reſpects, a moſt excellent performance. It was acted, as it ſeems, even in Arnobius's time. *Ponit animos Jupiter, ſi Amphitryo fuerit actus pronunciatuſque Plautinus* (5). I wiſh the Amphitryon of Euripides, and the two Amphitryons of Archippus had reached us.

(5) Arnob. lib. 7. pag. 238.

[*C*] *In delivering Electryon's flocks to him he was unfortunately the cauſe of that unhappy Prince's death.*] In the following manner: *Cum bos una aufugeret in ipſam, Amphitryo tum quam manibus forte clavam geſtabat immiſit, quæ de bovis cornibus repulſa in Electryonis caput reſiliens ipſum vita privavit* (6). i. e. "Amphitryon ſtruck one of his "cows which had run away with a club, which re-"bounding from her horns to Electryon's head, "was the occaſion of his death." In the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, we read *a ſtone* inſtead of *a club*.

(6) Apollod. lib. 2. p. 99.

[*D*] *Afterwards he prepared for a war againſt the Teleboes.*] We obſerve in another place (7), who the Teleboes were, and in what Apollodorus, whom we have followed, differs from the Scholiaſt of Apollonius.

(7) In the article TELEBOES.

[*E*] *Alcmena being determined not to marry upon any other terms.*] In the article, to which I have referred the reader in my laſt remark, we ſhall find, that Alcmena chiefly inſiſted upon the revenging of her father's death.

ceſs that attended him in this war to the treachery of Comethe, Pterelaus's own daughter, who, falling in love with Amphitryon, through complaiſance to him, plucked out of her father's head the golden hair, on which his life depended. The unfortunate Prince expired on the ſpot, and Amphitryon poſſeſſed himſelf of all his dominions, put Comethe to death, and returned to Thebes loaded with ſpoils. The firſt news he heard there was, that himſelf had paſſed the night before in Alcmena's company, which he well knew was falſe, and at laſt it was found out, that Jupiter had played that trick in the ſhape of Amphitryon. However Amphitryon went boldly to her, and made her become an example of *Superfœtation*, which has been a thouſand times quoted. She had already conceived Hercules, and by Amphitryon ſhe conceived another ſon. Amphitryon, in order to know which of the two was his ſon, and which Jupiter's, threw two ſerpents on the bed. At this Hercules ſhewed not the leaſt concern, whereas the other betook himſelf to flight; and this was a convincing proof that Hercules was not Amphitryon's ſon. It is ſuppoſed that Alcmena wore an ornament on her head, as a token that Jupiter had trebled the length of the night to prolong his careſſes [*F*]. It is falſe that Amphitryon was the firſt who taught men to put water into their wine [*G*]. Alcmena ſurvived her huſband (*d*). The ruins of their houſe were ſtill to be ſeen at Thebes in Pauſanias's time (*e*). We muſt not forget that Amphitryon was born at Argos (*f*). Some authors ſtile him King of Thebes (*g*).

(*d*) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 39.
(*e*) Idem, lib. 9. p. 290.
(*f*) Plaut. *Amph.* Prol.
(*g*) Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 8. ver. 103.

[*F*] *She wore an ornament on her head, as a token that Jupiter had trebled the length of the night to prolong his careſſes* (8). This is ſomewhat ſtrange: Were not the battlements, with which ſhe loaded her husband's head, the horn-works and half-moons ſhe fortified it with, ſo as to make him ſurpaſs the Goddeſs Cybele with all her towers, ſufficient to content her?

(8) Apollodorus, lib. 2. p. 97, &c.

Qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes (9).

(9) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 6. ver. 785.

" When in pomp ſhe makes the Phrygian round,
" With golden turrets on her temples crown'd."
Dryden.

What need was there that ſhe ſhould wear on her forehead three Moons?

Parvoque Alcmena ſuperbit
Hercule, tergemina crinem circumdata luna (10).

(10) Stat. *Thebaidos*, lib. 6. ver. 288.

" With little Hercules Alcmena ſwells:
" Her head encompaſs'd with a triple Moon."

Some interpreters tell us, that ſhe wore theſe three moons in memory of the three nights Jupiter paſſed in her company. A glorious monument, I muſt own, for poor Amphitryon! Did ſhe deſign, that all thoſe, who ſaw her head-dreſs, ſhould be put in mind of her powerful charms, which had prevailed with Jupiter ſo far, as to make him treble the night he enjoyed them? Such a dreſs could not, methinks, be much to her husband's ſatisfaction. I refer to Moliere, who makes him acquieſce in a reflection of his ſervant. Amphitryon's friends hearing that Jupiter promiſed great things in reparation of the injury he had done him, began to congratulate him upon his good fortune, but were interrupted by Soſia:

Meſſieurs, voulez-vous bien ſuivre mon ſentiment?
Ne vous embarquez nullement
Dans ces douceurs congratulantes:
C'eſt un mauvais embarquement,
Et d'une, & d'autre part, pour un tel compliment,
Les phraſes ſont embaraſſantes.
Le grand dieu Jupiter nous fait beaucoup d'honneur,
Et ſa bonté ſans doute eſt pour nous ſans ſeconde.
Il nous promet l'infallibile bonheur
D'un fortune en mille biens feconde,
Et chez nous il doit naitre un fils d'un tres-grand cœur;
Tout cela va la mieux du monde:
Mais enfin coupons aux diſcours,
Et que chacun chez ſoi doucement ſe retire;
Sur telles affaires toûjours;
Le meilleur eſt de ne rien dire.
That is,
" If you'll be guided now by my opinion,
" Make not a ſtir about this happineſs.
" On ſuch occaſions compliments are vain,
" And troubleſome. Great Jove has done us ho-
" nour;
" And his munificence cannot be equall'd.
" He promiſes a thouſand glorious things,
" And a brave boy, that ſhall the world aſtoniſh.
" All this is well, but let us talk not of it.
" In ſuch affairs the beſt is to ſay nothing.

This ſeemed to Amphitryon ſo judicious an advice, that by his ſilence he entirely agreed to it.

[*G*] *It is falſe, he was the firſt that taught men to put water into their wine.*] Athenæus aſcribes this invention to another (11), whoſe name being Amphictyon, a very learned Critic has miſtaken him for Alcmena's husband; and I do not doubt in the leaſt, but that the diſagreement, we often find among authors, is owing to ſuch miſtakes. Read Athenæus, and you will ſay, that Amphictyon, King of Athens, found out the mixing of wine with water. Read Caſaubon, and you will aſcribe this diſcovery to Amphitryon King of Thebes, which will be enough for ſome compilers to form two different opinions. *Some*, they will ſay, *aſcribe this invention to Amphictyon, and others to Amphitryon.* Caſaubon's words are: *Quod mox ab Amphitrionis* (I leave the ſpelling as I find it) *invento temperandi vinum ſequitur quo pertineat ſubobſcurum eſt. Spectat autem eo, ne quis miretur quod poſtea dicit, Homerum varia temperamenta vini habuiſſe nota. Cur enim hoc miremur cum* τῆς τοῦ οἴνου κράσεως *inventor ſit Amphitryo, quem ante Iliaca tempora Thebis regnaſſe nemo dubitat* (12).

(11) Athen. lib. 4. cap. 27. pag. 179.
(12) Caſaub. *in Athen.* p. 323, 324.

☞AMULO, or AMULUS, or AMOLUS, or AMULARIUS (*a*), or HAMULUS (*b*), was born in France, according to Dr. Cave (*c*), and was at firſt Deacon of the church of Lyons under Agobard, upon whoſe death he was raiſed to the Archbiſhoprick of that See the 14th of January 841. In the year 844 he wrote a letter to Theobold or Theobald Biſhop of Langres, who had ſent to conſult him concerning the abuſes which were committed in the church of St. Benignus at Dijon on account of the relicks which were expoſed there [*A*]. The occaſion was as follows. Two Monks

(*a*) Cave *Hiſt. Lit.* p. 450. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.
(*b*) Trithem. *de Script. Eccleſ.* c. 273.
(*c*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Wrote a Letter to Theobald . . . . on account of the relicks, which were expoſed there.*] He adviſes the Biſhop of Langres to remove theſe bones from the Church, and to bury them in ſome proper place near it in the preſence of a few perſons. For, ſays he, ſince they will have them to be the bones of Saints, we ſhould not neglect all manner of regard for them; but on the other hand we muſt not ſuffer them

Monks had brought thither the bones of a pretended Martyr, which they had met with at Rome, and ſome other place in Italy. But what was moſt extraordinary in this proceeding was, that they had the aſſurance to own, that they had forgotten the name of the Saint; as if, ſays Amulo, it was at all credible, that they ſhould not know the name of a Saint, who was ſo celebrated in the place where they had procured theſe relicks, or that they ſhould forget the name of him, whom they conſidered as their patron, and ought continually to pray to. The Biſhop of Langres acted upon this occaſion with great prudence, and followed the conduct of St. Martin in a circumſtance of the ſame nature. He thought that it was not proper to receive theſe relicks, which were not introduced with any authority, though he would not immediately reject them. He determined therefore to oblige thoſe who had brought them to produce authentic proofs of their being genuine from the place where they had received them. Upon this, one of them departed under pretence of going to procure theſe proofs, but he never returned, and the other died ſoon after at Dijon. However notwithſtanding this the relicks were placed in the church near the body of the Martyr, and it was pretended that miracles were worked by them. But theſe miracles were not cures of the ſick, for on the other hand the women fell down on the ground, and beat themſelves in a dreadful manner, which ſtrange effect drew a vaſt number of people thither. Amulo obſerves, that a great many perſons had been ſeized with this diſeaſe, and were obliged to continue in the church, or to return to it as ſoon as they had left it; and this calamity had extended itſelf to other places, particularly the village of San-lieu in the dioceſe of Autun, where the bodies of the martyrs Andochius, Thyrſus, and Felix were repoſited (*d*). Amulo's letter upon this ſubject ſhews, that he was a man of eminent ſincerity, knowledge, prudence, zeal and eloquence. He wrote likewiſe a letter againſt Goteſchalcus [*B*], with ſome other pieces upon Grace, and Predeſtination, and Free-Will [C]

(*d*) Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 7. p. 151. edit. Paris 1696.

(*e*) Idem, p. 150.

them to give occaſion to the people to fall into error and ſuperſtition. And we ought not, continues he, to be apprehenſive of giving ſcandal by this care; for God commands us to be ſincere and prudent in thoſe things, which relate to his ſervice. He mentions upon this occaſion the example of St. Martin and the decree of Pope Gelaſius. He ſays, that if any miraculous cures have been performed in the church of St. Benignus, they are to be aſcribed to the power of God and the merits of his Saints, without approving of the other miracles, which have been done in that church or elſewhere. That it is probable, that the falling down of the men and women, and their beating themſelves, are only the effects of deſign in them, in order to get money, by exciting the compaſſion of the ſpectators. That he had never heard of ſuch miracles as theſe before, which inflict diſeaſes upon thoſe, who were in health, and ſeparate daughters from their parents, and wives from their husbands, by obliging them to continue in the church, and preventing them from returning to their own houſes. That theſe things could not poſſibly be any thing elſe but the effect of the wickedneſs of men, or the illuſion of the Devils. He mentions upon that occaſion two inſtances of the ſame kind, which happened under his predeceſſor Agobard, the impoſture of which had been detected. He adviſes the Biſhop of Langres to baniſh this ſuperſtition from his Dioceſe, and to exhort the people in the ſtrongeſt manner poſſible to diſcontinue their aſſemblies in that place, ſince they were attended with ſuch bad effects; but to ſtay in their own pariſhes, and to be preſent at the offices of the Church, where they had received their Baptiſm, as well as the Body and Blood of Chriſt; where they were uſed to hear the ſolemn offices of Religion; and to have recourſe to the Prieſt, in order to receive penance, to be aſſiſted in their ſickneſs, and to be buried after their death; where they paid tythes, and preſented their offerings, and heard uſeful inſtructions propoſed to them. That it was in theſe churches they ought to aſſemble, in order to offer their vows and prayers to God, to deſire the ſuffrages of the Saints, and to give alms to the poor, and widows, and orphans. That this is the juſt and regular diſcipline of the Church, and the ancient cuſtom of the true Believers. That if it happened, that any Chriſtian ſhould be ſeized with any infirmity or diſeaſe, he ought to follow the precept of St. James, by ſending for the Prieſt to pray over him, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord. He does not in the leaſt doubt, that if this was practiſed, all theſe pretended miracles would ceaſe; and he adviſes Theobald likewiſe, that if there ſhould be any of theſe wretches, who continue obſtinate, he ſhould order them to be ſcourged till they confeſs the truth. He adds, that tho' theſe diſeaſes happened by the illuſion of the Devils, yet it would be better for the perſons afflicted to implore the aſſiſtance of God in their own churches, than to continue thus in a diſtant church; and that one Saint will not be offended becauſe another Saint has been honoured, ſince all of them are united together in the bonds of charity. If people are willing to viſit the churches of Martyrs, they ſhould do it at thoſe times, which are eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe by the Church, in Rogation-week, Lent, and on the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. However he does not condemn thoſe, who do this at other times out of devotion, if it be without oſtentation or tumult; but he is very much diſpleaſed, that they neglect it upon the ſolemn days appointed by the Church, and that they chooſe to do it improperly at other times, and out of mere vanity and oſtentation. In ſhort, tho' there were ſome perſons really poſſeſſed (1), yet they ought to be taken care of by the Prieſts of the place, or in the chapels of the Martyrs, which were near, in a private manner, without any tumult or noiſe; and not to be expoſed to the croud of people in general (2).

(1) *Energumeni.*

(2) *See* Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 7. p. 151, 152, edit. Paris 1696.

[*B*] *He wrote likewiſe a Letter againſt Goteſchalcus.*] In the beginning of his Letter he ſtyles him his *deareſt brother*, (tho' he knew ſufficiently, he ſays, that he is an enemy to brotherly love,) becauſe Chriſtian charity ought not to be extinguiſhed or leſſen'd even towards thoſe, who are enemies to us. He declares, that he loves him very ſincerely, and wiſhes him the ſame happineſs as himſelf; but he ſays, that having read and examined the writings which he had ſent him by a brother, he was a long while in doubt, whether he ſhould anſwer him or not, becauſe he had been long before accuſed of attempts againſt the peace of the Church, and of important errors, which he had maintained after having been condemned on account of his obſtinacy by the authority of a Council. That on the one hand he was apprehenſive, that it would be conſider'd as an imprudent thing in him to keep a correſpondence by Letters with a man, who had been condemned by his brethren; but on the other hand it ſeemed to him a point of Chriſtian charity not to leave his requeſt unanſwered. That at laſt being touched with the advice, which our Saviour propoſes to us in the parable of the good Samaritan, that we ſhould aſſiſt our wounded brethren, and being aſſured of the ſincere charity of his brethren, which unites them together, and obliges them to communicate to each other what relates to their miniſtry; after

Will [C]. He was greatly eſteemed on account of his diſtinguiſhed abilities, and had a very conſiderable ſhare in the favour of Charles the Bald. He preſided in the Council of Lyons in the year 845 (e). Dr. Cave is of opinion, that he was ſtill alive in 852, and ſuppoſes that he wrote againſt Goteſchalcus the ſame year. He wrote likewiſe a piece intitled, *Contra Judæos Liber* 1. *ad Carolum Regem Lotharii Imperatoris fratrem*; that is, "One book againſt the Jews addreſſed to "King Charles the brother of the Emperor Lotharius." This was publiſhed by Father

(e) Idem, ibid. p. 150.

after having deſired of God grace to be enabled to give him uſeful inſtructions, and to prepare his mind to receive them with meekneſs and humility, he thought himſelf obliged to write him an anſwer. He exhorts him at firſt to poſſeſs himſelf with a peaceable and ſubmiſſive temper. He declares to him, that it was with the utmoſt concern that he had heard of his ſpreading his novel opinions in Germany, and raiſing of unneceſſary diſputes. That ſince that time he had ſeen one of his writings, in which he explained his ſentiments in a very ample manner, and endeavoured to confirm them by teſtimonies from Scripture and the Fathers; and that he had juſt received from him a piece addreſſed to the Biſhops, or rather written againſt the Biſhops, who had a ſhare in his condemnation. That he had diſcovered by his writings how dangerous his opinions were; and therefore he thought he could not do any thing more uſeful, than to give a ſhort account of thoſe propoſitions, which appeared to him contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and to oppoſe to them what the Scripture and the Church teach us upon that ſubject. That he ought to adhere to this doctrine, if he would be of the number of the living members of Chriſt. That he does not addreſs this work directly to him, becauſe he is excommunicated; but to his Metropolitan, that he being touched with compaſſion for him might permit him to enter again into the unity of the Church upon the renouncing of his errors. After this Preface he tells him in the firſt place, that this propoſition which Goteſchalcus had advanced, *That none of thoſe, who have been redeemed by the Blood Chriſt, can poſſibly periſh*, appears very erroneous to him; becauſe it follows from thence, either that none of theſe, who have been baptized, are damned, or that thoſe, who were baptized and regenerated by Baptiſm, and periſhed afterwards, were not truly baptized and redeemed by the Blood of Chriſt. Now one of thoſe inferences is falſe, and contrary to the Scripture and the Faith of the Church. In the ſecond place he is diſpleaſed, that Goteſchalcus ſhould aſſert, that the true Sacraments of the Church, Exorciſm, Baptiſm, Chriſm, the Euchariſt, and Impoſition of hands, are given in vain to thoſe, who are of the number of the reprobate, becauſe they are not redeemed by the Blood of Chriſt; without which the Sacraments are nothing but vain and inſignificant amuſements. Amulo affirms, that they operate efficaciouſly even in thoſe, who do not perſevere. In the third place, he cannot approve, that Goteſchalcus ſhould aſſert, that infants and adult perſons, who are baptized, and are not of the number of the Elect, are not incorporated in the Church of Chriſt. In the fourth place, he objects, that in ſpeaking of predeſtination he ſhould aſſert, that the Devils and the reprobate are predeſtinated to damnation in ſuch a manner that none of them could poſſibly be ſaved. He obſerves, that this is an horrible blaſphemy againſt God, and an impiety, which infers a neceſſity of ſinning. That God foreſaw the ſins of the Devils and of wicked men, without rendering them at all neceſſary by that means; and that he did not deſtine them to eternal puniſhment, till after he had foreſeen the crimes, which they would voluntarily and freely commit. In the fifth place he is extremely ſhocked at the propoſition advanced by Goteſchalcus, that thoſe, who are damn'd, were predeſtinated to damnation as infallibly and irrecoverably, as God himſelf is infallible and immutable; and he ridicules what follows, that Biſhops ought to exhort the reprobate to pray, that ſince they cannot avoid damnation, at leaſt their pains may be render'd leſs ſevere. In the ſixth place he cannot bear, that he ſhould ſay, that God and his Saints rejoice at the eternal damnation of the reprobate. He aſſerts that God will rejoice in their loſs, but not at their loſs; that he will not rejoice at their wickedneſs, but in his own juſtice. In the laſt place he condemns the manner in which Goteſchalcus treats the Biſhops, by abuſing them with the moſt ſhocking imputations, ſhewing the utmoſt contempt towards them, and calling thoſe, who are not of his opinion, Heretics and Rabbinics. He complains, that he is inſenſible of the ſeparation, which he had ſuffered for ſo long time; that he had fallen upon the Biſhops his Fathers; that he does not ſubmit to the authority of any perſon; that he does not deſire any explanation in a proper and humble manner; and that he thinks himſelf the only man, who is illuminated and inſpired by God for the eſtabliſhment of truth. He exhorts and conjures him to recollect himſelf, to caſt off his errors, to reunite himſelf to the Church, and to ſubmit to the Biſhops; and he gives him with all the tenderneſs of a father ſuch counſel, as was expedient for him to follow. Some authors have pretended that the writing of Goteſchalcus, which Amulo confutes in this Letter, had been forged by Hincmar, whom they accuſe of this fraud; but they have no proof for this, and only alledge two weak conjectures, upon which it would be raſh to attempt to condemn ſo eminent a perſon for a crime, which is the moſt infamous, that can be imagined, and which he was never accuſed of by any of the Partizans of Goteſchalcus. It is much more reaſonable to ſay, that Goteſchalcus had ſecretly written this piece, and ſent it to Amulo Archbiſhop of Lyons; imagining that his Church might be favourable to him, becauſe it had been engaged in the ſentiments of St. Auguſtin concerning Predeſtination and Grace. But as he carried theſe opinions to a ſhocking exceſs, and drew conſequences from them, which were extremely harſh, it is no wonder that Amulo ſhould write this anſwer to him, which is drawn up with all the addreſs imaginable, in order to pacify Hincmar, and to oblige this Monk to give him ſome ſatisfaction (3). This Letter was firſt publiſhed by Father Sirmond, and after him by ſeveral others, and particularly by Manguinus (4), who divided it into ſections, and illuſtrated it with notes.

(3) Idem, ibid. p. 18, 19.

(4) *Collect. Script.* 9. Sæc. tom. 2. ſee Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

[C] *Some other pieces upon Grace and Predeſtination, and Free-Will.*] Mr. Du Pin obſerves (5), that there is another Tract, which follows Amulo's Letter to Goteſchalcus in an old manuſcript, which is ſuppoſed to be a fragment of a Letter, which he wrote at the ſame time to Hincmar, in which he treats of Grace and Predeſtination. He tells us there, that we muſt believe, that there is a certain grace, by which men are ſaved, which is not given to them according to their merits, but by the mere gratuitous mercy of God, who leads them into goodneſs, not by conſtraint or neceſſity, but by an agreeable determination of the will, and by love. That this grace is given in Baptiſm to infants, to adult perſons, and to all believers, in all their actions, thoughts and words, which are good; becauſe there is nothing good, which is not the gift of God. That the divine preſcience is certain, and that it foreſees all things in the manner, in which they are to happen; and therefore the number of the elect and the reprobate is known to him, and cannot poſſibly be changed. That the predeſtination of the righteous is free and gratuitous, and not from the view of merit in them; but that God has juſtified and ſanctified thoſe in time, who were predeſtinated from all eternity thro' his mere mercy, that they might be Saints and righteous men. That perſeverance is the gift of God, and free-will has been ſo weakened by ſin, that it cannot raiſe itſelf to the love of virtue and goodneſs, unleſs it be excited and ſtrengthened by the Grace of God, which reſtores it to its original power. He adds that this doctrine ought not to caſt us into deſpair, but to give us confidence in the mercy of God, and to humble us under his al-

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

ther Chifflet at Divion in 1656 under the name of Rabanus Maurus; but Trithemius (f) expreſly aſcribes it to our author, and it is found under his name in a manuſcript in the Library of Monſieur Colbert (g). Mr. Baluze publiſhed all the works of Amulo, except the laſt *againſt the Jews*, with Notes, at the end of his edition of Agobard (h); from whence they were transferred into the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (i). Trimethius (k) ſays, that Amulo was a man extremely well ſkilled in the Scriptures and antient writers, very converſant in ſecular learning, famous for his knowledge of the Hebrew as well as the Latin tongue, and of a quick and lively genius.

(f) *De Script. Eccleſ.* cap. 273.
(g) *See* Cave and Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, and Olearius, *Biblioth. Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. p. 44. edit. Jenæ 1711.
(h) Tom. 2. p. 135. Paris 1666, in 8vo.
(i) Tom. 14. p. 329.
(k) *Ubi ſupra.*

mighty hand. That what is found in St. Auguſtin and ſome other of the Fathers to this purpoſe, that God has predeſtinated the wicked to damnation and eternal death, muſt not be underſtood in ſuch a manner as if God conſtrained them by his power and predeſtination to be wicked, and in conſequence of it to be damned; but in this ſenſe, that he has ordained by his righteous judgment eternal puniſhment for thoſe, whom he knew would continue in the maſs of perdition, occaſioned by Adam's ſin, or who would render themſelves obnoxious to damnation by their own particular vices. Dr. Cave gives us the following titles of the three pieces of our author upon this ſubject: I, *Reſponſio ad interrogationem cujuſdam de præſcientiâ, vel prædeſtinatione divinâ, & de libero arbitrio*; i. e. "An Anſwer to the que- "ſtion of a certain perſon concerning preſcience or "divine predeſtination, and free-will." II, *De gratiâ & præſcientiâ Dei, deque prædeſtinatione, & libero arbitrio, de ſpe item ac fiducia ſalutis, & de ſententiâ S. Auguſtini*; i. e. "Concerning grace and "the preſcience of God, and predeſtination and free- "will; and likewiſe concerning the hope and confi- "dence of ſalvation, and the opinion of St. Augu- "ſtin." III, *Sententiæ B. Auguſtini ex libris ejus de præfatis rebus ſumptæ, & in unam ſeriem diſtinctis capitulis ordinatæ*; i. e. "Sentences extracted "from St. Auſtin's writings concerning the points "abovementioned, and diſpoſed into one ſeries under "diſtinct heads." Theſe three tracts were found without the name of the author in a manuſcript at Triers, from which Father Sirmond tranſcribed them, and were ſubjoined to Amulo's Epiſtle to Goteſchalcus, ſo that it was uncertain whether they were to be aſcribed to him. Maguinus (6) is of opinion, that the ſecond piece, *De gratia & præſcientia Dei*, of which we have given an extract above, is a fragment of Amulo's Epiſtle to Hincmar, ſent together with that to Goteſchalcus. The third piece is aſcribed to our author from conjecture only by Father Sirmond.

(6) *Diſſertat.* cap. 22. p. 169.

T.

☞AMURAT I, the fourth Emperor of the Turks, ſucceeded Solyman in the year 1360, and of the Hegira 761 (a). He fixed the ſeat of his Empire at Adrianople; he ſuppreſſed ſeveral inſurrections in Aſia in the very birth of them, and by his valour ſupported the good fortune of the Ottomans (b). He was the author of ſeveral excellent inſtitutions in that government [A]. Having reſolved to continue the conqueſts of his predeceſſor in Greeee, he ſent over in a little bark, which belonged to ſome fiſhermen, ſeveral Turks in the habit of Merchants, who learned the language and ſtate of that country, and diſcovered what means were moſt proper to reduce it. Sixty thouſand of his ſoldiers were afterwards tranſported into Greece hy means of two Caravels of Genoa, the one named *Interiana*, and the other *Squarciafica*, and he paid a ducat for the paſſage of every one of his ſoldiers (c). Thus avarice had more effect upon the Genoeſe, than the intereſt of

(a) *Abregé nouveau de l'Hiſtoire Generale des Turcs, par Mr.* Vanel, tom. 1. pag. 433. edit. 1697.
(b) *Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottoman; traduite de l'Italien de* Sagredo *par Mr.* Laurent. tom. 1. p. 50. edit. Paris, 1724.
(c) Idem, ibid. p. 50, 51.

[A] *He was the author of ſeveral excellent inſtitutions in that Government.*] He was the firſt, who appointed the *Spahis*, who ſerve on horſeback, and dived the provinces into *Timars*, which are portions of land aſſigned to every horſeman for his ſupport, by which he is obliged to be always ready to mount on horſeback, whenever the Sultan ſhall have occaſion for his ſervice, and to range himſelf under his proper ſtandard. In proportion as the Turks have extended their conqueſts, the number of *Timars*, and conſequently of *Spahis* or *Timariots* have been enlarged. Whenever the Turks have ſubdued a province, they have not only ſeized the government of it, but likewiſe the greateſt part of the beſt lands, which belong to it; they have cruelly deſtroyed the Nobility, and the other proprietors of thoſe lands, and diſtributed their eſtates among their ſoldiers by way of pay. So that the number of their *Spahis* has perpetually been encreaſing, and there have been reckoned among their troops an hundred and forty or fifty thouſand horſe, eighty thouſand of which were diſtributed in the garriſons of Europe, and the reſt in thoſe of Aſia. It is neceſſary for the Chriſtians therefore to uſe their utmoſt efforts to prevent them from gaining any new acquiſitions, becauſe they are perpetually augmenting their forces; and their conqueſts over the Chriſtians render them afterwards invincible. The inſtitution of theſe *Timariots* is the reſult of the moſt compleat policy imaginable; for the Turks maintain their troops without any manner of charge to themſelves, and it is the territories of the Chriſtians, which ſupport them. Beſides they find another very conſiderable advantage in this reſpect, that the ſoldiers defend their own property, at the ſame time that they fight for their Prince; and his intereſt by this means being connected with theirs, the arms, which are employed for the common cauſe, always prove victorious (1). Amurat appointed likewiſe a Judge of the army, whom he ſtyled *Cadilesker*, which ſignifies the Head of all the *Cadis*, who are thoſe that profeſs the Law, and govern the Cities with the ſame authority, as thoſe, whom the Venetians call *Ratras*. To this Judge he gave the power of determining all differences among his troops, as well in peace as in war. And that he might not recede from the ſteps of his anceſtors, but purſue every method as they had done for the promotion of his Religion, he aſſigned to this *Cadilesker* the fifth part of the ſpoils, which were taken from the enemy; which amounted to a very conſiderable value on account of the frequent incurſions of the Turks into the countries of the Chriſtians, and the victories, which they gained (2). He inſtituted alſo the office of Vizir in favour of Timurtas Baſſa, who had gained him ſeveral victories, particularly over Aladin-Beg, Sultan of Caramania, the moſt reſolute and formidable enemy of the Ottomans, and over Cracovitz, Lord of Bulgaria (3). The Vizir is the prime Miniſter, Favourite, and Lieutenant General of the Sultan, and Governor of the Empire. This important poſt is conferred without any other formality, than that of ſending the ſeal. The Vizir always carries it about his neck, for his own ſecurity; for if he ſhould chance to loſe it, thoſe, who find it, might poſſibly make an ill uſe of it, and take the advantage of ſo great a ſanction of authority; which muſt inevitably endanger the life of the Vizir. Every body endeavours to procure the favour of this Officer by every method in their power. It is ſufficient for him to be covetous to be as rich as he thinks proper. His authority is more or leſs conſiderable, in proportion as the Sultans repoſe more or leſs confidence in him, in order to diſengage themſelves from the care of their affairs. Policy was the occaſion of appointing this office, with this view, that whenever there ſhould happen any unfortunate turn of affairs, the public hatred

(1) Sagredo, pag. 51, 52, 53. and Vanel, p. 435, 436.
(2) Sagredo, pag. 53, 54. and Vanel, p. 435, 436.
(3) Sagredo, pag. 54; and Vanel, p. 437.

of their religion, and the publick advantage of Europe. Amurat having by this means landed in Bulgaria, he took Gallipoli by ſtorm, defeated Alexander King of the Bulgarians, who endeavoured to throw ſupplies into that city, and obliged all the adjacent parts upon the Helleſpont to ſubmit to him (*d*). He learned likewiſe of the Genoeſe the method of building Saicks (*e*), by which means he brought over from Aſia, whenever he thought proper, a prodigious number of ſoldiers, which proved fatal to the ſeveral provinces of Europe (*f*). While he was in Bulgaria, he ſaw the picture of the daughter of Uroſc King of Servia, and was extremely charmed with it. But as he knew that he ſhould not eaſily obtain her of her father, he reſolved to oblige him to it by force, and therefore entered into his Kingdom, where he committed a thouſand acts of violence. Uroſc's army was defeated upon the banks of the Danube; upon which he ſent to deſire peace, which was granted on condition that he would give his daughter in marriage. This war being concluded agreeably to his wiſhes, he reſolved to continue that in Bulgaria; but an inſurrection happening in Aſia, obliged him to paſs over thither, where his preſence immediately reduced the rebels to a ſubmiſſion (*g*). Upon this he returned to Europe, and entered Thrace, where he took Sagara, after he had laid a bridge over the Heber, in order to render the communication more eaſy. John the Emperor of Conſtantinople to divert him from theſe attempts, procured Uroſc King of Servia to paſs over to Bithynia with an army of Servians, Valachians, Hungarians, and Boſnians; but Amurat immediately defeated them. After this victory he entered Miſnia, a little province in Europe near the Danube, which he eaſily ſubdued; and having made himſelf maſter of a caſtle upon Mount Rhodope, which ſecured the entrance of the States of Bogdan, he obliged that Prince to become tributary to him (*h*). In the next campaign in the year 1366 he took Apollonia, Serez, and Niſſa, and ravaged Albania and Boſnia (*i*). He was the firſt who appointed the circumciſion of infants to be performed with the utmoſt ſolemnity and pomp (*k*). In the year 1367 his eldeſt ſon Saulex revolted againſt him, but the attempt proved fatal to him [*B*]. Amurat married his ſon Bajazet in 1369 to Chatun, daughter of Germean-Ogli, who brought him for her dowry the cities of Cotyaz in Phrygia, and Siman in Bithynia. All the Mahometan Princes, and among the reſt the Sultan of Egypt, were invited to this marriage, which was ſolemnized with the utmoſt magnificence (*l*). Lazarus, Deſpot of Servia, reſolving to ſtop the courſe of Amurat's conqueſts, made a league with Siſman or Mark King of Bulgaria, and marched an army againſt the Sultan; but they were ſo terrified at the ſight of his camels, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder, and defeated. Lazarus was killed in the battle, as ſome writers inform us (*m*), or taken priſoner, according to others (*n*); and ſtrangled by order of the Sultan (*o*); and Mark ſaved himſelf by flight. While Amurat was engaged againſt the Chriſtians, his Empire was attacked by Aladin-Beg, Sultan of Caramania [*C*]; but this war being happily concluded, he married a daughter of the Emperor John, and cauſed his two ſons

(*d*) Vanel and Sagredo, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) Light veſſels uſed in the Levant.

(*f*) Vanel, pag. 434.

(*g*) Idem, pag. 434, 435.

(*h*) Idem, pag. 436, 437.

(*i*) Id. p. 437; and Sagredo, pag. 54.

(*k*) Sagredo, ib.

(*l*) Vanel, pag. 441.

(*m*) Sagredo, p. 59.

(*n*) Vanel, pag. 442.

(*o*) Vertot, *Hiſt. de l'Ordre de Malthe*, Liv. 6. tom. 2. p. 315. edit. Paris 1726.

hatred might fall upon him, who was in that high ſtation, and that all the glory of a happy management might be aſcribed to the Emperor, who had nothing elſe to do but to ſacrifice his Vizir to the reſentments of the people, in order to appeaſe the moſt dangerous tumults and inſurrections. Amurat had this likewiſe in view, that an account of the adminiſtration is much eaſier given to a ſingle perſon than to ſeveral. The Vizir has the direction of all affairs; Embaſſadors addreſs themſelves to him; he beſtows all employments; he determines all cauſes; he receives all petitions; and in ſhort he is the Arbiter of peace and war. However he cannot put the Baſſas to death without the *Feſta* or expreſs order in writing from the Grand Signior; nor can he puniſh the ſoldiers without the leave of their Aga's or Commanders. It is the Vizir, who generally engages the Sultan in war, becauſe he then becomes more neceſſary than before; whereas in peace he is moſt obnoxious to the envy and attempts of his enemies. His poſt is the higheſt of all others, but at the ſame time it is the moſt difficult to be managed; he always ſtands upon a precipice; in ſhort, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, he approaches the neareſt to his Jupiter, but then he is moſt expoſed to his thunder (4).

(4) Sagredo, p. 55, 56, 57; and Vanel, p. 437, 438, 439.

[*B*] *Revolted againſt him; but the attempt proved fatal to him.*] John, Emperor of Conſtantinople, reſolving upon a war againſt the King of the Bulgarians, made a league with Amurat; and having united their forces, they enter'd Bulgaria. Andronicus, the eldeſt ſon of the Emperor of Conſtantinople, and Saulex, the ſon of Amurat, took this opportunity of invading the thrones of their fathers, and formed an alliance together, and raiſed troops in conjunction to ſupport their deſigns. The Sultan and the Emperor haſten'd immediately to ſtop their attempts, and found that they had already ſeized a caſtle named Aprendon. The place was prodigiouſly ſtrong, and it could not poſſibly be taken for a long time by the ordinary methods of attack. But Amurat went near the ramparts, and call'd all the Officers by their names, and reproached them with their treachery in ſuch ſtrong terms, that they agreed to reſign the fort to him; however they would not deliver up the two Princes, who eſcaped to Didymotica (5), with thoſe, who continued faithful to Andronicus. Amurat purſued them, and laying ſiege to them, obliged them to ſurrender. Sagredo tells us (6), that when Amurat heard of the revolt of his ſon, he purſued him, and overtook him near Conſtantinople. The young Prince's party immediately abandoned him, being ſhock'd at the terror of his father's preſence. Saulex, finding himſelf left alone, fled to the city of Demotica, and ſhut up himſelf there; where he was beſieged, and taken priſoner. Amurat ordered his ſon's eyes to be put out, to prevent him from the like attempt again. The Emperor likewiſe, for fear of diſobliging him, conſented to puniſh his ſon in the ſame manner. However as nothing elſe but boiling vinegar was made uſe of to deſtroy Andronicus's ſight, he afterwards found means to recover it ſo far as to be able to have a little glimpſe of the objects before him. The Greek ſoldiers, who had followed the party of Andronicus, were thrown into the river which runs by Didymotica; and the young Turks, who had joined with Saulex, were ſtrangled by their own fathers, the Sultan having required of them this ſevere mark of their obedience (7).

(5) Vanel, pag. 440. Sagredo calls it *Demotica*.

(6) Pag. 57.

(7) Vanel, pag. 439, 440; and Sagredo, pag. 57, 58.

[*C*] *His Empire was attacked by Aladin-Beg, Sultan of Caramania.*] He had made an irruption into his dominions, notwithſtanding the peace which had been before concluded between them. Amurat left in Europe as commander in his abſence Aly Baſſa, the

ſons to marry two other Greek Princeſſes [*D*]. The death of Lazarus, Deſpot of Servia, touched Milo, one of his ſervants, in ſo ſenſible a manner. that he reſolved to revenge it upon the Sultan; and accordingly going up to him under pretence of preſenting a petition, he ſtabb'd (*p*) him in the midſt of his troops, and killed him upon the ſpot in 1383, after he had reigned twenty three years (*q*). He was buried at Burſa, and left two ſons, Giacup or Giacap, and Bajazet. His conſtitution was very infirm in his youth, but he had recovered it to a great degree of vigour by the exerciſe of hunting, which he was ſo paſſionately fond of, that he kept four thouſand dogs. Age occaſioned an alteration in his temper as well as in his conſtitution. In the beginning of his reign he had ſhewn himſelf inviolably attached to his word, but afterwards he grew very negligent of it, whenever he found that the breach of it was for his advantage (*r*). It is ſaid that he had gained thirty ſix battles (*s*).

(*p*) Sagredo, p. 60, ſays, that he run him through with his lance.

(*q*) Vanel, pag. 450. Sagredo, p. 59, 60.

(*r*) Vanel, pag. 450.

(*s*) Vertot, *ubi ſupra*, tom. 2. p. 264.

the ſon of Timurtas his Grand Vizir; and having paſſed through the Streights of Gallipoli, came to Burſa, where he received an Embaſſador from the Sultan of Egypt, who came to renew the alliance between the two nations, and was ſent back with preſents. He ſpent the winter at Burſa, and took the field in the ſpring following. Aladin-Beg on the other hand raiſed an army, which conſiſted of Tartars, Turcomans, and Armenians, with which he marched againſt Amurat. When he came within a day's journey of the camp of the latter, he ſent an Embaſſador to him to deſire peace, but he could not obtain it. Amurat went to encamp at Maurocaſtro, and having viewed the enemy's army, placed his own in battle-array. His ſon Bajazet had the command of the left wing, which conſiſted of the troops, which Coza-Beg had brought from Caſtromone, and of the Servians, which Lazarus, the Deſpot of that country, was obliged to furniſh him with. Iſmael his youngeſt ſon had the care of the right wing; and he reſerved to himſelf the body of the army, where the Mogols were to fight under the command of Cara-Timur. Aladin ranged his army almoſt in the ſame order. He placed himſelf in the body of it, the Tartars with their General on the left hand, and the Turcomans on the right. Both armies fought with prodigious reſolution, and the victory ſeemed to incline to Aladin, when Bajazet, with a ſmall party of his men, forced himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, like a furious lion, and obliged them to fly. This action gained him the name of *Gulderun*, which in the Turkiſh language ſignifies a thunder-bolt. Aladin fled to Iconium, where Amurat beſieged him, and reduced him to ſuch an extremity, that not being able any longer to defend himſelf, he ſued for peace; but that being refuſed him, he ſent his wife, who was daughter to the Sultan. This Princeſs addreſſed her father in ſo moving and pathetical a manner, that he could not reſiſt her tears and entreaties Amurat promiſed to pardon her husband, and received him with great kindneſs, when he came to him. After this interview, Amurat decamped, and returned to Burſa (8).

(8) Vanel. pag. 442, 444, 445.

[*D*] *Married a daughter of the Emperor, and cauſed his two ſons to marry two other Greek Princeſſes.*] Theſe marriages were ſolemnized at Apres with vaſt pomp and magnificence, and a great number of the Mahometan Princes were preſent to honour the occaſion. But this joy was interrupted by the arrival of the King of Boſnia in the year 1375, who marched at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men within a day's journey of Apres. The Princes, who were come to the nuptials, immediately took horſe, and having collected as many troops as they poſſibly could, marched againſt the enemy with more reſolution than ſucceſs; for the King of Boſnia's army being much ſuperior in number to the other, the Turks were almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Amurat hearing of this defeat, ordered Aly Baſſa to raiſe troops from all parts, and ſent to his allies and tributaries to come to his aſſiſtance with their whole force. However, as he did not think himſelf ſufficiently ſecure at Burſa, he retired from thence, and paſſed through the Streights, and went to Adrianople. The Ottoman army being formed, Amurat took the field in 1377, and having defeated the Boſnians, Bulgarians, Valachians and Moldavians, who had formed a league againſt him, he ſent Aly Baſſa with the character of Seraskier into Bulgaria, who beſieged Nicopolis, a place of great importance, which ſurrendered to him upon conditions (9).

(9) Id. p. 445, T. 446, 447.

☞AMURAT II, the tenth Emperor of the Turks, and one of the greateſt Princes of that nation, was the eldeſt ſon of Mahomet I, and ſucceeded his father in the year 1421, and of the Hegira 824 (*a*). Muſtapha his uncle, the youngeſt of the ſons of Bajazet, diſputed the crown with him at firſt. The Emperor of Conſtantinople John Paleologus, the ſon of Manuel, who had no other method of defending himſelf but by fomenting the diviſion of the Princes of the Ottoman blood, had releaſed Muſtapha out of the priſon in which he had detained him at Lemnos. Amurat endeavoured to draw this Emperor to his intereſt by working upon his avarice and ambition. But he rejected his propoſitions [*A*]. Muſtapha with their aſſiſtance made himſelf maſter of Gallipoli, and was crowned at Adrianople, where he cauſed Bajazet Baſſa, who commanded there for the Sultan his nephew, to be ſtrangled (*b*). Amurat marched thither immediately, and laid ſiege to that city, and obliged Muſtapha to retire into the mountains, where he was taken and ſacrificed as a victim to the intereſt of the State. The Sultan, in order to revenge himſelf upon the Emperor of the Greeks, marched to beſiege Conſtantinople, contrary to the expreſs commands of his father, who had conjured him never to diſturb the Greeks, out of gratitude for the aſſiſtance which they had given him

(*a*) Sagredo, *Hiſt. de l'Empire Ottoman, traduite de l'Italien par Mr.* Laurent. l. 1. tom. 1. pag. 97, 98. edit. Paris, 1724; and Vanel, *Abregé nouveau de l'Hiſt. Generale des Turcs*, tom. 2. p. 21. edit. 1697.

(*b*) Sagredo, pag. 98, 99, 100. Vanel, pag. 21, 22, 23.

[*A*] *He rejected his propoſitions.*] Amurat had offered him two hundred thouſand crowns, with all the country, which lies round about Gallipoli, if he would deliver up his rival to him. But this temptation could not prevail upon the Emperor to contribute to the reſtoration of a Monarchy, which he foreſaw evidently would prove the ruin of his own. The Greeks were no longer that valiant Nation, which had given Law to the whole Eaſt; they had abandoned the exerciſe of war for the ſofter pleaſures of a Court, and for traffic. Their country was become the ſeat of learning, which has a tendency in it to render men averſe to arms. And it was for this reaſon, that the Turks from the very beginning of their Empire not only neglected the Sciences, but even all kinds of arts, and applied themſelves wholly to war (1). At the firſt riſe of their grandeur they knew not how to write or read; but when they had any treaty to ratify, they uſed to dip their hand in ink, and then make an impreſſion of it upon the paper. There are ſome inſtances of this done by their firſt Emperors, Ottoman and Orcan, which the Turks preſerve with as much veneration, as if they were ſo many relicks, and the moſt ſacred memorials imaginable (2).

(1) Vanel, pag. 21, 22. Sagredo, p. 98, 99.

(2) Sagredo, pag. 99.

him in his wars againſt his brothers. But he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and to hearken to propoſitions of peace. However, his treachery afterwards obliged the Emperor of the Greeks and the Prince of Caramania to purſue other meaſures to ſtop the courſe of his violence, by raiſing up his ſon Muſtapha againſt him [*B*]. At laſt he agreed to a peace with them, but it was upon very ſevere conditions [*C*]. In the year 1424 he reſtored the diſcipline of the Janizaries, and reformed the abuſes of the *Spahis* [*D*]. In 1426 the Emperor Sigiſmond being ſoilicited by Pope Martin, made a league with Ladiſlaus II King of Poland againſt the Turks; but they could not retard the courſe of Amurat's conqueſts (*c*), who entered Albania, where John Caſtriot, to whom that Kingdom belonged, was at laſt obliged to treat with him, and deliver up his capital, with his three ſons as hoſtages, among whom was George, who is ſo celebrated in Hiſtory under the name of *Scander-Beg*. Amurat being exaſperated againſt the King of Hungary, on account of the ſuccours which he had ſent to Bulgaria, laid ſiege to Belgrade, but was forced to raiſe it by John Hunniades Governor of Tranſilvania, who defeated him likewiſe in a ſecond irruption which he made into that Kingdom in 1442 (*d*). This obliged Amurat to make peace with the King of Hungary (*e*). However in 1443 he marched into Boſſinia, where he forced the Prince to pay him a yearly tribute of two thouſand five hundred ducats, and into the Morea [*E*]. To ſtop the courſe

(*c*) Vanel, pag. 28.

(*d*) Sagredo, p. 108, 109, 110.

(*e*) Idem, p. 111.

[*B*] *By raiſing up his ſon Muſtapha againſt him.*] Vanel (3) ſays, that he was Amurat's brother. This Muſtapha was then but thirteen years of age. He had taken offence at his father's conduct towards him; and he was offered a refuge at Conſtantinople, from whence he might paſs over into Aſia with the troops, which he could raiſe to his aſſiſtance. But while he was giving at Nice the neceſſary orders for beginning the war, Amurat bribed his Governor, who gave him an exact account of all the ſteps, which Muſtapha took; by which means he ſurprized him, and cauſed him to be ſtrangled in his own preſence (4). Vanel tells us (5), that Muſtapha's Governor being corrupted by the Sultan ſeized him, and ſtrangled him with his own hand.

(3) Pag. 24.

(4) Sagredo, pag. 161.

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Upon very ſevere conditions.*] The chief of them was, that the Greeks ſhould demoliſh the great wall, which ſecured the Iſthmus of Corinth, and which was ſix miles long, tho' it had been built with the conſent of Sultan Mahomet his father. Beſides the Princes of Greece were obliged either to deliver up their children as hoſtages to him, or to pay him tribute. The Prince of Sinope and the Deſpote of Bulgaria, in order to preſerve their dominions, gave him their ſons as pledges of their fidelity. But the latter was informed that notwithſtanding this Amurat had a deſign to ſeize Sperendonia (6), the Capital of his Principality. This breach of faith obliged him to ſend privately to the King of Hungary to deſire his aſſiſtance, and he left his eldeſt ſon George in that place to defend it. Amurat having advice of this, prevented his receiving of a ſupply, and laid ſiege to the city. George being terrified at the number of the beſiegers, made a treaty with the Sultan upon conditions, which were never executed. For Amurat ordered the eyes of that Prince and his brother to be put out by means of red-hot baſons applied to them; and commanded their ſiſter, who was a Lady of ſurprizing beauty, to be carried to his ſeraglio, as a ſacrifice to his unbounded luſt. Sagredo has a reflection upon this incident, which ſeems too full of point and falſe wit, and inconſiſtent with the gravity of an Hiſtorian, eſpecially upon ſo melancholy an occaſion. It is as follows (7): "We may juſtly ſay that theſe unhappy Princes "became like moles in the earth, becauſe they were "ſo puſillanimous as to reſign to the Turks their "own dominions. They had in a manner loſt their "ſight, even before they loſt their eyes, ſince they "confided in the deluſive promiſes of this Infidel, "and had not reſolution enough to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of their blood." This is very far from that noble ſimplicity, which is the true character of an Hiſtorian, and which the tranſlator recommends in our author (8).

(6) Vanel, pag. 26, calls it *Sperandovia.*

(7) Pag. 104.

(8) See Mr. Laurent's Preface to his tranſlation.

[*D*] *Reſtored the diſcipline of the Janizaries, and reformed the abuſes of the Spahis.*] He ordered, that the body of Janizaries ſhould conſiſt only of the children of Chriſtians, ſo that afterwards when thoſe of natural Turks were introduced into it, it was an abuſe directly contrary to the original inſtitution. He ſaw that by admitting the latter, the choice would not be made with ſufficient exactneſs, but that favour and partiality would have too great a ſhare in it; and that the ſoldiers finding themſelves protected by their Fathers, would be the more ready to raiſe commotions. To prevent theſe diſorders, he ordered, that the children of Chriſtians ſhould be taken away from their parents while they were very young, that they might more eaſily forget the Religion, in which they were born, and know nothing of any father beſides the Sultan himſelf. For this reaſon they call him in the Turkiſh language *Palenſababa*, which ſignifies *our Father*, becauſe it is he, who brings them up, cloaths them, and places them in the Seraglio in order to learn the uſe of arms. This is the ground of their ſtrong attachment to him. And the reciprocal intereſt, which is between them, contributes more than any thing to their victories. The word Janizary is derived from *Janua*, which ſignifies *a Gate*; and this name is given them at the Grand Seignior's Court, becauſe they are appointed to guard it. They were not above twelve thouſand at their firſt inſtitution. This ſmall number executed the moſt difficult enterprizes imaginable; and tho' it has been enlarged ſince, yet their valour is not augmented in proportion. On the contrary it has been the occaſion of the relaxation of diſcipline, and conſequently has leſſened their bravery. When the Commiſſaries go to collect this tribute of children among the Chriſtians, the choice of them is made in the preſence of the Podeſtat or Conſul of the Nation, the Secretary, and the Aga of the Janizaries. The fathers of them are obliged to bring out all their children under twelve years of age, and not one is exempt except an only ſon; and they take one of a family. This commiſſion is given to the moſt diſintereſted Turks, who can be found, becauſe the Chriſtians offer all that they are worth to ſave their children. The Janizaries by a particular favour are pardoned the firſt offence; but they are puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, whenever they offend again. They are divided under their Officers into ſeveral bands, which are called *chambers*. They have it in their power to be raiſed to the higheſt poſts, and are only diſtinguiſhed by their merit, ſince the difference of birth among them is unknown and diſregarded. Tho' they are ſometimes apt to mutiny, yet the ſeverity of the Turkiſh juſtice immediately puts a ſtop to theſe commotions by the puniſhments of their Leaders. Amurat likewiſe regulated the *Spahis*, and reſtored their diſcipline, by depriving thoſe of their *Timars*, who did not come with a proper equipage, and range themſelves under their ſtandards; or who, inſtead of appearing themſelves in perſon, ſent their ſervants. In this manner he reformed the abuſes, which had crept into his army; and by that means render'd his troops invincible, and executed whatever he deſigned (9).

(9) Sagredo, p. 105, &c. Vanel, p. 26, &c.

[*E*] *He marched . . . . . into the Morea.*] He attack'd it with the utmoſt fury, and carried all before him. The Deſpotes Demetrius and Thomas, who were brothers of Conſtantine Paleologus, Emperor of Conſtantinople, poſſeſſed a great part of that Province. They had ſeveral conteſts with their ſub-

courſe of his conqueſts the Chriſtians formed a general league, but this deſign was rendered abortive [*F*]. Amurat upon this attacked the Prince of Caramania, who proved very unfortunate in his reſiſtance [*G*], which occaſioned the Chriſtians to renew their league. The King of Hungary, who had juſt before made peace with Amurat, took arms again at the ſollicitation of Pope Eugenius and other Chriſtian Princes [*H*], appointed Hunniades General of his army, and encamped near the city of Varna. The Chriſtians likewiſe made prodigious preparations againſt the Turks, and fitted out a fleet, of which Lewis Loredano was Admiral (*f*). This alarmed the Sultan, who paſſed over into Europe at the head of a hundred thouſand Aſiatic Turks, and was joined

(*f*) Idem, p. 116, 117, 118. Vanel, p. 43, 44, 45.

jects, and this diviſion at laſt broke out between themſelves. Demetrius, agreeably to the pernicious policy of the Chriſtians, made a league with the Turk in the year 1443; but in a ſhort time the confederate and the enemy were treated juſt in the ſame manner, and loſt both their territories and liberty. Thomas did not make any long reſiſtance, but fled to Rome, whither he carried with him the head of St. Andrew the Apoſtle, which the Pope went to receive in a ſolemn proceſſion (10).

(10) Sagredo, p. 112.

[*F*] *Formed a general league, but this was render'd abortive.*] Poland, Hungary, Tranſilvania, Servia, and Bulgaria united together, and raiſed an army, which was proportionable to the grandeur of their deſign. And to render it more effectual, they reſolved not to be anticipated, but to attack the common enemy even in his own territories, in order to reſcue thoſe of the confederates, who were oppreſſed. It was therefore judged proper to carry the war into the heart of the Ottoman Empire, becauſe they were ſecure of finding proviſions there in plenty, and of meeting with a great number of Chriſtians, who would be glad to break off their chains, and join with them in their attempts. This noble ſcheme was not only neglected, but entirely ruined by the treachery of George Deſpote of Bulgaria. He divided from the reſt, and made a treaty with Amurat. This effectually diſappointed all the deſigns of the league. The other confederates immediately endeavoured to ſecure themſelves every one of them by diſtinct treaties, that they might not continue expoſed to the reſentments of the victorious Sultan. Ladiſlaus King of Hungary ſubmitted at laſt to the neceſſity of affairs, tho' not without great reluctance (11).

(11) Id. p. 112, 113, 114.

[*G*] *Who proved very unfortunate in his reſiſtance.*] He had reſolved to take the opportunity of the general invaſion, which the Chriſtians had deſigned againſt the Turks, and had raiſed a numerous army to ſupport their attempts, and to reſcue himſelf from the ſervitude of the Ottomans. But the league being deſtroyed, he was left alone to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, and not being capable of reſiſting him by his own ſingle force, was obliged to give way to the torrent. Amurat prepared therefore to reduce the Prince of Caramania, whoſe ruin would inevitably involve others, who were leſs powerful than him. He defeated him in ſeveral attacks; but he was not contented to employ force againſt this unhappy Prince, but had recourſe to treachery to haſten his deſtruction. He diſperſed money among his Officers, and bribed them to his intereſt; he made himſelf Maſter of his Capital, and ſeized one of his daughters, a Lady of admirable beauty, whom he ſacrificed to the debauches of his Seraglio. She endeavoured to appeaſe the rage of the Conqueror; ſhe conjured him to ſtop the courſe of his victories, and to receive one of her brothers as a pledge for her father's fidelity. But the tendereſt careſſes of this Princeſs were incapable of calming the Sultan's reſentments; who notwithſtanding the inclination, which he had for pleaſure, had a much ſtronger ſtill for war. But the Chriſtian Princes at laſt obliged him to leave the country of Caramania in order to go and ſecure his own. They ſaw evidently the error, which they had committed in breaking the league, and that they had every one of them promoted their own deſtruction by making ſeparate treaties with the common enemy. They found, that the loſs of Caramania would be ſoon followed by that of Hungary and Poland (12).

(12) Id. p. 114, 115, 116.

[*H*] *At the ſollicitation of Pope Eugenius and other Chriſtian Princes.*] Ladiſlaus being elated with the ſucceſs, which he had gain'd in the year 1443 by the prudent advice of Cardinal Julian Ceſarini, Legate of the See of Rome in Hungary, and the aſſiſtance of Hunniades, was warmly ſollicited to proſecute an enterprize, which had been ſo fortunately begun. Pope Eugenius, the Venetians, the Genoeſe, and Philip of Burgundy, offered to fit out a conſiderable fleet to prevent the Turks from paſſing over into Europe; and John Paleologus Emperor of the Greeks, tho' extremely reduced, promiſed to oppoſe their progreſs in Thrace. The Prince of Caramania engaged to carry the war into Aſia, while Amurat ſhould be attacked in Europe, where Scanderbeg would find him ſufficient employment. In ſhort the war was univerſally reſolved upon. A fleet of ſeventy gallies was fitted out, under the command of Cardinal Condelmer the Pope's nephew, who ſailed to the Helleſpont in order to ſeize the ports, and hinder the paſſage of the Convoys. Amurat aſtoniſhed at ſo prodigious a preparation againſt him, and finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſo many Princes who were in league againſt him, reſolved ſeriouſly upon peace, which he had been ſo much averſe to before. He promiſed ſecretly to George Deſpote of Servia, his father-in-law, whom he had deprived of his dominions and his children, that if he could procure him peace, he would immediately reſtore them both. The Deſpote being prevailed upon by theſe promiſes, communicated the affair to Hunniades, who very eaſily agreed to it, upon the offer of 40000, or 50000 crowns of gold, with ſeveral places, which he held in Hungary, the right of which would be diſputed with him. And he induced the King of Poland to conſent, who was not very much inclined to continue the war. Thus to the great diſſatisfaction of Cardinal Julian a truce of ten years was concluded upon theſe conditions; that Amurat ſhould poſſeſs Bulgaria; that he ſhould reſtore all that he had taken in that country to thoſe, to whom it belonged before the war; that the priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides, and particularly the ſons of George Deſpote of Servia. The Turks demanded that Ladiſlaus ſhould ſwear upon the holy Euchariſt to obſerve the truce; but he was hindered by a perſon named Gregory, who was afterwards Biſhop of Leopold. The King therefore ſwore upon the Goſpels, and Amurat upon the Koran. After this Cardinal Condelmer, who commanded the fleet in the Helleſpont, ſent a meſſage, that there was now the moſt favourable opportunity imaginable to recover all that the Turks poſſeſſed in Europe, Amurat having paſs'd over his troops again into Aſia againſt the Prince of Caramania. He told Ladiſlaus likewiſe, that he ought to remember the promiſe, which he had made to the Chriſtian Princes, and that he ſhould haſten with his army, the reſt having already ſent their forces. Letters alſo were received from the Emperor John Paleologus, who urged them to continue the war, alledging that he had already begun to attack the Turks; that no confidence was to be placed in the truce, which Amurat's Embaſſador had ſigned; that upon the firſt opportunity the Turks would take arms again without any regard to their oath; and that he ſhould be extremely ſorry, that ſo proſperous a beginning ſhould prove ineffectual by a diſhonourable and criminal negligence. All theſe remonſtrances made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Princes, who had ſigned the truce, that they repented of it, thinking that they had expoſed themſelves to a general ridicule and contempt, after the ſolemn promiſe, which they had given to Pope Eugenius, the Emperor John Paleologus, and to all the Greeks and Latins, who had already prepared the ſupplies, which they had engaged for. They imagined likewiſe, that it would be an act of great perfidiouſneſs to leave them expoſed to the danger, which they had drawn them

joined there by the European troops, which were much braver and better equipped. With this army he marched to the Plains of Varna, where was fought that famous battle which proved ſo fatal to the Chriſtians [I]. But in the midſt of theſe great ſucceſſes he met with a prodigious obſtacle to his deſigns from the incomparable valour and conduct of Scanderbeg. We ſhall give a particular article concerning the actions and character of that great man, and ſhall therefore ſuſpend the entering minutely into his

them into; and beſides that there was ſome reaſon to break this truce with the Turks, ſince they had not executed all the articles of it, and had failed in reſtoring the priſoners and places, which they had ſeized, at the time appointed. Their minds being thus irreſolute between the obſervation of the truce, and the continuance of the war, Cardinal Julian the Legate took the advantage of this ſuſpence, and repreſented in ſtrong terms to the Generals of the Chriſtian army to what misfortunes their precipitate conduct had reduced them, by making a peace with a Nation of Infidels, at the ſame time that they had violated for an inconſiderable intereſt the faith and ſacred alliance, which they had ſworn to the Pope and the Chriſtian Princes, ſince they would gain nothing by it but the recovery of Myſia, which was already entirely ruined, and might eaſily be retaken in a ſhort time; that this ſecond agreement with the Turk being prejudicial to their honour, and much more ſo to the intereſt of the Church, they ought to break it without any ſcruple, in order to adhere to the former contract, which they had made with Eugenius, John Paleologus, the Greeks and Italians. "Without this, continues the Legate, what anſwer "can you give to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, "who agreeably to his promiſe has already taken "field, and waits for your army? What can you "anſwer to the Pope, the Venetians and Genoeſe, "whoſe fleets are now ready; to the Burgundians, "who thro' a warmth of zeal, which is animated "by faith alone, have embarked long ago, and hav-"ing paſſed thro' all the dangers of the ocean, are "now ready in the Helleſpont to attack the Infi-"dels?" He added, that indeed he had been preſent at the impious truce, which was juſt before made with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, but that he had abſolutely condemn'd and oppoſed it with all his force; and that if he had not carried his oppoſition further, it was becauſe he had ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon by the wiſdom and authority of Hunniades. Beſides that the ſituation of George Deſpote of Servia had touched him with compaſſion. In ſhort that he had not yielded without the utmoſt reluctance, and then only that he might not ſeem to oppoſe the advantage of the Hungarians and the adjacent people, tho' he was well enough convinced otherwiſe of the injury, which the Chriſtian Religion would ſuffer from it. In ſhort, he exhorted them to break this alliance before the report of their perfidiouſneſs ſhould extend further. And becauſe the reproach of having violated an alliance attended by a ſolemn oath, would raiſe ſome ſcruples in the minds of Chriſtians, the Legate added, "that it was ſometimes allowed a per-"ſon for the public good not to keep his promiſe, "when it was contrary to it; and that it was lawful "upon theſe occaſions to break their faith with In-"fidels. It is true an oath, which is juſt and found-"ed upon equity, ought to be kept; but that, which "tends to the deſtruction of a private perſon or the "public in general, ought to be conſidered as null "and void. A promiſe, which is unreaſonable and "given to an Infidel, is diſpleaſing to God. Beſides "it was more criminal to violate the ſacredneſs of "a league, which had been made with the Pope "and the Chriſtian Princes; and God would not "leave ſuch a flagrant inſtance of treachery unpu-"niſhed. He aſſured them likewiſe, that it would "be more agreeable to the Deity, and more ho-"nourable for the Princes to reſcue ſo many pro-"vinces, which the Turks had uſurped the poſſeſſion "of, from the cruel ſlavery, which they languiſhed un-"der, than to obſerve a treaty made with them to "the ruin of Religion; and therefore they ought "not to omit ſo favourable an opportunity, which "might never offer itſelf again. And to remove "all ſcruples, which the King of Poland and the "Princes might entertain concerning the violation "of the treaty, he abſolved them from the obliga-"tion of it by the authority of the Pope, whoſe "Legate he was." Æneas Sylvius (13) tells us, that Pope Eugenius, who intereſted himſelf very much in this affair, being informed of the truce made with Amurat, wrote to Cardinal Julian, that ſince it had been made without his knowledge, it was void; that he required King Ladiſlaus to break it, and that he would abſolve him from his oath. He exhorted likewiſe the Cardinal to uſe all his efforts both by entreaties or menaces, that the war might be renewed; and not to ſuffer ſo many ſchemes to continue without effect. The ſpeech of the Cardinal Legate made ſuch an impreſſion upon the whole Aſſembly, that nothing was heard but the cries of thoſe who inſiſted upon war, tho' the ſucceſs of it ſeemed doubtful. They all ſaid, that it was better to die fighting for Religion, than to be wanting to thoſe, who were ſo zealous for the preſervation of it, and thereby draw upon themſelves everlaſting ſhame and confuſion. The Deſpote of Servia and Hunniades did not ſeem to oppoſe this; the former flattering himſelf with an eaſy victory, and the recovery of his dominions; and the latter being induced by the promiſe, which was given him of fixing him in the Kingdom of Bulgaria. A meſſenger therefore was ſent to inform the Emperor John Paleologus, and the Cardinal of Venice the Pope's nephew, who commanded the fleet, of their breaking the truce with the Turk. And then the war was renewed againſt Amurat with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution (14).

(13) *Europ.* c. 5. *apud* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 109. tom. 22. p. 430. edit. Bruxelles 1726.

(14) Fleury, p. 430, &c.

[I] *Which proved ſo fatal to the Chriſtians.*] Varna, where Amurat met the Chriſtian army, is a city of lower Mœſia upon the Euxin Sea. Ladiſlaus had a ſtrong inclination to engage the enemy, though he had an impoſthumation in his left leg, which was very uneaſy to him; and though Cardinal Julian was of opinion that the army ſhould retreat to the ſide of the mountain in order to view the enemy's forces the better, and to wait till they had a more certain account of the fleet and of the Greeks. A great many others were of the ſame opinion, but Hunniades and George the Deſpote replied, that they knew the forces of the Turks; that their army was always repreſented to be much more numerous than it really was; and that though all the Turkiſh Empire was collected together, yet the Hungarians, whoſe valour was ſufficiently known, would have nothing to fear from them. Thus upon their raſh advice it was reſolved to engage them the day following. But when the two armies were drawn out, Hunniades was ſo aſtoniſhed at the prodigious number of ſoldiers whom they were to contend with, that he adviſed Ladiſlaus to retire, and not hazard a battle. That King replied, that his counſel was now too late; that it was much better to riſque a battle with courage, than to betake themſelves to a diſhonourable flight; and reproaching him in a very warm manner with the boaſting expreſſions, which he had made uſe of the day before, he gave orders for every one to be ready in arms. Hunniades marſhalled the army in battle, which conſiſted only of eighteen or twenty thouſand men; whereas the Turks had above ſixty thouſand, or, as ſome authors tell us, a hundred thouſand ſoldiers. The battle was fought the tenth of November, on the Eve of St. Martin. Both ſides exerted themſelves with the utmoſt bravery for a long time. The front of the Chriſtian army having routed that of the Turks, Amurat was ſo confounded, that he reſolved immediately to betake himſelf to flight, which he would certainly have done, if his officers had not prevented him, by ſeizing his horſe's bridle, and threatning to kill him, if he did not ſhew more reſolution. The battle therefore was renewed, and the victory appeared doubtful for a long time, till at laſt it declared for the Turks. The Chriſtians overwhelmed

his Hiſtory, though it is connected with that of Amurat. He recovered by ſtratagem Albania, which the Sultan had ſeized upon the death of his father John Caſtriot (*g*). He choſe out of the Albanians only eight thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe; and with this little body of men, with the advantage of the mountains and narrow paſſes which that country is full of, he defeated four prodigious armies which Amurat ſent againſt him. The firſt was commanded by Ali, and this defeat would have been of vaſt advantage to the Chriſtians if they had made uſe of it [*K*]. The ſecond army was commanded by Feriſbeg, and the two others by Muſtapha Baſſa. Amurat aſcribing this ill ſucceſs to the want of courage or conduct in his Generals, reſolved to march againſt him in perſon with a formidable army. He took ſeveral places, but this coſt him more ſoldiers than the loſs of a battle. He was attended in this expedition by his ſon Mahomet, whoſe valour as well as his birth had engaged him to give him a ſhare in the Empire. In the ſecond campaign the two Sultans prepared to beſiege Croye, the capital of Albania; but that they might not be interrupted in their deſigns, they made a treaty with the Venetians, in which it was expreſly ſtipulated, that they ſhould not have any correſpondence with Scanderbeg; and with the ſame view he renewed the treaty with John de Laſtic the Grand Maſter of Rhodes (*b*). But this ſiege was by no means fortunate for the Turks; for Amurat having ſeen part of his army deſtroyed by the unexpected attacks of Scanderbeg, was obliged at laſt to retire. The Prince of Albania purſued him, and cut to pieces the greateſt part of the rear of his army. Amurat chagrin'd with this ill ſucceſs, and diſabled with the infirmities of old age, fell ſick,

(*g*) Sagredo, p. 131.

(*b*) Vertot, *Hiſt. de l'Ordre de Malthe*, lib. 6. tom. 2. p. 462. edit. Paris, 1726.

whelmed with the prodigious number of the enemy fought as they retreated, when Ladiſlaus, hurried on by the fire of youth, threw himſelf into the thickeſt part of the battle, notwithſtanding the efforts of Hunniades to ſtop him, and fought his way through till he came to the body of the Janizaries upon a hill, where Amurat was encamped. His horſe was killed under him; and this young Prince being abandoned and trodden under foot, loſt his life, being then but twenty years of age. The enemy, who till then had deſpaired of the victory, reſumed their courage, and routed thoſe who had made them fly. Bonfinius relates (15), that Amurat in the beginning of the battle ſeeing his ſoldiers put to flight, took out of his boſom the treaty which he made with the Chriſtians, and opening it, and liſting up his eyes to heaven, cried out, *Behold, O Jeſus Chriſt, the league which the Chriſtians have made with me, and have ſworn to by thy ſacred name; if thou art a God, revenge the wrong done to thy name and me.* No ſooner had he ſaid this, as that author tells us, but the Chriſtian army began to give way. It is certain, that if Hunniades had imitated the valour of Ladiſlaus, Amurat would have loſt his life and the Empire of Greece that very day; but the Hiſtorians inform us, that as ſoon as he ſaw the Enſigns of the Chriſtians retire, he retreated from the battle with 6000 men, as well Hungarians as Valachians, and fled without acquainting the King, before the victory had abſolutely declared itſelf in favour of the Turks. Perhaps from his great experience, which he had gained by the variety of actions, in which he had been engaged, he foreſaw, that there was no longer any hope, and choſe to ſave part of the army rather than loſe the whole. King Ladiſlaus having been killed, Amurat ordered him to be interred with a great deal of honour in the place where the battle had been fought, and erected a kind of pillar at the foot of his tomb, upon which was inſcribed an account of all the actions of this brave young Prince, whoſe merits deſerved a much longer life. The Deſpote of Servia was one of the firſt who fled, when he found that his ſoldiers met with a warm oppoſition. Hunniades flying towards Hungary was taken priſoner in Valachia, but was ſoon after ſet at liberty, and received ſeveral preſents; upon which he continued his journey to Hungary, in order to prevent any tumult, which might be occaſioned by Ladiſlaus's death. Cardinal Julian was likewiſe killed in this battle; but there are different accounts of his death; and it is uncertain, whether he loſt his life in the field, or as he fled, or whether he was drowned in paſſing the Danube by the weight of the gold, which he had about him. Some writers tell us, that as he fled after the loſs of the battle, he fell into the hands of ſome Hungarian robbers, who diſcovering him as he was watering his horſe in a pond, and imagining that he had gold about him, made him alight, and killed

(15) *Hiſt. Hungar.* Decad. 6. *apud* Fleury, p. 434. *See* Knoll's *Turkiſh Hiſtory*, p. 297, 298.

and ſtripp'd him, leaving his body naked, and expoſed to the beaſts and birds (16). Authors have blamed him extremely, as the cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; and it is certain, that he was the occaſion of the rupture of the league, which had been ſworn to in a ſolemn manner, and conſequently of the loſs of almoſt all the army. This is Mr. Fleury's account of this important battle; but Sagredo differs a little from it in ſome reſpects. He writes in a manner much more favourable to the character of Hunniades; and tells us, that this General marſhall'd the Chriſtian army to the greateſt advantage, and that he charged Caraz Beglierbeg of Aſia with prodigious vigour and killed him. His death occaſioned ſuch a diſorder in the left wing, that the Aſiatics fled; and this threw Amurat into ſuch deſpair, that he was reſolved to follow them; when the Biſhops of Strigonia and Varadin with the principal Lords of Hungary and Poland, being jealous of the glory of Hunniades, were unwilling that he alone ſhould have the honour of that victory, and choſe rather to periſh, than to conquer under the command of that General. They urged the young King to attack the right wing, where Amurat fought in perſon with his Janizaries; and his death ruined the ſucceſs, which would have otherwiſe attended the Chriſtians. Hunniades endeavoured very reſolutely to recover the King's body, but in vain; and therefore retired ſword in hand in good order with the troops, which remained (17). Sagredo tells us likewiſe, that Amurat went over the field of battle, and ſurveyed the dead bodies with the utmoſt pleaſure; and turning to Aſab Beg obſerved to him, that among the prodigious number who were killed, there were very few, who were advanced in years. Aſab replied, that if there had been many perſons, who were not young among them, they would not have left their trenches, and expoſed themſelves to the loſs of a battle, when they had the victory in their hands. Amurat ordered Ladiſlaus's head to be fixed upon a pole, and then to be ſent to Burſa, where it was carried about in triumph (18). The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that the loſs of this battle was greatly occaſioned by the treachery of the Deſpote of Servia, and the diſunion between the Hungarians and Polanders (19).

(16) Gobelin. *Perſ. Comment.* lib. 12. Æneas Sylv. Ep. 8. Chalcondyl. l. 7.

(17) Sagredo, p. 119, 120, &c.

(18) Id. p. 124, 125.

(19) Id. p. 126, 127.

[*K*] *Of vaſt advantage to the Chriſtians, if they had made uſe of it.*] After Scanderbeg's firſt victory he entered the enemy's country, and laid it waſte, and deſtroyed all who ventured to oppoſe him. At the ſame time Ladiſlaus King of Hungary having reſolved to make war upon Amurat, invited this Prince to aſſiſt him. He haſtened thither immediately at the head of ten thouſand Albanians, who were choice ſoldiers; but he found that Saccovichio Deſpote of Servia had ſecured all the paſſages, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to join the Chriſtian army. In the mean while advice was brought to Adrianople of the defeat of Ali, which exaſperated the Sultan extremely

ſick, and was carried to Adrianople, where having languiſhed five or ſix months, he died [*L*] the 11th of February 1451, being ſeventy five years of age, according to ſome authors, and eighty five, according to others, and in the thirty firſt year of his reign. The Greeks commend him for his juſtice; and it is obſerved to his honour, that he always kept the treaties which he made with the utmoſt fidelity (*i*).

(*i*) Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 110. t. 22. p. 551. edit. Bruxelles, 1726.

againſt Scanderbeg. If the Chriſtians had exerted themſelves upon this occaſion, and given proper aſſiſtance to this General, they might have reſcued themſelves from the oppreſſion which they laboured under. But there were only the Republick of Venice, Alphonſo King of Arragon, and ſome other neighbouring Princes, whoſe forces were inconſiderable, who aſſiſted Scanderbeg, and all the reſt neglected to ſupport him, though by their aid, a man of his incomparable valour and conduct, would have defeated all oppoſition from the Turks (20).

(20) Idem, p. 136.

[*L*] *He died.*] When he found after a general aſſault that he was incapable of taking Croye, he aſſembled all his chief officers in his tent, and complained of their want of courage, and of fortune, which had engaged him at that age to put his glory in competition with a little Prince, and to loſe the forces of the Ottoman Empire under the walls of a place, which was conſiderable for nothing but the reputation which it had gained by ſo unfortunate an occaſion. That he had ſpent in vain five months ſince he had entered Albania; and that after having obliged Greece to ſubmit to him, and triumphed over Hungaria, he ſaw himſelf at the cloſe of his life become the object of contempt to a Prince of the Epirots. He ſpoke this with prodigious vehemence and warmth, and he was poſſeſſed with ſuch a violent fit of rage and indignation, that he was ſeized with a fever that very moment. It attacked this conqueror in the midſt of his army; but though it weakened his body, yet it had no effect upon his mind; for even when he was juſt ready to expire, he was concerting ſchemes for new conqueſts. He told the Mufti's ſon, who aſſiſted him in his laſt moments, that his great age, and the uneaſineſs which he laboured under, were the cauſe that he was tired of living, but not of conquering; and that he had leſs pain in diſengaging himſelf from the world, than from victory (21); or, as Vanel repreſents it (22), that on account of the inconveniences of old age, he was well pleaſed to find himſelf near his end; and that he ſhould have left this world without any regret, if he could have ſeen Croye in his poſſeſſion before he died. T.

(21) Id. p. 146, 147.
(22) Pag. 57.

☞AMURAT III, the ſixteenth Emperor of the Turks, and the moſt formidable enemy of the Chriſtians, was the eldeſt ſon of Selim II, and ſucceeded his father in the year 1575, and of the Hegira 983 (*a*). He was a man of a low ſtature, but of a prodigious warmth of temper, which frequently urged him to commit acts of the greateſt cruelty. He had a peculiar veneration for his mother, and was extremely fond of his wife, who was a Venetian Lady of the houſe of Baffo (*b*). The firſt thing he did was to ſtrangle five of his brothers [*A*]. He then declared his reſolution of governing himſelf [*B*], and determined upon a war againſt Perſia, being induced to it by a pretended viſion [*C*]. Upon this he ſent Muſtapha Baſſa at the head of a hundred and fifty thouſand men againſt that nation, who defeated the Perſians, and took Tifflis, and fortified Chaos. At the ſame time the Tartars made an irruption into Perſia,

(*a*) Vanel, *Abregé nouveau de l'Hiſtoire Generale des Turcs*, tom 3. p. 98, 99. edit. 1698; and Sagredo, *Hiſt. de l'Empire Ottoman*, l. 8. tom. 4. p. 238. edit. Paris 1724.

(*b*) See the Article ACHMET, note [*C*].

[*A*] *To ſtrangle five of his brothers.*] He ordered this to be executed the very day that he was crowned. Sagredo has a thought upon this occaſion, which is an inſtance of that falſe wit, which too many of the Italian Writers affect even in the moſt ſerious ſubjects. "Theſe unhappy victims, ſays he (1), may "juſtly be ſtyled *Princes of the Blood*, becauſe they "are deſtined to ſhed their blood in order to ſecure "the Prince upon the throne." It is a piece of good fortune to be born the eldeſt ſon at Conſtantinople, and it is a crime to be a younger brother. The former is born to live and reign, and all the reſt to periſh by the bow-ſtring. The Turks apologize for this act of cruelty by alledging, that this is a ſure method to prevent a civil war. This policy is extremely ſhocking, tho' at the ſame time it is of great advantage under their form of government. The eldeſt of Amurat's five brothers was not eight years of age. Amurat, who made pretence to a prodigious regard for Religion, would not give orders for deſtroying the Imperial Family, till he had asked the opinion of the Mufti; who anſwered, that this act was not only allowable, but even neceſſary, and that he ought to permit it out of reſpect to the intereſt of the Empire and the tranquillity of the government. Theſe five unfortunate Princes were buried the next day with their father Selim in the moſque of St. Sophia (2).

(1) Pag. 243.

(2) Idem, pag. 243, 244; and Vanel, p. 102, 103.

[*B*] *Declared his reſolution of governing himſelf.*] He let them know, that he had very little inclination to the exerciſes of his body; that he was not fond of hunting, or diverſion with his mutes, and that he had no other pleaſure but in the converſation with his women in the ſeraglio, or, as Vanel tells us (3) contrary to Sagredo's account, in the ſeeing the odd humours of his buffoons. He ſhewed the deſire which he had to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects, and ordered that they ſhould not be hinder'd from bringing their complaints to him. And that he might know what paſſed in the city, he commanded that the gate of his Seraglio ſhould be open to thoſe, who had a commiſſion to bring intelligence to him. He kept ſpies in the dominions of the Chriſtian Princes, for which purpoſe he employed Jews particularly, and among the reſt a Spaniard, whoſe name was Lopez, who diſcovered to him the ſecrets and deſigns of Pope Sixtus V, and the other Princes of Italy. He declared, that he would not depend upon his Miniſters, and ſaid, that he conſider'd them as the ſpectacles of Sovereigns, which were indeed of ſervice to thoſe, who were ſhort-ſighted, but were entirely uſeleſs to a Prince, whoſe eyes were good enough to manage his own affairs. The Grand Vizir and the other Baſſas, who were uneaſy to ſee their Princes exerciſe their authority in ſo independent a manner, and wanted to be the ſole inſtruments of government, diverted him from theſe generous reſolutions, and prevented him from appearing often out of the Seraglio, for fear that ſome memorial or other ſhould be preſented againſt themſelves; and would not ſuffer any perſon to enter the Seraglio, except thoſe, who were abſolutely devoted to their intereſt (4).

(3) Pag. 104.

(4) Id. p. 246, 247; Vanel, p. 104.

[*C*] *Determined upon war againſt Perſia, being induced to it by a pretended Viſion.*] A Preacher, whoſe name was Sciac, who was very zealous againſt the ſect of Ali or the Perſians, and uſed to come frequently to the Seraglio, told Amurat one Day, that the night before he had dreamt, that his Highneſs had triumph'd in Perſia, and that he had ſeen theſe words written in large characters upon the gate of the Divan, *Feta Agen*, that is, *the Conqueror of Perſia*. This viſion was a motive ſufficient to engage the Sultan in a war with the Sophi (5). This expedition was reſolv'd upon and publiſh'd without calling a Council; the horſe-tail was expoſed according to the uſual cuſtom; and a very powerful army raiſed; a vaſt quantity of proviſions was prepared, and every thing provided proportionable to the difficulty of the enterprize (6). But it will not be improper to conſider here the

(5) Vanel, pag. 106; and Sagredo, p. 249.

(6) Sagredo, ibid.

 ſtate

Persia, and the Sophi marched in person to oppose the progress of the Turks (c). This happened in the year 1579; and the same year Mahomet the Grand Vizir was assassinated at Constantinople [D]. Amurat then sent Sinan Bassa to succeed Mustapha in the command of the army in Persia, who died of regret for not being made Grand Vizir [E]. In 1580 the Grand Vizir Sinan was desirous of a peace with Persia, that he might have an opportunity of returning to Constantinople, where he treated all the Christian Embassadors with a great deal of contempt and severity (d). In the year 1581 Amurat received an Embassador from the King of Poland to sollicit the liberty of a Nobleman of that nation; and another from Don Antonio of Portugal, to desire his assistance against King Philip II of Spain (e). Two other Embassies were likewise sent to him the same year, one from the King of Fez, to sollicit his aid, lest Portugal should fall into the hands of the Spaniards (f); and the other from Persia to negotiate a peace, but without success (g). In 1582 he made a magnificent feast on account of the

(c) Sagredo, pag. 261.

(d) Idem, pag. 276, 277.

(e) Idem, pag. 278, 279.

(f) Id. p. 288, 289.

(g) Idem, pag. 289, 290.

state of Persia at that time, which will give a light to the affairs between the Turks and that country. That Kingdom had continued peaceable during the reign of Tachmas, who avoided all occasions of breaking with the Turks, and even consented to the demolition of the castle of Chars in order to avoid a war. His eldest son Ismael, who was of a different opinion, entered the Ottoman Dominions in 1566 with twelve thousand horse, without the knowledge of his father, took the city of Veta, and cut in pieces several troops, who endeavoured to oppose him. Tachmas was so exasperated at this, that in order to give satisfaction to the Sultan, he shut up his son in a castle, where he detained him several years, and even declared Kaidar or Chaidar his third son successor to his Crown. After the death of Tachmas the face of affairs was changed; Ismael, who was beloved by the troops was set at liberty, and raised a strong army, with which he marched to the Capital to take possession of the Crown. Kaidar opposed him, but being killed in battle, Ismael was proclaimed King at the age of forty two years. He had a natural aversion to the Turks, and his imprisonment had enraged him the more against them, because they had contributed very much to it. He invited all the Christian Princes to enter into a league with him, and desired them to supply him with canons and canoniers; but he could not obtain them. However it would have been very easy to have assisted him by means of the Portugueze, who were Masters of a great many Provinces in the East Indies, or by the way of Muscovy; and by thus continuing the war with Persia, the Turks might have been prevented from attacking the Christians. But none of the Princes concerned ever reflected upon this. Ismael sent no Embassador to the port to acquaint the Sultan with his accession to the Crown, pretending that it was Amurat's business to send to congratulate him upon that occasion. Nay he gave orders to all his Governors of the Frontiers to oppose vigorously the incursions of the Turks. Amurat was offended at this conduct of his, and confirmed in his resolution of making war upon that country. Ismael's reign was very short; the Grandees of his Court being displeased that he should follow the Sect of Omar, resolved to remove him; and procured him to be poisoned by his Sister Periancono (7), or Alsuana, as Sagredo calls her, who was very zealous for the Sect of Ali. After his death Mahomet Codabanda was placed upon the Throne. The Emirs of Persia soon repented of this election, because he had none of the virtues of his brother Ismael. He had the hairs of his eyebrows so long, that they covered his eyes, and for that reason he was called *Codabanda*, which in the Persian language signifies *blind* (8). This new King was no sooner upon the Throne, but he resolved to remove Periancono his sister, who had endeavoured to seize all the royal authority, and to leave him nothing but the shadow of power. He sent therefore to Miriza Salmas, the most considerable of the Emirs, that he should bring him his sister's head. Miriza obey'd this order, and having stabb'd the Princess, went to the King with the chief men of his Faction. Sahamal and Lentiogli, Princes of Georgia, who had been the principal confidents of Periancono, being informed of her death, retired to the mountains of Armenia, for fear lest the new King should put them to death. Amurat hearing of these changes in Persia, thought that it was a proper opportunity to conquer that Kingdom, and therefore gave orders for the necessary preparations (9), tho' he depended less upon the strength of his own forces, than the weakness of the Sophi (10).

(7) Vanel, p. 108.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, pag. 289.

(10) Sagredo, p. 256.

[D] *Mahomet the Grand Vizir was assassinated at Constantinople.*] This Minister, who was very zealous for the interest of his Master, had resolved to disband some of the troops, which he judged unnecessary upon the frontiers of Europe since the peace, which had been concluded with the Christian Princes. One of the Spahis exasperated at being deprived of his Timar, formed a resolution to kill him, but met with great difficulties to execute his design. It was dangerous to attempt this in the Seraglio, and very difficult to do it in his own palace, the gates of which were constantly kept by Porters, who would not suffer him to enter. This served only to aggravate his resentment, to gratify which he disguised himself like a Dervis. The doors of great men's houses are always open to persons of that character, who are never hindered from going into them to ask alms. The Porter suffered the Spahi to enter, but he could not obtain leave to go into the Grand Vizir's apartment, where there were several persons of figure. Upon this he complained in so loud a manner, that Mahomet heard him, and ordered that he should be brought in. The pretended Dervis came near him, and presented a petition; and while the Vizir was reading it, he struck a knife into his belly. The Vizir drew out his dagger, to revenge the wound, which he had received, but his strength fail'd him, and he fell down dead upon the spot (11). He was well advanced in age, but of so vigorous and healthy a constitution, that if it had not been for this accident he might have lived for many years longer. Amurat ordered the assassin to be quartered alive. The Grand Vizir's death was extremely regretted, he having served several Sultans; and the Seals were given to Achmet Bassa (12).

(11) Vanel, p. 112, 113; and Sagredo, pag. 261, 262.

(12) Sagredo, p. 263.

[E] *Did for the regret of not being made Grand Vizir.*] After the death of Achmet, Mustapha executed that office by commission, but could never obtain the Seals for himself. Sinan Bassa, who commanded the army in Persia, aspired to that post, and the Sultan declared in his favour. This touch'd Mustapha so sensibly, that being found dead one night, it was reported that he had poisoned himself. His domestics said, that his death was occasioned by his having eaten too liberally, which occasioned an apoplexy in the night. In short it was observed, that he was guilty of eating to excess not only the night in which he died, but at all other times. His Chancellor was put to the question, who declared that his Master had two millions of ready money, and directed to the place where it was hid. This was part of the spoils, which he had brought from the Isle of Cyprus (13). Sagredo says, that his sudden death was a punishment from God, and that he could expect nothing less after the cruelty, which he had been guilty of in causing Bragadin and other Christians to be flea'd alive, and ordering the heads of those who were dead to be cut off. However he excused the barbarities, which he had been guilty of in that Kingdom, by alledging the secret orders, which Selim had sent him in writing. All this treasure of his was carried to the Hasna (14); and as the Sultan was seeing it pass along thro' a window, he was seized with an epileptic fit, and fell down, and hurt his face. Sagredo observes upon this occasion (15), that *Crowns do not secure those, who wear them, from dizziness of the head.*

(13) Vanel, p. 114; Sagredo, p. 265, 266.

(14) Vanel, p. 115; Sagredo, p. 266, calls it the *Casna*.

(15) P. 267.

the ceremony of the circumciſion of his eldeſt ſon Mahomet [*F*]. In 1583 Queen Elizabeth of England ſent an Embaſſy to him [*G*]; and the ſame year the war between the Turks and Venetians was very near being renewed on account of a Turkiſh galley which had been taken by Gabriel Emo; but this was prevented by puniſhing that Officer, and reſtoring the prize. Oſman the Turkiſh General being defeated by the Sophi of Perſia's ſon, Amurat reſolved to ſend the Grand Vizir Sinan again to command his armies there, but the latter making uſe of all the pretences imaginable to continue at Conſtantinople, and urging the Sultan himſelf to go in perſon, was diveſted of his poſt of Vizir [*H*], and the ſeals given to Sciaus Baſſa (*b*). But Amurat's inconſtant humour was very prejudicial to his affairs (*i*); and he ſhewed an inſtance of uncommon cruelty by ordering an Embaſſador from Poland to be cut to pieces with all his

(*b*) Idem, pag. 310, 311, 312, 313.

(*i*) Idem, pag. 313, 314.

[*F*] *The ceremony of the Circumciſion of his eldeſt ſon Mahomet.*] He took a million and an half of gold out of his Haſna to be employed in the expences of it, that it might be performed with all the magnificence imaginable. This is one of the chief ceremonies of the Turkiſh Religion, which is derived from that of the Jews. They pretend that it has the ſame virtue as Baptiſm among Chriſtians, and that without this there is no poſſibility of ſalvation. He acquainted the Baſſas with his intention, who were of opinion, that in order to render this ceremony more auguſt, and worthy of the grandeur of their Sovereign, he ſhould inform the Chriſtian Princes of it, that they might ſent Embaſſadors extraordinary in honour of this ſolemnity. They acquainted the Emperor, the Kings of France and Poland, and the Republic of Venice. All theſe powers ſent perſons of the higheſt rank thither. The Senate of Venice choſe Giacomo Soranzo Procurator of St. Mark; who at the audience which he had of Sinan the Grand Vizir, received great complaints of the incurſions, which the Knights of Malta made upon the Turkiſh Dominions. The Feaſts on account of the Circumciſion began the ſecond of June, and were not concluded till the twenty firſt. The Hippodrome, where the horſe-races uſed to be kept, was appointed for the place of this ceremony. The twelfth of that month Mahomet came out of the Seraglio with a prodigious concourſe of people, and was circumciſed by Mahomet Baſſa, the Surgeon in chief. This Prince was not then above ſeventeen years of age, and tho' his father did not allow him much liberty, yet he ſhewed notwithſtanding his youth, that he had very violent paſſions. He fell in love with a ſlave belonging to his mother, and attempted to enter by force in the night into the women's apartment. An eunuch endeavoured to reſiſt him, but this coſt him his life, for Mahomet killed him with a dagger. His mother in order to extinguiſh this paſſion of his for that ſlave, commanded her to be thrown into the ſea, tho' ſhe was then big with child by him. But he reſented this ſo highly, that he was imprudent enough to ſay, that he would kill his mother out of revenge for that injury; ſo that Amurat was obliged to reprimand him in a very ſevere manner (16). His father and the Baſſas made him very noble preſents after his circumciſion (17).

(16) Sagredo, p. 291--299. Vanel, p. 124, 125, 126.

(17) Sagredo, p. 299.

[*G*] *Queen Elizabeth of England ſent an Embaſſy.*] This was the firſt Embaſſy, which that Kingdom ever ſent to the Turks. This Queen, who, as Sagredo obſerves (18), *in the Government of her Kingdoms ſurpaſſed the greateſt Men, and raiſed herſelf above her ſex*, ſent ſhips into the Eaſt; and as the wars, which the Venetians carried on againſt the Port, had prevented them from continuing their voyages ſo frequently as they deſired, the Engliſh enter'd into the Mediterranean, ſailed to the Levant, and went to Zant and Cephalonia to load raiſins, which the Venetians imported before into their country, where a great quantity was conſumed. Queen Elizabeth, who knew the profit, which her ſubjects might reap from this trade, reſolved to eſtabliſh it, tho' her Kingdom was at a vaſt diſtance from Conſtantinople. This Embaſſy was by no means agreeable to the Miniſters of France and Venice. The former remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms to the Grand Vizir what an injury would be done to his Maſter, if they received the Engliſh, and urged the privileges, which France had always enjoyed, and the ancient correſpondence, which had been between that Crown and the Port. The Grand Vizir replied, that the Port was called ſo only, becauſe it was open equally to the whole world; that it was not juſt to exclude the Engliſh without any manner of reaſon. That the Turks had made it a law to themſelves to live amicably with thoſe, who ſought their friendſhip, and in bad terms with thoſe, who render'd themſelves unworthy of it; and that tho' they made war againſt their enemies, they knew how to treat their friends well. The Embaſſador of France not being able to obtain the diſmiſſion of the Engliſh Embaſſador, as he deſired, inſiſted, that at leaſt the Engliſh ſhips, which came to Conſtantinople, ſhould bear the colours of France. The Engliſh Embaſſador oppoſed this with great vigour, and ſaid, that his Queen was ſo powerful, that ſhe would not depend upon any perſon; that ſhe would rather renounce all correſpondence with the Port, than do any thing, which might be prejudicial to her dignity. That ſhe demanded, that the ſea ſhould be free to her ſhips, and that they might ſail under her colours without being under any obligation or dependence. This Miniſter underſtood how to manage his negotiation in ſuch a manner, and repreſented to the Turks the advantages which they would gain by the trade, which he wanted to eſtabliſh, that they immediately agreed to his propoſals (19). Sagredo ſays (20), that *theſe Infidels are like hounds; they diſcover the ſmell of money at a diſtance; ſo that the preſents of the Engliſh, and the profit, which they expected from that nation, made them prefer this new alliance to their ancient ones.* This trade encreaſed afterwards every day. This artful Queen, ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, took part of the trade of the North from the Hanſe-towns, which they had before carried on alone. She formed trading companies, to which ſhe gave peculiar exemptions and privileges. She prohibited the exportation of wool out of her Kingdom, and eſtabliſhed woollen manufactures, which was a great loſs to the Venetians. She applied herſelf to the trade of Africa, and formed Companies for that of the Canaries, Guinea, and the Indies. The wars having prevented the Venetians from ſending Conſuls to the Ports of the Levant, the Engliſh fixed themſelves there, and particularly at Conſtantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Alexandria, whither they carry lead, tin, ſteel, and iron, from whence they make a particular advantage (21).

(18) Pag. 301.

(19) Sagredo, p. 301, 302, 303; Vanel, p. 126, 127.

(20) P. 303.

(21) Sagredo, p. 303, 304; Vanel, p. 127.

[*H*] *Diveſted of the poſt of Vizir.*] He had told Amurat, that it appeared from many paſt inſtances, that the Turks had never made any conſiderable progreſs in Perſia, unleſs their Sultans went themſelves thither in perſon. That he ought to leave the Seraglio, ſince victories were not to be found there, but only in the open field; and that if he deſired to follow the examples of his anceſtors he ſhould abandon his miſtreſſes, and purſue ſuch methods, as would raiſe his character. The Sultan was ſurprized at this bold remonſtrance, which perſons of his rank can very ſeldom hear with patience. But what exaſperated him ſtill more againſt Sinan, was the apprehenſion, which the favourite Ladies of the Seraglio inſpired Amurat with, when they inſinuated to him, that this Miniſter in order to court the favour of the people and the army, who were by no means fond of the Sultan, becauſe he was not of that warlike diſpoſition as his predeceſſors, had a deſign to draw him from Conſtantinople, to place his ſon Mahomet upon the throne. Amurat was ſo ſenſibly affected with this, that he deprived Sinan of his dignities, and reduced him to the ſtate of a *Maſul* or man without employment, and would even have put him to death, if his wife had not interceded with the Ladies of the Seraglio. His eldeſt ſon likewiſe was removed from a Government, which had been conferred upon him (22).

(22) Sagredo, p. 311, 312; Vanel, p. 131.

his retinue [I]. Upon Oſman's return from Perſia in 1584, he was received with prodigious honour by Amurat, whom he adviſed to make peace with the Sophi, and was made Grand Vizir (k). The ſame year the Turks were defeated by the Perſians. In 1585 Oſman routed the Tartars, and reſtored Iſlan to the throne of Tartary, and then marched into Perſia, where he took Tauris, and built a caſtle there, and was killed in a battle with the Perſians, in which the Turks were defeated (l). Amurat was confounded at this loſs, though to amuſe the people he pretended that the victory was on their ſide, and raiſed another army, which he ſent to Perſia under the command of Ferat Baſſa (m). The Turks threw ſupplies into Tauris, which was beſieged by the Perſians (n), but attempting it the ſecond time in 1588 were defeated by the latter (o). However the Sophi was deſirous of a truce, in order to oppoſe Uſbec King of the Aſiatic Tartars, who had made an irruption into his dominions, and for that purpoſe ſent a Prince of the royal blood with four conſiderable Lords of his Kingdom to Conſtantinople, who procured a truce (p). In 1589 there was a peace made between the Turks and Perſians, which was very diſadvantageous to the latter [K]. About the ſame time Amurat invented new methods of increaſing his revenues [L]. Sinan the Grand Vizir propoſed ſeveral ſchemes of new conqueſts to him, but his avarice prevented him from regarding them (q) [M]. In 1590 Rodolphus the Emperor of Germany, who had more vigour and reſolution than his predeceſſor Maximilian, recalled the Embaſſadors, who were carrying to Amurat the tribute of Hungary; upon which the Grand Vizir ordered the Emperor's Embaſſadors to be ſeiz'd (r). The ſame year Aſſan Baſſa, notwithſtanding the truce between the Emperor and the Turks, had made incurſions into Croatia, and beſieg'd Siſech, which occaſioned a battle between him and the Chriſtians [N], in which he was ſlain with Mahomet Amurat's nephew, and ten thouſand Turks (s).

(k) Idem, pag. 322, 323, 324.

(l) Idem, p. 329, 330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337.

(m) Idem, pag. 338, 339.

(n) Idem, pag. 343.

(o) Idem, pag. 346.

(p) Idem, pag. 347, 348, 349, 350.

(q) Id. p. 374.

(r) Idem, pag. 379, 380.

[I] *Ordering an Embaſſador from Poland to be cut to pieces with all his retinue.*] This ſhocking act of barbarity expoſed him to the deteſtation of all Europe. This Embaſſador had a paſsport from the Sultan in the proper form. The Turks pretended, that they had no hand in it, and caſt the blame of it upon the Tartars, or other Aſſaſſins of that kind. But as ſuch actions cannot continue long concealed, it was diſcovered at laſt, that it was done by Amurat's order. The whole world diſapproved of this maſſacre of an innocent perſon, and the imputation of it fell entirely upon the Sultan. People endeavoured to penetrate into the cauſes of it, and ſaid, that the Embaſſador having had leave granted him to carry ſome Turkiſh horſes into Poland, refuſed to pay the uſual demands, and had a conteſt with the Collectors of the cuſtoms; but this was only a pretence. The true reaſon was, that the Sultan being provoked by the incurſions of the Coſſacks into his Dominions, and not able to oppoſe them becauſe of the war with Perſia, revenged himſelf upon the perſon of this Miniſter (23).

(23) Sagredo, p. 314, 315; Vanel, p. 133.

[K] *Peace was made between the Turks and Perſians, which was very diſadvantageous to the latter.*] The Sophi had conquered Usbec, Cham of Tartary, which made him very conſiderable, and inclined the Turk to a peace with him; for the latter had met with ſuch ill ſucceſs in the war with them, that peace was abſolutely neceſſary for them. The war had continued twelve years. They had loſt above a hundred and fifty thouſand men, and immenſe treaſure. The articles of peace were, that the Sophi ſhould leave his grandſon in the hands of Amurat as an hoſtage. The Turks kept him very private, and prevented any perſon from coming near him, upon the advice which they had, that the Sophi's Embaſſador had orders to poiſon him, leſt the Turks ſhould make uſe of him ſome time or other, in order to raiſe a civil war in Perſia. By this treaty the Sophi reſigned to the Sultan Tauris, and all the conqueſts which the Turks had gained. The Perſians loſt very conſiderably by this treaty, ſince beſides Chars, Tifflis, Lon, and ſeveral other adjacent places of Georgia, they loſt in Lower Armenia three hundred miles of the country of the ſide of Tauris, and ſeveral places in the Kingdoms of Servan and Revan (24).

(24) Vanel, p. 157, 158; Sagredo, p. 360, 361.

[L] *About the ſame time Amurat invented new methods of encreaſing his revenues.*] Of all his vices, his inſatiable avarice was moſt remarkable. This prompted him to ſeek out new ſchemes for oppreſſing the people. He laid new taxes upon them, which were collected in gold coin, that were reckoned at the old value; and as that was much higher than before, theſe taxes were almoſt doubled upon them. Beſides, no officer was ſecure of continuing long in his office, and therefore the Baſſas being uncertain how long they ſhould enjoy their poſts, acted with the moſt unbounded licence imaginable, and committed more diſorders in one month, than they would otherwiſe have done in the courſe of ſeveral years. This oppreſſion occaſioned a prodigious clamour among the people; and Ferat the Grand Vizir was privately accuſed of having ſecreted three millions of gold during the time, that he commanded in Perſia. As he was in converſation one day with the Sultan, he offered him a large ſum in ſequins, equal to that, which he was charged with having applied to his own uſe, on condition that he ſhould have the liberty of continuing at Conſtantinople, and living there as a Baſſa of the loweſt order. Sciaus or Schiaoux, as Vanel calls him (25), ſucceeded him as Vizir; but he was very uncertain of enjoying that poſt long; for Sinan endeavoured to raiſe himſelf to it the third time, and offered three hundred thouſand crowns to the Sultan for that purpoſe. However the new Vizir made uſe of every method to ſupport himſelf in it, and to gratify the avarice of Amurat. Every thing was obtained of him by money, and he ſold juſtice in the moſt public manner imaginable (26).

(25) Pag. 162.

(26) Sagredo, pa 370, 371; Vanel, p. 162, 163.

[M] *His avarice prevented him from regarding them.*] Sinan in order to induce him to undertake ſome expedition at ſea, placed before him the examples of his anceſtors, and repreſented to him, that he had gained conqueſts ſufficient at land in Perſia, and that he ought to ſhew the world, that he could equally triumph at ſea. Amurat ſent for Cicala Captain Baſſa to know his opinion, who was of the ſame ſentiments with Sinan. But when they came to examine into the expences, which were neceſſary to fit out a naval armament, the Sultan told them, that expeditions at ſea were too expenſive, and that he ought to confine himſelf entirely to the land. The Vizir was inexpreſſibly chagrin'd at Amurat's oppoſing his opinion. He left the Sultan's apartment with all the indignation imaginable in his countenance, and was heard to ſay, God bleſs the ſoul of Selim his father, who by expeditions at ſea had added the beautiful Iſle of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire; but that his ſon would never follow ſo glorious an example. He ſaid likewiſe, that he thought himſelf unhappy, that he was not born under the reign of thoſe Sultans, who loved war; for after he had conquered Perſia, and reduced Tunis and Gouletta, he would then paſs over to Rome, and force the Pope from his See (27).

(27) Sagredo, p. 374, 375; Vanel, p. 165.

[N] *A battle between him and the Chriſtians.*] The victory continued a long time doubtful. The Chriſtians at laſt began to give way, when their General's exhortations revived their courage in ſuch a manner, that they defeated their enemies rather by their

Turks (*s*). This cauſed a rupture between the Turks and the Emperor; and Sinan marched into Hungary in 1592 with the Emperor's Embaſſador in chains (*t*). In 1593 the Venetians built the caſtle of Palma, in order to ſecure Friuli (*u*). The ſame year the Hungarians attempted to ſurprize Belgrade, but in vain, and were attacked by the Turks, who were defeated (*w*). Upon this Diuffembac the General of the Imperial army took Filec, and the Arch-Duke Matthias and Novigrad, who likewiſe attacked Gran, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege (*x*), and in 1594 was routed by the Turks, who took Javarin (*y*). Rodolphus having made a league with Sigiſmund Battori Prince of Tranſilvania, defeated the Tartars, and afterwards the Turks (*z*), which occaſioned Sinan the Grand Vizir to perſuade Amurat to put himſelf at the head of his armies, or at leaſt to ſend his ſon; but the Sultan refuſed both (*aa*). The ſame year Amurat married one of his daughters to Ali Baſſa with prodigious pomp, but died himſelf ſoon after, in the year 1594 (*bb*). We ſhall give his character in the note [O].

(*s*) Idem, p. 381, 382.
(*t*) Idem, pag. 384, 385, 386.
(*u*) Idem, p. 387, &c.
(*w*) Idem, pag. 394, 395, 396.
(*x*) Idem, pag. 396, 397.
(*y*) Idem, pag. 399.
(*z*) Idem, pag. 403, 406.
(*aa*) Id. p. 408.
(*bb*) Ib. p. 415.

their valour, than the ſuperiority of their numbers. The Turks fled with the utmoſt diſorder; and neither the entreaties nor menaces of Aſſan could ſtop them; and that General finding himſelf abandoned was obliged to follow the reſt. But when they came to the river Save or Sarre, as Vanel calls it (28), they were ſo preſſed by the Chriſtians, that the bridge was too narrow for them to paſs over, ſo that they were forced to throw themſelves into the river. Aſſan was drowned there with Mahomet Baſſa of Hercegovina, a young man, who was ſon to Amurat's ſiſter. He deſired quarter in vain, for a German ſtruck him upon the head with a carabine, which ſunk him immediately. The Sultan in order to appeaſe the people at Conſtantinople commanded an head to be carried in triumph, as if it had been that of the Imperial General. By this means he attempted to conceal his defeat, but it was known that this was only the head of a common ſoldier. If the proper advantage had been made of this victory, the terror was ſo generally ſpread amongſt the Turks, that there was no place in all the country round, which would not have reſigned to the Conqueror. The Generals had orders only to ſtop the courſe of the Infidels, but not to attack any fortified place, that they might not break the peace. The Turks did not obſerve theſe meaſures, and made a better uſe of their opportunities. So that the Germans by being too ſtrict in keeping the terms of the peace, loſt all that they might have gained in the war (29).

(28) P. 168.

(29) Sagredo, p. 383, 384. Vanel, p. 168, 169.

[O] *We ſhall give his character in the note.*] His debaucheries exhauſted him, and were the cauſe of his death. He was extremely avaricious; and left in the inner Haſna, which was under the chamber, where he generally lodged, a great quantity of gold in copper veſſels, and ſtone coffers, ſealed with his ſeal by Capi Aga. Solyman II was the firſt, who founded this Haſna. Selim his ſon enriched it extremely, and Amurat notwithſtanding the prodigious expence of the Perſian war, and the urgent neceſſities, which obliged him ſometimes to take conſiderable ſums out of it; not only reſtored what he had taken from it, but added a prodigious deal, which he had raiſed by extraordinary methods upon the people. He augmented the taxes upon merchandizes, and raiſed the value of a ſequin from ſixty to eighty aſpers, ſo that he doubled his revenue, and formed a fund for the occaſions of war without touching the leaſt part of his treaſure (30). The Sultans have ſo many methods of enriching themſelves, that it is impoſſible for them to want money, unleſs it be upon extraordinary emergencies. They diſpoſe abſolutely of their own eſtates, and thoſe of their ſubjects; and upon preſſing occaſions they are Maſters of the prodigious revenues belonging to the moſques. None of Amurat's ſucceſſors were able to continue this œconomy, becauſe of the diſorder among their troops, which conſumed the greateſt part of this treaſure (31). Amurat was very continent in his youth, but when he grew up, he abandoned himſelf entirely to debauchery. He had fifty children of both ſexes. One of his favourite Sultaneſſes told him one day, that it was to no purpoſe that he took ſo much pains in his gallantries, ſince he did not beget children to live, but only to people the grave. He lived fifty ſix years, and reigned twenty. He died of an apoplexy. He was the great enemy of the Perſians, and the ſcourge of Hungary. He loved war, but never engaged in it in perſon. He degenerated extremely from the valour of his anceſtors. He was of a reſtleſs, fearful, diſtruſtful, irreſolute temper, but obſtinate whenever he undertook any thing. He obſerved the law ſo very ſtrictly, that he never drank wine. He was ſo covetous, that he ſold even the flowers out of his garden. He had no manner of regard for learning. He was cruel and avaricious, two vices, which are very common to the Princes of the Ottoman family. He returned nothing but ingratitude to thoſe, who had done him the greateſt ſervices. In ſhort he had ſo many vices, that there is no room to ſay any thing of his virtues (32).

(30) Sagredo, p. 413, 414. Vanel, p. 183.

(31) Sagredo, p. 414.

(32) Sagredo, p. 414, 415, 416. T. Vanel, p. 183, 184.

AMYOT (JAMES) Biſhop of Auxerre, and great Almoner of France, was one of the moſt celebrated Men of Learning that flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. He was born at Melun the 30th of October 1514. His parents, who were indeed perſons of great probity, but of a very mean condition [*A*], employed all their induſtry to maintain him at Paris, where he ſtudied Humanity and Philoſophy in the college of Cardinal

[*A*] *His parents were of a very mean condition.*] We are told by ſome writers, that Amyot's father was a Currier in Melun (1); by others, that he ſold purſes, and tagged points (2); by ſome, that he was a butcher. I have three good vouchers for this laſt opinion, Thuanus (3), Papyrius Maſſo (4), and Brantome. The reader will, no doubt, be pleaſed to have here the words of the laſt at length; for they contain another particularity, which would be worth knowing, even tho' it ſhould be allowed to be falſe. Brantome, after relating that Charles IX in making his ſpeech to the Parliament, ſaid *with a brave and menacing boldneſs*, "It is your duty to obey my orders, without "diſputing or conteſting about them; for I know, "better than you, what is proper and expedient for "the good of my Kingdom," adds: "Having as yet "no beard, he ſpoke in that manner before men of "great age and wiſdom, who were all amazed to hear "ſuch a reſolute and grave ſpeech, which was rather "owing to the greatneſs of his ſoul, than to the in"ſtructions of Amyot his Preceptor, who never"theleſs had careſully inſtructed him, and whom he "was very fond of, having conferred upon him good "and rich livings, and raiſed him to the Biſhopric "of Lizieux (5); he called him always his Maſter, "and uſed ſometimes in jeſting with him to reproach "him with his covetouſneſs; telling him, that he "fed only on neats tongues: and indeed he was a "Butcher's ſon of Melun, and could not but eat of "victuals he had ſeen dreſſed by his father. Except"ing his covetouſneſs he was a man of great parts, "and very skilful in Greek and Latin: witneſs his "fine and elegant tranſlation of Plutarch; tho' ſome "envious perſons have reported, that it was not done "by him, but by a great Man well verſed in Greek, "who luckily for him, happened to be in the priſon "of the palace of Paris, and in great want; he hav"ing heard of his being there, ſet him at liberty, "and

(1) St. Real, *Of the Uſe of Hiſtory* pag. 74.
(2) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 605.
(3) Thuanus, *Hiſt.* lib. c. *ad ann.* 1591. pag. 405.
(4) *Lanij filius erat, Meloduno oppido ortus vir excellenti ingenio. Latine & Græce doctiſſimus. Carolus magiſtrum eum appellabat, inter jocos avaritiam objiciens & ſordes, quod linguis bubulis uteretur.* Papyr. Maſſo, *in Hiſt. vita Caroli IX.*

(5) He is miſtaken, he ought to have ſaid of *Auxerre*, and not *Liſieux*.

Cardinal le Moine. He was naturally dull and heavy; but his diligence and application made amends for these natural defects. Having taken his degree of Master of Arts at the age of nineteen, he pursued his studies under the Royal Professors established by Francis I, viz. James Tusen, who explained the Greek Poets, Peter Donés, Professor of Rhetoric, and Oronce Finé, Professor of Mathematics. He left Paris at the age of twenty three, and went to Bourges, with the Sieur Colin *(a)*, who was possessed of the Abby of St. Ambrose in that city [*B*]. At the recommendation of this Abbot a Secretary of State *(b)* took Amyot into his house to be Preceptor to his children. The great improvements they made under the direction of such a Preceptor, moved their father to recommend him earnestly to the Princess Margaret Dutchess of Berry, only sister of Francis I. By vertue of this recommendation Amyot was made publick Professor of Greek and Latin in the University of Bourges. He read two Lectures a day for ten years, a Latin Lecture in the morning, and a Greek one in the afternoon. It was during that time he translated into French *The Amours of Theagenes and Chariclea* (*c*), which Francis I was so pleased with, that he soon provided the translator with a living, conferring upon him the Abby of Bellosane, vacant by the death of Francis Vatable [*C*]. The death of that Prince, which happened soon after, made Amyot believe that it would be better for him to try his fortune in Italy, than to expect any preferment from the court of France. He therefore accompanied Morvillier to Venice, on his Embassy from Henry II to that Republick. Morvillier employed him, and sent him to Trent with the King's letters to the Council in 1551 [*D*]. When he was recalled from his Embassy, Amyot refused to repass the Alpes with him, choosing rather to go to Rome, where he was kindly received by the Bishop of Mirepoix, in whose house he lived about two years. It was then that looking over with great eagerness, the manuscripts of the Vatican (whither he was allowed a free access by Romulus Amaseüs Keeper of that famous Library) he found that Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, was the author of *The Amours of Theagenes*. He happened upon a manuscript of this work, both

(*a*) He had been Reader to Francis I.

(*b*) William Boschetel Lord of Saffy.

(*c*) Commonly called *Historia Æthiopica Heliodori.*

" and took him into his service: they two privately " wrote those books, and he publish'd them in his " own name; but this was look'd upon as a false sto- " ry, forged by envious men; and such as knew " him, and discoursed with him, can well witness, " that he was the sole author of that work. To " conclude, he took great care of the education of " that brave Prince, and brought him up a good Ca- " tholic." Were I to call in question the three mean professions ascribed to the father of Amyot, I should not lay great stress on his son's not specifying any of them in the manuscript of his life, where he only insinuates, that his parents were more commendable for their probity, than for their riches, *parentibus honestis magis quam copiosis* (6). This reason is of no weight with me; great Men of a mean extraction are, generally speaking, apt to touch very gently upon the obscurity of their birth; and do not care to descend to particulars on such a subject. They will own, in general terms, that they are not descended of a noble family; but, at the same time, take care not to tell us in their Memoirs, that their father was a Butcher, a Cobler, a Seller of tagged points, or matches; that they begged in their childhood &c. Those, who acknowledge things of this nature, and look upon them as commendable, are so few, that tho' it were true Amyot had begged for some time in the streets of Paris, I should not at all wonder, that he takes no notice of it in his Memoirs. So that I do not refute by his silence what some have wrote of his begging, of his being a foot-boy, and living for some time in the Hospital of Orleans (7). 'Tis true I cannot well reconcile with his silence that part of his will, by which he bequeaths twelve hundred crowns to that Hospital, *as an acknowledgment* of the charity he met with there (8). It has been observed, that *in his works he never describes himself by his country*, and that he had very little correspondence with it, after he was raised to honours (9). He had, no doubt, the weakness to look upon that city as a mortification to him, and to imagine that his correspondence with Melun would make people talk of the meanness of his birth. However I have read, that he raised some of his relations to preferments. *He died invested with great employments, and worth above two hundred thousand crowns, besides the many other means he had to advance his relations, some of which felt the effects of his liberality* (10).

(6) Roulliard, *History of the Antiquities of Melun*, p. 605.

(7) St. Real, *Of the Use of History*, p. 76.

(8) Ibid. p. 75.

(9) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 605.

(10) This is what Popeliniere writes, p. 259 of his *Idée de l'Histoire.*

[*B*] *He left Paris and went to Bourges with the Sieur Colin who was possessed of the Abby of St. Ambrose in that City.*] Bullart, who follows all along *the Antiquities of Melun*, departs from them here, to acquaint us with a thing that is very little known, *viz.* that *Amyot embraced a religious life in the Abby of St. Ambrose at Bourges; but that the Abbot, judging him worthy to make a figure in a more conspicuous place than a Cloyster, brought him acquainted with the Sieur du Sacy Bouchetel* (11). 'Tis a pity he quotes no author who has left in writing a particular so little known.

(11) Bullart, *Academie des Scienc.* tom. I, N 166.

[*C*] *Francis I conferred upon him the Abby of Bellosane vacant by the death of Francis Vatable.*] This is quite inconsistent with Mr. St. Real's account; for, according to him, in the reign of Henry II, Amyot was still in an obscure condition, being Tutor in the house of *a Gentleman, who was a friend of his*; and Mr. de l'Hopital, who did not know him, only recommended him on account of a Greek Epigram, that was presented to the King (12). This must needs be false, if what we read in the Manuscript of Amyot's life, be true, viz. that he had been for several years Professor at Bourges before the death of Francis I; and that his works, having been presented to that Prince, were rewarded with a good Abby. Is it likely, that Mr. de l'Hopital knew nothing of a Frenchman, who had published in 1549 at the furthest (13), a translation of *Heliodorus's Æthiopic History?* What author tells us, that the journey of Henry II to Bourges happened before the first edition of the *Amours of Theagenes?* We may add, that Amyot, if we give credit to the manuscript copy of his life, travelled into Italy not long after the death of Francis I. Reconcile this, if you can, with what the Abbot of St. Real writes, viz that he was a Tutor at Bourges, when Henry II went to that City.

(12) St. Real, *Of the Use of History*, p. 80.

(13) I express my self thus, because *du Verdier van Privas* mentions an edition in 1549; which does not prove that it was the first.

[*D*] *Morvillier sent him to Trent with the King's Letters to that Council, in* 1551.] I must rectify here the Author, who furnishes me with this article (14), tho' he assures us, that what he advances, is attested by a Life of Amyot, begun by himself, and finished by his Secretary. We have a Letter of Amyot containing an account of his journey to Trent. A few days after that journey he wrote to Mr. de Morvillier, Master of Requests. Now he is so far from saying, that Mr. de Morvillier, the French Embassador at Venice, sent him with the King's Letters to the Council, that he tells us, in plain terms, that he was chosen for that commission by Cardinal Tournon, and by the Embassador de Selve. This is a convincing proof that Mr. de Morvillier was not at that time Embassa-

(14) Sebastian Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun.*

both more correct and complete than that which he had tranſlated, and took care to enable himſelf thereby to give a better edition of that work. Theſe learned labours did not take him up ſo as to divert him from puſhing his fortune. He courted very dexterouſly Cardinal de Tournon, and inſinuated himſelf into his favour ſo far, that the Cardinal named him to the King, when that Prince, after calling him home, deſired he would find him a proper Preceptor for his two younger ſons (*d*). This happened about the year 1558. Thus Amyot was made Preceptor to Henry IId's two ſons. In that employment he ended his tranſlation of *Plutarch's Lives*, and dedicated it to the King (*e*). Afterwards he undertook the tranſlation of *Plutarch's Morals*, which he ended in the reign of Charles IX, and dedicated to that Prince. Charles proved very favourable to him, conferred upon him the Abby of St. Cornelius de Compiegne, and made him Great Almoner of France, and Biſhop of Auxerre [*E*]; and becauſe the place of Great Almoner, and that of Curator of the Univerſity of Paris happened to be vacant at the ſame time, he was inveſted in both theſe employments, which Thuanus greatly complains of (*f*). Henry III perhaps would have yielded to the preſſing demands of the Biſhop of St. Flour, who had attended him on his journey into Poland, and made great intereſt for the poſt of Great Almoner; but the Dutcheſs of Savoy, the King's aunt, recommended Amyot ſo earneſtly to him, when he paſſed through Turin on his return from Poland, that he was not only continued in his employment; but a new luſtre was added to it for his ſake; for when Henry III named Amyot Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt (*g*), he decreed at the ſame time, that in regard to him, all the Great Almoners of France ſhould from that time be of courſe Commanders of that Order [*F*]. Amyot did not neglect his ſtudies in the midſt of his honours, but reviſed all his tranſlations with great care, collated them with the Greek text,

(*d*) They reigned ſucceſſively under the names of Charles IX and Henry III.

(*e*) He began it under Francis I, to whom he preſented ſome of theſe lives copied by Adam Charles a writing maſter of Paris. Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 605.

(*f*) Thuan. *in vita ſua*, lib 5. p. 1222.

(*g*) Upon the firſt inſtitution of this Order, the 31ſt of December 1578.

dor at Venice, which appears ſtill more plain from a Letter of Amyot directed to Mr. de Morvillier at Court. The following words of Amyot deſerve particular notice, *Cardinal de Tournon, and Mr. Ambaſſador de Selve, were pleaſed to appoint me for that commiſſion, when I did not think on it in the leaſt, nor on any ſuch thing* (15). *It is to be obſerved, that not only I was not named, directly or indirectly, in that Letter* (16); *but, what is ſtill worſe, they had not ſo much as ſent a copy of it, to acquaint us with the contents of the Letter. So that I never ſaw a buſineſs ſo ill managed* (17). He was not therefore ſent by the King to proteſt in his name againſt the Council; but pitched upon by Cardinal de Tournon, and the French Embaſſador at Venice, to carry the King's Letter, and to read his Majeſty's proteſtation word for word before the Aſſembly: and of this commiſſion he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. Now here is what I intend. The Abbot de St. Real takes for granted, that Amyot was Preceptor to the Children of France, before the abovementioned negotiation; and ſuppoſes, that Henry II charged him with it, becauſe he had found by experience, that he anſwered the character which Mr. de l'Hopital had given him, when he told the King, that Amyot *deſerved to be Preceptor to the children of France*. All this is unanſwerably refuted by Amyot's Letter to Morvillier. The following falſhood, advanced by du Sauſſai ought likewiſe to be corrected. *Cæterum Amyotus, adhuc Abbas, ad Concilium Tridentinum ab Henrico II miſſus fuit, negotiorum magni momenti cauſa* (18). Henry II had no hand in it.

(15) *Inſtructions and letters of the moſt Chriſtian Kings, and other pieces relating to the Council of Trent*, p. 14. edit. of 1608.

(16) The letter that the King wrote to the fathers of the Council of Trent.

(17) *Inſtructions, Letters, &c.* pag. 23.

(18) Andr. Sauſſaius *de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.* num. 52.

[*E*] *Charles IX made him great Almoner of France, and Biſhop of Auxerre.*] The firſt of theſe two dignities was conferred upon Amyot the 6th of December 1560, by Charles IX, at Orleans. Du-Peyrat, who had read the regiſters of the great Almoners of France, relates this date extracted from the regiſter of Amyot (19). It is then matter of fact; and, of courſe, above one half of the ſtory, which the Abbot de St. Real relates concerning the riſe of that Prelate, deſerves no credit. He tells us, that Amyot, during the reigns of Francis II, and Charles IX his diſciples, was only poſſeſſed of the Abby of Belloſane, with the glory of having read *the judicious and bold proteſtation of Henry II in full Council; and that his fortune would have probably ſtopped there, had he not been raiſed higher than he ever expected, by an accident, which ſerves to give us a true notion of the Court.* This was, that one day at the King's table, *Charles V was greatly extolled for his many glorious actions, but eſpecially for having raiſed his Preceptor to be Pope. . . . That made ſuch a deep impreſſion in the mind of Charles IX, that he ſaid,* if occaſion ſhould offer, he would do as much for his Preceptor. *And not long after the place of great Almoner of France being vacant, he conferred it upon Amyot.* The Regiſters belonging to the employment of great Almoner evidently convince us of the falſity of his whole account; for we find there, that Amyot was inveſted with that office the ſecond day of the reign of Charles IX. Beſides, Francis II had not been diſciple to Amyot, but to Peter Danes. But to proceed; Mr. de St. Real pretends, that the Queen mother having heard, what Charles IX had done in behalf of his Preceptor, *commanded the latter to be ſent for, and calling him into her cloſet, received him with theſe threatning words.* "I have made the Guiſes, and the "Chatillons, the Conſtables, and Chancellors, the "Kings of Navarre, and the Princes of Condé ſub"mit; now have at you, you little ſorry Prieſt." *Notwithſtanding Amyot's proteſting that he had refuſed that dignity; the concluſion was, that if he had the office, he ſhould not live 24 hours.* The Abbot adds, that Amyot abſconded, and that Charles imagining *what might be the occaſion of it . . . was provoked to ſuch a degree, . . . that the Queen, who had much difficulty to govern him, and feared him as much as ſhe loved him, had nothing ſo much at heart as to find out Amyot.* He ſuppoſes, that Charles IX had reigned a long time before he raiſed his Preceptor to that employment, which is entirely falſe; for he conferred it upon him the very next day after his acceſſion to the Crown, before Catherine de Medicis had taſted the ſweets of the regency, and made many perſons ſubmit. Every one knows ſhe had no great power under Francis II. However I muſt own, that Mr. de St. Real's reflections on theſe tranſactions are in themſelves very proper and ſolid. As to the Biſhopric of Auxerre, it was not conferred upon Amyot in 1568, as Du-Peyrat affirms (20), but in 1570 (21) after the death of Cardinal Philibert Babou, his predeceſſor.

(19) William du Peyrat, *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Court, or the Antiquities and Inquiries about the Chapel and Oratory of the King of France*, p. 102.

[*F*] *Henry III decreed, that in regard to him all the great Almoners of France ſhould from that time be of courſe Commanders of that Order.*] Here follows what I find in another author relating to this ſubject. *Henry III in* 1578, *when he founded the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, decreed* * *in favour of Amyot, that his great Almoner, and thoſe who ſhould ſucceed him in that employment, ſhould be admitted into the Order, with the title of Commander: who nevertheleſs, ſays he, ſhall not be obliged to prove their Nobility; this he added out of complaiſance to the ſaid Amyot, who was not of a noble extraction, but had entered the temple of glory through that of virtue* (22). See in Sauſſai (23) Henry III's Anſwer to the Courtiers, who complained of his promoting a man of ſuch a mean birth. The ſame Author aſſures us, that Amyot compoſed the Statutes and the Litanies (or rather the Office) of the Order. *Hujus ſtatuta & horarias preces ſcite & ſcienter compoſuit.*

(20) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. of the Court, &c.* p. 481.

(21) There is therefore a miſtake in the Index of the tranſlation of Father Paul, where it is ſaid, that *Amyot went Ambaſſador to Rome under the name of Biſhop of Auxerre*, in 1562. The Biſhop of Auxerre mentioned by Father Paul was not James Amyot.

* The ordinance is to be found in the xviiith book of Henry's Code tit. XI, of the Holy Ghoſt.

(22) William du Peyrat, *Hiſtory of the Court, &c.* p. 385.

(23) *De Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.* num. 52.

text, and altered a great many paſſages: He deſigned to give a more complete edition of them with the various readings of divers manuſcripts, but died before he had finiſhed that work. The civil wars and rebellious ſpirit of the people of his dioceſs occaſioned him a great deal of uneaſineſs [G]; he was robbed on his return from the States of Blois in 1589. He died the ſixth of February 1593, in the ſeventy ninth year of his age [H]. He preached now and then on great feſtivals, and wrote his ſermons in Latin, though he delivered them in French; in preaching he uſed to turn the door of the pulpit towards the auditory, placing himſelf in the middle of it on a great chair. He engaged alſo in poetry, but with no good ſucceſs [I]. This is what I have extracted from a life of Amyot, begun by himſelf, and continued by his Secretary (b). His tranſlations are preferable to his other works [K], though they have not been unanimouſly approved of by all the Critics [L]; nay, ſome have even taxed him as a plagiary [M]. Others

(b) It is in Latin, and has never been printed; but Sebaſtian Roulliard, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who read it, publiſhed an Abſtract of it in the *Antiquities of Melun*, pag. 605, &c. From that extract I have taken this article.

[G] *The rebellious ſpirit of the people of his dioceſs occaſioned him a great deal of uneaſineſs.*] Thuanus makes a remark, that is highly diſhonourable to the memory of our Amyot, charging him with ingratitude towards the two Princes who had been his diſciples, notwithſtanding the many favours they had heaped upon him, and with too much condeſcenſion to the ſeditious fury of the Leaguers of Auxerre. His age and inclination to ſtudy having induced him to reſide, he had not courage enough to ſtem the torrent of the rebellion (24). Sebaſtian Roulliard ſpeaks of him in a quite different manner; and inſinuates, that he was ill uſed on account of his loyalty. *His troubles began*, ſays he (25), *at the breaking up of the States of Blois in* 1589, *becauſe through the fury of parties which began then to rage more than ever, he was robbed and ſtripped half way to Auxerre, and having got thither, he was haraſſed by the inhabitants, and even by his Clergy. But at laſt matters were appeaſed by degrees; ſo that he did not ſtir from that place; but however daily complained, that the loſs he had ſuffered, and the want of the conveniences he formerly enjoyed, deprived him of the pleaſure of ſtudy.* St. Marthe owns, that ſome bad reports were rumoured about, but does not believe them (26).

(24) Thuanus *de vitâ ſuâ*, lib. 5. p. 1222.

(25) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 605.

(26) Sammarth. *in Elegiis*, p. 96.

[H] *He died in* 1593, *in the ſeventy ninth year of his age.*] Thuanus muſt have applied himſelf to ſuch as knew very little of Amyot, ſince they could neither acquaint him when he died, nor at what age. He only ſays, in general terms, that Amyot (whoſe death he places in the month of July 1591) was above ſixty. St. Marthe places it in 1592. *Triennio poſt Henricum tertium deteſtabili parricidarum coitione ſublatum e vivis exceſſit* (27). i. e. "He died three "years after the deteſtable taking off of Henry III "by parricides.

(27) Ibid.

[I] *He engaged alſo in poetry, but with no good ſucceſs.*] Sebaſtian Roulliard his countryman, would, no doubt, have been favourable to him on this head, had it been poſſible. He writes thus. *As to the Latin Poem he made upon the coronation of Charles IX, it ſhews he was converſant with Horace, but had no poetical genius* (28). The tranaſlation of Greek verſes into French meter, which Amyot confined himſelf to, in his verſion of Plutarch, is wretched. Charles IX thought that tranſlation very rugged, *and many others are of his opinion* (29). Roulliard produces a poor excuſe, *It is*, ſays he, *a collection made up of divers authors and of a different ſtyle.* We ſhall add the judgment he paſſes upon Amyot's proſe compoſitions. *As to my opinion*, ſays he, *he was attended with better ſucceſs in tranſlating, than in compoſing, either in French or in Latin; for what I have ſeen of his ſeems to me ſtrangely heavy and low.*

(28) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 614.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Thus the *Poemenica 'Longi* of Thuanus ought to be tranſlated; and not *les Poemeniques de Longus*, as du Ryer tranſlates that title.

(31) This is what Bullart relates in his *Academy of Sciences*, p. 168.

(32) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Proſopograph*, tom. 3. p. 2572.

[K] *His tranſlations are preferable to his other works.*] His firſt tranſlation was that of *the Amours of Theagenes and Chariclea*; but that of Plutarch was the moſt eſteemed. He alſo tranſlated the *Paſtorals of Longus* (30), ſeveral *books of Diodorus Siculus*, and ſome *Greek Tragedies*. The Dutcheſs of Savoy not finding in Plutarch the life of Epaminondas, nor that of Scipio, deſired him to write them, which he did accordingly, but never publiſhed them. The preface was done, and Peter Matthieu ſaw it (31); from whence we may conclude that Amyot had finiſhed that work. It is ſaid, that he was afraid to venture upon the tranſlation of Philoſtratus (32), though Henry III often deſired him to undertake it: He declined it all along, ſaying, *it is impoſſible*; and when that Prince, after ſeeing the tranſlation of Viogenere, ſaid to Amyot; *Well, you thought it impoſſible to tranſlate Philoſtratus*, he anſwered, that he had thought ſo till then.

[L] *They have not been unanimouſly approved of by all the Critics.*] Mr. Baillet has been at the pains to collect all the praiſes that have been beſtowed upon Amyot's *Plutarch* (33), which are much to the Tranſlator's reputation. I ſhall add to them what I heard Mr. Conrart ſay in 1675, when he was told, that moſt part of the copies of Plutarch tranſlated by the Abbot Tallemant, had been burnt in a Bookſeller's ware-houſe. *No great loſs*, ſaid he, *ſo long as we have Amyot's tranſlation, which contains all the fine turns of our language, and the beſt harmony of our periods.* Mr. Baillet has been no leſs careful in collecting the opinions of ſuch as are not favourable to our Amyot; nor has he forgot, that Thuanus admired more the politeneſs of his ſtyle, than the exactneſs of his tranſlation: *Diodoro ac præcipue Plutarcho licet majore plerumque elegantia quam fide Gallicè redditis* (34). He has nevertheleſs omitted another paſſage of Thuanus quoted by Mr. Girac. I ſhall relate the words of the latter by way of a Supplement to Mr. Baillet's fine Collection. "As to "Epitimius, ſays he (35), who is killed in Amyot's "tranſlation; whereas in the Greek text it is but his "horſe, I am apt to think he uſed copies that were "different from ours, rather than to agree with "Thuanus, that *his tranſlations were more elegant "than true, and that he did not ſo much aim at "truth, as he affected to flatter the ear* *. I know "he has been taxed by a learned and wiſe Civilian † "for miſunderſtanding a point of antiquity relating "to a law of Solon; for inſtead of ſaying, that the Legiſlator had boaſted ſome where in his Poems, that "he had freed the Athenians from all the debts they "had contracted, *and taken away the billets that "were ſet up in many places as marks of the lands "being mortgaged*, he tranſlated, *to have taken away "the bounds that formerly ſeparated the inheritances "of the whole territory of Attica.* I could add a "great many remarks upon divers paſſages, which "our Amyot miſunderſtood; but however I cannot "agree with Mr. de Meziriac, who §, in his Diſ"courſe upon tranſlations, *after having commended "the judgment, labour, and ſtyle of this eloquent "Tranſlator in his verſion of Plutarch, undertakes to "prove him guilty of no fewer than two thouſand "palpable miſtakes.*"

(33) Baillet, *Jugem. des Savans*, tom. 4. p. 521. See alſo Pope-Blount, *Cenſur. celebr. auctor.* p. 521.

(34) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. C. pag. 405.

(35) Girac, *Reply to Ceſſar*, Sect. 51. p. 438. Holland edition.

* *Amiotus hic Poemenica Longi, Heliodori Æthiopica, Diodori Siculi Hiſtorica, ac poſtremo Plutarchum in linguam noſtram gallicam de Græcis vertet, ſed hunc majore elegantia, quam fide, dum auribus noſtris placere, quam de ſenſus veritate laborare, potius exiſtimat.* Thuanus *de vitâ ſuâ*, lib. 5.

† L'Oiſeau, *de l'Action hypothèq.* l. 3. Ὅτι τὶς τὰ προσπεπτωμένα γῆς ἕρας ἀτίμητα πολλαχῆ συκοφάντας.

§ Peliſſon *Hiſtory of the Academy*, p. 232.

[M] *Some have even taxed him as a Plagiary.*] We have already heard Brantome (36) on this ſubject; let us now hear others. *I have heard Mr. Patin ſay*, writes Mr. Colomies (37), *that he was informed by Lawrence Bochel (who cauſed the Decrees of the Gallican Church &c. to be printed) that Amyot tranſlated* Plutarch's Lives *from an old Italian tranſlation lodged in the King's Library; which was the occaſion of all his miſtakes. This perhaps is the tranſlation, which was done from the Latin in* 1428 *by Baptiſt Alexander Jaconel of Rieti, and is likewiſe to be found in the King's Library.* La Popeliniere finds fault with Amyot for not paying Turnebus the honour that was due to him; for he makes no where the leaſt mention of the helps he received from him towards the right underſtanding of the hard paſſages (38). La Popeliniere pretends, that Turnebus ſent Amyot *whole paſſages tranſlated into French*, which he could not underſtand of himſelf; and that many others helped him with their good advice (39).

(36) Note [A].

(37) Colomies *Opuſcul.* p. 124. Utrecht edition.

(38) La Popelin. *Idea of a Complete Hiſtory*, l. 3. p. 259.

(39) La Popelin. *Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, p. 389.

Others have charged him with avarice [*N*]. The Abbot de St. Real knew a great many curious particulars, which have not been inſerted in his life (*i*), but are to be found in Moreri's Dictionary; and this is the reaſon why I ſhould not meddle with them, even though I looked upon them as undoubtedly true. The ſupplements and new hints that may occur to me, ſhall be inſerted in the notes.

What Mr. Varillas relates concerning Amyot is a heap of untruths [*O*]. We ſhall examine them, which will ſerve to clear up that chaos.

(*i*) See his Treatiſe of *The Uſe of Hiſtory*. Mr. Teiſſier has copied from them (but quotes the Author) whatever relates to Amyot, and has added it to his *Additions to the Elogies of Thuanus*, tom. 2. p. 152.

[*N*] *Some have charged him with covetouſneſs.*] I have quoted a long paſſage out of Brantome in the remark [*A*], wherein Charles IX makes merry with his Preceptor's covetouſneſs. Another Author informs me, that Amyot having one day begged of that Prince a living that yielded a very great income, the King anſwered, *How, Maſter, you ſaid if you had a thouſand crowns a year, you would be ſatisfied: now I believe you have that and more. Sire*, anſwered Amyot, *appetite encreaſes by eating; and yet he obtained what he deſired* (40). You may, if you pleaſe, look upon the two hundred thouſand crowns he heaped up as a doubtful proof of his covetouſneſs (41).

(40) *Proſograph.* of du Verdier, tom. 3. p. 2573.
(41) See Note [*A*] *prope finem.*

[*O*] *What Mr. Varillas relates concerning Amyot, is a heap of untruths.*] He ſays, that the Court of Francis I having ſtopped for a few hours at the caſtle of a Gentleman of Berri, Amyot, who was Preceptor in the Gentleman's houſe, *took that occaſion to preſent the King with a Greek Epigram of four verſes, which he had juſt then compoſed. The Epigram was ſo well received by the learned men of the King's retinue, that they thought it a pity the author ſhould remain in a province ſo far from Paris. The King took him into his ſervice, and allowed him a conſiderable penſion* (42). Circumſtances are ſtrangely miſplaced in this account; for the advantage, which Amyot reaped from his Greek verſes, when they were preſented to Henry II, was owing to Michael de l'Hopital, as we have already obſerved (43). Mr Varillas tells us elſewhere (44), that Amyot, Profeſſor of Greek at Bourges, made himſelf firſt known at Court by his *politeneſs of ſtyle in writing French*, and that afterwards he was invited to Paris by Bouchetel, and Morvillier Secretary of State, who, after having brought him back *to the communion of the Catholic Church, recommended him to Cardinal de Tournon; and he procured him the Abby of Belloſane, and the commiſſion of Secretary to the Embaſſador at Venice, from whence he ſet out to execute the King's orders at Trent in* 1551. Thus this Hiſtorian contradicts in one work what he avers in another. He adds, that Amyot made a ſpeech before the Fathers of the Council, of which he even gives us the ſubſtance, and quotes *the Speech of Amyot*. But this Speech is a mere chimera; for Amyot only read the King's proteſtation. Is it not a great piece of impudence to quote manuſcripts that never were in being? The ſame Mr. Varillas affirms, that Amyot, when ten years old, was found lying ſick by a ditch on the road to Paris, and that *a Gentleman going by* ... put him upon his horſe, and ſupporting him carried him to a neighbouring houſe, where he recovered, and received ſixteen ſols wherewithal to purſue his journey, which he returned with uſury, leaving to the heirs of his benefactor ſixteen hundred crowns a year (45). We read in Amyot's Life, that he bequeathed twelve hundred crowns to the Hoſpital of Orleans (46); for thither he was carried by the Gentleman; there he was cured, and received the ſixteen ſols; and to that Hoſpital he left, if we give credit to Mr. de St. Real, a legacy of twelve hundred crowns (47). What makes Mr. Varillas thus alter the circumſtances, and exaggerate Mr. Amyot's gratitude? Why does he, with his exaggerations, change a legacy of three thouſand ſix hundred florins into an annual revenue of ſix thouſand two hundred livres (48)? He informs us, that "Amyot, during his ſtudies, changed his religion, and was a means to ſeduce his companions, till ſuch time as he was diſcovered, and obliged to fly to Bourges; where the ſame Volmar, who had inſtructed Calvin and Beza, recommended him to the Abbot of St. Ambroſe, whoſe nephews were committed to his charge; and afterwards named him for his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſorſhip of Greek. But Amyot grew ſoon weary of that public employment." This can by no means be reconciled with the Memoirs of Amyot's Life, publiſh'd by Sebaſtian Rouillard. For we find there, that he was twenty three when he went to Bourges, with the Abbot of St. Ambroſe, who perſuaded him to undertake that journey (49). He went thither then in 1537; whereas Volmar had left Bourges in 1535 (50), and conſequently did not bring him acquainted with that Abbot. The ſame Memoirs inform us, that Amyot was public Profeſſor for the ſpace of ten years, that he was often heard to ſay among his friends, that he had a handſome ſalary, that he never paſſed his time more agreeably, and that he was mightily pleaſed with his employment, becauſe it allowed him to live a quiet life (51). It is not therefore true, that he grew ſoon weary of that public employment. Mr. Varillas obſerves, that Bouchetel and Morvillier *laid before him, that his hereſy was a bar both to his ſalvation and preferment, and that he made good uſe of their advice.* Bouchetel then knew he was a Calviniſt; but if ſo, is it likely he would have truſted him, as he did, with the education of his children (52)?

(42) Varillas, *Hiſtory of Hereſies*, lib. 10. pag. 310. Holland edition.
(43) In Remark [*C*].
(44) Varillas, *Hiſtory of Henry II.* l. 2. p. 204.

(45) Idem, pag. 203.
(46) See Remark [*A*].
(47) St. Real *of the Uſe of Hiſtory*, p. 75.
(48) Varillas, *Hiſtory of Henry II.* l. 2. p. 204.
(49) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 607.
(50) Melch. Adam *in vitis Philoſophor.* pag. 233.
(51) Roulliard, *Antiquities of Melun*, p. 607.
(52) Ibid.

AMYRAUT (MOSES) Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at Saumur, was one of the moſt eminent Divines that flouriſhed in France in the eighteenth Century. He was of a good and ancient family, originally from Orleans [*A*], and was born at Bourgueil, a ſmall town of Touraine, in September 1596. Having ended his courſe of Philoſophy, he was ſent to Poitiers to ſtudy the Law, and is ſaid to have ſpent fourteen hours a day in that ſtudy. At the year's end (*a*) he took his degree of Licentiate, but went no further. Mr. Bouchereau, his countryman, and Miniſter of Saumur, adviſed him to ſtudy Divinity; and the reading of Calvin's inſtitutions inclined him to follow his advice;

(*a*) In 1616.

[*A*] *He was of a good and ancient family, originally from Orleans.*] Stephen l'Amyraut, his great grandfather, was Sheriff of Orleans in 1509, when the common law was reformed in that city, as the verbal Proceſs of the common law witneſſes. One l'Amyraut, whoſe tomb is of the year 1370, was to be ſeen in the Church of St. Peter en Pont, is ſuppoſed to have been the Head of this family. He came from Hagenaw, a town of Alſatia, and was Captain of a company of Reiſters, as we are informed by his Epitaph. The Convent and Church of the Minimes of Orleans owe much to this family; and hence their coat of arms is painted on the great glaſs-windows of the church. I ſhall obſerve, ſince it falls in my way, that an Engliſhman of the Church of Rome has been guilty of a great miſtake in latinizing the name of Amyraut; for inſtead of *Amyraldus* he writes *Amurath*; which miſtake would ſcarce deſerve notice, had he not, by a poor and mean alluſion, accompanied it with a ridiculous doubt. *Moſes quidem Amurath*, ſays he (1), *Miniſter Salmurienſis, homo ſaltem nomine (neſcio an & progenie) Judæo-Turca*; that is, "Moſes Amurath, "a Miniſter of Saumur, a man in name at leaſt, if "not by deſcent a Jewiſh Turk." In the next following page he calls him *Amyrath*.

The following words of Father Bartolocci ſeem very ſurprizing: Moses Amyraldus, ſays he (2), *videtur Judæus converſus ad fidem, ſcripſitque eruditiſſimam & catholicam diſſertationem de Myſterio Trinitatis, deque vocibus ac phraſibus, quibus tam in ſcriptura,*

(1) In his *Notes upon ſome Extracts of the ſpeeches of Sir Edward Dering*. It was printed at London 1659, with a piece entitled, *Nuncius a Mortuis*, which is a dialogue between the ſoul of Henry VIII. and that of Charles I.
(2) Bartolocci *Bibliotheca Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 68.

vice; insomuch, that he acquainted his father, who had something in view in designing him for the bar [*B*], that he earnestly desired to be a Minister, and obtained, not without much difficulty, his approbation. He went to Saumur to study under Camero, who had a particular kindness and value for him, and remained there a long while in the quality of Student in Divinity. When he was admitted Minister, he was allotted to the church of St. Aignan in the country of Maine; and from thence, after a year and a half, invited to Saumur, where he succeeded Mr. Daillé, who was made Minister of Charenton *(b)*. At the same time that the church of Saumur desired to have him for a Minister, the Academic Council pitched upon him for Professor of Divinity. This occasioned the disappointment of the churches of Rouën and Tours, which at the same time had asked him of the Synod; it having been decreed by the national Synods, that the Academies should be served preferably to the Churches. His admittance to the Professorship in 1633, the previous examination, and the inaugural thesis *de Sacerdotio Christi*, redounded much to his reputation. Two other eminent Professors were admitted with him, Lewis Cappel, and Joshua de la Place, so that the Academy of Saumur was at one and the same time provided with three members, who were all extremely well qualified to make it flourish; for besides their being all three men of great learning, their humours suited so well together, as to produce that edifying and happy concord, which is no less commendable, than rare in Academies. Mr. Amyraut was sent, with the character of Deputy, to the national council of Charenton in 1631, and by that assembly appointed to address the King, and lay before his Majesty, their complaints concerning the infraction of the edicts. He was particularly charged to order matters so, as not to make his speech kneeling, as the Deputies of the former national Synod had done [*C*]; and managed that business with such dexterity and resolution, that he was introduced to the King according to the ancient custom, and the desire of the assembly (*c*). This commission brought him acquainted with Cardinal Richelieu, who was amazed to find so many good qualities in him, which are not usual in a man of study. Not long after he published a piece, wherein he explained the mystery of predestination and grace, according to the hypothesis of Camero [*D*]. This occasioned a kind of civil war among the Protestant Divines of France [*E*]. Such as did not approve of that hypothesis, were alarmed at it as a novelty, especially when they saw the great

(*b*) From the *Life of Mr. Daillé* we gather that he was called to Paris in 1626.

(*c*) His speech to the King is inserted in *Mercure François* of 1631.

ra, quam apud patres, explicatur. Pars IV, quæ est de primordiis revelationis mysterii Trinitatis in veteri Testamento, habetur in libro Wagenseilii inscripto, Tela ignea Satanæ, pag. 140. i. e. "Moses Amyraut seems to be a converted Jew, and has written "a most learned and Catholic Dissertation on the mystery of the Trinity, and on the words and phrases, "by which it is explained in Scripture and the Fathers. Part IV. which is of the original of the "revelation of the mystery of the Trinity in the "old Testament, is in Wagenseillius's book intitled "*The fiery darts of Satan.*" Thus the famous Men are sometimes strangers to one another. Father Bartolocci, having known Mr. Amyraut only by an adopted piece of Mr. Wagenseil, took him really to have been a Jew.

[*B*] *His father had some thing in view when he designed him for the bar.*] He designed him to be Seneschal, which Magistracy was held by his uncle, who had no children.

[*C*] *He was particularly charged to order matters so as not to make his speech kneeling.*] Mr. Amyraut was the person who laid the state of this question before the Synod, and at the same time promised to use his utmost endeavours, providing the Assembly gave him proper instructions thereupon. He had therefore in charge to procure the restoring of the Ministers to the privilege they formerly enjoyed of speaking to the King, standing, as the other Ecclesiastics of the Kingdom were allowed to do. He set out, accompanied by two Elders, for Monceaux, where the Court then resided; and having applied himself to Mr. de la Vrilliere, Secretary of State, he was acquainted by him, that the King expected the Deputies of the Synod should make their Speech to him in the same manner as those of the former Synod had done. As a Commissary appointed by the King always assisted at our Synods; the Commissary who was present at the national Synod of Charenton, had given notice to the King of the instructions the Deputies had received from the Assembly: whereupon the Court, not judging proper to yield them their demands, enjoined Mr. de la Vrilliere to acquaint them immediately with it. Mr. Amyraut represented to him the reasons of the Assembly with no less dexterity than respect; and a whole fortnight was spent without either of them remitting any part of their pretensions. Notice being given to Cardinal Richelieu of the Deputy's steadiness and resolution, he desired a conference with him, and did all that lay in his power to make him comply with the Court. Amyraut answered all the plausible reasons the Cardinal could produce, and at last was introduced to the King on the footing he desired. After that the Cardinal had several conferences with him about the complaints of the Synod, and was extremely pleased both with his talents and deportment.

[*D*] *He published a piece wherein he explained the mystery of predestination and grace, according to the hypothesis of Camero.*] A Roman Catholic of quality gave occasion to the writing of this piece. He had dined with Mr. Amyraut in the house of the Bishop of Chartres, Amyraut's intimate acquaintance (3), at Bourgueil. After dinner he made the conversation fall upon a point of controversy, and taxed the Protestants with teaching very hard tenets relating to predestination. Mr. Amyraut began upon this subject, which occasioned a civil kind of dispute between him and the Bishop, upon this difficult question. They parted in the evening, and the next morning Mr. Amyraut returning to Saumur took to the Nobleman's house in his way, as he had promised (4), and found him greatly inclined to the Protestant Religion, but not without divers doubts relating to the mystery of predestination as explained by Calvin. He resolved his doubts in the best manner he could, and being entreated by the Nobleman to write a Treatise, in which that subject might be examined more thoroughly than it could possibly be canvassed by way of conversation, he composed and published the book I have mentioned (5). Thus far my manuscript Memoirs furnish me. Mr. Amyraut does not relate this occasion of his work, but a very different one (6).

(3) He was of the family d'Estampes Valencai, and afterwards made Archbishop of Reims.

(4) At Plessis-Rideau.

(5) In 1634.

(6) Præfat. *Specimin. Animadvers. de gratia universali.*

[*E*] *This occasioned a kind of civil war among the Protestant Divines of France.*] This dispute has made such a noise, that it well deserves to be related at length in the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Protestants. The Author of the History of our Synods of France written in English, which is a very curious piece (7), will inform us of the differences occasioned by the doctrine of universal grace. I do not question, but that

(7) John Quick Minister at London; his book entitled, *Synodicon in Gallia reformata* was printed in 1692, folio. REFLECTIONS ON THE EVILS OCCASIONED BY THE DISPUTES OF DIVINES.

great Moulin take the field, and fall upon Amyraut, as acting contrary to the Synod of Dort, and favouring Arminianism. The authority of that famous Divine, to whom the people paid a great respect and veneration in regard of the many books of controversy he had published, made so deep an impression in the minds of a great many Ministers, that though Amyraut published a book (*d*), in which he maintained that Calvin had held universal grace; yet many Deputies appeared at the national Synod of Alençon (*e*) with instructions against him, and some were even for deposing him [*F*]. The Deputies of the Provinces on the other side the Loire were the most violent of all. However the Synod, after having heard, in divers Sessions, Mr. Amyraut explain his opinion, and answer what was objected against it, sent him back with honour, and imposed silence with regard to questions of that nature. This silence was not duly observed; for complaints were represented to the national Synod of Charenton against Mr. Amyraut (*f*), as if he had *acted contrary to the regulations* concerning that silence; and he on the other hand complained of *some infractions of the same regulations*. The Assembly

(*d*) Entitled, *A Specimen of the Doctrine of Calvin.*

(*e*) In 1637.

(*f*) Blondel, *Authentic Acts*, p. 36.

that it would be a most outragious and injurious reflection upon those who first started that question, to say, that they would have moved it, even tho' they had foreseen all the bad consequences it was attended with: for what advantage accrues from controversies of that nature? where is the *cui bono* in such disputes? do all the difficulties vanish in adhering to Camero's hypothesis? or rather, was ever any remedy more palliative? Our reason is not so easily satisfied; and if you go no farther, you had as well not to have stirred from your place: keep your particular opinions to your self. Tho' I should allow that the opinion of the Universalists had some advantage in that dispute, and that some objections were more fully answered by it; would this be capable of weighing down the many spiritual crimes that attend factions, and parties, so many bad impressions, malicious constructions, false imputations, the many aversions, injuries, libels, and other disorders, which are inseparable from such theological conflicts? If you are persuaded, that the opinions of the Particularists are damnable, you are much in the right to refute them, tho' it should cost dear; and such as look upon the opinions of the Universalists as mortal heresies, are equally in the right to oppose them. But if neither party apprehends the opinions they reject, to be pernicious; why should they carry on the disputes farther than is consistent with the peace and tranquillity of the public; and not rather desist, as soon as they perceive that they foment divisions in families, or give rise to parties? will not their obstinacy rouse a thousand mischievous passions, that ought to be chained up like so many wild beasts; and wo to the man that makes them get loose. The civil war of the universal grace, and some others, do not, thank God, deserve that the verses, which I have heard quoted on occasion of schismatical disputes, should be applied to them. The preparations and auxiliary forces of the two Chiefs were compared to the following decoration of a stage.

Aigles, vautours, serpens, grifons,
Hippocentaures, & Typhons,
Des Toureaux furieux, dont la gueule beante
Eût transi de frayeur le grand cheval d'Atlante,
Un char que des dragons etincelans d'éclairs
Promenoient en sifflant par la vuide des airs,
Demogorgon encor a la triste figure,
Et l'horreur, & la mort, s'y voyoient en peinture (8).

(8) See the *Life of Æschylus* by Mr. Le Fevre.

That is, "Eagles, vulturs, serpents, griffins, hippo-" centaurs, and Typhons, furious bulls, whose wide " throats would have chilled with fear the great horse " of Atlas, a chariot, which dragons sparkling with " lightning, with hisses drew tho' the open air, a " demigorgon also with a dismal aspect. Horror and " death were to be seen painted there."

(9) He reconciled in the Castle of Thoüars the 16th of October 1649, Mr. Amyraut with Mr. Champvernou Minister of Taillebourg, and with Mr. Vincent Minister of Rochelle. See the *Authentic Acts* of David Blondel, p. 88. That M. Champvernou's name was William Rivet; he was brother to Andrew Rivet, Professor of Divinity at Leyden.

Mr. Amyraut had the satisfaction of being reconciled with the most violent of his adversaries, without the great Men of the world having any hand in that reconciliation. The Prince of Tarento went about in 1649; but I question whether the differences, that fell under the cognizance of the Marshals of France, be so troublesome to them, as the contending parties were to him. But however that may be, he composed his business, and perhaps a Synod would not have been so successful (9). As to his reconciliation with Mr. du Moulin, it was owing to Mr. de Langle, Minister of Rouën, who was no sooner proposed to Amyraut, but he willingly came into it, and even offered to make the first steps. Accordingly he wrote to Mr. du Moulin, who returned him a very obliging answer. Both Letters were published for the edification of the Church, and are dated 1655. Mr. Daillé inserted Mr. du Moulin's Answer in one of his books (10). Both reason and charity prompt us to believe, that those, who made such a noise, and raised so great disturbances on account of an opinion, which they themselves acknowledged at last to be no ways dangerous, owning at the same time the author of it to be a godly man, did not die without being covered with confusion, at least in the sight of God, for having been guilty of that mortifying prepossession, which made them look upon an hypothesis, that contained no venom, as a most horrid doctrine. See what follows.

(10) *Vindiciæ Apologiæ &c.* pag. 418.

[*F*] *Some of the Deputies at the Synod of Alençon were even for deposing him.*] If these men had lived thirty or forty years longer, I do not comprehend, how they could shew their faces; for the doctrine, which in their opinion deserved the most thundering anathema's, was at last embraced by the greatest men that served the reformed Churches of France. It was held by Mr. Mestrezat, Mr. la Foucheur, Mr. Blondel, Mr. Daillé, Mr. Claude, and Mr. du Bosc. The Particularists were forced to acknowledge as their Brethren and faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, those who stood up for the universal grace: neither were the Ministers, who sheltered themselves in Holland, and signed a Formulary at the Synod of Rotterdam in 1686, obliged to make any declaration, that seemed to strike at the system of Mr. Amyraut (11). What therefore could occasion the great noise that was made at first against this system? How came it about that the same tenet should be look'd upon at first as monstrous, and afterwards as quite inoffensive. Is not this to be counted amongst the bad effects of original sin, and ascribed to the influence of a thousand blind passions, which must produce in the elect a salutary and mortifying humiliation? The worst is, that we reap no benefit from what is passed, and each generation is subject to the same symptoms, more or less dangerous; for we have often reason to say when we see processes, informations, apologies, and theses appear, with books flying after one another from place to place,

(11) See Remark [*M*] of the article DAILLE.

Jamque faces & saxa volant (12);

(12) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 150.

" Stones and brands in ratt'ling vollies fly."
Dryden.

But let them alone: the heat will be soon over, and the storm easily quelled;

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent (13).

(13) Virg. *Georg.* lib. 4. ver. 86.

" Yet all those dreadful deeds, this deadly fray.
" A cast of scatter'd dust will soon allay;
" And undecided leave the fortune of the day.
Dryden.

However it does not always happen so. Sometimes matters are pushed to extremities; *res in nervum erumpit.*

Assembly buried, by *an holy amnesty*, all these mutual complaints, renewed the regulations concerning silence, sent back Mr. Amyraut to his employment, and gave him leave to act against the foreigners, who should attack him, as the Synod of Anjou should think fit. That Synod allowed him to publish an answer to the three volumes of Mr. Spanhemius upon universal grace [G]; which occasioned the writing of many others (g). While the national Synod of the year 1645 was sitting, Mr. Amyraut was entreated by the Assembly to confer with Mr. de la Milletiere in order to reclaim him. This conference lasted several days, but they could no more agree in their disputes by word of mouth, than in the books they had published against one another. The doctrine of Mr. de la Place touching original sin was attacked in this Synod, which Mr. Amyraut having notice of appeared before the Assembly to plead the cause of his Collegue, and made it plainly appear in a long discourse, that the opinion complained of was no ways dangerous. This action was not only commended on account of the excellent defence he made of Mr. de la Place's opinion; but also because he could have nothing else in view but the interest of his Collegue, his opinion, as to that point, being different from that of Mr. de la Place. If we add, that Mr. Cappel departed from the common sentiment of the Protestants concerning the antiquity of the Hebrew points, we shall have touched upon all the complaints that were made against the Academy of Saumur. But notwithstanding these complaints, Students in Divinity resorted thither in great numbers, which sensibly diminished upon the death of these three eminent Professors (b). Mr. Amyraut outlived his two Collegues, and had time to write a great many books [H]. His pen was as ready as his tongue, which is saying very much, for he was endowed with an extraordinary fluency of speech, as well in Latin as in French, for Lectures of Divinity, and for Sermons. He was acquainted with the world, and could entertain the company with a thousand things that were foreign to his profession. And this, no doubt, was what contributed as much (if not more) than the fame of his learning, to the happiness he always enjoyed of being esteemed and honoured by the men of quality of the opposite religion. I have already mentioned the esteem Cardinal Richelieu had for him; it would be therefore useless to add, that he imparted to him the great design he had formed of reuniting the two churches [I]; for as he founded

(g) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(b) They are the Authors of the *Theses Salmurienses*, a work very much esteemed.

[G] *The Synod of Anjou allowed him to publish an Answer to the three volumes of Mr. Spanheim upon universal grace.*] The book is entitled, *Specimen animadversionum in exercitationes de gratia universali*; and was printed at Saumur in 1648, 4to. It is falsly related in the *Mêlange Critique* (or Critical Miscellany) Tom. I, pag. 129, that Mr. Amyraut entered the list the first, and that his volume was levelled against the theses of Mr. Spanheim; for it was written against the three volumes of Mr. Spanheim, who was the aggressor. See Sarravius's Letters, p. 83, 95, 108, of the Utrecht edition, in 1697.

[H] *He wrote a great many books.*] He published in 1631 his *Treatise of Religions*, and five years after, *six Sermons upon the nature, extent &c. of the Gospel*, and several others at different times. His book *of the exaltation of faith, and abasement of reason* appeared in 1641; and the same year was published in Latin the *Defence of Calvin with regard to the doctrine of absolute reprobation*, which in 1644 appeared in French. He began his *Paraphrase on the Scripture* in 1644: the Epistle to the Romans was paraphrased the first; then the other Epistles; and lastly the Gospel: but he imitated the prudence of Calvin in not meddling with the Revelations. He did not prefix his name to his Paraphrase, lest it should deter the Roman Catholics from perusing them. He published in 1647 an *Apology for the Protestants, a Treatise of free will*, and another *De Secessione ab Ecclesia Romana, deque pace inter Evangelicos in negotio Religionis constituenda*. But he treated this subject of the reunion of the Calvinists and Lutherans more at length in his *Irenicon* published in 1662. His book *of the Vocation of Pastors* came forth in 1649. He had preached on this subject before the Prince of Tarento, at the meetings of a provincial Synod, whereof he was Moderator. The Prince desired the Sermon might be printed, and the subject treated more at length, it being then the common topick of all Missionaries. Upon this Mr. Amyraut not only printed his Sermon, but besides published a complete Treatise upon that important controversy, and dedicated them both to the said Prince. His *Christian Morals* in six vol. 8vo, the first of which was printed in 1652, were owing to the frequent conferences he had with Mr. de Villornoul, a Gentleman of an extraordinary merit, and one of the most learned men of Europe, who was heir in this respect also to Mr. du Plessis Mornai his grandfather by the Mother's side. There are few subjects Mr. Amyraut has not wrote upon. He published a *Treatise of dreams*, two volumes upon *the Millenium*, wherein he refutes an Advocate of Paris, called Mr. de Launoi, who was a stanch Millenarian (14); the Life of the brave la Noue, surnamed Iron-arm; and divers other works, which I either omit, or shall mention in the remaining part of this article. He even ascended mount Parnassus, and wrote a Poem, entitled, *The Apology of St. Stephen to his Judges*. This piece was attacked by those, from whom the least danger was apprehended; for it was not the Poets but the Missionaries who found fault with it. They pretended the Author had spoke most irreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar; but he published a piece in his own defence, of which I can say nothing more to the purpose than what I read in Mr. Daillé. "As to St. *Stephen's Apology to his* "*Judges*, says he (15), which you afterwards pro- "duce to convince us that he has abused your host, "if you, and such as have taken offence at it, had "been at the pains to read the letter, which the Au- "thor caused to be printed in his defence, neither "you, nor they would entertain such a bad opinion "of him; nay perhaps you would be amazed at the "chimerical fancy, the prejudice of your passion has "raised in your mind, by making you apply to your- "self and your transubstantiation what by the author "was levelled at the follies of the Pagan idola- "try (16)."

(14) See Mr. Ancillon, pag. 129, 130, of the first volume of his *Melange Critique de Litterature*.

(15) He addresses himself to father Adam.

(16) Daillé, *Reply to the two books of Adam and de Cottiby*, Part 2. cap. 17. p. 108.

[I] *Cardinal Richelieu imparted to him the great design he had formed of reuniting the two Churches.*] The Jesuit, who conferred with him upon this subject, was Father Audebert. Mr. de Villeneuve, then Lord Lieutenant of Saumur, having invited them both to dinner, (and that with such an obliging carriage to the Minister, that he placed him above the Jesuit, and caused grace to be omitted,) took care they should confer in private after dinner. 'Tis true, Mr. Amyraut protested that he could not forbear imparting to his collegues all that should pass between them. The Jesuit began by owning that he was sent by the King and his Eminence to propose an agreement in point of Religion: and afterwards, entering upon the matter in hand, he declared that the Roman Catholics were ready to sacrifice to the public tranquillity the invocation of Saints, purgatory, and the merit of good works; that they would set bounds to the Pope's power,

ſounded ſeveral other Miniſters far inferior to him upon the ſame ſubject, that would be no proof of any particular value he had for him. The Marſhals de Brezé [*K*] and de la Meilleraie [*L*] are to be counted among the perſons of diſtinction, who had a ſpecial regard for our Amyraut. Mr. le Goux de la Berchere [*M*] firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Burgundy, and the Intendants of the Province of Anjou [*N*] are in the ſame number; and to them we may add even Biſhops and Archbiſhops [*O*], but above all Cardinal Mazarin [*P*], who was exceedingly kind to Mr. Amyraut. What gained him the favour of that Cardinal was, in all probability, his openly declaring in favour of the obedience that is due to Sovereigns; which proved very advantageous to the court of France, during the troubles of the league againſt Mazarin, called *de la Fronde*, wherein

power, and that, in caſe they ſhould meet with oppoſition, as to that, from the court of Rome, they would lay hold on that occaſion to create a Patriarch: that the Laity ſhould be allowed the communion in both kinds; and that they would give up ſeveral other points, provided they found in the Proteſtants a ſincere deſire of peace and union. But, when Mr. Amyraut touched upon the doctrines of the Euchariſt, he proteſted, that, as to that tenet, no alteration would be admitted of: whereupon the other anſwered, that if ſo, they could come to no agreement. Their conference laſted about four hours. The Jeſuit required ſecrecy; but Mr. Amyraut proteſted, according to the declaration he had made at firſt to Mr. de Villeneuve, that he would communicate the whole matter to his collegues, but that he would be anſwerable for their prudence and diſcretion. The ſame evening he gave them account of the conference, and made no conſcience of ſpeaking of it, as occaſion offered, after the Cardinal, and Father Audebert were both dead.

[*K*] *The Marſhal de Brezé had a ſpecial regard for him.*] He was Governor of Saumur, and never went thither without ſending Mr. Amyraut word, that he deſired to ſee him. He even invited him very often to his Caſtle de Milly, where he moſtly reſided; and when he received news of the death of the Duke de Fronſac his ſon, Admiral of France, he could not be one moment without Mr. Amyraut's company. He frequently admitted him during his laſt ſickneſs, recommended himſelf to his prayers, and deſired to be prayed for in the Proteſtant Church of Saumur. He died at the Caſtle of Milly, in 1650.

[*L*] *The Marſhal de la Meilleraie.*] He had been Mr. Amyraut's ſchool-fellow at Saumur, while he was of the Proteſtant communion, and never forgot that ancient acquaintance. The very next day after he came to Saumur, while the Court was there in 1652, he ſent one to compliment him in his name: and Mr. Amyraut went immediately to wait upon him, and was received in a moſt obliging manner. The Marſhal no ſooner heard of his laſt ſickneſs, but he ſent a Gentleman to enquire of his health, aſſuring him that he would have waited upon him himſelf, had he been able to endure, (as he was then taken with a fit of the gout) the motion of the coach. He was then at his Caſtle de Montreuil-Bellai, four leagues diſtant from Saumur.

[*M*] *Mr. le Goux de la Berchere.*] He was baniſhed to Saumur in 1637, and remained there till 1644. As he was a man of extraordinary merit and learning, he had a great value for the learned Men of all Religions. And therefore on his firſt arrival at Saumur he deſired to be acquainted with Mr. Amyraut, whom he found ſo worthy of his friendſhip, that he contracted an intimate correſpondence with him. They generally viſited one another twice a week; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange that Mr. Amyraut ſhould have furniſhed memoirs for the life of the Preſident. 'Tis needleſs to mention here, that Mr. de la Berchere died in the employment of firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Grenoble; and that he was ſucceeded in that office by his brother; but it will not be amiſs to record, that the latter had recourſe to Mr. Amyraut for the minutes of what had paſſed privately between them. Upon this Mr. Amyraut ſent him, among other memoirs, an account of his conference with Father Audebert; for it was no ſooner rumoured abroad that he had conferred in private with that Jeſuit, but Mr. de la Berchere deſired Amyraut to acquaint him with what had paſſed; and he accordingly imparted the chief heads of that conference to him, deſiring him to be ſecret. This paſſage of his Memoirs has not been inſerted in the printed Life of Mr. de la Berchere. Mr. Amyraut dedicated in 1648 his book *of the Rights of Marriage* to this illuſtrious Magiſtrate, who was then firſt Preſident of Grenoble.

[*N*] *The Intendants of the Province of Anjou.*] He never failed to wait upon them; nor they to return him the viſit, and ſhew him a great deal of reſpect. When he went, in 1658, to drink the waters of Bourbon, he received a thouſand civilities at Bourges by Mr. Mandat, Intendant of that Province, who invited him to lodge in his houſe, which he refuſed, but dined with him in company of the Archdeacon of that City, and ſome other Eccleſiaſtics.

[*O*] *Biſhops and Archbiſhops.*] See what has been ſaid above concerning the Biſhop of Chartres (17). I ſhall add here that, in 1662, Hardouin de Perefixe, Archbiſhop of Paris, being gone to Saumur on account of a vow the Queen mother had made to our Lady of Ardilliers (18), ſent word to Mr. Amyraut, that he would be glad to ſee him. Mr. Amyraut was very willing to wait upon him, but firſt he let him know, that he would not give him the title of *Lord*; which the Archbiſhop readily complying with, Mr. Amyraut waited upon him twice, was received very civilly, and kept at both viſits near two hours. They talked, among other ſubjects, of the books of Mr. Daillé, which the Prelate greatly commended with regard to the learning they contained.

(17) In Remark [*D*].

(18) In the church of the fathers of the Oratory at the end of one of the ſuburbs of Saumur.

[*P*] *But above all Cardinal Mazarin.*] He arrived at Saumur, in 1652, ſome days after the arrival of the King and the Queen mother: and having heard, that there had been great talk, at the Queen's table, of a Sermon preached by Mr. Amyraut, he deſired the Count de Comminges to let him know, that he ſhould be glad to be acquainted with him. The Count was Governor of Saumur, and had always ſhewed a great deal of friendſhip to Mr. Amyraut: he had even promiſed him that the Proteſtants ſhould be allowed to meet on Sundays, as uſual, notwithſtanding the King reſided in the city; but, at the ſame time, acquainted him, that they were not to aſſemble for the three firſt days after his Majeſty's arrival. What he promiſed was faithfully obſerved. Mr. Amyraut preached the Sunday, on theſe words, *Fear God, honour the King*, and many of the Court, who heard the Sermon, being extremely well pleaſed with it, not only ſpoke mightily in commendation of it to the King, as ſoon as church was over; but alſo in the evening at the Queen's table. It was then that Cardinal Mazarin heard of this Sermon, and was at the ſame time informed by Mr. de Comminges of the zeal Mr. Amyraut and all the Proteſtants of that country had ſhewn for the King's ſervice, during the late troubles. This inſpired the Cardinal with ſuch an eager deſire of being acquainted with him, that the very next morning he notified it to him by the Judge of the Provoſt-Marſhal's Court: inſomuch that Mr. de Comminges ſeeing another had got the ſtart of him in bringing that news, ſaid to him ſmiling; *Sir, We ſhall be ſoon obliged, as I perceive, to recur to your interceſſion with his Eminence; which will convince you of the advantages accruing from the invocation of Saints.* The firſt viſit was very ſhort; but Mr. Amyraut was deſired to return the next morning by eight a clock. The Cardinal expreſſed a great deal of kindneſs for him, made him ſit down by the fire, talked to him of State affairs, gave him a minute account of the endeavours that ſome were uſing in Xaintonge to bring over the Proteſtants to the party of the Princes, and begged he would do all that lay in his power to make their deſigns miſcarry. Mr. Amyraut aſſured him, that nothing was to be apprehended from the Proteſtants of France, and that he would

wherein the Cardinal's fortune was ſo much agitated; and on divers other occaſions, he made plainly appear that this was his favourite principle [Q], and even had a conteſt with a Miniſter of Rochelle (*i*), who maintained the contrary opinion. But notwithſtanding his attachment to the doctrine of obedience, he was not for obeying in matters of conſcience [R]. It is needleſs to ſay, that he was highly eſteemed by the great Lords of the Proteſtant party, that being plain of itſelf. He had a quarrel with Mr. Huiſſeau, Miniſter of Saumur, and had not the ſatisfaction he expected at the national Synod of Loudun (*k*); which made many believe, that the great reputation he had gained, proved diſadvantageous to him on that occaſion, as if he had been an overgrown tree, that ſhaded the others, and was to be pulled down. Beſides, the relations of ſuch as had declared themſelves heads of the party that oppoſed the doctrine of univerſal grace, favoured his adverſary to the utmoſt of their power. It is probable he would have been Preſident of the Table in that Synod [S], at which he aſſiſted as Repreſentative

(*i*) Philip Vincent.

(*k*) In 1653.

would write to ſeveral Miniſters of Xaintonge, in order to perſuade the Synod, which was to meet very ſoon, to give an authentic proof of their loyalty, which was done accordingly. Two days after this audience, the Cardinal pretending to go and ſee the College of thoſe of the reformed Religion, and the Library of Mr. du Pleſſis Mornai, had another private converſation with Mr. Amyraut in his ſtudy. The ſubject of this was the edict of Nantes; Mr. Amyraut being asked, whether Henry IV was under any obligation of granting it, anſwered, that he was; adding that even allowing it to have been a favour at firſt, yet the obſerving of it was then become neceſſary; to which the Cardinal replied, that he was much in the right, quoting that maxim of law, *quod initio fuit voluntatis, ex poſt facto fit neceſſitatis.* The reader will, perhaps, be glad to hear what Mr. de Guitaut (19) told Madame de la Trimouille before the Queen. *His Eminence is at the Miniſter Amyraut's houſe; they are both Clergymen; but however I am confident they are not talking of Religion; for his Eminence would not find his account in that.* During the five weeks the King remained at Saumur, Mr. Amyraut went frequently to wait upon the Cardinal, and always met with a very kind reception: when he went to take his leave of him, his Eminence deſired he would write directly to him, whenever he had occaſion to ask any favour either for the Proteſtants in general, or himſelf in particular. He made uſe of this kind offer only once, and that was after his journey to Paris about the latter end of the year 1658. He viſited the Cardinal three or four times, who always ſhewed him a great deal of civility. He ſpoke to him about the national Synod, which the Proteſtants had begged in vain for a great many years. The Cardinal anſwered, that the reaſons, for which the Synod had not been allowed to meet, were ſtill in force; but however deſired he would write to him concerning that ſubject, which he did twice, and received anſwers by the Cardinal's own hand. 'Tis true that in his other letters to Mr. Amyraut he employed his Secretary; but nevertheleſs he always ſigned them *proprio pugno.*

(19) He was Captain of the Queen's guards, and Mr. Comminges's uncle.

[Q] *In divers occaſions he made plainly appear that the obedience of ſubjects was his favourite principle.*] In the Apology he publiſhed in 1647 in behalf of the Proteſtants, he excuſes, as well as he can, the civil wars of France, but declares at the ſame time, that by no means he intends to juſtify the taking up of arms againſt one's lawful Sovereign, upon any pretence whatſoever .... and that he always looked upon it as more agreeable to the nature of the Goſpel, and the practice of the primitive Church to uſe no other arms, but patience, tears, and prayers .... (20). And whenever I reflect, ſays he (21), on the Hiſtory of our Anceſtors, I cannot help being heartily grieved that they have not crowned ſo many other noble virtues, which they have propoſed to our example, with the imitation of the primitive Chriſtians, in the invincible patience, with which they bore the perſecutions of the Emperors. A Latin piece (22) he publiſhed two years after ſhews how heartily he maintained this cauſe againſt a Miniſter of Rochelle, who had better not have owned himſelf aimed at in that work, than have taken offence at it. The book *of the Sovereignty of Kings* publiſhed in 1650, on occaſion of the tragical death of Charles I, King of England, affords us a ſtill more convincing proof of Mr. Amyraut's ſentiments, with regard to the ſubjects riſing in arms againſt their Sovereigns. It was not poſſible to be ſilent in thoſe circumſtances; for that Tragedy was laid to the charge of the Presbyterian party, and a thouſand odious conſequences inferred from thence, reflecting on the French Proteſtants, which Mr. Amyraut thought himſelf obliged to confute. During the troubles of the laſt minority, the main aim of all his Sermons was to inſpire the people with an entire ſubmiſſion to the will of their Prince; and to ſuch as adviſed with him, relating to what courſe they ſhould take, he uſed to anſwer, *that the only reſolution they could take was to ſtick to the trunk of the tree.* Such as adviſed with him were probably in earneſt; nor did they apprehend the artifice that generally prevails on ſuch occaſions. Rebels commonly give out that all they intend, is to redreſs abuſes, and reſcue the Prince from the wicked Counſellors that ſurround him. One muſt be very weak to fall into ſuch ſnares, or need on like occaſions the direction and advice of a ghoſtly father; for not even the diſtinction, which ſome have found out between the Pope and the holy See, is a more palpable piece of ſophiſtry. Laſtly Mr. Amyraut declared his thoughts at length in the Epiſtle dedicatory to his *Latin Paraphraſe on the Pſalms.* In that piece he maintains, that, according to the principles of the Chriſtian Religion, ſubjects ought never to riſe in arms againſt their Sovereigns, and openly declares himſelf for *paſſive obedience.* This work he dedicated to Charles II, King of England, ſoon after his reſtoration. As he had been acquainted with that Prince's Chaplain at Paris, in 1658, he congratulated him, two years after, upon his Maſter's reſtoration, and his own promotion to the Biſhopric of Durham; for which thanks were returned him in the King's name. This encouraged Mr. Amyraut to dedicate his *Paraphraſe on the Pſalms* to that Monarch, after he had been aſſured by the Biſhop of Durham that it would be acceptable to him.

(20) *Apology for thoſe of the reformed Religion*, P. 75.

(21) Pag. 76.

(22) Intitled, *Adverſus Epiſtolæ Hiſtoricæ Criminationes Moſis Amyraldi defenſio.*

[R] *He was not for obeying in matters of conſcience.*] He made this plainly appear when the Seneſchal of Saumur imparted to him an order from the Council of State, enjoining all thoſe of the reformed Religion to hang the outſide of their houſes on Corpus-Chriſti-day. The Seneſchal notified this order to him the eve of that holy-day, entreating him at the ſame time to perſuade the Proteſtants to comply with it, leſt their diſobedience ſhould excite the mob againſt them. To this Mr. Amyraut anſwered, that on the contrary he would go directly and exhort his pariſhioners not to comply with it, as he himſelf was reſolved not to obey any ſuch orders; that in all his Sermons he had endeavoured to inſpire his hearers with obedience and ſubmiſſion to ſuperior powers, but not when their conſciences were concerned. Having thus acquainted the Seneſchal with his reſolution, he went from houſe to houſe laying before his pariſhioners the reaſons why they ought not to obey the order of the Council. The Seneſchal however cauſed it to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpet. Upon this the Aſſembly met, thanked Mr. Amyraut for what he had done, and enjoined the Elders to take care no one ſhould comply with the order. The King's Lieutenant did not think fit to ſupport the Seneſchal, but ſuppreſſed the tumult which had already begun. This order was revoked not long after.

[S] *In the Synod of Loudun he would have been one of the Table.*] This remark would be uſeleſs, were this

Repreſentative of his Province, had he not been thought to be perſonally concerned in the diſpute between Mr. d'Huiſſeau and the church of Saumur. He died piouſly the 8th of January 1664 (*l*), and was interred with the uſual ceremonies of the Academy. As he had, during his laſt infirmity the entire uſe of his ſenſes, he made ſeveral very edifying ſpeeches, and gave clear proofs of his belief, in the preſence of divers perſons of different religions. The compaſſion he ſhewed to the poor, deſerves to be mentioned among his other virtues, having beſtowed his entire ſalary on them the laſt ten years of his life; and that without any diſtinction of Catholic or Proteſtant. He extended his charity even to the Mendicant Friars, who never returned empty from his houſe. He recommended the Recollects of Saumur to Mr. Hervart (*m*), when they had recourſe to the Exchequer for the rebuilding of their Cloiſter, which had been conſumed by fire, and was ſoon thanked by them for the good effects his recommendation produced. He left but one ſon, who was one of the ableſt Advocates of the Parliament of Paris, and fled to the Hague, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He had one daughter, who died in 1645, a year and a half after ſhe had been married (*n*). The affliction his wife felt on that occaſion, prompted him to write a treatiſe (which was publiſhed the enſuing year) concerning *the State of the Faithful after death*. The reader will be glad to find here the diſtich, which Mr. du Boſc writ with his own hand under Mr. Amyraut's print.

(*l*) Konig, in his *Bibliotheca*, and Witte in his *Diarium* miſplace his death in 1665.

(*m*) He was Comptroller of the Finances.

(*n*) To Bernard de Haumont, afterwards the King's Advocate at Saumur.

A Moſe ad Moſem par Moſi non fuit ullus:
More, ore, & calamo, mirus uterque fuit (o).

(*o*) It alludes to what the Jews have ſaid in commendation of Moſes Maïmonides, a celebrated Rabbi.

His ſon cauſed his portrait to be engraved ſome years after his death.

A great many particulars relating to Mr. Amyraut are to be met with in a work entitled; *A Melange Critique de Literature recueilli des Converſations de feu Mr. Ancillon* (*q*): We find there, among other things, that a paſſage in one of Balzac's letters (*r*), where the author of an Apology is highly commended, ought to be applied to Mr. Amyraut. The ſame work informs us, that Patin had a great value for him; hence we may infer, that the diſobliging expreſſions we read in Patin's letters were not levelled againſt our Amyraut. But in the notes we ſhall take notice of this, and ſome other ſmall miſtakes [T].

(*p*) Taken from the Memoirs communicated by his ſon; from which we have taken whatever we advance in this article without quoting other authorities.

(*q*) Printed at Baſil 1698.

(*r*) The firſt to Mr. Conrart.

this book to be peruſed only by the French Proteſtants; but may be of ſome uſe to other readers. What in our French Synods we called the Table was made up of four perſons, *viz.* the Preſident of the Aſſembly (called alſo the Moderator,) his Aſſiſtant, the Secretary, and one that collected the Acts.

[T] *We ſhall take notice of this and ſome other ſmall miſtakes.*] Patin in his 113th Letter of the firſt edition writes (23), that "*in* 1663 *a Phyſician of* "*Nyort, called Luſſand, deſigned to print an Apology* "*in favour of the Phyſicians, againſt ſuch as accuſe* "*them of paying too much deference to nature: he* "*ſays, that this Phyſician aimed chiefly at Mr.* "*Amyraut Miniſter of Saumur, who thus caſt this* "*blemiſh on the Phyſicians, in the laſt volume* "*of his Chriſtian Morals ..... he ſeems not* "*to have been pleaſed* (24) *with Mr. Amyraut* "*on this occaſion; for he adds:* If Mr. Amy- "raut would take the pains to anſwer that book, "he would offer things, which Luſſand is a quite "ſtranger to, and are not to be met with in his "book. I have given him ſome hints, *ſays he*, and "furniſhed him with ſome proper paſſages, and good "authorities; but he did not value them. *That* "*perhaps diſpleaſed him; for afterwards he writes* "*thus*: "but truly he is in a province not far from "the country of *Adieu Sias* *, where, generally "ſpeaking, there is more vanity than learning &c." I ſhall not copy the whole paſſage, which Mr. Ancillon relates, and which is highly diſobliging; but I muſt acquaint my readers, that the perſon, whom Patin abuſes, was a Phyſician of Nyort, and not the Divine who is the ſubject of this article. I muſt likewiſe inform them, that Mr. Amyraut's *Treatiſe of Religions againſt ſuch as look upon them as indifferent*, is not the only book among his works that has undergone the ſecond edition (25); for I am certain that his apology in favour of the Proteſtants has been printed more than once; that his *Treatiſe of Predeſtination*, printed in 1634, was reprinted at Saumur in 1658, together with the ſpecimen of Calvin's doctrine, and the reply to Mr. de la Milletiere, upon his propoſal of a friendly conference in order to examine his means of reconciliation; that the two latter Treatiſes were publiſhed in 1638; and that the Bookſeller, who reprinted them in 1658, together with the *Treatiſe of Predeſtination*, declares (26), that he preſents again the Public with theſe three books, becauſe they were out of print. I am alſo confident that eleven of Amyraut's Sermons on divers paſſages of the Scripture were reprinted in 1653; that the life of la Noue, was reprinted at Leyden; his theſes, and thoſe of his collegues at Geneva, and that his *Treatiſe of the ſtate of the faithful after death* was printed in Engliſh at London, and at Utrecht in Dutch.

(23) *Melange Critique da Literature*, tom. 1. pag. 133, 134.

(24) Patin Letter 114; firſt edition.

* *Gaſcony* [REM. CRIT.]

(25) As is aſſerted in the *Melange Critique*, p. 132. The firſt is of 1631, and the ſecond edition of 1652.

(26) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Students in Divinity.

AMYRUTZES (*a*) a Peripatetic Philoſopher, and native of Trebizond, was at firſt in great eſteem at the court of the Emperor David his maſter, and ſignalized himſelf by writing in favour of the Greeks againſt the deciſions of the Council of Florence (*b*); but at laſt forfeited by his apoſtacy, all the reputation he had gained. He was one of thoſe who accompanied the Emperor David to Conſtantinople, whither that Prince was carried by order of Mahomet II after the reduction of Trebizond, in 1461. This Philoſopher, ſeduced by the promiſes of the Sultan, renounced the Chriſtian religion, and embraced Mahometiſm, together with his children, one of which, under the name of Mehemet-Beg, tranſlated many books of the Chriſtians into Arabic, by the order of Mahomet II. That Prince honoured Amyrutzes with conſiderable employments in the Seraglio, and uſed ſome times to diſcourſe with him, or Mehemet-Beg, about points of learning and religion (*c*). By the manner Allatius expreſſes himſelf one would take this Philoſopher to have born the employment of *Protoveſtiarius* in

(*a*) In the *Supplement* to Moreri's *Dictionary* he is called, by miſtake, *Amyruta*.

(*b*) Leo Allatius, *de Perpetua Conſenſione*, lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 935, and 1379.

(*c*) Guillet, *Hiſtory of Mahomet II.* tom. 1. pag. 441, and tom. 2. p. 136.

in the court of the Emperor of Trebizond [*A*]. We muſt not forget that the Emperor of Trebizond was not the firſt Prince that ſhewed a particular value for Amyrutzes, for he had been greatly eſteemed at the court of Conſtantinople, long before he had the honour to pleaſe that Prince. He was one of the learned men, with whom the Emperor John Paleologus adviſed about his journey into Italy (*d*); and he attended him (*e*) in that journey, as he himſelf witneſſes (*f*) in the account he gives of the Council of Florence, which he dedicated to Demetrius Governor of Napoli di Romania. In the ſame work, he affirms that the Patriarch of Conſtantinople was ſtrangled in the time of the Council, and that the Phyſicians atteſted that fact (*g*).

(*d*) The *Hiſtoire Polit. de Conſtant.* names him before Beſſarion and Gemiſt. See *Allat. de Perpetuo Conſenſ.* P. 883.

(*e*) That Emperor arrived at Venice the 8th of Feb. 1438.

(*f*) *Apud Allat. de Perp. Conſ.* p. 886.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. P. 908.

[*A*] *By the manner Allatius expreſſes himſelf one would think this Philoſopher had born the employment of Protoveſtiarius in the court of the Emperor of Trebizond.*] Allatius in his *Perpetuus Conſenſus*, p. 936, ſpoke only by conjecture of the book, which Amyrutzes wrote againſt the council of Florence; but in his additions, he tells us, that the book itſelf had been ſent him from the iſland of Scio; and adds, that Dorotheus, Archbiſhop of Monembaſe acquaints us * with his condition, *cujusnam conditionis vir ille fuerit.* He quotes, both in Greek and Latin, a paſſage out of Dorotheus. The Greek text informs us that Mahomet commanded the Emperor David, and ſome others, namely, τὸν Φιλόσοφον Ἀμυρούτζην τὸν Πρωτοβεστιάριον, i. e. *Philoſophum Amyrutzium Protoveſtiarium*, to be ſent to Conſtantinople by ſea. As the paſſage is thus tranſlated, and by Allatius, we can have no manner of doubt, but that he took Amyrutzes and the Protoveſtiarius to be one and the ſame perſon, and applied to him the remaining part of the paſſage, wherein it is ſaid, that he was couſin-german to Mahomet Baſſa; that he betrayed the Emperor David, and was greatly honoured by his couſin and the Sultan Mahomet, after the taking of Trebizond. In the ſame paſſage we read, that he was cunning, tall, well-ſhaped, a good bow-man, and fit for every thing. His mother and Mahomet's were ſiſters, being both daughters of Jagarus. I do not give much credit to this account, being told by Mr. Guillet, where he mentions the *Turco-græcia* of Cruſius, that the Protoveſtiarius of the Emperor of Trebizond was named George; that he was of a good aſpect, and ſo skilful a bow-man, that none of the Greeks or Turks could match him; that his mother was the daughter of a Chriſtian Prince called Jagrus, who married his other daughter to one in Servia, where ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, who renounced the Chriſtian religion, and was called Machmut (1). I ſhould willingly diſtinguiſh the Philoſopher from the Protoveſtiarius, by placing a comma after Ἀμυρούτζην, in the above quoted paſſage, to make two perſons of the Philoſopher and Protoveſtiarius, whom Allatius confounded together.

* In *Synopſi Hiſtoriarum.*

(1) Guillet, *Hiſtory of Mahomet II.* tom. 1. pag. 439.

ANABAPTISTS, a ſect which ſprung up ſoon after Lutheraniſm. Nicholas Storch, Mark Stubner, and Thomas Munzer, gave it birth in 1521, by miſinterpreting a doctrine they had read in the book *de Libertate Chriſtiana*, publiſhed by Luther in 1520. The propoſition they found there was this, *A Chriſtian is Lord of all things, and ſubject to no body*, which, though uſed by Luther in a very good ſenſe [*A*], ſeemed to them very proper for gaining the populace; for this was what they all three aimed at, each of them according to his abilities. Storch, who had no learning, pretended to revelations. Stubner, who was a man of parts and learning, found out crafty and deceitful explanations of the Scripture. Munzer, daring and paſſionate, excelled in boldneſs, and indulged a full liberty to ſuch paſſions, as would occaſion moſt diſturbance. They were not ſatisfied to inveigh againſt the Eccleſiaſtical tyranny of the court of Rome, and cry down the authority of the Conſiſtories; but moreover taught, that the power of Princes was a meer uſurpation, and that under the Evangelical Law men ought to enjoy a full liberty. They rebaptized their diſciples, and, in order to credit this practice, taught, that baptiſm conferred upon infants was of no validity. As to other points, they profeſſed rigid morals, recommended mortification, faſting, plain dreſs, &c. and by that ſeduced vaſt numbers. This emboldened Munzer to ſuch a degree, that he began openly to exhort the people to ſhake off all ſubjection to Magiſtrates, and to oblige the Sovereigns to reſign their authority. This new Goſpel was heard ſo favourably by the German Peaſants, who thought the yoke of their landlords a little too heavy, that in many places they roſe up in arms, and committed a thouſand diſorders. But they were beat without much ado by the troops that were levied againſt them, and many of them put to death. Munzer, who had ſeduced them, and bragged ſo much of his inſpirations (*a*), was taken and beheaded in 1525 (*b*). The diſciples he had left in Switzerland, made ſo many proſelytes, and raiſed ſuch diſturbances, that

(*a*) See his Article.

(*b*) Moreri is in the wrong to ſay that, *this Hereſiarch bragged about the year 1542, that the Holy Ghoſt revealed to him, &c.*

[*A*] *They miſinterpreted a doctrine ... uſed by Luther in a very good ſenſe.*] This is what he made appear, by the explanation of his thought, as ſoon as he heard how the Anabaptiſts had miſinterpreted his expreſſion. *Quæ verba ſano ſenſu à Luthero ..... ſcripta & prolixa ἐξηγήσει declarata, oppoſitoque aphoriſmo*, eundem omnium ſervum eſſe, & omnibus ſubjectum *expoſita, detorta fuere in ſenſum ſequiorem ab hominibus ſuæ pariter & alienæ quietis impatientibus* (1). i. e. "Which words being written and interpreted by Luther in a good ſenſe, and explained by the oppoſite poſition, *that he is the ſervant of all and ſubject to all*, were ſtrained to a bad ſenſe by men that cannot bear to be quiet themſelves, or to let others be ſo." His moſt bitter enemies unanimouſly own, that he diſapproved of the ſeditious conduct, which had been accidentally occaſioned by his tenets. We are told by Father Maimbourg, that the rebels ſent their manifeſto to Martin Luther, but were diſappointed in the hopes they had conceived of making him approve of it (2); *for Luther*, adds he, *ſeeing, that many charged him with having given occaſion to that revolt, by the books he had written in the vulgar tongue in favour of the liberty of the Goſpel, againſt the tyranny of thoſe who loaded it with human traditions, publiſhed a long anſwer, wherein he ſhewed them, that, ſtanding to the Scripture, they were obliged to ſubmit to Princes and Magiſtrates, even when they abuſed the authority and power they were inveſted with; that they ought in the mean time to recur to the Lord, and ſuffer with patience their afflictions, till ſuch time as he ſhould be pleaſed to relieve them in what manner he thought fit; and that their taking up of arms, if they continued in them, would be the occaſion of their damnation.* We ſhall ſee in the article MUNZER, that Luther immediately rejected that Fanatic's propoſals.

(1) Frider. Spanhemius, *de Origine, progreſſu, ſectis, & nominibus Anabaptiſtarum*, p. 169. I uſe the edition inſerted in the *Gangræna Theologiæ Anabaptiſticæ of Cloppenbourg.*

(2) Maimbourg, *Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm*, lib. 1, p. 114. Holland edition.

that it was there thought neceſſary to ſtop the courſe of that ſect by moſt ſevere penal laws, which was likewiſe practiſed in ſeveral cities of Germany, and elſewhere. The Clergy, to do them juſtice, took a great deal of pains to refute theſe ſectaries; but as that did not produce the deſired effect, the Magiſtrates ſupplied, with their authority, what was wanting [*B*]. The Anabaptiſts gained a great many to their ſect in Moravia, and would have gained more, notwithſtanding the ſevere oppoſitions they met with from

[*B*] *The Clergy took a great deal of pains to refute theſe Sectaries, but ... the Magiſtrates ſupplied with their authority what was wanting.*] The ſchiſm which Munzer and his followers ſet on foot, was better calculated for the ſtifling of Lutheraniſm in its birth, than any thing Luther's greateſt enemies could ever have deviſed. For they preached a doctrine, which tended to the total deſtruction of human ſociety, and practiſed it with ſuch devaſtations as can hardly be imagined. As they had had ſome correſpondence with Luther, and agreed with him, that the Chriſtian Religion ought to be reformed according to the bare word of God (3); all the odium that was conceived againſt them, came to fall upon him, and others of his character; and when people ſaw the bad conſequences, which the reformation was attended with in its very beginning, they began to doubt whether it was the work of God; which put a great ſtop to it. No wonder then that the Miniſters called this ſect a contrivance of the Devil, who had deviſed this deſign to maintain his Empire againſt the new Apoſtles, whom God had raiſed (4). Such language is a natural conſequence of theological hypotheſes. The Roman Catholic Controverſiſts laid greedily hold of this opportunity, and improved it very dexterouſly, to cry down the reformation, and animate all the Powers againſt it. But neither were the Reformers leſs careful in defending themſelves againſt the ignominy, in which their adverſaries endeavoured to involve them. They exclaimed againſt the Anabaptiſts with all their might, publiſhed books to confute their tenets, and engaged them in diſputes wherever they met them. *Ut laȯem iſtam ſibi æque ac doctrinæ Evangelicæ adſperſam abſterſum irent Heroes illi, qui in templo Dei remetiendo fidem ac integritatem ſuam & Dei cauſam publicis ſcriptis ſibi agendam cenſuere. Quod inter alios alacriter præſtitere, Lutherus, Melanchton, Zwinglius, Bullingerus, Menius, Regius, alii, & in ſeditiones & ſeditioſos graviter invecti, ſubditos perduelles, de ſuo erga poteſtates ſuperiores officio, ex Dei verbo monendo, tribunicios illos concionatores perſtringendo, & omnes ad quietam & debitam Principibus ſuis reverentiam hortando, nihil reliqui fecere, ut impetum hominum ad ſcelera & cruces furibundis animis ruentium ſufflaminarent. Lutherus vel imprimis concitatior non παραινετικὰ tantum ſcripta contra ſeditioſos, verum etiam συλλογιστικὰς emiſit, & peculiari libello* Contra Latrones & homicidas Ruſticos *vulgato ipſe claſſicum in illos cecinit, Principes hortatus, ut vi & armis latrociniorum iſtorum impetum ſiſterent, & eos ad quietem cogerent, qui perſuaderi nollent* (5). i. e. "That thoſe Heroes, "who have thought it incumbent on them to write "publickly in defence of the cauſe of God, and "their honeſty and integrity in reſtoring the temple of God, might wipe off that ſtain upon themſelves, as well as the doctrine of the Goſpel. "Which was done by Luther, Melanchthon, Zwinglius, Bullinger, Menius, Regius and others, with great "alacrity, who being zealous both againſt ſeditions and "the movers of them, admoniſhed thoſe turbulent "Preachers, exhorted all to due quietneſs and reverence "to their Princes, and left no ſtone unturned to check "the rage of men that were running headlong into ſin "and death. Luther was the moſt zealous, and "not only publiſhed Exhortations, but alſo Invectives againſt the ſeditious, and in his book entitled, "*Contra Latrones & homicidas Ruſticos*, founded a "charge againſt them, exhorting the Princes to ſtop "the rage of thoſe villains by force of arms, and "compel them to be quiet, who would not be perſuaded to it." The Miniſter, who furniſhes me with this Latin paſſage, names ſome cities, where theſe Sectaries were confounded in public diſputes; but he always concludes that the Magiſtrates performed their duty. He tells us, that the Chiefs of the Anabaptiſts of Zurich having diſputed, at three different times, with Zwinglius, and been always confounded (6), were at laſt ſilenced by a ſolemn Edict. *Senatus Tigurinus ſolenni edicto Pædobaptiſmum ſancit, & Anabaptiſmi Doctoribus ſilentium & quietem imperat* (7). Baltazar Hubmeyer, one of their leaders, promiſed to make a public recantation, but inſtead thereof preached his errors; upon this he was condemned to abjure, and then turned out of the city (8). And becauſe this Sect daily gained ground in ſpite of all oppoſitions, recourſe was had at laſt to more violent remedies. The Senate enacted a Decree condemning all the Teachers of the ſect to death, and ſuch as ſhould ſhelter them, to heavy fines. *Capitis pœna in Anabaptiſtarum Doctores decreta, & gravibus in eorum receptatores mulctis* (9). This Decree was enacted in 1530. Oecolampadius diſputed with them at Baſil in 1525, 1527, and 1529, maintained his cauſe exceeding well; but for all that could not get the better of their obſtinacy. Wherefore they were ſo curbed by the Magiſtrates, that the Church was at length reſtored to its former tranquillity. *Cauſæ quidem abunde ſatisfecit, actoribus vero pervicacibus non item, ita in prudentiſſimi Senatus, & ſtrenui gloriæ divinæ vindicis, in Anabaptiſtarum ſectariis coërcendis authoritate, Eccleſiæ Baſilienſis tranquillitati ſimul & puritati conſulendum ibidem fuerit* (10). i. e. "He gained the cauſe, but "did not convince the obſtinate abettors of it, ſo "that the moſt prudent Senate was obliged to interpoſe, and vindicate the divine glory, by reſtraining "the Anabaptiſt Sectaries, and reſtoring the tranquillity and purity of the Church of Baſil." They were confuted at Bern in a public diſpute in 1527: but nevertheleſs they whiſpered about, that their arguments had not been fully anſwered, and that they ſtill held good. Upon this, that the triumph of truth might be more ſolemn, another diſpute was appointed to be in 1532; which laſted nine days. The acts of this diſpute were publiſhed, which produced a very good effect, tho' far inferior to that which was occaſioned by the Decrees of the Senate of Bern (11). Theſe diſturbers of the public peace would have made the town of St. Gall their aſylum, had they not been turned out by the Magiſtrates (12). Here it was that Thomas Schucker cut off his brother's head in 1527. Having convened a numerous aſſembly, he declared that he felt himſelf inſpired with the divine Spirit, commanded his brother to kneel down, and took a ſword in his hand. Upon this, his father, and mother, with ſome others, asked what he intended to do. *Don't trouble yourſelves*, (anſwered he) *I ſhall do nothing but what our heavenly Father inſpires me with.* The Aſſembly was impatient to ſee what this would come to at laſt; when all on a ſudden drawing the ſword, he ſtruck off his brother's head. He was puniſhed by the Magiſtrates according to the quality of his crime, but never ſhewed any ſign of repentance, declaring even on the ſcaffold, that he had but executed what God had commanded. You may imagine that upon ſuch a notorious piece of fanaticiſm the ſeverity of the decrees baniſhing the Anabaptiſts was redoubled (13). Diſputes were held, and ſevere laws enacted at Straſburg againſt this Sect (14); Melchior Hofman a leading man among them, was taken up, and died in priſon (15). The Sect ſpread itſelf in Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Auſtria, Sileſia. Some of the Heads were executed. Balthazar Hubmeyer was carried to Vienna, where he was burnt. This execution made him be look'd upon by the whole Sect as a Martyr, and warmed the zeal of his brethren (16).

To this we may add, that Queen Elizabeth, on their firſt arriving in England, in 1560, enacted a Decree commanding them forthwith to retire (17). The Elector Palatine baniſhed them his Dominions, in 1594. Moſt cruel and ſanguinary Edicts were publiſhed

(3) *See* Spanhem. *de Origine Anabaptiſtarum*, p. 198.

(4) See the Remark [*KK*] in the article MAHOMET.

(5) Spanhem. *de Origine Anabaptiſtarum*, p. 198.

(6) In January, March and November 1525.

(7) Spanhem. *de Origine Anabaptiſtarum*, pag. 202.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 203.

(11) Spanhem. *de Orig. Anabaptiſt.* p. 203, 204.

(12) *Turbones urbe ejecti fuere.* Id. ib. p. 204.

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) Id. ibid. p. 205.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 212.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controverſ.* p. 381.

from the Magiſtrates, had they not been divided among themſelves into two factions (c). No city was more plagued with them than Munſter [C]. Every one knows that they poſſeſſed themſelves of that city, and that John of Leyden, the firſt King of this new Jeruſalem, defended it to the utmoſt of his power, but at laſt, the town being taken, he was put to death in 1536. The Anabaptiſts of Frieſland and Holland diſapproved, in many reſpects, of the conduct of their brethren in Munſter; but at the ſame time occaſioned themſelves a great diſturbance in the State (d). One of the leading men among them was called Mennon. The moſt effectual means that could be thought on were employed againſt this ſect, but proved inſufficient to the rooting of it out (e); for it maintains itſelf to this day in the United Provinces. It is true they have cured themſelves by degrees of their chief follies [D]; they do not pretend now to revelations; neither do they refuſe to comply with the orders of lawful Magiſtrates, or preach an entire exemption from all manner of ſubjection, the community of goods, and ſuch like doctrines. This ſect has been ſubdivided into innumerable branches [E], which muſt happen to all ſects that reject the principle of authority. They boaſt a vaſt number of Martyrs [F], for their Martyrology is a large folio. No writer

(c) Viz. the Hutterians and Gabrieliſts.

(d) See the article PICARDS Remark [B].

(e) From the diſſertation of Frideric Spanheim the father, *de Origine, Progreſſu, Sectis, & Nominibus Anabaptiſtarum*, printed at Leyden in 1643. John Cloppenbourg has inſerted it in his *Gangræna Theologiæ Anabaptiſticæ*, printed at Franeker in 1656, 4to.

liſhed againſt them by the Diets of Spires, in 1529, 1544, and of Augsburg in 1551 (18). Philip II enjoined the Governeſs of the Netherlands to puniſh the Anabaptiſts without delay or mercy (19). Read the Annals of this Sect by John Henry Ottius, where you will find a long catalogue of the Decrees that were publiſhed againſt it in the ſeveral parts of Europe. We may apply to the penal Laws what is commonly ſaid of the Artillery, viz. that it is the laſt reaſon of Kings, *ratio ultima Regum*; ſo the penal Laws are the laſt reaſon of Divines, their ſtrongeſt argument, their *Achilles*, &c.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Id. ibid. *citans Stradæ Hiſt. Belg.* l. 4.

[C] *But no City was more plagued with them than Munſter.*] What paſſed in this city from the time the Anabaptiſts got footing in it, to the execution of John of Leyden, may be counted among the moſt remarkable events of the 16th Century. It is to be met with in a great many books (a); but chiefly in the Letter which was written to Eraſmus by Conrad Heresbachius (20) in 1536, and publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1537, *cum Hyppomnematis ac Notis Theologicis, Hiſtoricis, ac Politicis, Theodori Strackii, Paſtoris Budericenſis*; and in the works of Lambert Hortenſius *De Tumultibus Anabaptiſtarum*, of John Wigandus, *De Anabaptiſmo publicato*, and in the Relation of Henry Dorpius, a Citizen of Munſter, publiſhed in 1536.

(20) He was tutor to the Duke of Cleves's ſon, and afterward counſellor to the Duke, and was at the ſiege of Munſter.

§ (a) Mr. Bayle has omitted, as it ſeems, involuntarily, the Latin heroic Poem, which was written in two books by Hermannus Kerſſembroeck, rehearſed by the Author in a full aſſembly of the Univerſity of Cologn, and printed at Cologn in 1545 8vo. This piece is dedicated to Francis, Count of Waldeck, and Biſhop of Munſter and Oſnabrug, and bears this title. *Belli Monaſterienſis contra Anabaptiſtica Monſtra geſti, brevis atque ſuccincta deſcriptio.* REM. CRIT.

[D] *They have cured themſelves by degrees of their chief follies.*] And this is the reaſon that the Anabaptiſts of our days complain of thoſe, who refute them, with the arguments, that were employed againſt their Anceſtors. This is what a celebrated Divine of the Dutch Academy is charged with in a Letter publiſhed in Dutch by an Anabaptiſt; but he anſwers, that he does not pretend to impute all the errors he mentions to all the Anabaptiſts. *Has* (Sectas) *ut minime confundimus in controverſiis* ſingulis, *ita nec notatos errores* omnes omnibus *imputamus . . . . minus voluimus imputatos illis, qui intra* Waterlandorum *dictas confeſſiones, bona fide, procul fallaciis Mennoniticis, hærere ſeſe profitentur. Abſit ut cuiquam invito, & deprecanti hæreſim impingamus! Sed nec iſti aliorum Apologiam ſuſcipiant, aut alios eſſe, ac fuiſſe negent, quos hic Elenchus, ſub generali* Enthuſiaſtarum & Anabaptiſtarum *nomine, ne neſciat juventus noſtra, coarguit. Factum tamen noviſſime, ut diximus modo, à* Rypenſi *ſcriptore* Epiſtolæ *in modum Belgico ſermone mihi opponendæ. Qui errores hic complures notatos dum à ſuis Waterlandis amolitur, ſi modo vere & ſincere, hoc ipſo non ſe aut ſuos in talibus controverſiis peti, ſed familias alias ex dicto grege, intellexiſſe debuit. Fruſtra ergo eſt omnis ipſius expoſtulatio, quaſi ignorem quid Rypenſes Anabaptiſtæ ſentiant, aut quaſi lectoribus meis imponam* (21). i. e. "As we do not confound theſe Sects in "*particular* controverſies, ſo we do not impute *all* "*their errors to the whole*. . . . We do not impute "them to thoſe who profeſs to keep within the li- "mits of the *Waterland* confeſſions, far from the "fallacies of the Mennonites. Far be it from us "to fall upon any one that is unwilling and avoids "hereſy. But let not thoſe undertake the defence "of the reſt, or deny that there are and were others, "whom this Diſcourſe reproves under the general "name of *Enthuſiaſts* and *Anabaptiſts*, that our "youth may not be ignorant of the fact. Neverthe- "leſs I was very lately oppoſed in an Epiſtle written "in Dutch. But whilſt the Author of it endeavours "to clear his *Waterlanders* of many errors there "taken notice of, he ſhould have underſtood that "neither he nor his friends were meant, but other "families of the ſame ſect. All his expoſtulation "therefore is to no purpoſe, as if I did not know "the ſentiments of the Anabaptiſts, or impoſed up- "on the readers." Hoornbeeck has had the equity not to impute the errors of private men to the whole ſect. *Hic quidem imprimis à* communibus *illorum, & ſingularibus cœtuum dogmatis ſecernenda ſunt* propria *aliqua Doctorum ipſorum* (22). i. e. "Here in- "deed in the firſt place we muſt ſeparate the *parti-* "*cular* doctrines of ſome of their Teachers from the "*general* and *particular* doctrines of their Aſſem- "blies." He mentions the errors of two in particular, viz. of James Outreman, and Weke Walles. Outreman held three eſſences in the divine nature, and taught the eſſence of God the Father did not extend itſelf beyond the bounds of Heaven. The other maintained that Judas was an honeſt man and was ſaved; that neither he was guilty of any crime in betraying our Saviour, nor the Scribes and Prieſts in perſecuting him ſo as to be the occaſion of his death; and that both the Thieves were ſaved. Outreman taught his tenets at Haerlem in 1605, and Walles his in the territory of Groningen in 1637, with ſo much zeal, that he excommunicated, without mercy, all thoſe who did not receive his doctrine. He was baniſhed that Province, and retired to Frieſland, from whence the Proteſtant Synod, that was held at Franeker in 1644, cauſed him to be driven away (23).

(21) Fridericus Spanhemius Filius *in Elencho Controverſiarum* p. 87. edition 1694.

(22) Hoornbeek *Summa Controverſ.* p. 189.

(23) Id. ibid. P. 389, 390.

[E] *It has been ſubdivided into innumerable branches.*] The enumerating of the various Sects of Anabaptiſts would wear out the patience of my readers; I ſhall therefore only direct them to a book, where ſuch as deſire to ſee the catalogue of them, will find wherewithal to ſatisfy their curioſity. See the Preface of the Annals of the Anabaptiſts by John Henry Ottius.

[F] *They boaſt a vaſt number of Martyrs.*] Could they only produce thoſe, who were put to death for attempts againſt the Government, their vaſt Martyrology would do them no great credit; but it is unqueſtionable, that many Anabaptiſts, who ſuffered with great conſtancy, never entertained any thoughts of revolting. I ſhall alledge the authority of one, who by no means can be ſuſpected, *viz.* of a writer, who with all his might refuted the tenets of this Sect (24). He aſcribes the great progreſs this Sect made, to three cauſes. The firſt is, that they confounded, with a vaſt number of paſſages out of the Scripture, thoſe who hearkened to them: the ſecond, that they affected a great deal of holineſs, in outward appearance: the third, that *they ſuffered and died with*

(24) Guy de Bres's epiſtle dedicatory *Of the Origin and Grounds of the Anabaptiſts.* This book was printed in 1565.

writer has ſpoke ſo favourably of them, as George Caſſander [G]. The Proteſtant Divines oppoſed the Anabaptiſts with great zeal in the United Provinces, and cauſed, at different

with great conſtancy. He proves that none of theſe three is a proof of orthodoxy. His words are: *The third proof, by which the Anabaptiſts ſeduce the ſimple and inconſtant people, is their conſtancy in ſuffering and dying. But that indeed is too ſimple and weak to prove that their Antichriſtian doctrine is good and ſound: as St. Cyprian ſays. Not what a man ſuffers, but the cauſe for which he ſuffers, makes him a Martyr. Thoſe are, according to the Scripture †, true Martyrs, and bleſſed, who ſuffer for the ſake of juſtice, of truth, and for the name of Chriſt. Now the Anabaptiſts ſuffer not for the ſake of truth, wherein they are to be pitied, but for Antichriſtian tenets. And ſurely Princes and Kings do not take right meaſures to root out this Sect, while they put to death the poor ignorant people, that have been, for the moſt part, ſeduced. They ought rather to imitate the good Kings Ezechias and Joſias *, who baniſhed all kind of idolatrous worſhip out of their Dominions, and at the ſame time reformed that true Religion. In the ſame manner ought they to take care that the true Apoſtolic doctrine be publicly preached; which if they did, I am ſatisfied there would be no occaſion for employing fire againſt thoſe poor, ignorant, and ſeduced wretches* (25). After this he proves by ſeveral inſtances, that many have ſhewn a great deal of courage and reſolution, tho' they did not ſuffer for the ſake of juſtice; ſuch were the bad thief, the Eſſenes, the Circumcellions, the Popiſh Martyrs, the Arians, the Mahometans, the Philoſophers Zeno and Socrates. But he ſays nothing which ſeems to inſinuate, that the Anabaptiſt Martyrs were put to death for taking up arms againſt their Sovereigns, or raiſing rebellions. He deſcribes their Martyrs as a ſet of ſimple people. See what I ſhall cite here below from George Caſſander.

† Matth. v. 2; 1 Pet. iv. 20; 1 John iv. 3.

* 2 Chron. xxx, xxxv.

(25) *Origin and Grounds of the Anabaptiſts*, p. 9.

Obſerve here by the way, that the Author, whoſe words I have quoted, refutes his adverſaries in the ſame manner that the Roman Catholics confuted the Proteſtants, *The firſt mark*, ſays he (26), *by which they deceive, and ſeduce a great many, is when without ſenſe, judgment, or reaſon, they quote a vaſt number of paſſages out of the holy Scripture, at random; as tho' they had the whole Bible at their fingers ends, whereas it often happens, that they know not A from B. However the ſimple and ignorant people, being amazed to hear ſo many texts of the Scripture, know not what to ſay, and believe they have great Doctors among them. But I beg ſuch ſimple people would reflect, that no hereſy has been hitherto broached, which did not endeavour to maintain its blaſphemies by miſinterpreting, and wreſting the ſenſe of the Scripture; tho' the holy Scripture gives no occaſion to errors and hereſies, which on the contrary proceed, as our Saviour tells us, from not knowing the Scripture †, You err knowing not the Scriptures.*

(26) *The Riſe, Origin, &c. of the Anabaptiſts*, p. 5.

† Mark xii. 24.

As to the *ſecond mark, by which the Anabaptiſts ſeduced and miſled the ſimple people*, viz. *a falſe appearance of holineſs*, he proves by ſeveral inſtances, that it is often the character of falſe Teachers. 'Tis certain the Roman Catholics had theſe three difficulties to anſwer: 1, That the Proteſtants had nothing in their mouths but the Bible, and were continually quoting it; 2, that they inveighed againſt balls, pompous habits, debauches, &c. 3, that many of them died with great conſtancy for their Religion. Now the Roman Catholics anſwered theſe objections in the ſame manner as they were anſwered by the Proteſtant, whom I have quoted. Which ſtill more ſhews how prejudicial this Sect proved to the Proteſtants; ſince they were obliged to confute with reaſons, which the Papiſts retorted againſt them.

But to return to their Martyrs: In the Martyrology of Geneva we find ſome Anabaptiſts. It is to be obſerved, that the Anabaptiſts publiſhed two Martyrologies, the one at Haerlem in 1615; the other at Horn in 1617. Theſe two works made known to the world the diviſions that reigned among the Anabaptiſts. For thoſe of Horn cenſured the Martyrology of thoſe of Haerlem (27), as if they had not dealt fairly in the compiling of that work. This accuſation was returned (28) by thoſe of Haerlem, who taxed the compilers of the Martyrology of Horn with giving room in it to ſome, who had ſubſcribed the confeſſion of the Reformed with regard to our Saviour's incarnation (29). The chief compiler of the Martyrology of Horn was one James Outreman. The Preface of that work is no leſs injurious to Lutherans and Calviniſts, than to the Papiſts; for they are all indifferently taxed with tyranny (30).

(27) In the Preface to the edition of 1626.

(28) The anſwer was publiſhed in Dutch at Haerlem in 1630, and written by Hans Alenſon.

(29) Ottius, *Annal. Anabapt. ad annum* 1625, num. 6. p. 233.

(30) Id. ibid. *ad an.* 1626, num. 2. p. 251.

[G] *No writer has ſpoke ſo favourably of the Anabaptiſts as George Caſſander.*] He ſays, that the Mennonites meant well, but were miſled by a falſe zeal, and not by malice; that they diſapproved the frenzy of thoſe of Munſter, and taught that the Kingdom of Jeſus ought to be founded on the Croſs; *and therefore*, adds he, *they deſerve rather to be pitied and inſtructed, than perſecuted:* he applies to them a fine paſſage out of St. Auſtin. *Hujus quem dixi Mennonis, cui nunc hic Theodoricus ſucceſſit, ſectatores fere ſunt omnes, qui per hæc Belgicæ & Germaniæ inferioris loca huic Anabaptiſticæ hæreſi affines deprehenduntur, in quibus magna ex parte pij cujuſdam animi argumenta cernas, qui imperito quodam Zelo incitati, errore potius quam animi malitia, a vero divinarum literarum ſenſu, & concordi totius Eccleſiæ conſenſu deſciverunt, quod ex eo perſpici poteſt, quod Monaſterienſibus, & hinc conſecutis Batenburgicis furoribus, novam quandam reſtitutionem regni Chriſti, quod in deletione impiorum per vim externam poſitum ſit, meditantibus, acerrime ſemper reſtiterunt, & in ſola cruce regni Chriſti inſtaurationem & propagationem conſiſtere docuerunt: quo fit, ut qui hujuſmodi ſunt, commiſeratione potius & emendatione, quam inſectatione & perditione digni videantur. His enim multo magis convenire videtur quod de Manichæis diſputans inquit Auguſtinus *. Quanquam dominus per ſervos ſuos regna ſubvertat erroris, ipſos tamen homines, in quantum homines ſunt, emendandos eſſe potius quam perdendos jubet..... Atque utinam qui atrociore in hoſce miſeros ſunt animo, manſuetudinem, & prudentiam hujus ſancti viri imitentur, qui in diſputatione adverſus Manichæos.... his verbis eſt uſus †. Illi, inquit, in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate ſanetur oculus interioris hominis, ut poſſit intueri ſolem ſuum. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt, quibus ſuſpiriis & gemitibus fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte poſſit intelligi Deus* (31). i. e. "Of this Mennon, who "is now ſucceeded here by Theodoric, almoſt all "thoſe are followers, who border upon this Anabaptiſtical hereſy in theſe parts of Holland and the "Lower Germany, in moſt of whom you may diſcover the marks of a pious mind, for being moved by a blind zeal, and by miſtake rather than "malice, have revolted from the true ſenſe of the "Divine books, and unanimous agreement of the "whole church, which may appear from this, that "when thoſe of Munſter and Batenburg were meditating a new kind of reſtitution of the Kingdom "of Chriſt, conſiſting in the deſtruction of the impious by outward force, they ſharply withſtood "them, and taught that the reſtoration and propagation of the reign of Chriſt conſiſted only in the "croſs; wherefore ſuch of theſe ſeem more worthy "of pity and inſtruction, than of perſecution and "deſtruction. For what St. Auguſtin ſays in his "diſpute with the Manicheans ſeems to agree much "better with theſe. Though the Lord ſubverts the "Kingdoms of error by his ſervants, yet he commands men, ſo far as they are men, to be rather "amended than deſtroyed..... And I wiſh thoſe "who have ſevere thoughts againſt theſe poor creatures, would imitate the moderation and prudence "of this holy man, who in his diſpute againſt the "Manicheans..... uſes theſe words. Let thoſe "rage againſt you, ſays he, who know not the labour of finding out the truth of the difficulty of "avoiding errors. Let thoſe rage againſt you, who "know not how difficult it is to heal the eye of the "inner man, that he may behold his ſun. Let thoſe "rage againſt you, who know not with how many "ſighs and groans we arrive at the leaſt part of the "knowledge

* *Contra Epiſtolam Fundamenti.*

† Ibid.

(31) Georgius Caſſander, *Præfat. Tractatus de Baptiſmo Infantium.*

different times, ſome edicts to be publiſhed againſt them [*H*]; but nevertheleſs they now enjoy their liberty of conſcience. Mr. van Beuning is ſaid to have diſcourſed one day with Mr. de Turenne upon this ſubject, very ſolidly, and much to the purpoſe [*I*]. The books that have been publiſhed againſt this ſect, and its tenets, are without number [*K*]. I muſt not forget to acquaint my readers, that the Swiſs have not been able to

" knowledge of God." Thus he ſpeaks to the Duke of Cleves, to whom he dedicates a book, in which he ſhews, that the baptiſm of children was never contradicted in the primitive church. The unanimous conſent of all Chriſtians, for ſo many Centuries, ſeems to him ſo convincing a proof of a tenet's being handed down to us from the Apoſtles, that he thinks no argument can be produced againſt the Anabaptiſts more home. He knew by experience the force of this argument; for he atteſts, that one of the Anabaptiſt teachers, at that time priſoner in the Caſtle of Cleves, was converted with ſome others of his ſect, as ſoon as he ſaw the immenſe collection of authorities proving the antiquity of this tradition. And this was what induced Caſſander to publiſh his work. He had two conferences with the Anabaptiſts; the firſt at Cologn with one Matthias in 1556; the other with John Kremer, priſoner in the county of Mark in 1558. I have changed the order of the author I quote; for his *iterum* implies contradiction.

(32) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controverſ.* p. 394. *Georgius Caſſander*, ſays he (32), *bis cum illis coram diſputavit, de quo inter ejus opera fol.* 1227; *ſemel cum Johanne Kremer, a.* CIↃ IↃ LVIII, *captivo in Comitatu Marchiæ; iterum a.* CIↃ IↃ LVI, *cum Matthia aliquo, Coloniæ.*

[*H*] *The Proteſtant Divines oppoſed the Anabaptiſts with great zeal in the United Provinces, and cauſed at different times ſome edicts to be publiſhed againſt them.*] They challenged the Anabaptiſts ſeveral times to diſpute with them. The Synod, held at Horn, paſſed an act relating to this matter, and even had recourſe to the authority of the Governor. *Eccleſiæ noſtræ ſemper bonum ac utile cenſuerunt, adverſarios ad diſputationem & colloquia provocare. Synodus Hornana a.* CIↃ IↃ LXXX, *& a.* CIↃ IↃ LXXVI, *implorata cum in finem Gubernatoris Theod. Sonnoyi auctoritate . . . . decernit provocandum, &c.* (33). i. e. " Our churches have always thought it meet to " challenge the adverſaries to diſputes and conferences. The Synod of Horn in 1580 and 1576, " having implored the authority of Theodore Sonnoy " the Governor, ... determined to challenge, &c." which acts were paſſed in three or four other Synods before the end of the ſixteenth Century (34). In 1599 the churches thought fit, a work ſhould be compoſed containing the chief heads of the controſies with the Anabaptiſts. Arminius, Miniſter of Amſterdam, took the writing of it upon himſelf, and ſet about it; but gave it over, while he was Profeſſor of Divinity at Leyden, and laid before the Synod of Alcmaer in 1605, the reaſons why he could not apply himſelf to that work. The Synod of Enchuyſen in 1624, appointed two Miniſters to examine the tenets of the Mennonites, and diſcuſs the points in controverſy. One of them being left alone in 1626, deſired a new ſecond, and obtained Doreſlaar of the Synod that was held at Amſterdam in 1628. Theſe two ſet about the work in good earneſt, and publiſhed in Dutch an excellent piece in 1637, being a collection of the Anabaptiſtical controverſies, wherein are marked very carefully the many alterations that have been made in that ſect (35). The author, who relates all this, obſerves, that the churches, jointly with the ſecular power, keep a watchful eye over the Anabaptiſts in order to prevent them from increaſing their number, or becoming powerful; they ſtand upon their guard, ſays he, to curb this ſect, in caſe it ſhould ſhoot out in new branches, or extend itſelf beyond its bounds. *Pro coercendis aut noviter pullulantibus, aut ſua pomœria extendentibus juxta cum Politicis etiam eccleſiæ vigilant* (36). He adds, that the Synods of Frieſland preſs the States of the Province to put in execution, and to renew the edict which was enacted againſt the Anabaptiſts in 1598; and that chiefly in regard of the new aſſemblies, and new places of worſhip, that this ſect has had the boldneſs to ſet up. He ſubjoins, that ſince it plainly appears from the Synod of the Anabaptiſts, held at Haerlem in the month of July 1649, that they had formed new congregations, it is a duty incumbent upon the orthodox Paſtors to find out the proper means to obviate and reſtrain ſuch innovations; the more, becauſe they are impowered thereto by an edict of the year 1651, in which their High Mightineſſes command the ſects to be brought to reaſon, and forbid their ſpreading themſelves. *Sectas cohibendas, atque in ordine redigendas, neque permittendum ut in plura loca quam hodie ſint diffundantur* (37). i. e. " The ſects are to be reſtrained and " duced to order, and not to be ſuffered to ſpread " into more places than at preſent." In the ſame manner in France ſuch places of worſhip were ſhut up, as the Proteſtants could not make appear they had enjoyed when the edicts were publiſhed. See Voetius's *Politica Eccleſiaſtica* (38), where he examines, whether this ſect ought to be ſuffered; and though he uſes ſome diſtinctions, yet, generally ſpeaking, inclines to the negative.

(33) Idem, ibid. He tranſpoſes the times, and places the Synod of 1576 after that of 1580.

(34) Idem, ibid.

(35) Id. ibid. p. 395, 396.

(36) Id. ibid. p. 391.

(37) Id. ibid. P. 392.

(38) The 4th book, Part 1. p. 538, *& ſeq.*

[*I*] *Mr. Van Beuning diſcourſed one day with Mr. de Turenne upon the toleration granted this ſect in Holland.*] Mr. de Turenne, being one day with this Ambaſſador in his coach, told him, that he could not approve of the toleration the States General granted to all religions. It is foreign to my purpoſe to relate here Mr. van Beuning's anſwer with regard to the other ſects; therefore I ſhall only make mention of what concerns the Mennonites. " Why ought " they not to be ſuffered? ſaid he; they are the " beſt and the leaſt troubleſome ſet of people in the " world: they aſpire to no employments, nor does " an ambitious man meet with them on his way to " preferment, or is kept back by their competition " and intrigues. It were to be wiſhed, that one half " of mankind made a conſcience merely to think of " promotion; for in that caſe the other half would be " preferred without taking ſo much trouble, or em- " ploying ſuch crafty, baſe, and unlawful means as " they generally uſe. We are not afraid they ſhould " revolt, for one of the articles of their belief is, " that they ought never to bear arms. How eaſy " muſt a Prince be in his mind, while he reflects, " that ſuch a tenet will prevent his ſubjects from " revolting, let the taxes and impoſitions be ever " ſo heavy? The Mennonites pay their quota of all " charges of the State, and that is ſufficient; for it " enables us to raiſe troops, which do us better ſer- " vice than they could do, though they bore arms. " We are edified at the ſimplicity of their manners. " They are both artificers and traders, neither do " they ſquander their eſtates or gains in luxury and " riotous living. It does not happen ſo to thoſe of " other Sects, whoſe debauched lives joined to the " expences they are put to by their vanity, occaſion " perpetual ſcandals, and weaken conſiderably *the* " *State.* But they take no oaths: a matter of great " moment indeed. What prejudice do the Tribunals " receive from that, ſince they hold themſelves to be " as ſtraitly bound by their promiſe, to ſpeak the " truth, as if they had taken an oath? The whole " virtue of an oath conſiſts in this, viz. that a Man, " who acts againſt it, fears a more ſevere puniſhment " from God, expoſes himſelf to infamy, and is liable " to be puniſhed by the Magiſtrates. Now the Men- " nonites fear the ſame dangers, in caſe they ſhould " lie after they have promiſed to tell the truth, and, " of courſe, are under the ſame ties as other men."

[*K*] *The books which have been publiſhed againſt this Sect, and its tenets are without number.*] I have mentioned ſome of them in the remark [*C*]. Here follow ſome others. Hermannus Modeus wrote a book *De Initiis Sectæ Anabaptiſticæ.* Andreas Meſhovius publiſhed in Latin *the Hiſtory of the Anabaptiſts.* An anonymous writer compoſed in Dutch, *the Anabaptiſtical Succeſſion*, which was printed at Cologn in 1603. Another work in Dutch was publiſhed in 1605, *De origine & progreſſu Sectarum inter Anabaptiſtas.* Mr. Ottius, Profeſſor at Zurich, wrote in Latin the *Annals* of this Sect down to the year 1671.

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to root them out, though they have frequently proceeded againſt them with ſeverity (*f*). I ſhall alledge ſome of the reaſons that are produced to juſtify their ſeverity [*L*]. As the chief tenets of the modern Anabaptiſts are ſet down in the Dutch edition of Moreri's Dictionary, I ſhall not touch upon them here. It is certain, the character

(*f*) *See* Stoupp, *Relig. des Holland*, Letter IV. p. 100, *& ſeq.* But rather the *Annales Anabap.* by John Henry Ottius, printed at Baſil 1672.

Moreri

All theſe books are mentioned either by Hoornbeek (39), by Micrælius (40), or by Spanheim (41). I do not find they ſpeak of a book, which Caſſander deſcribes in the following words. *De origine vero hujus Anabaptiſticæ Sectæ, ejuſque progreſſu, & quæ ex hoc capite monſtra, quam varia & abſurda, atque inter ſe pugnantia, prodierunt, luculente, copioſe, ſummaque cum fide ſcripſit Nicolaus Bleſdick, qui quod aliquando hujuſmodi errore per imperitiam ætatis deceptus fuerit, eo nunc inſtructior & vehementior eſt in iis erroribus refellendis, id quod illi cum B. Auguſtino commune eſt* (42). i. e. "The origin of this ſect "of Anabaptiſts, and its progreſs, and the various "and abſurd monſters that have riſen from this head, "which are contrary to each other, have been clearly "copiouſly and faithfully delivered by Nicolaus Bleſ- "dick, who having formerly thro' the unskilfulneſs "of youth been led into thoſe errors, is now the "more qualified and zealous againſt them, as happened "to St. Auguſtin." Hoornbeek ſpeaks only of an *Hiſtory of David George*, written by Nicholas Bleſdick, ſon-in-law to this David, and publiſhed by Revius (43). One *Hiſtory of the Anabaptiſts* was publiſhed in French at Amſterdam in 1695, and another more copious in 1700. Thoſe, who have written againſt them, are Zuinglius, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Urbanus Regius, Juſtus Menius, Bullingerus, John Laſcus, Guy de Bres, Taffin, Hunnius, Oſiander, Cloppenbourg, Spanheim, and many others, whom it would be too long to enumerate (44). However I muſt not omit the book entitled *Babel*, publiſhed in 1621 by Hermannus Faukelius, Miniſter of Middlebourg, and one of the Fathers of the Synod of Dort. In this work he ſhews the monſtrous variety of opinions that reigns among the Anabaptiſts; who anſwered it by publiſhing their Confeſſion of faith at Amſterdam 1624, and retorting his arguments in a book entitled *The Babel of Pedobaptiſts* (45). The Author of this piece was one Anthony Jacob (46). At firſt the Anabaptiſts wrote very few books; but afterwards had ſeveral Authors, and have publiſhed a great many books, partly didactic or hiſtorical, and partly polemical. They publiſhed at Horn, in 1624, a Confeſſion of faith, which they confirmed with ſeveral paſſages of the Scripture, and other authorities. Twelve years after they publiſhed another (47), ſhewing how well they agreed in their tenets. They have publiſhed *Apologies of their confeſſion of Faith*, *Catechiſms*, and *Manuals*. In 1644 they anſwered the Manifeſto of Zurich. The ſame year Abraham David, one of their communion (48), publiſhed a book againſt a Miniſter of Haerlem, called Bontemps, under this title, *Smegma Hollandicum contra maculas quas P. Bontemps Mennonitis aſperſit.* Several other pieces were publiſhed againſt the ſame Miniſter, viz. *Abſterſio accuſationum gravium Petri Bontemps, facta per P. V. K.* 1643: *Confutatio argumentorum quibus Petrus Bontemps probare conatur Anabaptiſtas injurios eſſe in Deum & homines*, 1643: *Spongia ad abluendas maculas Petri Bontemps contra certam Anabaptiſtarum ſectam: Jadoci Henrici Lixivium contra ejuſdem maculas: Probatio Lixivii D. Bontemps ubi per G. V. V. fidei potiſſimum authoris & methodus agendi ſollicitatur* (49).

(39) *In ſumma Controverſiarum.*
(40) *In Syntagmate Hiſtor. Eccleſ.*
(41) *In Elencho Controverſiar.*
(42) Georg. Caſſander, Epiſt. Dedicator. *Tractatus de Baptiſmo Infantium.*
(43) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controverſiarum*, pag. 373.
(44) Idem, ibid. p. 394, and John Vaget, in the theſis he defended at Wittemburg in 1688, *de Secta Mennonitarum.*
(45) That is of thoſe who baptiſe infants.
(46) A Miniſter among the Anabaptiſts, and Phyſician at Amſterdam.
(47) At Dort.
(48) He uſed, inſtead of his name, theſe three letters G. V. V. that is, Gerard Vryburg. *Hottingeri Biblioth. Theolog.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 420, 421.
(49) Idem, ibid.

[*L*] *I ſhall alledge ſome of the reaſons that are produced to juſtify their ſeverity.*] I ſhall inſert here the contents of a Letter, from Mr. Breitinger, Dean of the Church of Zurich, to Mr. Hotton Miniſter of the Walloon Church at Amſterdam, dated the 21ſt of Auguſt 1642. A war breaking out in moſt parts of Europe in 1622, the Magiſtrates of Zurich, commanded, as it had been ever practiſed on like occaſions, the inhabitants of that Canton, to accuſtom themſelves to the military exerciſe, by frequent muſters. The Anabaptiſts refuſed to comply with this order, and laid before thoſe, who were ready to obey, that war was to be looked upon as a puniſhment from heaven, and that States were to be defended by a good life, and not by arms. They inſinuated, that they were ready to abandon their country, wives, children, and whatever they had in the world, rather than to repulſe the common enemy with arms. This provoked the loyal ſubjects of the Republic to ſuch a degree, that they were for exterminating that Sect. But the Magiſtrates found out a more mild expedient. They charged the moſt prudent and wiſe men of the Senate to confer with the Divines of moſt moderation, in order to ſettle with them the meaſures that were proper on that juncture. This Committee, after imploring the prayers of the whole Church, came to this reſolution; that they ſhould leave no means untried to cure the Anabaptiſts of their ill-grounded ſcruples; that they ſhould put none of them to death, or condemn them to the galleys, or take any other courſe with them, that ſavoured of cruelty, precipitation, or paſſion. After this it was thought proper to confer with them; and accordingly three places were appointed for them to aſſemble in, and hear the propoſals of the Committee. They came according to the appointment; and the chief articles of the Chriſtian belief being propoſed to them both *viva voce* and in writing, they admitted them all, except that touching the power of Magiſtrates. The Senate being informed of what paſſed in theſe Aſſemblies, commanded ſome of their Heads to be ſent for, who appeared, and produced their reaſons, which were anſwered with great ſedateneſs; and tho' this could not in the leaſt prevail upon them, yet they were diſmiſſed very graciouſly. In retiring they ſeemed to be afraid of ſome trick, which they owned the next day, when they were asked, why they had behaved themſelves ſo as to make believe they diſtruſted the ſafe conduct the Government had ſent them. Many were highly offended at this mild proceeding of the Magiſtrates; but however it was reſolved to try anew whether they could be prevailed upon by fair means. The leading men among the Anabaptiſts were therefore convened, and aſſured, that they ſhould not be forced to take any oath after the uſual manner, but only to anſwer *yes* or *no*; that they ſhould be exempted from bearing of arms, provided they would concur with their prayers, and other religious means, to promote the good of the public; and that by obliging them to attend the Sermons of the Miniſters, it was no ways intended they ſhould not be at full liberty to diſapprove what they thought not to be agreeable to the word of God, provided they would firſt adviſe with ſome of their Paſtors, or any other Eccleſiaſtic. The Speech was cloſed with promiſes of protection and pathetical exhortations. But as all this made no impreſſion upon their minds, they were deſired to retire elſewhere, allowed to carry along with them what was neceſſary for their maintenance, and aſſured they ſhould be reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of their eſtates, when, cured of their errors, they ſhould be willing to return home. At the ſame time their wives and children were given to underſtand, that ſuch of them, as were inclined rather to renounce their errors than abandon their country, ſhould enjoy a reaſonable allowance out of their fathers and husbands eſtates. The Anabaptiſts anſwered, that the earth belonged to God, and not to the Magiſtrates, and rejected theſe conditions. Upon this the Magiſtrates had recourſe to taxes and fines, and at laſt, becauſe the Anabaptiſts refuſed to pay them, exclaiming againſt ſuch proceedings as tyrannical, their whole eſtates were confiſcated. They complained then more loudly than ever, and uſed to aſſemble in the night time to implore from heaven the plague, famine, and other public calamities againſt their perſecutors. This obliged the Magiſtrates to recur to a more violent remedy, and impriſon great numbers of them; but moſt part of them eſcaped (50) by a breach they made in the wall, and continued to raiſe the ſame diſturbances as formerly. They were again put in priſon, and frequently exhorted either to renounce their errors, or retire out of the country of their own accord; but to no purpoſe, for they could not be brought to any terms, and merely inſiſted on their being ſet at liberty. 'Tis true they

(50) On Eaſte Monday 1636.

Moreri gives of them, was not a true one at the time he wrote, and perhaps they never held the two tenets he lays to their charge [*M*], viz. *that a woman is obliged to indulge, when desired, the passion of every man that lusts after her*; and *that they disapprove the marriages of all those who are not of their persuasion.* Some Authors tell us, that several Roman Catholicks, by turning Anabaptists, acquired such a knowledge, that they could read, and discourse on matters of religion; and that upon their returning to Popery, they found themselves as illiterate as they had been when they left it (*g*). But this must be counted among the fables.

(*g*) Zindanus Dial. 3. *Dubitandi, & Thyræus*, lib. *de Demoniacis*, cap. 21. *apud* Theophil. Raynaudum, *Theologiæ Natur.* Dist. IV. num. 330. P. 404.

offered to give an account of their doctrine before the people; but that was refused, and instead of it, a dispute proposed in writing, and even the points marked upon which they were to dispute. But they answered, that they could not defend their cause while they were under confinement. 'Tis to be observed, that such of the Anabaptists as made their escape made every where most bitter complaints, as tho' their prisoners had been treated most inhumanly (51).

(51) From a letter of John James Breitinger dated the 21st of August 1642, and inserted in the *Annales Anabaptistici* of John Henry Ottius, p. 288, *& seq.*

This Apology runs upon the long patience which preceded the severity that was afterwards used. But here follow some more particular reasons taken from the nature of the government of that country. The Swiss keep no auxiliary forces in pay, but, when occasion requires, bear arms themselves; and besides, their allowing foreign Princes to levy troops in their country, is one of the chief branches of their revenue. It is therefore a matter of great consequence to their Sovereigns, that they should all be fit to bear arms, and like that profession. And this is the reason that the tenets of the Anabaptists do not square with their form of government; for the Anabaptists are averse from wounding or killing, and terrify, as far as lays in their power, even the most warlike, by raising scruples upon the shedding of human blood, and such passions as inseparably attend a military life.

[*M*] *It is certain, that the character Moreri gives of this Sect was not a true one at the time he wrote in.*] Moreri had read in *Prateolus*, that, according to the Anabaptists, every woman is obliged to indulge the inclinations of a man, and every man the inclinations of a woman, whenever required. *Dicunt postremo quamlibet mulierem obligatam esse ad coeundum cum quolibet viro eam petente; & contra eodem vinculo adstringunt omnem virum ad tantundem reddendum cuilibet mulieri hoc ab illo petenti* (52). According to this there ought to be a natural marriage between all men and women, that is, every man would be bound in duty, and under pain of committing a crime, to satisfy every woman, and every woman to comply with the desire of every man, whenever required. The obligations exposed by St. Paul (53), viz. that the husband has not the power of his own body, but ought to look upon it as made over to his spouse; and, in the same manner, that she ought to count the power of her body as lodged in her husband: these obligations, I say, which are very just and reasonable in a marriage between one man and one woman, would extend to each man with regard to all the women in the world, and to each woman with respect to all the men: which is such an absurd, base, and detestable a tenet, that one can scarcely be persuaded that any sect of the Anabaptists ever held such an opinion. In this case it would be a much harder matter to observe the laws of nature, than those of the Gospel; and we might renew, with great reason, the ancient complaint: *It is a yoke, which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear.* In one word, this can be no law of nature, which cannot lay upon us any obligation we cannot comply with (54). Beauty and tenderness of conscience, joined together under such a law, would be a burden sufficient to oppress, in very short time, the most vigorous and robust. Such persons, as were the most beautiful and conscientious, would have most occasion to complain. It may be observed, that the community of wives is not, by many degrees, so abominable, for it allows one the liberty of refusing, and does not oblige him in conscience to indulge every one.

(52) *Prateolus in Elencho Hæreseon*, lib. 1. pag. 27.

(53) 1 Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vii. ver. 4.

(54) *Impossibilia nemo tenetur.*

Perhaps it would not be an ill-grounded conjecture, to say that those, who compiled the *Catalogues of Heresies*, and *Prateolus's Originals*, forged this story by putting a bad construction, thro' malice or ignorance, on one of the consequences that were inferred from the doctrine relating to the equality of conditions. For it is certain that the Anabaptists held at first this equality; from whence it naturally followed, that a young woman of a good family could not refuse to marry the son of a peasant, nor a Gentleman the daughter of a peasant, if she desired to have him for her husband. If our Compilers of Catalogues have raised upon such a foundation the absurd doctrine they impute to the Anabaptists, are they not to be as much exploded as the doctrine itself?

Neither am I persuaded, that these Sectaries looked upon the marriages of other Christians as unlawful, and made no distinction between illegitimate children, and those that were born in wedlock; for instance, that Calvin's birth was defiled with the same impurity as that of Erasmus. But Moreri look'd not so narrowly into matters, and provided he could but defame the heretics, nothing came amiss to him.

☞ANACHARSIS, a famous Philosopher, was born in Scythia. He was brother to Cadovides King of Scythia, and the son of Gnurus by a Greek woman, which gave him the opportunity of learning both languages to perfection (*a*). Soficrates, according to Laertius affirmed, that he came to Athens in the forty seventh Olympiad under Eucrates the Archon. And Hermippus (*b*) tells us, that as soon as he arrived there, he went to Solon's house, and knocked at his door, and bid the servant, who opened it, go and tell his master, that Anacharsis was there, and was come on purpose to see him, and continue with him for some time. Solon returned him an answer, that it was better to contract friendship at home. Anacharsis went in upon this, and said to Solon, that since he was then in his own country and in his own house, it was his duty to entertain him as his guest, and therefore he desired him to enter into an intimate friendship with him. Solon, surprized at the vivacity of his repartee, immediately engaged in a friendship with him, which lasted as long as they lived. Solon instructed him in the best disciplines, recommended him to the favour of the noblest persons, and sought all means of giving him respect and honour. Anacharsis was kindly received by every one for his sake, and, as Theoxenus attests, was the only stranger, whom they incorporated into their city. We have a great many beautiful apothegms and expressions related of this Philosopher [*A*]. He was a man of a very quick and lively genius, and

(*a*) Diogenes Laertius *in Vitâ Anacharsis.*

(*b*) *Apud eumd.* ibid.

[*A*] *We have a great many beautiful apothegms and expressions related of this Philosopher.*] Diogenes Laertius has given us a collection of them in his Life of Anacharsis, to which we shall add several from other writers. He used commonly to say, that the vine produced three sorts of grapes, the first of pleasure

and of a ſtrong and maſterly eloquence, and was reſolute in whatever he undertook. He conſtantly wore a coarſe double garment. He was very temperate (*c*), and his diet was nothing but milk and cheeſe (*d*). His ſpeeches were delivered in a conciſe and pathetic ſtyle, and as he was inflexible in the purſuit of his point, he never failed to gain it; ſo that his reſolute and eloquent manner of ſpeaking paſſed into a proverb; and thoſe who imitated him were ſaid to ſpeak in the Scythian phraſe (*e*). He was extremely fond of poetry, and wrote the laws of the Scythians, and of thoſe things which he had obſerved among the Greeks, with regard to frugal of life, and a Poem of 900 verſes upon war (*f*). Crœſus having heard of his reputation, ſent to offer him money, and to deſire him to come to ſee him at Sardis; but the Philoſopher anſwered, that he was come to Greece in order to learn the language, manners and laws of that country; that he had no occaſion for gold or ſilver, but that it would be ſufficient for him to return to Scythia a better man and more intelligent than when he came from thence. He told the King however, that he would take an opportunity of ſeeing him, ſince he had a ſtrong deſire of being ranked in the number of his friends (*g*). After he had continued a long while in Greece, he prepared to return home. In paſſing through Cyricum, he found the people of that city celebrating in a very ſolemn manner the feaſt of the Mother of the Gods. Upon this he made a vow to that Goddeſs, that he would perform the ſame ſacrifices, and eſtabliſh the ſame feaſt in honour of her in his own country, if he ſhould return thither in ſafety. Upon his arrival in Scythia he attempted to change the ancient cuſtoms of that country, and to eſtabliſh thoſe of Greece. But this prov'd extremely diſpleaſing to the Scythians, and fatal to himſelf. As he had one day entered into a thick wood called Hylæa, in order to accompliſh his vow to Cybele in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible, and was performing the whole ceremony with a drum in his hand before an image of that Goddeſs, he was diſcovered by a Scythian, who went and informed King Saulius of it. The King came immediately, and ſurpriſed Anacharſis in the midſt of the ſolemnity, and ſhot him dead with an arrow (*b*). Laertius tells us (*i*), that he was killed by his brother with an

(*d*) *Abregè des Vies des Anciens Philoſophes, par* M. De Fenelon, *Archevêque de Cambray*, (as it is ſaid in the preface) Paris 8vo, 1726. p. 133, 134.

(*c*) Plutarch, *in Convivio ſeptem Sapientum.*

(*e*) Diogen. Laert. *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid. The author of the *Abregè des Vies*, &c. ſays, that he wrote the piece concerning the laws of the Scythians in verſe, which I do not find aſſerted by Laertius.

(*g*) Laert. *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Herodot. lib. 14.

(*i*) *Ubi ſupra,*

pleaſure, the ſecond of drunkenneſs, and the third of repentance. He expreſſed his ſurprize, that in all the public Aſſemblies at Athens, wiſe men ſhould propound buſineſs, and fools determine it. He could not comprehend the reaſon why thoſe were puniſhed, who abuſed others with their tongue, and yet great rewards were given to the wreſtlers, who treated one another with the utmoſt fury and barbarity. He was no leſs aſtoniſhed that the Greeks at the beginning of their banquets ſhould make uſe of glaſſes, which were of a moderate ſize, and yet ſhould call for very large ones at the cloſe of the feaſt, when they had drunk ſufficiently. He could by no means approve of the liberties which every perſon thought were allowable in banquets. Being ask'd one day what method was to be taken in order to prevent one from ever drinking wine, he replied, There is no better means than to view a drunken man with all his extravagance of behaviour, and to reflect upon this at one's leiſure. Some perſon having enquired whether there were any inſtruments of muſic in Scythia, he anſwered, that there were not even vines there (1). He called the oil, which the wreſtlers made uſe of to anoint their limbs, the preparation of the moſt extravagant madneſs. As he was one day conſidering the thickneſs of the planks of a ſhip, he cried out, Alas! thoſe, who go to ſea, are but four inches diſtant from death. Being asked what was the moſt ſecure ſhip, he replied, That, which is arrived in the port. He very often repeated it, that every man ſhould take a particular care to make himſelf Maſter of his tongue and his belly. He had always when he ſlept his right hand upon his mouth, to ſhew that there is nothing, which we ought to be ſo cautious of as the tongue. An Athenian reproaching him one day with being a Scythian, he replied, My country is a diſgrace to me; but you are a diſgrace to your country. Being asked what was the beſt and what the worſt part of a man, he anſwered, The tongue. It is much better, ſaid he, to have but one friend, if he be but faithful to us, than a great number, who are always ready to follow the change of fortune. When he was asked, whether there were more perſons living than dead, he anſwered, In which number do ye rank thoſe, who are at ſea? He uſed to ſay, that the Forum was a place, which men had eſtabliſhed in order to impoſe upon each other. As he was one day paſſing thro' a ſtreet, an impertinent young fellow offered ſome inſult to him; Anacharſis look'd upon him, and ſaid to him in a cool manner; *Young man, if you cannot bear wine in your youth, you will not be able to bear water, when you are old.* He uſed to compare laws to ſpider-webs; and to ridicule Solon, who pretended to reſtrain the paſſions of mankind by pieces of writing. Going one day to conſult the Prieſteſs of Apollo, whether there was any man wiſer than himſelf, the Oracle replied, that there was one Miſo of Chenes. Anacharſis was prodigiouſly ſurprized, that he had never heard any mention of him; and went to him in the village, whither he was retired. He found him mending his waggon, and ſaid to him, Miſo, there is no time now for you to till the earth. Yes, ſays Miſo, it is time to mend one's waggon, when any thing is broken in it. This Miſo was rank'd among the wiſe Men by Plato; he had retired from the world into a ſolitude, where he ſpent the reſt of his life without any converſation with mankind, having a natural averſion to them in general. He had one day hid himſelf in a corner, where he laughed as loud as he could poſſibly; but ſome body coming up to him, and asking him the reaſon of his laughter, ſince there was no body with him; he replied, that this was the very reaſon of his mirth (2). Anacharſis being demanded by Ardalus, whether there were Gods among the Scythians, he replied, Yes, and that they underſtood all languages (3). He affirmed, that the moſt remarkable thing he had ſeen among the Grecians, was this, that they left the ſmoak upon the mountains, and carried the wood into their cities. Being demanded what in man is both good and bad, he anſwered the tongue. He affirm'd, that it is better to have one friend worth much, than many worth nothing. He ſaid the Greeks made no other uſe of money but to account with it (4). He obſerved, that the Prince, who is wiſe, is happy (5); and that that city is beſt, wherein, all things elſe being equal, virtue hath the better condition, vice the worſe. To one, who, as they were drinking, ſaid, looking upon his wife, Anacharſis, you have married one, who is not handſome; I am, anſwered he, of that opinion too; but I put leſs water in my wine, that I may make her handſome (6). Giving an account of the qualities of the vine to the King of Scythia, and ſhewing him ſome ſlips of it, he added, And by this time it would have reached into Scythia, if the Greeks did not every year cut off its branches (7). At a feaſt ſuch being ſent for as might procure mirth, he alone ſmiled not. Afterwards an ape being brought in, he laughed, ſaying, that this beaſt is ridiculous by nature, man by art and ſtudy (8). He ſaid, that to him all Grecians were Scythians.

(1) *See* Plutarch. *in Convivio ſeptem Sapientum*; and Strabo, lib. 15.

(2) *Abregè des Vies des Anciens Philoſophes*, pag. 139, 140.

(3) Plutarch. *Conviv. ſept. Sapient.*

(4) Plutarch. *de Profect. Virtut. Sent.*

(5) Idem, *Conviv. ſept. Sap.*

(6) Stob. Serm. 16.

(7) Athen. *Deipnoſ.* l. 10.

(8) Idem, ibid.

an arrow as he was hunting, and that he expired with theſe words; "I lived in "peace and ſafety in Greece, whither I went to inform my ſelf of the language "and manners of the country; and envy has here deſtroyed me in my own native "country." A great many ſtatues were erected to him after his death. Herodotus mentions ſome particulars relating to him [*B*]. He is ſaid to have invented Tinder (*k*), the Anchor, and the Potters Wheel (*l*). But this latter is clearly evinced by Strabo (*m*) to be falſe, becauſe it is mentioned by Homer, who lived long before him, Anacharſis flouriſhing in the time of Crœſus. We have an Epigram of Diogenes Laertius upon him [*C*].

(*k*) Strabo, l. 7. (*l*) Laert. *ubi ſupra.* (*m*) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Herodotus mentions ſome particulars relating to him.*] He tells us (9), that the Scythians denied that they knew any thing of him; which might be occaſioned by his travels into Greece, and his following of foreign cuſtoms. But the Hiſtorian tells us, that he had heard of Symnes, the Tutor of Spargapithes, that he was uncle to Indathyrſus King of Scythia, the ſon of Gnurus, grandſon of Lycus, and great-grandſon of Spargapithes. So that if Anacharſis was of this family, it is certain that he was killed by his brother; for Indathyrſus was the ſon of Saulius, who killed him. Herodotus likewiſe informs us (10), that he had heard the Peloponneſians ſay, that Anacharſis was ſent by the King of Scythia, into foreign countries, and became a diſciple of the Greeks, and that upon his return, he told the King, who ſent him, that all the Greeks were converſant in all kinds of knowledge, except the Lacedæmonians, who ſtudied nothing but the method of giving and receiving with prudence. But the Hiſtorian obſerves, that the latter part of this account was an invention of the Greeks.

(9) Lib. 4.

(10) Ibid.

[*C*] *An Epigram of Laertius upon him.*]

Ἐς Σκυθίην Ἀνάχαρσις ὅτ' ἦλυθε πολλὰ μογήσας
Πάντας ἔπειθε βιοῦν ἤθεσιν Ἑλλαδίκοις.
Τόνδ' ἔτι μῦθον ἄκραντον ἐπὶ τοξεύτῃσιν ἔχονται,
Πλησὶς ἐς ἀθανάτους ἧρπασεν ὠκα δόναξ.

That is,

"From travel Anacharſis came at laſt,
"And Scythia in a Grecian mould would caſt:
"Whilſt he was teaching how, by the ſurprize
"Of a wing'd arrow carried to the ſkies."

Stanley.

T.

ANACREON, a Greek Poet, born at Teos, a city of Ionia (*A*), flouriſhed during the reign of Polycrates at Samos [*B*], and whilſt Hipparchus enjoyed at Athens the authority, which his father Piſiſtratus had uſurped. This is what cannot be called in queſtion, if we recur to the works of Plato and Herodotus; in which we read, that Hipparchus called Anacreon to Athens (*a*) [*C*], and that Anacreon was in Polycrates's room, while he gave audience to an Envoy of Oretes Governor of Sardes

(*a*) Plato *in Hipparcho.* Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 8. cap. 2.

[*A*] *Born at Teos, a city of Ionia.*] In the article TEOS I refute thoſe who affirm that Anacreon was a native of *Teium* on the Euxin ſea.

[*B*] *He flouriſhed during the reign of Polycrates at Samos.*] I have not marked the Olympiad, becauſe in ſpeaking of a man, who lived to the age of eighty five years, we ought not, methinks, to confine ourſelves within ſo narrow bounds, and thoſe, who have done ſo, differ widely from one another. Euſebius choſe the 62d Olympiad (1); but nevertheleſs Suidas preferred the 52d, and Mr. le Fevre of Saumur the 72d (2). But as to Suidas, he is by no means to be depended upon, it being plain, that the text is altered; and thoſe who tranſlated his works are not to be pardoned for having let paſs uncorrected a moſt notorious miſtake we find in them, viz. that Anacreon lived in the time of Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos, in the 52d Olympiad; or, according to others, in the time of Cyrus and Cambyſes, in the 25th Olympiad. Polycrates and Cambyſes died about the ſame time, as appears from Herodotus (3). Euſebius ſuppoſes, and with a great deal of reaſon, that they both lived at the ſame time, and in the 63d Olympiad; it is not therefore neceſſary to put twenty ſeven Olympiads between them, nor to tranſfer Cyrus from the 55th Olympiad, which is generally taken to be the epoch of the Perſian Monarchy, to the 25th. Voſſius makes Suidas ſay, that Anacreon flouriſhed in the 61ſt or 62d Olympiad (4); but in the printed Suidas we find no ſuch thing. As to Mr. le Fevre, who places Anacreon in the 72d Olympiad; it is an eaſier task to ſhew the inſufficiency of his proofs, than to make appear, that Anacreon did not really live in that time. Mr. le Fevre reaſons thus: Anacreon came to Athens in the time of Hipparchus: Hipparchus had a brother named Hippias, *who put Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, on the expedition he undertook againſt Athens. If ſo,* ſays he, *it is plain, that this happened in the year* 489 *before the birth of Chriſt, and in the* 72d *Olympiad.* I own, that the expedition of the Perſians againſt Athens, which is mentioned here, but was not carried on by Darius in perſon, as Mr. le Fevre ſeems to inſinuate, happen'd in the 72d Olympiad, and four hundred eighty nine years before the birth of Chriſt (5); but it is to be obſerved, that Darius went to Athens twenty years after Hippias had been driven out of that city (6), and that he was baniſhed the fourth year after the death of Hipparchus, and the eighteenth after that of Piſiſtratus, from whence we may conclude, that Hipparchus reigned fourteen or fifteen years. It is therefore very likely, I, that Hipparchus invited Anacreon to Athens thirty years before Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, hearkened to the ſuggeſtions of Hippias againſt the Athenians; II, that Anacreon died ſome years before the 72d Olympiad, and the year 489 before the Chriſtian Æra, which Mr. le Fevre ſuppoſes to be the preciſe time in which Anacreon flouriſhed. Here follows another obſervation. Le Fevre wrote the Lives of the Greek Poets in 1659 (7). Now in Anacreon's Life, printed in 1660, he tells us, that this Poet flouriſhed five hundred fifty five years before the birth of Chriſt, or thereabout, and grants, that he might have lived in the 52d Olympiad, as is aſſerted by Suidas; *for he was,* ſays he, *an intimate friend of Polycrates, who flouriſhed at the time that Amaſis reigned in Egypt.* Mr. le Fevre then has been a little too wavering in his opinion about the time of Anacreon. No body can ſay, without being miſtaken, that one, who might have lived in the 52d Olympiad, flouriſhed preciſely in the 72d. Beſides, from one's being a friend of Polycrates contemporary to Amaſis, we cannot well infer, that he might have lived in the 52d Olympiad; for Amaſis died in the end of the 64th Olympiad, and Polycrates two years after (8).

(1) Calviſius makes him ſay, that Anacreon flouriſhed in the 25th Olympiad, which I don't find in Scaliger's *Euſebius.*

(2) In the *Lives of the Greek Poets.*

(3) Herod. l. 3. c 120, *& ſeq.*

(4) Voſſius, *de Poetis Græcis*, p. 22. Hofman has copied it from him; but Moreri, who has done the ſame, puts 60 inſtead of 61.

(5) *See* Calviſius.

(6) *Petavii Rationarium Temporum*, Part 1. l. 3. cap. 2, & Part 2. l. 3. cap. 9.

(7) See the end of his Preface.

(8) *See* Calviſius.

[*C*] *Hipparchus called Anacreon to Athens.*] I do not intend to cenſure Mr. le Fevre for ſaying, that *Hipparchus, ſon to Piſiſtratus* (9), *ſent a veſſel with fifty oars to Teos, entreating Anacreon with a very obliging letter to paſs the Egean ſea and come to Athens; and aſſuring him that he would find there many admirers, who were capable of diſcerning the beauties of a fine compoſition, and the merit of great men:* I do not intend, I ſay, to cenſure that, neither becauſe I find nothing in Plato, but what follows, Ἐπ' Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον πενηκοντόρου στεῖλας ἀκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν (10). i. e. "He ſent a veſſel with fifty oars to bring "Anacreon, a native of Teos, to our city:" nor becauſe Ælian ſpeaks in the ſame general terms (11): for Mr. le Fevre might have found ſuch particulars in

(9) Moreri and Hofman ſay *Piſiſtratus.*

(10) Plato *in Hipparcho.*

(11) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* l. 8. c. 2.

Sardes (*b*) [*D*]. Cambyſes was then King of Perſia; which I take notice of, in order to inform my readers about what time Anacreon flouriſhed. This Poet had a delicate wit, as we may judge from the inexpreſſible beauties and graces that ſhine in his works; but he was too fond of pleaſures, and of ſuch an amorous temper, that he wanted both boys and girls [*E*]; and beſides was given to drink. This laſt fault muſt have made him very remarkable at Athens, ſince his ſtatue there repreſented him as one that was drunk and ſinging (*c*). If all his Poems were extant, we ſhould find in them a vaſt many ſtrokes of his voluptuous humour [*F*], which however appears pretty plain in the few that have reached us, as well as his violent paſſion for Bathyllus [*G*]. If he is not worthy of that abhorrence which a Chriſtian Poet would well deſerve in the like caſe, becauſe that kind of love was not then branded with infamy, as it is in Chriſtian countries, the wickedneſs of the age he lived in muſt ſuffer for him. I mean, that every reader ought to wreak upon thoſe times the indignation he does not vent on each particular man. Anacreon, notwithſtanding his debaucheries, lived to the age of eighty five, if we give credit to Lucian, who places him among the long-lived. We are told, that in his old age he lived upon dry grapes, and that he was choaked by a grape ſtone which ſtuck in his throat. Valerius Maximus aſcribes ſuch an eaſy death to a particular favour of the Gods [*H*]. No one, to my knowledge, has recorded the place, or time of his death [*I*],

(*b*) Herod. l. 3. cap. 121. See alſo Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 2.

(*c*) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 23.

in books, which I am not acquainted with; and beſides, it is probable, that Hipparchus either wrote himſelf, or commanded ſome one elſe to write an obliging letter to Anacreon; ſo that we may admit what Mr. le Fevre is pleaſed to ſuppoſe; the more, becauſe, generally ſpeaking, an account becomes too empty and diſagreeable, when the tranſlator confines himſelf to a verbal tranſlation of the original. But what I cannot help cenſuring is, that Mr. le Fevre ſhould quote Plato.

[*D*] *Anacreon was in Polycrates's room, while he gave audience to an Envoy of Sardes.*] This is all we read in Herodotus: however I am confident that Mr. le Fevre had ſufficient grounds to ſay, that *Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos, kept Anacreon always near his perſon, and that he ſhared with him both his buſineſs and pleaſures*; for it being on one hand certain that Anacreon was in great favour with Polycrates (13); and on the other, that the main buſineſs of that Tyrant was to take all the diverſions he could, we run no great risk in believing what Mr. le Fevre tells us. *You well know it*, adds he, *for two years are not paſſed yet ſince Herodotus was read at your father's table.* This is what I do not take Mr. le Fevre to be very exact in, ſince there is nothing in Herodotus, from whence one can infer, with any probability, that Polycrates ſhared his buſineſs with Anacreon. I am ſorry to find, that men of great parts and learning have believed, without examining into the matter, that Plato and Herodotus really ſaid what this learned Critic makes them ſay. They ought to have made ſome difference between the text, and Mr. le Fevre's flouriſhes.

(13) Athen. lib. 12. cap. 9, 10.

[*E*] *He was of ſo amorous a temper that he wanted both boys and girls.*] Beſides Bathyllus and Smerdias, of whom hereafter (14), he was in love with the beautiful Cleobulus, whom he was near killing in his nurſe's arms, by running againſt him one day that he had drank pretty heartily; neither was he ſatisfied with that, but began to rail at the child (15). Upon this the nurſe wiſhed, he might one day praiſe him as much as he then found fault with him. Cleobulus became a beauty, and Anacreon, falling in love with him, made a great many verſes in his praiſe (16). This was a condign puniſhment, and a proper revenge for a nurſe.

(14) In Remark [*G*].

(15) Maximus Tyrius, Orat. 11. *circa initium.*

(16) Dio Chryſoſtomus relates ſome of them.

[*F*] *Were all his Poems extant, we ſhould find in them a vaſt many ſtrokes of his voluptuous humour.*] Here follow ſome paſſages pick'd out among a great many others, in which mention is made of the ſubject of his Poems. Ἄτοπος ὁ Ἀνακρέων ὁ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξαρτήσας μέθης (17). i. e. "Anacreon was "abſurd, who interwove all his Poems with drunkenneſs." Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήϊος πρῶτος μετὰ Σαλφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας (18). i. e. "Anacreon of Teos, who firſt after Sappho of Leſ"bos ſpent the greateſt part of his Poems in love." Horace mentions Anacreon's amours in the following verſes:

(17) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. pag. 429.

(18) Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 23.

Non aliter Samio dicunt arſiſſe Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teïum,
Qui perſæpe cava teſtitudine flevit amorem (19).

(19) Horat. Epod. 14. ver. 9.

"Thus ſoft Anacreon for Bathyllus burn'd
"And oft his love he ſadly mourn'd.

"He to his harp did various grief rehearſe,
"And wept in an unpoliſh'd verſe." Creech.

See likewiſe Tully, Lib. IV. Tuſcul. and Suidas.

[*G*] *His Poems ſhew his violent paſſion for Bathyllus.*] This overthrows Ælian's exceeding great charity, who would not have us by any means, to ſuſpect any evil of our Poet on account of his friendſhip with Smerdias, one of Polycrates's Minions (20). But it is ſtill more ſtrange, that ſuch a man as Ælian ſhould found his opinion on this general reaſon, viz. that no one can reproach Anacreon with incontinency and intemperance. Μὴ γάρ τις ἡμῶν διαβαλλέτω πρὸς Θεῶν τὸν Ποιητὴν τὸν Τήϊον μὴ δ' ἀκόλαστον εἶναι λεγέτω (21). i. e. "For let no one blame the Poet of Teos, or ſay "that he was guilty of incontinence." Polycrates perceiving that Anacreon had gained the good will of Smerdias, by means of ſome flattering verſes he wrote in his praiſe, became jealous of him to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the boy to be ſhaved (22). His rival being ſenſible of what had prompted him to this action, behaved himſelf very cunningly, and wrote ſome verſes on that ſubject, wherein he managed Polycrates very dexterouſly. Such as remember the following four verſes of Petronius, c. 109.

(20) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 9. c. 4.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Id. ibid. *See alſo* Athen. lib. 12. cap. 9.

Quod ſolum formæ decus eſt cecidere capilli,
Vernanteſque comas triſtis abegit hyems.
Nunc umbra nudata ſua jam tempora mœrent,
Areaque attritis ridet aduſta pilis;

"His hair, that was his beauty's only boaſt,
"Is nipt by chilling winter's cruel froſt.
"Their former ſhade his naked temples mourn,
"And his bald head the piercing ſun-beams burn.

will conclude, that Polycrates choſe rather his Minion ſhould loſe his beauty, than prove unfaithful. Strabo obſerves, that Anacreon foiſts in every where the name of this Tyrant of Samos. Τούτῳ συνεῖωσιν Ἀνακρέων ὁ μελοποιὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ποίησις πλήρης ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης (23). i. e. "Anacreon the "Lyric Poet lived at the ſame time with him, and "all his Poems mention him;" no wonder then, concludes Voſſius, that he was ſo much in his favour. *Polycrati*, ſays he (24), *carus fuit. Quod mirum? cum verſibus ſuis eum celebraret.* Read, *Quid mirum, cum verſibus ſuis eum celebraret?* We ſhall ſee in the article BATHYLLUS how Mr. le Fevre juſtifies Anacreon's amours.

(23) Strabo, lib. 14.

(24) Voſſius, *de Poet. Græc.* p. 22.

[*H*] *He was choaked with a grape ſtone..... Valerius Maximus aſcribes ſuch an eaſy death to a particular favour of the Gods.*] His words are: *Cui quidem* (Pindaro) *crediderim eadem benignitate Deorum, & tantum poeticæ facundiæ, & tam placidum vitæ finem attributum: ſicut Anacreonti quoque, quamvis ſtatum humanæ vitæ modum ſupergreſſo, quem uvæ paſſæ ſucco tenues & exiles virium reliquias foventem unius grani pertinacior in aridis faucibus humor abſumpſit* (25). i. e. "I believe that Pindar had, by "the ſame goodneſs of the Gods, ſo great a skill in "Poetry, and ſo happy an end; and Anacreon alſo, "who after he had paſſed the uſual term of human "life, died by one ſtone of a raiſin ſticking in his "dry throat, as he was ſwallowing the juice of that "fruit to preſerve the ſmall remains of life."

(25) Val. Max. lib. 9. cap. 12. See alſo Pliny, lib. 7. cap. 7.

death [*I*], or decided what was his father's name [*K*]. There are ſeveral tranſlations of his Poems [*L*]; though ſome Critics are of opinion, that all the Poems, which are aſcribed to him, are not truly his (*d*). Such as have mentioned his paſſion for Sappho, have

(*d*) Tanaq. Fab. *Not. in Anacr.* Mrs. le Fevre his daughter is not of the ſame opinion. See her Pref. to *Anacreon.*

[*I*] *No one, to my knowledge, has recorded the place or time of his death.*] 'Tis true, that Suidas ſays he was baniſhed from Teos on account of Hiſtieüs's revolt, and that he retired to Abdera in Thrace. But this is not ſaying, that he died there. It only furniſhes us with a probable conjecture. And indeed Anacreon muſt have been very old at that time; for the victories obtained by the Perſians over the abettors of Hiſtieüs's rebellion happened in the 71ſt Olympiad, a long time after the death of Hipparchus. We may conjecture from the abovementioned paſſage of Suidas, that Anacreon in leaving Athens, whither he had been invited by Hipparchus, had retired to Teos; which is a pretty ſtrong proof, that he retired to the ſame place after the downfal of Polycrates, and that the veſſel with fifty oars was ſent thither for him by Hipparchus, as Mr. le Fevre aſſerts. No wonder Anacreon pitched upon Abdera for his Aſylum, ſince that city was built by the inhabitants of Teos, when they were driven out of their native country by Harpagus, Cyrus's General, who had ſubdued all Ionia (26). Strabo is not ſo particular with regard to their migration; for he only ſays that the inhabitants of Teos, not being able to bear the oppreſſion of the Perſians, retired to Abdera (27). This event, and that mentioned by Herodotus, are, perhaps, one and the ſame; for Harpagus invaded Ionia in the 59th Olympiad, the time in which Anacreon made a great figure.

(26) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 168.

(27) Strabo, lib. 14.

[*K*] *No one has decided what was his father's name.*] Suidas names four perſons, who have all paſſed for Anacreon's father. If this be a diminutive of the honour paid Homer, to whoſe birth ſeveral Cities have pretended, it is but a very ſmall one; for, in ſhort, it ſhews the obſcurity of his family, rather than any thing elſe. Had his father been a man of diſtinction in the city of Teos, he had been better known, nor would Authors ſo eaſily have confounded him with others. Nevertheleſs I find that Madam le Fevre quotes Plato, to prove that *Anacreon was of a noble extraction, and related to Solon, whoſe father was deſcended of the ancient family of King Codrus, and his mother couſin german of Piſiſtratus's mother* (28). She endeavours to prove this from a paſſage in the *Dialogue on temperance*, where ſhe found, that the father of Chermidas was *of the ancient family of Dropidas, of Anacreon, and Solon, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its beauty, virtue, and riches.* As I do not queſtion in the leaſt this Lady's erudition, all I can do is to perſuade myſelf that either her *Plato* is very different from mine; or that ſhe has not copied this paſſage from the original; or laſtly, that ſhe has kept too cloſe, without being aware, to the bad tranſlation of John de Serres. All I can find in my *Plato* is that the family, from which Chermidas was deſcended by his father, had been commended by Solon, Anacreon, and ſeveral other Poets, as outſhining other families in beauty, virtue &c. Ἡ τε γὰρ πατρῴα ὑμῖν οἰκία ἡ Κριτίου ϑ' Δρωπίδη καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν Ποιητῶν ἐγκεκοσμιασμένη παραδέδοται ἡμῖν ὡς διαφέρουσα κάλλει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεγομένῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. This paſſage is according to the Francfort edition of 1602, from which that of Serranus differs only as to the word ἐγκεκοσμιασμένη, which by a miſtake of the Printers of Francfort has been put inſtead of ἐγκεκωμιασμένη, which we find in the edition of Serranus. But the tranſlation of Ficinus is far better, tho' perhaps not ſo good as the following: *Nam quæ paternum vobis genus eſt, domus Critiæ filii Dropidæ, tum ab Anacreonte, tum à Solone, multiſque aliis Poetis laudata nobis tradita fuit ut præcellens forma, virtute, cæteriſque quæ fælicitatis nomine veniunt.* The tranſlation of Serranus is as follows: *Nam paternum quidem genus quod cum iſto Critia commune habes, à Dropida & Anacreonte & Solone & aliis multis celeberrimis Poetis deducitur, & vobis traditur veluti & robore & virtute & alio omni genere felicitatis inſtructiſſimum.* I might ſay, that one may be deſcended on the father's ſide from Solon and Anacreon, without their being related to each other. For we have all two ſorts of relations on the father's ſide, viz. the family of our father's father, and that of our father's mother.

(28) *Anacreon's Life.*

[*L*] *There are ſeveral tranſlations of his Poems.*] Here follow thoſe which Mrs. le Fevre takes notice of. It will be agreeable to my reader to hear her judgment on them. *Anacreon*, ſays ſhe, *has been long ago tranſlated into French by Remi Belleau; but beſides that his tranſlation is in verſe, and, of courſe, not exact; it is in ſo obſolete language, that the reader cannot poſſibly find any pleaſure in it. He was alſo tranſlated into Italian ſome years ago, but the tranſlator has no more kept to the text, than Remi Belleau; his tranſlation however is pretty agreeable, though he does not always expreſs the true ſenſe of Anacreon, but takes continually ſuch liberty, that his tranſlation ought rather to be accounted a paraphraſe than a tranſlation. The Latin tranſlation, which is generally uſed, and was done partly by Henry Stephens, and partly by Elias Andreas, ſeems to me to be the beſt. It has nevertheleſs its faults, and being alſo in verſe, it is often obſcure, and makes Anacreon ſay what he never thought of.* Thus Mrs. le Fevre in her preface to Anacreon, which ſhe publiſhed at Paris 1681, with the Greek text on one ſide, and the French tranſlation in proſe on the other, together with ſome remarks on each poem. I ſhall make a ſmall addition to the text I have quoted. Remi Belleau's tranſlation appeared in 1556. Dorat was ſaid to have been the true author of the verſion, which Henry Stephens publiſhed in his own name. Mr. Colomies atteſts that Iſaac Voſſius told him, *that he had once in his poſſeſſion an Anacreon, in which Scaliger had noted with his own hand, that John Dorat, and not Henry Stephens, was the true author of the Latin tranſlation of Anacreon's Odes* (29). The Italian tranſlation Mrs. le Fevre ſpeaks of, was done by Bartolomeo Corſini, and Mr. Regnier des Marais cauſed it to be printed at Paris in 1672 (30). No wonder that Mrs le Fevre takes no notice of the tranſlation of Anacreon by a child, who was afterwards very famous under the name of the Abbot de la Trappe; for I think that verſion was never printed. Mr. Baillet informs us of ſeveral things relating to this ſubject. *He knew ſo well*, ſays he (31), ſpeaking of Armand Bouthillier de Rencé, *how to improve under his Maſters by aſſiduity and application, that at ten years old he underſtood the Greek Poets, and chiefly Homer. He had ſcarce very well attained to the age of twelve or thirteen years, when he publiſhed a new Edition of Anacreon's Poems, with Greek notes, which were admired by the learned. This edition appeared at Paris in* 1639, *8vo, and the notes are to this day as much admired as ever by thoſe who reflect on the tender age he wrote them in. I do not ſpeak of a French tranſlation of the ſame Poet, which he wrote at that time, tho' it was highly approved of by thoſe, who had undertaken to refine our language, and ſhewed that the politeneſs of his ſtyle in French did not fall ſhort of his skill in Greek and Latin.* As Mr. Baillet neither mentions the place nor the year in which this work was printed, nor even inſinuates in general terms that it was printed, I am apt to believe it only appeared in manuſcript; the more, becauſe Mr. de Long-Pierre takes no notice of this tranſlation, tho' he obſerves that Henry Stephens *had tranſlated into French verſe the ſame Odes of Anacreon, which he afterwards turned into Latin.* He alſo tells us, in the Preface to his tranſlation, that many of them were tranſlated by Ronſard. His work was publiſhed in 1684. The Greek text is on one ſide, and his tranſlation on the other, with critical remarks at the end of each piece (32). Mr. Regnier des Marais, perpetual Secretary to the French Academy, publiſhed in 1693 a tranſlation of Anacreon in Italian verſe with notes.

(29) Colomies *Opuſcules*, p. 108.

(30) See the *Leipſick Journal* for the year 1693, p. 236.

(31) *Baillet, Enfans celebres*, p. 359.

(32) See *les Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Nov. 1684, Art. 8.

Here follows a very fine addition, which I take word for word out of a letter I have received from Mr. de la Monnoie. " No care has been taken hitherto " to collect and examine ſeveral curious particulars " relating to the Poems of Anacreon that are ſtill " extant. 'Tis true that Henry Stephens is ſaid to " have

(1) Lib. cap. 9.

have not much minded Chronology, as we ſhall make appear in the article SAPPHO. It is recorded, that a ſum of money, which Polycrates preſented him with, made him ſo uneaſy, that he could not ſleep for ſeveral nights, and that he returned it to that Prince. This is not very likely, though Stobœus gives us Ariſtotle for his voucher. Gyraldus quotes only the Greek Collections of Arſenius to prove it (*e*).

(*e*) Gyrald. *Hiſt. Poët.* Dialog. 9. p. 471.

" have diſcovered them firſt; but where or how, " few perſons know. He found the Ode Λέγουσιν αἱ " γυναῖκες, on the cover of an old book, as Victori- " us relates in his various readings, Lib. xx. Cap. " xvii. Till that time we had no knowledge of any " compoſitions of Anacreon, beſides thoſe, which " had been preſerved in Aulus Gellius, and in " the Anthologia. By a like chance the ſame " Henry Stephens happened upon two manuſcripts " containing various pieces of this Poet. He was " indebted for the firſt to John Clement an Engliſh- " man, one of Sir Thomas Moor's domeſtics; the " other he brought, after a long journey, from Ita- " ly into France. Having collated theſe pieces with " great care, he publiſhed his firſt edition of them " at Paris 1554. This book was not received by " all in the ſame manner. Moſt of the learned look'd " upon it as a happy diſcovery; and ſome ſuſpected " it. Robertel, in his Diſſertation on the art of cor- " recting books, does not acknowledge it to be " genuine. Fulvius Urſinus inſerted in his edition " of the *Greek Lyrics* only ſuch Poems of Ana- " creon, as he had found mentioned by the Ancients, " ſhewing thereby that he was in doubt about the " others. It were to be wiſhed, that theſe two " manuſcripts, the only that were known, had been " preſerved. But Henry Stephens, unhappily fal- " ling into a kind of diſtraction about the end of " his life, let them periſh, without ſo much as commu- " nicating them to Caſaubon, his ſon-in-law. He had " tranſlated into French verſe the ſame Odes of Ana- " creon which he afterwards turned into Latin verſe. " *Eas Anacreontis Odas*, ſays he in the Preface to his " Notes upon Anacreon of the Paris edition in 4to, " 1554. *quas jam antea Gallicas feceram, in aliquot a-* " *micorum gratiam Latinè quoque aggreſſus ſum vertere.* " What is reported of Iſaac Voſſius, viz. that he had " ſaid he had been Maſter of an Anacreon, in which " Scaliger had noted with his own hand, that John Do- " rat was the Author of the Latin tranſlation, which is " generally aſcribed to Henry Stephens, is not to be " minded. For either Voſſius was miſtaken, or Scaliger " miſinformed. Henry Stephens, who certainly was " no Plagiary, was capable of making ſuch a tranſla- " tion as that is; and beſides, Dorat would not have " failed to claim it, had it been really his. From this " tranſlation Remi Belleau made his in French verſe, " which Scaliger perhaps thought ſo fine, that after " having read it, he durſt not venture to publiſh " his own in the ſame language. Richard Renvoiſy, " Maſter of the Singing-boys of the holy Chapel of " Dijon, made, as we read in Anthony du Verdier's " *Bibliotheque* pag. 34, another French tranſlation " of Anacreon's Odes. But very likely du Verdier " was miſtaken. For this, I preſume, is the tranſla- " tion of Belleau, which Renvoiſy ſet to muſic in 1558 " or 1559, as du Verdier himſelf ſeems to intimate " by mentioning pag. 1222 Renvoiſy only as a Mu- " ſician. As to the French tranſlation of the ſame " Poet by Mr. Bouthillier of Rance, when twelve or " thirteen years old, it was never printed; and as, " very likely, in proſe, (if it was at all,) tho' the " Authors, who mention it, do not poſitively ſay " ſo."

☞We ſhall add to Mr. Bayle's account of this Poet ſome particulars relating to a late edition of him with notes [*A*]; and likewiſe an Italian tranſlation of his Odes.

ANANIA

[*A*] *A late edition of him with notes.*] This edition was publiſhed at Utrecht in 1732, in 4to, pag. 315. with the following title, *Anacreontis Odæ & Fragmenta Græcè & Latinè, cum Notis Joannis Cornelii de Pauw:* i. e. " The Odes and Frag- " ments of Anacreon of Teos in Greek and Latin, " with the Notes of John Cornelius de Pauw." The Editor in his Preface delivers his opinion concern- ing the author of theſe Odes; and inſinuates that he is fully perſuaded, that they were compoſed by dif- ferent Authors, ſince ſome of them are extremely elegant, and ſome the very reverſe; which is a con- vincing proof, that they were not all written by the ſame perſon. Beſides, he is not ſatisfied, whe- ther Anacreon was really the author of any ſingle Ode in the whole collection. With regard to thoſe, which he thinks to be very low and inelegant, he is certain, that they were not written by Anacreon, who was a moſt polite Writer, but by ſome ignorant Pedant. And he preſumes, that we have no ſuffici- ent grounds to aſcribe the others to him, tho' they may ſeem well worthy of ſo great a Poet. For he obſerves, that the manuſcript copies, by which Hen- ry Stephens, (and after him others) was induced to aſcribe them to Anacreon, are by no means to be re- lied upon, ſince they attribute them all promiſcuouſly to that Poet, who certainly could never have written ſeveral moſt wretched Odes, which we find in that Collection. As therefore, continues the Editor, the bad Odes are falſly aſcribed to Anacreon, ſo may the good ones; for we cannot doubt but others beſides A- nacreon were capable of making elegant Anacreontic verſes. Add to this, that Anacreon wrote, as we are informed by Suidas Ἰωνιχῶς, that is, in the Ionic Dia- lect, which is quite different from the Dialect uſed by the Authors of theſe Odes. Mr. Pauw acknow- ledges indeed, that Gellius (1) quotes out of Ana- creon an Ode contained in the collection. But he obſerves, that we can only infer from thence, that this Ode in Gellius's time was ſuppoſed to have been Anacreon's, and inſerted among his other compoſiti- ons. But is this any proof, that Anacreon was really the author of it? Who doubts but in Gellius's time ſeveral compoſitions paſſed under Anacreon's name, which were none of his? Forgery is as ancient as the world; and more pieces have been impoſed upon the Republic of Letters, than we know, or dare to declare. This is the ſubſtance of the Editor's objections, who does not ſeem to reflect, that the beſt Authors have been ſtrangely mangled and corrupted thro' the igno- rance of tranſcribers; but aſcribes whatever he finds amiſs to the Authors themſelves: which is not an equitable manner of arguing. Mr. Pauw ſhews the utmoſt contempt for the former interpre- ters of this Poet, and particularly Tanaquil Faber, Barnes, and Baxter. He has ſubjoined to the Odes of Anacreon all the Fragments of him, which have been collected by Stephens and others, except the ſeven pieces produced by Scaliger, which he ima- gines to have been forged by that Author. This edition has been very well animadverted upon by a learned Gentleman, who has lately given us an elegant Latin Verſion of this Poet in elegiac verſe, with the original, and curious notes upon it. The Ita- lian tranſlation is done by ſeveral hands, and intitled; *Le Ode di Anacreonte nuovamente da varii illuſtri Poeti nella Italiana favella tradotte, ed altre Rime publi- cate nell' occaſione delle feliciſſime Nozze degli Ecc. Sign. Co. D. Filippo Archinto e Co. D. Giulia Borro- mea.* i. e. " The Odes of Anacreon tranſlated into " Italian by ſeveral eminent Poets, and other pieces " of Poetry, publiſhed on occaſion of the marriage " of Count Don Filippo Archinto and the Counteſs " Donna Giulia Borromea." Signior Filippo Arge- lati prefixed to this a ſhort Account of the life and wrirings of Anacreon, which he tranſcribed from Mr. Bayle, without ever naming him, tho' he pro- miſed ſome new hints relating to the life and compo- ſitions of that Poet (2). The reader will not be diſ- pleaſed to ſee the firſt Ode, as it is tranſlated in his Collection.

(1) Lib. 19. cap. 9.

(2) See the *Hiſtoria Litteraria* upon it, Num. xvi. Vol. 3. Art. 20. printed for N. Prevoſt 1732.

Degli Atridi io canterei,
E di Cadmo i caſi rei;

ANANIA (JOHN LORENZO D') a native of Tàverna (*a*) in Calabria, lived about the end of the ſixteenth Century. He wrote a book of Geography in Italian; and a work in Latin entitled, *De Natura Dæmonum*, which was printed at Venice in 1582, in 8vo. The other work bears this title, *Coſmographia, overo l'univerſale Fabrica del Mondo*, and was publiſhed at Venice in 1576, 4to (*b*). This author is not mentioned by Voſſius in his catalogue of Geographers.

(*a*) In Latin *Taberna*, and hence he took the ſurname of *Tabernas*.

(*b*) Mr. Baudrand tom. 2. p. 445, only takes notice of the Venice edition in 1582.

Ma dal mio voler diſcorda
Dalla cetera ogni corda,
E l'aſcolto a tutte l'ore
Solo dir coſe d'amore.
Poco fa Cetra cambiai,
Che di nuove corde armai,
E a narrare il cor s'acceſe
Del grand' Ercole l'impreſe.
Ma contraria a me riſpoſe
Voci tenere e amoroſe.
Dunque gite in pace o Eroi,
Che ingombrate i miei penſieri;
Jo non poſſo dir di voi
L'alte geſta, e i nomi alteri,
Se la Cetra a tutte l'ore
Sol riſponde amore, amore.

And here we cannot omit preſenting the Reader with a verſion of the ſame Ode, by a very ingenious Gentleman, who is preparing a new *Tranſlation* of that Poet in Engliſh verſe, with *Notes*, and *a Life of Anacreon*, and *a Diſſertation upon Lyric Poetry*.

ODE I. *On his Lyre.*

" I'll ſing of Atreus' Godlike Race,
" And Cadmus ſhall my numbers grace.
" Hark! the great task my ſtrings deny,
" And in ſoft airs of love reply.

" The other day each rebel ſtring
" I chang'd, Herculean toils to ſing.
" In vain, alas! my Lyre I ſtrung,
" In vain Herculean toils I ſung;
" The rebel ſtrings reſponded love,
" Nor one heroic note would prove.

" Adieu, ye Heroes: my ſoft Lyre
" Will love, and only love reſpire.

T.

☞ANASTASIUS I, Emperor of the Eaſt, ſucceeded Zeno in the year 491, and was inaugurated that ſame year on April the 11th (*a*). He was not of the Senatorian rank, but he had enjoyed an honourable poſt under his Predeceſſor [*A*]. Though Zeno, who died without leaving any children, had a brother called Longinus, who hoped to ſucceed him [*B*], yet Anaſtaſius was advanced to the Purple by the means of Ariadne Zeno's widow, whom he married as ſoon as he had aſcended the throne (*b*). The Manicheans and Arians were greatly in hopes of being ſupported by the new Emperor; the former becauſe his mother was their friend, and favoured their ſect; the latter becauſe the Emperor's uncle was of their opinion (*c*): but if Anaſtaſius did not perſecute them, (as we do not find he ever did) yet it does not appear that he ſupported either of theſe ſects. He is accuſed indeed of having been an Eutychian; though before he was inſtalled by Euphemius Biſhop of Conſtantinople, he promiſed him upon oath, that he would not diſturb the church, nor alter any thing in her preſent condition; which promiſe he alſo delivered to the Biſhop in writing. And indeed he continued for ſome time neuter between the different parties, which divided the church [*C*], neither favouring the Hereticks, nor oppoſing the Catholicks (*d*). But in order to maintain the peace of the Church, upon which the tranquillity of the State very much depends, he declared, that ſuch Biſhops or other Clergymen, who ſhould diſturb the publick tranquillity, by maintaining with too much heat either ſide of the queſtion,

(*a*) Sigonius, *De Imp. Occid. In Oper. ed. a* Phil. Argelato, tom. 1. p. 2. Col. 578. not. (62).

(*b*) Evagrius. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 3. cap. 29. p. 359, 360. edit. Reading, Cambr. 1720.

(*c*) Cedrenus, *Hiſt. Compend.* p. 357. edit. Pariſ. 1647.

(*d*) Sigonius, *ubi ſupra, in Textu.*

[*A*] *He had enjoyed an honourable poſt under his predeceſſor.*] He had been what the ancients called *Silentiarius*: There were two ſorts of theſe Officers; the one leſs honourable, was of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſilence the people, and to prevent any noiſe or diſturbance in the Emperor's Palace: the other was much more honourable, and conſiſted of thoſe perſons, to whom the Prince imparted the moſt ſecret affairs of the State (1); they may perhaps be called *Privy-Counſellors*. See *Calepin. in voce* Silentiarius.

(1) Meurſius, *in Gloſſ. Græcobarbar. in Not. Var. ad* Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 10. not. a. pag. m. 302.

[*B*] *Zeno — had left a brother, called Longinus, who hoped to ſucceed him.*] Longinus having enjoyed a great power under the Emperor his brother, thought that he might eaſily aſcend the throne in his ſtead (2), but he found himſelf ſoon diſappointed thro' Ariadne's policy. Evagrius ſays (3), that Anaſtaſius ſent Longinus back into his own country, that is, into Iſauria; but that Author muſt be miſtaken in this; for he ſuppoſes that Longinus, Zeno's brother, is the ſame with Longinus General of the Horſe, tho' it appears from Hiſtory, that they were two different perſons. Theophanes tells us (4), that Zeno's brother having raiſed a ſedition againſt Anaſtaſius, this Emperor baniſhed him to Alexandria, where he entered into Prieſt-orders, and died ſeven years after. There was another Longinus, Maſter of the Horſe, whom Anaſtaſius deprived of that poſt, and baniſhed into Iſauria, where he afterwards rebelled againſt the Emperor with the Iſaurians, and was ſlain in battle, as Evagrius relates (5), who mentions alſo another Longinus, ſurnamed Selinuntius, who was taken priſoner in that battle (6). Moreri is very inaccurate where he ſpeaks of this battle, he mentions indeed the two Longinus's, but does not ſay who they were, and it appears that he takes one of them to be Zeno's brother. He alſo ſays that both the Longinus's having ſurrendered themſelves, were puniſhed capitally; whereas it appears by Evagrius's account, that Longinus who had been General of the Horſe, was killed in this battle, and his head carried to the Emperor, and that the other Longinus, ſurnamed Selinuntius, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the Emperor.

(2) Evagrius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 3. cap. 29. p. 359, 360.

(3) Ibid.

(4) *In Chron. Ann.* 484. *juxta Alexandrinos*, i. e. A. C. 491. *in Not. Varior. apud* Evagr. *ubi ſupra.*

(5) Lib. 3. cap. 35. p. 369.

(6) Ibid.

[*C*] *Different parties divided the Church.*] At that time the moſt holy Churches did neither abſolutely admit nor entirely reject the Council of Chalcedon; but each Biſhop acted as he thought proper: Some maintained with the utmoſt zeal all the decrees of that Council, nor would they ſuffer the leaſt alteration to be made in them, not ſo much as of one ſyllable, or of one letter. They ſeparated entirely from all thoſe, who did not receive thoſe decrees, and refuſed to communicate with them. Others on the contrary, not only rejected the Council of Chalcedon, together with Pope Leo's Letter, but alſo condemned and anathematized them. Some there were, who adhered to Zeno's famous *Henoticon* or *Edict of Union* (7), and continued united among themſelves, notwithſtanding they differed in their opinions concerning the two Natures of Chriſt; ſome of them were impoſed upon by the manner in which that Edict was expreſſed, others thought it was proper to make a ſacrifice of their private ſentiments to the peace and union of the Church (8).

(7) See the article ACACIUS Patriarch of Conſtantin. Rem. [*F*].

(8) Evagr. ibid. cap. 30. p. 360, 361.

queſtion, for or againſt the Council of Chalcedon, ſhould be deprived of their benefices. Accordingly the diſputes concerning Eutychianiſm running to a very great height, and Euphemius being deeply concerned in them, the Emperor expelled him from his See, and choſe Macedonius in his ſtead. Theodorus Lector gives another reaſon, for which Euphemius was expelled and baniſhed. He tells us (*f*), that the Iſaurians having behaved themſelves in a very inſolent manner at Conſtantinople, the Emperor drove them out of the city, whereupon they openly revolted againſt him. The Emperor ſuſpecting that Euphemius had been the inſtigator and abettor of this inſurrection, aſſembled all the Biſhops, who were then at Conſtantinople; and they, to pleaſe their Sovereign, pronounced a ſentence of excommunication and deprivation againſt Euphemius. The people of Conſtantinople roſe up in arms to ſupport their Biſhop, but to no purpoſe; the Emperor was not to be prevailed upon, and the Biſhop was baniſhed to Eucheta, a city in Paphlagonia. Macedonius, who as we have ſaid was choſen in his ſtead, did, by the Emperor's advice, ſubſcribe to Zeno's Edict of Union [*D*]. The hatred, which the different parties entertained againſt one another, occaſioned often ſuch tumults and ſeditions at Conſtantinople, as threatened the life of the Emperor himſelf; who, to keep the people in awe, ordered, that the Governor of the city ſhould be preſent at all Church-aſſemblies, and publick proceſſions (*g*). This was ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe theſe tumults were chiefly occaſioned by a kind of *Doxology*, or ſhort Hymn, which uſed to be ſung at Divine Service. This *Doxology* conſiſted only of the following words, ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, that is, *Holy God, holy the powerful, holy the immortal*, for which reaſon it was called τρισάγιος, *Triſagius* [*E*], *three times holy*, becauſe the word *holy* was therein three times repeated. The Orthodox uſed to ſing that hymn, without any addition, or by adding only to it, ἁγία τριὰς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, i. e. *Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us:* But Peter the Fuller, Biſhop of Antioch, pretended to add theſe words to it, viz. ὁ ϛαυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, i. e. *who haſt been crucified for us*; and as it was ſuppoſed, that the firſt *Holy* related to the Father, the ſecond to the ſon, the third to the Holy Ghoſt, the adding theſe words, *who haſt been crucified for us*, ſeemed to inſinuate that the whole *Conſubſtantial* Trinity had ſuffered, for which reaſon the Orthodox were reſolved not to admit this addition (*h*). Anaſtaſius deſiring to have thoſe fatal words added to that Hymn, whenever it ſhould be ſung at Conſtantinople, this occaſioned a terrible ſedition in the city, as though the very fundamentals of Chriſtianity had been overthrown. Macedonius and his Clergy are ſaid to have raiſed that ſedition [*F*], which came to ſuch a height, that the Emperor himſelf was obliged to come without his crown on his head, and in a very humble manner to the *Circus* (*i*), where he declared to the people, that he was very willing to quit the Imperial Throne; but he told them at the ſame time, that they could not all enjoy the ſovereign power, which does not admit of a partnerſhip; and that one perſon ſtill muſt govern them, if he reſigned the crown. This diſcourſe had ſuch a power over the raging multitude, that, as if they had been divinely inſpired, they immediately requeſted the Emperor to take up his crown, promiſing that they would be quiet and obedient for the future (*k*). Whether Macedonius was the author of this ſedition or not, we ſhall not determine; but it is certain that he was depoſed and baniſhed by the Emperor, and one Timothy was choſen in his ſtead. Anaſtaſius was not only obliged to ſtruggle with the different parties, which divided the Church, but likewiſe ſeveral times engaged in war againſt the Perſians, and the

(*f*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 9-12. ed. Reading, p. 573.

(*g*) Id. ibid. c. 21. *Ibique* Valeſii *Annot.* num. 1.

(*h*) Valeſius *in Notis ad* Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 3. cap. 44. not. 1.

(*i*) A place for publick exerciſes, as races, &c.

(*k*) Evagrius, ib.

[*D*] *Macedonius did by the Emperor's advice ſubſcribe to Zeno's Edict of Union.*] This is what we find in Theodorus Lector. Cedrenus (9) agrees with him in this; but Evagrius relates this particular in a different manner: he tells us (10), that one Xenius (11) Biſhop of Hierapolis, with ſome other Eutychians, required of Macedonius an account of his faith in writing, which he granted, declaring in that writing, that he admitted no other faith, but that of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers (12), and of the hundred and fifty (13), and that he condemned Neſtorius, and Eutyches, and all thoſe who maintained that there were two ſons, and two Chriſts, or who divided the natures in the perſon of our Lord; but he did not mention the Council of Epheſus, in which Neſtorius had been depoſed, nor that of Chalcedon, which had deprived and condemned Eutyches. Now this is the very ſubſtance of Zeno's famous *Henoticon*, or *Edict of Union*; and Macedonius's declaration of his faith may very well be conſidered, as a ſubſcription of Zeno's Edict. Yet becauſe he did not expreſly admit the Council of Chalcedon, tho' he did not explode it neither, the Monks of all the Monaſteries about Conſtantinople broke off all intercourſe, and refuſed to communicate with him.

(9) *Hiſt. Comp.* p. 358.

(10) *Ubi ſupra*, cap. 31. p. 362, &c.

(11) Otherwiſe called *Philoxenus.*

(12) The Council of Nice.

(13) The Council of Conſtantinople.

[*E*] *Triſagius.*] One Proclus Biſhop of Conſtantinople, ſays Valeſius (14), had learned that hymn from the Angels, and introduced it into the Church. As ſoon as the Prieſt was come to the altar, the Chantor or chief Singer began to ſing with a loud voice theſe words, Ἅγιος Θεὸς &c. The Chriſtians in the Eaſt alſo uſed to ſing this hymn in the morning at their firſt riſing out of their beds, or when they diſpoſed themſelves to worſhip God, or when they had a mind to liſt up their hearts to God. The whole Trinity was adored in this hymn, as John of Damaſcus tells us in his Epiſtle *De Triſagio*, and *De Orthod. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 10 (15).

(14) *In Notis ad* Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 44. not. 1. pag. 380.

(15) Ibid. *in Not. Varior.* not. a.

[*F*] *Macedonius and his Clergy are ſaid to have raiſed that ſedition.*] This is what Severus Biſhop of Antiochia wrote to Sotericus Biſhop of Ceſarea in Cappadocia, who had been ordained by Marcellinus himſelf. This Sotericus became afterwards an Eutychian, and joined with Xenias, to promote the intereſt of his Sect: It is therefore no wonder, ſays Valeſius (16), that Severus, the Leader of the Eutychians, writing to Sotericus, who was of his own party, ſhould have accuſed Macedonius, a Catholic Biſhop, of being the author of the ſedition, we have mentioned. But, adds he, Severus himſelf muſt rather be charged with it, ſince it was he that adviſed the Emperor, to add theſe words, *who was crucified for us*, to the Triſagius, as Cedrenus relates (17). We leave the reader to judge, whether Cedrenus, who lived in the eleventh Century, is more to be depended upon, than Severus, who was contemporary with Anaſtaſius.

(16) Ibid.

(17) *Hiſt. Compend.* p. m. 360.

the Bulgarians, the latter having firſt begun to appear under his reign. But as there happened nothing very remarkable in theſe wars, we think it unneceſſary to give a particular account of them. However we muſt take notice of the war which one Vitalianus a Scythian waged againſt him. He revolted againſt the Emperor about the year 510. Hypatius was ſent againſt him, who having been betrayed by his army fell into the hands of the enemy, and was obliged to pay an exorbitant ſum to be ſet at liberty. Cyril ſucceeded him in the command of the Emperor's troops, who being alſo taken by Vitalianus, this formidable General thought of nothing leſs than of taking Conſtantinople, and making himſelf Emperor (*l*). He advanced with his army towards the Imperial city, and having pitched his camp near it, he came himſelf to one of the gates, called the Golden Gate, and declared, that he undertook this expedition in favour of the Catholicks, and particularly of Macedonius, who had been unjuſtly depoſed and baniſhed. Anaſtaſius being terrified at this, promiſed to aſſemble a Council at Heraclea [*G*], to examine the matters in diſpute, and that he would admit the Biſhop of Rome at that Council. Vitalianus being ſatisfied with this promiſe retired with his army: The Council met accordingly, and was compoſed of about two hundred Biſhops; but they ſoon ſeparated, without having done any thing; upon which Vitalianus was ſo exaſperated, that he began again to attack the Empire (*m*), but having been vanquiſhed in a ſea-fight, and loſt a great part of his army, he retired with the remainder of it (*n*). Some Hiſtorians have drawn the character of Anaſtaſius in very black colours; they deſcribe him as a favourer of the Arians and Manicheans; nay, ſome ſay, he was himſelf ſuſpected of being a Mahometan, though not one ſingle fact is urged to ſupport this charge. He is alſo repreſented as an Eutychian, for no other reaſon that we know of, but becauſe he would add theſe words, *who was crucified for us*, to the famous *Triſagius*, though this addition may be underſtood in a very good ſenſe [*H*]. Some authors ſay he was of the ſect of *Acephali*, but what the particular opinions of this ſect were, is not very well known; only this we may affirm, that thoſe who did not admit the Council of Chalcedon, were called *Acephali*, or ſometimes *Indifferents*, becauſe they ſeemed to take part neither for nor againſt that Council, which perhaps was the moſt prudent conduct, ſince the deciſions of that Council had occaſioned ſuch diviſions in the church. Anaſtaſius is by the Popiſh writers repreſented as a great perſecutor of the Orthodox, becauſe he baniſhed and deprived Euphemius and Macedonius; but they ſhould prove that theſe two Prelates had been unjuſtly baniſhed, which is a very hard taſk, after what we have quoted from Evagrius. In ſhort, it is from Anaſtaſius's conduct we muſt form our judgment concerning him. We have laid before the reader the moſt material facts which are related concerning him, with regard to his conduct in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. As to his civil government it is confeſſed, that at the beginning of his reign he ſhewed himſelf a very good Prince, he eaſed the People of a very heavy tax, called *Chryſargyrum*, under which they had groaned for a long time [*I*]; he prohibited the fighting with wild beaſts; he raiſed ſeveral buildings; he avoided being involved in dangerous wars as much as lay in his power. It is true, that in the following part of his reign he laid ſome new taxes upon the people, or rather altered the manner of paying them; for whereas before his time the people uſed to furniſh proviſions for the army, Anaſtaſius ordered that they ſhould pay their quota in money; but he had a very good reaſon for this. For he uſed to give money to the Barbarians, to prevent their invading the Empire; by which means he delivered his ſubjects from large ſtanding armies, as well as from the deſolations which war occaſions; and for this purpoſe he wanted ready money more than proviſions (*o*). Anaſtaſius reigned twenty ſeven years, three months, and three days (*p*), or, according to F. Pagi (*q*), wanting three days; and died July the tenth, A. C. 518 (*r*), in the eighty eighth

(*l*) Id. ibid. cap. 43. P. 379.

(*m*) Sigonius, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 617.

(*n*) Evagrius, *ubi ſupra*.

(*o*) *See* Valeſius, *Not. in* Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 3. cap. 42. n. 3.

(*p*) Evagr. ibid. cap. 44. p. 381.

(*q*) Ib. *in Not. Var.* not. b.

(*r*) Sigonius, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 621.

[*G*] *Promiſed to aſſemble a Council at Heraclea.*] This is what Sigonius (18) relates from Theophanes (19), adding that Anaſtaſius made this promiſe only to amuſe Vitalianus and the people of Conſtantinople, but that neither the Emperor, nor Timothy Biſhop of Conſtantinople intended the Council ſhould come to any reſolution. But we muſt obſerve here, that to the beſt of our knowledge, Theophanes is the only ancient writer, who mentions this Council of Heraclea; neither Evagrius, nor Theodorus Lector, nor Cedrenus ſay a word of it; which is ſo much the more extraordinary, if what Theophanes ſays be true, that the two latter do not in the leaſt ſpare Anaſtaſius, and invelgh bitterly againſt him on ſeveral occaſions. The particulars, which Theophanes relates, muſt be therefore at leaſt very dubious.

(18) *Ubi ſupra*, Col. 617.

(19) *In Chron. ad Ann. Alex.* 506. A. C. 513.

[*H*] *This addition may be underſtood in a very good ſenſe.*] If the words of the *Triſagius* related to all the three Perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity, I own, it is abſurd to ſay of the whole Trinity, that *it has been crucified for us*: but why may we not ſuppoſe that this addition related only to the Son, and that the whole hymn was directed to him? If ſo, there was no more harm in adding to it the words we have mentioned, that in what St. Paul ſays (20), that *God has purchaſed the Church with his own blood*, which does not ſignify that the Divinity of Chriſt has ſuffered; but, what only belongs to his human nature, is by a figure of ſpeech applied to his divine nature.

(20) Act. xx. 28.

[*I*] *A Tax, called* Chryſargyrum, *under which they had groaned for a long time.*] This was a tax laid upon every individual perſon thro' the whole Empire: Every perſon, man or woman, free or ſlave, or beggar, was to pay a piece of ſilver into the treaſury. The ſame was to be paid, for an horſe, an ox, or a mule; and for an aſs the owner was to pay ſix *oboli* or pence: Nay this tax was even levied upon dogs, and upon the very dung; and was to be paid every fourth year. Anaſtaſius finding the people would not bear any longer ſuch an heavy tax, took it off entirely, and burnt all regiſters in which the ſum, which every one was to pay, was ſet down (21). This tax was very ancient, and Zoſimus ſays (22), it was impoſed by Conſtantine the Great, for which aſſertion Evagrius cenſures that Hiſtorian very ſeverely (23). We ſhall examine in another place (24), whether this charge againſt Conſtantine be well grounded, or not.

(21) Cedrenus, *ubi ſupra*. Evagr. *ubi ſupra*, p. 371.

(22) *Hiſt.* lib. 2. p. m. 115. edit. Oxon. 1679.

(23) Evagrius, *ubi ſupra*, cap. 41. p. 374-377.

(24) In the article CONSTANTINE the Great.

eighth year of his age, according to Theodorus Lector (*s*). Some Authors relate a ſtory concerning his death, which is not very probable [*K*]. He was ſucceeded by Juſtin.

(*s*) Lib. 2. cap. 37. p. m. 580.

[*K*] *A ſtory concerning his death, which is not very probable.*] Cedrenus tells us (25), that in the twenty ſeventh year of the Emperor's reign, a terrible man appeared to him in a dream, and ſhewed him a book, which the Emperor opened, and found his name in it; whereupon that ſpectre ſaid to him, "Behold, "becauſe thy faith is wrong, I ſtrike out fourteen "years of thy life;" which he did accordingly. Anaſtaſius being awaked out of his ſleep, ſent for one Amantius, to whom he told his dream. Amantius anſwered, "I alſo dreamt, that whilſt I was "ſtanding by your Majeſty, a great hog came, and "taking hold of my gown threw me upon the "ground, and devoured me." Proclus the Interpreter of dreams (26) told the Emperor and Amantius, that they would ſoon both die. But as Anaſtaſius had been told by an Oracle, that he was to periſh by fire, he ordered ſeveral conduits to be made to a ciſtern, that was in the palace, and as many barrels to receive the water, endeavouring thereby to evade his fate. But all this was to no purpoſe; for he was killed by lightning. Sigonius relates this ſtory as matter of fact (27). But neither Evagrius, nor Theodorus Lector ſay any thing of it; and there is no reaſon to believe they would have omitted it, if they had known it; the latter eſpecially, who is very far from being in the leaſt favourable to Anaſtaſius. When Authors, who lived ſome Centuries after the facts, which they relate, happened, quote no authority, they are not to be depended upon, if what they relate be not ſupported by the teſtimony of ſome contemporary Writer.

P.

(25) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 361.

(26) The famous Mathematician.

(27) Sigonius, *ubi ſupra*. Col. 621.

☞ANASTASIUS, ſirnamed *Bibliothecarius*, was a Roman Abbot, and Prieſt, and Library-keeper of the Church of Rome. He was one of the moſt learned men of the ninth Century, and the Author of ſeveral books [*A*]. It is a diſpute among the Learned, whether our writer was the ſame with him, who was called *Anaſtaſius Cardinalis*; in order to determine which, it will be proper to conſider firſt who this *Anaſtaſius Cardinalis* was, and then, whether he was the ſame with *Bibliothecarius*. We have an account of the former in the *Annales Bertiniani*, and the *Acts of the Synod of Rome* held under Leo IV, publiſhed by Holſtenius, and afterwards transferred in Father Labbe's Collection of Councils. His father's name was Arſenius, a man of great eminence at Rome, on account of his riches and power, of whom we have this account in the *Annales Bertiniani* under the year 868, that in his journey to the Emperor Lewis at Beneventum

[*A*] *The Author of ſeveral books.*] I. *Acta Concilii Conſtantinopolitani IV*; i. e. "The Acts of the fourth Council of Conſtantinople," in which he was preſent in the year 869. He wrote part of thoſe Acts, and tranſlated part of them out of Greek, and dedicated them to Pope Adrian II. They are publiſhed in the Paris edition of the Councils (1) in 1672. His tranſlation from the Greek into Latin is very rude and inelegant, and he took the liberty of changing and adding many things (2). II. *Acta Concilii Nicæni II*; i. e. "The Acts of the ſecond Council "of Nice," held in the year 787. Thoſe Acts are publiſhed in the Collection of Councils (3). They are dedicated to Pope John VIII, with this inſcription, *Domino Coangelico Joanni Pontifici ſummo & Univerſali Papæ Anaſtaſius Exiguus* (4). Father Labbe adds, (what he ſays, others have omitted to obſerve,) that he wrote the Acts of the fourth General Council or the third Council of Conſtantinople. But he ſhould have mentioned what reaſon or authority he had to aſſert this; whether he concluded it from the ſimilitude of the ſtyle, or the teſtimony of ſome ancient Writer. III. He tranſlated into Latin *the Life of St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Conſtantinople*, which was done, according to Sigebertus (5) and Trithemius (6) at the deſire of Pope Nicholas from the Greek original of Leontius the Biſhop. It is publiſhed in Roſweyd's Collection of the *Vitæ Patrum* (7), and by Bollandus and Henſchenius in the ſecond volume of the Saints of the month of January (8). IV. He tranſlated from Greek into Latin *the Life of St. Demetrius the Martyr*. *The Paſſion of St. Demetrius the Martyr* tranſlated by him is publiſhed in the firſt volume of Father Mabillon's *Analecta Vetera* (9), and inſcribed *Domino piiſſimo Imperatori Carolo ſemper Auguſto*. V. Among the variety of pieces, which he tranſlated from Greek, we have a tranſlation of his of *the Life of St. Dionyſius the Areopagite*, which he ſent in 876 to the Emperor Charles the Bald. This piece is loſt, except the Preface, which was publiſhed by Surius (10); and afterwards from the MSS. by Father Mabillon in his *Analecta*. He tells us in that Preface, that he had not confined himſelf exactly to the original, but only endeavoured to repreſent the ſenſe. VI. Voſſius tells us (11), that there is a MS. in the Library at Cambridge of *Dionyſius de Hierarchiâ cæleſti, de Hierarchiâ Eccleſiaſticâ, de divinis Nominibus, & myſticâ Theologiâ, cum Præfatione Anaſtaſii ad Regem Carolum Calvum*; i. e. "Of the celeſtial Hierarchy, of the eccleſiaſtical "Hierarchy, the divine Names, and myſtic Divini-"ty, with a Preface of Anaſtaſius to the Emperor "Charles the Bald." This he was informed of by Thomas James in his *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigienſis*. But Father Labbe aſſures us (12), that there is a MS. in the Jeſuits College at Bourdeaux written very beautifully about eight hundred years ago upon vellum, containing the four pieces of Dionyſius mentioned by Voſſius, and tranſlated by John Eringena or Erigena Scotus, with a Preface of ſome Verſes by the latter addreſſed to the Emperor Charles the Bald, and a Letter of Anaſtaſius to the ſame Emperor, dated the 10th of the Kalends of April in the eighth Indiction, that is probably in the year 875, in which he gives an account of the *Scholia*, which he had tranſlated into Latin, and are written in the margin of the MS. There are likewiſe ſeveral other MSS. of this kind in other Libraries (13). VII. *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, ſive Chronologia tripartita*; i. e. "An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or a Chronology in three parts." This is a tranſlation of the Chronicle of St. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and of a great part of the Chronicle, which was continued by George Syncellus and Theophanes from the creation to the reign of Leo the Armenian, as he obſerves in his Preface to John the Deacon of the City of Rome. It was publiſhed at Paris 1649, with the Notes of Fabricius (14). VIII. *Collectanea de iis, quæ ſpectant ad hiſtoriam Monothelitarum Hæreticorum, & Martyrium ſancti Martini Papæ, itemque ſancti Maximi Abbatis & aliorum*; i. e. "Collections relating to the "Hiſtory of the Hereſy of the Monothelites, and "the Martyrdom of St. Martin the Pope, and "St. Maximus the Abbot, and others." The reader may ſee the particular pieces of theſe Collections in Dr. Cave and Oudin. They were publiſhed in Octavo at Paris 1620, by Father Sirmond; and treat of thoſe perſons, who ſuffered impriſonment and other ſeverities under Conſtans, the Emperor of the Eaſt. There are two Anaſtaſius's mentioned in them; one *S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Apocriſiarius*, the other a Scholar of St. Maximus, whoſe Epiſtles are extant in theſe Collections, which he tranſlated from the Greek, and digeſted into one body, for the ſervice of John the Deacon abovementioned, when he was preparing to compile an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. It appears from the Preface, that the author of the Collections of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

(1) Tom. 8. Col. 961. *ad* 1175.

(2) Oudin. *Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. Col. 252. edit. Lipſiæ, 1722.

(3) Tom. 7. col. 29.

(4) Oudin, *ubi ſupra.*

(5) *De Script. Eccleſ.* c. 103.

(6) *De Script. Eccleſ.* c. 276.

(7) Lib. 1.

(8) *Die* 23. *See* Lambecius, tom. *Commentar. Biblioth. Vindobonenſis*, p. 271. *apud* Oudin, *ubi ſupra*, Col. 253.

(9) P. 65.

(10) Tom. 5. *ad Diem* xi *Octob. in fine Areopagiticorum.*

(11) *De Hiſt. Latin.* l. 2. cap. 35.

(12) *De Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. *verbo* Anaſtaſ. Bibliothecar.

(13) Oudin, Col. 254.

(14) Cave, *Hiſt. Litt.* p. 469. ed. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

hiſtory

Beneventum he fell ſick, and having committed his treaſure to Ingelberga the Empreſs, and held a converſation with the Devils, went to his own place without receiving the communion (*a*). He had a brother named Eleutherius, who was infamous for his many enormous vices. About the year 848 he was ordained by Pope Leo VI (*b*) Prieſt under the title of St. *Marcellus*; *Preſbyter cardinis noſtri, quem nos in Titulo B. Marcelli, Martyris atque Pontificis, ordinavimus*; which paſſage intimates, that the care of the church of St. Marcellus was committed to him, that he might be perpetually converſant in it, as the door turns upon the hinges; *tanquam janua in cardine ſuo*, as Dr. Cave expreſſes it; from whence he was commonly called *Cardinalis*. But he ſoon left this ſettlement, and concealed himſelf for two years together in the country about Aquileia (*c*), and though he was called to two Councils, refuſed to appear. Upon this account he was deprived of communion by Pope Leo, and a Synod of ſeventy five Biſhops, which was held at Rome the 16th of December 850. In the year 853 the 29th of May Leo called a Synod at Ravenna (*d*) in the Church of St. Vitalis, before which he cited Anaſtaſius, who had already been five years abſent from his church. But as he ſtill concealed himſelf, and the Emperor's Embaſſadors proteſted that they could not find him, Leo, with the conſent of the Synod, pronounced an Anathema againſt him. This ſentence was ſoon after confirmed, and he was deprived of his ſacerdotal character by a Council held at Rome in the Church of St. Peter, at which were preſent ſixty ſeven Biſhops,

(*a*) *Arſenius ad Ludovicum Imp. pergens in Beneventum infirmitate correptus, & theſaurum ſuum in manus Ingelbergæ Imperatricis committens; &, ut, dicebatur, cum Dæmonibus confabulans ſine communione abiit in locum ſuum.* See Dr. Cave, *Hiſt. Literar.* p. 470. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(*b*) *Act. Synod. Rom. apud* Holſten. *Collection. Rom.* p. 102. & *alibi.*

(*c*) Ibid. p. 102, and 138.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 139, 140.

ſtory was the ſame perſon; and he mentions ſeveral of theſe Tracts, which he had tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted in the *Collectanea*. Father Monfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum* publiſhed at Paris in 4to 1702 (15), tells us, that theſe *Collectanea Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii* are extant in Greek in manuſcript in Italy in the Library of St. John de Corbonaria belonging to the Auguſtinian Monks. IX. He tranſlated alſo from Greek into Latin *the Paſſion of the MCCCCLXXX Martyrs*; which piece is ſtill at Rome in the Library *Sanctæ Crucis in Hieruſalem*; and the Preface to it has been publiſhed by Father Mabillon in his *Iter Italicum* (16), in which Anaſtaſius obſerves, that he had undertaken this work, *after he had tranſlated at the deſire of the ſame perſon the Paſſion of the eminent Doctor and Martyr, Peter Biſhop of Alexandria* (17). X. He tranſlated likewiſe *the Life of St. Baſil Archbiſhop of Ceſarea in Cappadocia*, the Preface to which was publiſhed by Father Mabillon in his *Iter Italicum* (18). XI. He undertook likewiſe a tranſlation of *the Paſſion of St. Cyrus and St. John*; the Preface to which is publiſhed by the ſame Father (19). XII. He tranſlated likewiſe from Greek into Latin *the Life of St. Donatus Biſhop of Euria in Syria*; the Preface to which is publiſhed by Mabillon (20). XIII. *Anaſtaſii Presbyteri & Abbatis Bibliothecarii S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ ad Adonem Archiepiſcopum Viennenſem Epiſtola*; i. e. "An Epiſtle of Anaſtaſius "Prieſt, Abbot, and Library-keeper to the Church "of Rome to Ado Archbiſhop of Vienne." This is publiſhed in the Collection of Councils publiſhed at Paris 1672 (21). We have likewiſe *an Epiſtle of his concerning the death of Pope Nicholas I, and the election of Adrian II*, among the Epiſtles of Pope Nicholas I, anno 867, Indiction XV; and another Epiſtle dated the nones of January 876 to Hincmar Archbiſhop of Rheims, in the Indiction IX, in the third Tome of the Councils of France (22), which was publiſhed from a MS. at Rheims by Father Sirmond. Photius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, wrote an Epiſtle to Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius (23), which ſhews that the latter had at that time a great authority at Rome. XIV. He gave likewiſe a tranſlation of the Sermon of St. Theodorus Studita, Abbot of Conſtantinople *concerning St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle*, publiſhed by Dacherius in his *Spicilegium* (24). XV. While he was Secretary to Pope John VIII, he wrote ſix Epiſtles in Greek and Latin under his name, relating to the affairs of the Eaſtern Church, which are publiſhed in the eighth Tome of the Councils printed at Paris, in the Appendix to the eighth Council of Conſtantinople (25). XVI. Father Ludovicus Jacob a Sancto Carolo, a Carmelite Friar, in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, publiſhed at Lyons in 4to 1643, tells us (26), that he tranſlated ſeveral Epiſtles of St. Martin I, who was elected Pope in 649, out of Greek into Latin, to which he prefixed a preface to Martin Biſhop of Narnia. We may obſerve here, that Father Labbe in his Hiſtorical Diſſertation concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Writers mentioned by Bellarmin (27), imagines that he has found a ſtrong argument in favour of the ſovereign power of the Pope, againſt thoſe, whom he ſtiles *the moſt profligate enemies of the Church and the ſupreme Head of it*, in the Preface of Anaſtaſius to Pope Nicholas, prefixed to *the Life of St. John the Almoner*. The paſſage is as follows: *Neque enim fas eſt ut abſque Vicario Dei, abſque Clavigero cœli, abſque curru & auriga ſpiritualis Iſraelis, abſque univerſitatis Pontifice, abſque unico Papa, abſque ſingulari paſtore, abſque ſpeciali patre, abſque te omnium arbitro, aliquid conſummetur & divulgetur. Tu enim tenes claves David, tu accepiſti claves ſcientiæ; in areâ quippe pectoris tui tabulæ Teſtamenti & manna cœleſtis ſaporis requieſcunt. Tu enim quod ligas, nemo ſolvit, quod ſolvis nemo ligat; qui aperis & nemo claudit, claudis & nemo aperit; vicem namque in terris poſſides Dei*; i. e. "For it is by "no means proper that any thing ſhould be perform-"ed or publiſhed without the conſent of you, who "are the Vicegerent of God, who bear the keys "of heaven, who are the Charioteer and the ſpiri-"tual Iſrael, the High-Prieſt of the Univerſe, the "only Pope, the ſingular Paſtor, the ſpecial Father, "and the Judge of all. For you keep the keys of "David; you have received the keys of know-"ledge; in your breaſt are the tables of the Cove-"nant and the heavenly Manna. What you bind, "no man looſeth; what you looſe, no man bindeth; "you open, and no man ſhuts; you ſhut, and no "man opens; for you are God's Vicegerent upon "earth." But this paſſage can be of no force with any unprejudiced and rational mind; for who can expect any thing leſs from a man who was an Abbot of Rome, Library-keeper to the Roman Church, and a Friend and Dependant upon the Popes? Nothing is more common than for men in their Dedications to make uſe of all the ſtrong hyperboles imaginable in honour of their Patrons; and a perſon muſt be extremely devoted to the See of Rome, who can urge ſuch paſſages as theſe in defence of a claim to an abſolute and ſovereign Dominion, which is the reproach and deſtruction of real and genuine Chriſtianity. But let us proceed now to a very remarkable work aſcribed to Anaſtaſius, intitled, *Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum à Sancto Petro uſque ad Stephanum Sextum incluſive, vel uſque ad Papam Formoſum*; i. e. "The Lives of the Popes of Rome from St. "Peter to Stephen VI incluſively, or to Pope For-"moſus." This is the title, as Oudin repreſents it (28). But Dr. Cave ſays that it extends to Pope Nicholas I. It was publiſhed under the name of Anaſtaſius by John Bufæus a Jeſuit at Mentz in 4to 1602 (29), and reprinted in fol. and corrected by the MSS. in 1649 at Paris by Charles Annibal Fabrotus a Civilian, and publiſhed together with Anaſtaſius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. But it is generally believed among the Learned, that he was not the author of this work; becauſe there are MSS. of it older than Anaſtaſius. Beſides it is quoted under the title of *Geſta Pontificalia* by Walafridus Strabo, Rabanus Maurus, Beda, and others, who were more antient than our Author (30), Father Labbe likewiſe aſſures us, that he had ſeen a MS. written in the time of Charlemagne, which contained the Lives of the firſt Popes; which,

(15) C. 21. p. 309. *apud* Oudin.

(16) Part 2. p. 80.

(17) *See* Oudin, Col. 256.

(18) Part 2. p. 82.

(19) Ibid. p. 83.

(20) Ibid. p. 85.

(21) Tom. 8. Col. 568.

(22) P. 423.

(23) *Ordine CLXX.* p. 244.

(24) Tom. 3. p. 13.

(25) Col. 1451, 1461, 1473, 1477, 1479, 1485.

(26) Lib. 1. p. 160. *apud* Oudin, Col. 257.

(27) Tom. 1. p. 710. *in Addendis & Corrigendis.*

(28) Col. 258.

(29) Du Pin ſays 1612.

(30) Cave, pag. 146.

Biſhops, twenty Prieſts, and ſix Deacons. Leo ordered a picture of this Council to be placed in the Church were it was held; on the right hand of which was written the ſentence of the Council of Rome in 850, and on the left hand the ſentence of the Council of Ravenna, and upon the ſilver doors the ſentence declared againſt him in this laſt Council. But Leo died the 17th of June 855; upon which Anaſtaſius broke out of his concealment, and being armed with the ſecular power, came into St. Peter's Church, and deſtroyed the picture there. Benedict being elected Pope, he excommunicated and degraded Anaſtaſius, and reſtored the picture, but he dying the tenth of May 858, Nicholas I, who ſucceeded, ſeems to have received Anaſtaſius (*e*). But Nicholas dying the 12th of November 867, Adrian II was elected Pope eight days after, and immediately, according to the *Annales Bertiniani*, appointed Anaſtaſius Library-keeper to the Church of Rome, who the year following wrote the 11th Epiſtle of Adrian. But he did not maintain this degree of favour long, for on the 12th of October 868, being cited before that Pope (*f*), and his former crimes, with a great many other flagrant ones, being objected to him, he, and all thoſe who ſhould have any converſation with him, were put under a ſentence of Anathema, till he had cleared himſelf before the Council of all the imputations caſt upon him. However, notwithſtanding this, he ſeems to have been reſtored to favour; for the year following (if he was the ſame perſon with *Bibliothecarius*) he was ſent to Conſtantinople with the Counts Suppo and Everhard, Embaſſadors from the Emperor Lewis, and was preſent at the eight laſt

(*e*) Ibid. p. 144.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 145, 146.

which, if true, evidently proves, that it could not be entirely the compoſition of Anaſtaſius. The former part of this work was aſcribed to Pope Damaſus, who flouriſhed about the year 366; but this evidently appears falſe upon many accounts. Oudin (31) is of opinion, that this work is a Collection of Lives, which was compiled by Anaſtaſius, or ſome anonymous Writer, from various authors and treatiſes, to which the Compiler made ſeveral additions, and caſt it into his own form, and mixed his own barbarous ſtyle thro' the whole, that he might render it uniform, and induce the reader to think, that it was written by one Author. However Oudin imagines, that upon an attentive view of it he has diſcovered three or four diſtinct parts of it. The firſt conſiſts of three anonymous manuſcript Catalogues of the Popes, which being thrown together begin the Collection, and extend to about the year 500. This ſeems to be ſufficiently proved by the Continuators of Bollandus, who have introduced theſe Catalogues, and prefixed them to one volume of their Legends; which may be compared with the Lives of the old Popes in the Collection of Anaſtaſius, or whoever elſe was the author of it. The ſecond part extends from about the year 500 to 648 and the time of St. Martin; which part ſeems to have been compiled from ſuch materials as the author could procure, that the ſucceſſion of the Popes might not be interrupted. For if he could have found more, it is probable he would not have written in ſo ſhort and jejune a manner the Lives of thoſe Popes, from whoſe times he was not very remote. The third part ſeems to begin with the year 649, or the Life of St. Martin, in which part the anonymous Author takes a much greater ſcope than before, and gives an ample and circumſtantial account of the Lives of the Popes, as far as he could procure information concerning them; for he lived in the time of the ſixth general Council at Conſtantinople which was held in the year 680 or 681. And therefore it was in his power to write the Lives of the Popes from 648 with greater exactneſs, becauſe he might conſult thoſe, who were contemporary with thoſe Popes, and eye-witneſſes of their actions. It appears that the anonymous Author lived in thoſe times from a paſſage in the Life of Pope Leo II, where he ſays, that the ſixth Council had thro' the providence of God been *lately* held in the Imperial City. *Hic ſuſcepit ſanctam ſextam Synodum, quæ per Dei providentiam nuper in regia urbe celebrata eſt, Græco eloquio conſcriptam.* So that this writer lived about two hundred years before Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, and wrote the Lives of the Popes to Sergius I, incluſively, that is, to the year 700 or 701, with a particular account of their character, birth, and qualifications of mind and body, which is the peculiar mark of a writer, who is contemporary with the perſons, whom he treats of. Francis Combefiſius likewiſe expreſly aſſerts in his *Diſſertation upon the Acts of the ſixth Council* (32), that the word *nuper*, i. e. "lately," inconteſtably proves, that this part can-

(31) Col. 260.

(30) C. 3. apud Oudin. Col. 261.

not belong to Anaſtaſius, ſince he did not live near enough to that Council to write in that manner. The fourth part is written with the uſual brevity of Anaſtaſius or ſome anonymous Writer, who lived remote from thoſe times, without any account of the birth or other circumſtances of thoſe perſons, whom he treats of; and all the Lives follow in the ſame mothod, till by degrees they are more enlarged, as they came nearer to the time, in which the Writer lived. This ſeems to be the œconomy of this work *De Vitis Romanorum Pontificum*. Spanheim likewiſe in his *Diſſertation concerning Pope Joan* (33), printed at Leyden in 8vo 1691, ſays that he could never be induced to think, that the former part of this work was written by Pope Damaſus, or the latter part, including the Lives of Pope Benedict III, Nicholas I, and Adrian II, or John IX, by Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius. And he tells us in another place (34), that his reaſons why he could not incline to aſcribe them to Anaſtaſius, were as follow: 1. That neither Guillelmus Bibliothecarius, who is thought to have continued theſe Lives, nor Sigebertus in his Chronicle, or in his work *De Scriptoribus Eccleſ.* nor Trithemius in his book *De Scriptor. Eccleſ.* nor Platina in his Life of John IX, under whom he ſays Anaſtaſius was in great reputation, tho' he mentions his other tranſlations and writings with commendation, take the leaſt notice of this. Nay Platina ſays in his Preface, that all the Writers of the Lives of the Popes, except Damaſus, have no manner of elegance or ornament, which were not deſignedly avoided by them, but occaſion'd by their abſolute ignorance in point of Literature. *Nullum florem orationis, nullam compoſitionem & elegantiam, non de induſtriâ ornatum fugientes, ſed inſcitia & ignorantia literarum.* This character is very far from being ſuitable to our Anaſtaſius. 2. He never mentions this work, tho' he takes notice of his other tranſlations and collections, as particularly in his *Epiſtle to John the Deacon*, which Father Sirmond publiſhed among his *Opuſcula*. Beſides as he was extremely zealous in defence of Honorius, as appears from his *Collectanea*, which relate to the hereſy of the Monothelites, and was of opinion, that this people was unjuſtly accuſed, it is probable that he would have made ſome mention of the origin of that hereſy, which was falſely imputed to Honorius, if he had written his Life; whereas there is nothing of that kind in the Life of that Pope among thoſe aſcribed to Anaſtaſius. 3. It is generally agreed by Authors, particularly Guillelmus Bibliothecarius, Trithemius, Platina, and others, that he was a man of great eloquence, and exceedingly well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues; ſo that he was engaged in a great many tranſlations from the Greek. But the Hiſtory aſcribed to him is abſolutely unworthy of him; and ſeems to have been written by a perſon, who was entirely ignorant of polite Learning, and whoſe ſtyle is full of barbariſms and ſoleciſms. 4. The authority of Onuphrius Panvinius is not ſufficient in oppoſition to theſe objections to determine

(33) § lx. pag. 278, & ſeq.

(34) P. 279.

laſt Seſſions of the General Council there. In the year 871 he was ſent by Pope Adrian to Naples with the Abbot Ceſarius upon the cauſe of Athanaſius Biſhop of that city, where he excommunicated the Clergy and People on account of their obſtinacy. Upon the death of Adrian the 25th of November 872, and the ſucceſſion of John VIII, on the 14th of December, he was reſtored by the latter to the office of Library-keeper, and appointed his Secretary. At the deſire of this Pope, about the year 877 he tranſlated the Acts of the VIIth Oecumenical Council, which he had brought with him from the Eaſt, out of Greek into Latin, as Papebroch has ſufficiently proved from an antient manuſcript (g). How long he lived after this, is uncertain; but it is ſuppoſed that he was living till the year 887 (b). Theſe latter particulars are unqueſtionably to be underſtood of Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius; but it is not ſo very certain, whether they belong to *Cardinalis* or not. We ſhall examine this point in the Note [B]. However that be, *Bibliothecarius* was maſter of a ſhare of learning ſuperior to the generality of thoſe in that age; he was well ſkilled in Greek as well as Latin, and having lived for a conſiderable time at Conſtantinople, he had ſearched the Greek Libraries, and enquired after the Monuments of Literature every where. He cultivated a particular friendſhip with Photius and Hincmar, the moſt eminent men of that time. He was well ſkilled in the management of affairs, of a ſharp and ſubtle wit, and of great readineſs in diſputation

(g) *Catalog. Romanor. Pontif.* pag. 141. *apud* Cave, *ubi ſupra*, p. 471.

(b) Baronius ſays, that he lived till about 886.

an intelligent reader to aſcribe it to Anaſtaſius; tho' the editors of the edition at Mentz, and after them Charles Annibal Fabrotus urged this as a concluſive argument, unleſs we admit upon the ſame authority of Panvinius, that Pope Damaſus was the Author of the former part till the time of Silveſter, and that Guillelmus Bibliothecarius continued the Lives to Alexander II, who filled the See of Rome from the year 1061, and that Martinus Ciſtercienſis publiſhed the Collection of Lives till Honorius IV, beſides many abſurd and contradictory aſſertions of Panvinius. It is no wonder, continues Spanheim, that theſe Lives, the writer of which is unknown, ſhould appear under Anaſtaſius's name, ſince the Lives of the Popes of Rome had the name of Damaſus, and long after him that of Luitprandus Cremonenſis falſely prefixed to them. The latter is acknowledged by Lucas Holſtenius (35). The learned reader may ſee theſe points very amply diſcuſſed in Oudin's *Commentarius* (36), with an examination into the genuineſs of the famous paſſage concerning Pope Joan, which is to be found in ſome manuſcripts of this Collection of the Lives of the Popes. We ſhall give it as it was tranſcribed from a manuſcript of the King of France's Library by Claudius Sarravius, and ſent in a letter of his to Salmaſius in the year 1645 (37). *Poſt hunc Leonem (quartum ſcilicet) Joannes Anglicus natione Moguntinus ſedit annis duobus, menſe uno, diebus quatuor, & mortuus eſt Romæ, & ceſſavit Epiſcopatus menſe uno. Hic, ut aſſeritur, fœmina fuit, & in puellari ætate à quodam ſuo amaſio in habitu virili Athenis ducta ſic in diverſis ſcientiis profecit, ut nullus ſibi par inveniretur; adeo ut poſt Romæ legens magnos Magiſtros, diſcipulos & auditores haberet. Et cum in urbe vita & ſcientia magnæ opinionis eſſet in Papam concorditer eligitur. Sed in Papatu per ſuum familiarem idem impregnatur. Verum tempus partûs ignorans cum de ſancto Petro in Lateranum tenderet anguſtiata inter Coliſæum & ſancti Clementis eccleſiam peperit; & poſt mortua ibidem, ut dicitur, ſepulta fuit. Et quia Dominus Papa, cum vadit ad Lateranum, eandem viam ſemper obliquat creditur à pluribus quod ob deteſtationem facti hoc faciat. Nec ponitur in catalogo Pontificum propter muliebris ſexus deformitatem quantum ad hoc.* i. e. "After this "Leo IV, John of England, born at Mentz held "the See two years, one month, and four days, "and died at Rome; and the Popedom was vacant "for one month. This Pope, as it is affirmed, was "a woman, who whilſt ſhe was young was carried "by a lover of hers to Athens in the habit of a man, "where ſhe made ſuch a prodigious progreſs in the "different ſciences, that there was not one perſon "equal to her. So that when ſhe afterwards read "lectures at Rome, ſhe had ſeveral eminent Doctors "for her ſcholars and hearers; and having raiſed "herſelf a great reputation in that city by her life "and learning, ſhe was unanimouſly elected Pope. "But during the Papacy ſhe was got with child by "her former Gallant; and being ignorant of the "time when ſhe ſhould be brought to bed, as ſhe was "going from St. Peter's to the Lateran between the "Coliſæum or Amphitheatre of Veſpaſian and the "Church of St. Clement, ſhe was ſeized with the "pangs of child-birth; and afterwards dying ſhe "was, as it is ſaid, buried there. And becauſe the "Pope, when he goes to the Lateran, always turns "out of that way, it is thought by many perſons "that he does it out of abhorrence to this fact. "This Pope is not placed in the Catalogue of the "other Popes on account of the unfitneſs of her "ſex in this reſpect."

(35) *In Collect. Roman.* Part 2. p. 121. *ad Breviarium Synodi ſub Leone IV.*

(36) Vol. 2. *ubi ſupra.*

(37) *Vide* Cl. Sarravii *Epiſtol.* p. 172, 173, 174. edit. Arauſion. 1654.

[B] *We ſhall examine this point.*] Several eminent Writers are of opinion, that Cardinalis and Bibliothecarius are the ſame perſon; and particularly Voſſius (38), Lambecius (39), and Sagittarius (40). But Labbe, Ciampinus, and others, are of the contrary opinion. Voſſius's aſſertion is ſtrengthen'd by the conſideration, that they were both Prieſts of the Church of Rome, both Library-keepers, both lived at the ſame time, and ſerved the ſame Popes. However Labbe charges Voſſius and his followers with an error in confounding the two Anaſtaſius's together; though he mentions no reaſon, and urges no authority for this againſt Voſſius. But Dr. Cave imagines that the moſt proper method to determine this controverſy is to examine how far Anaſtaſius proceeded in writing the Lives of the Popes. It is the general opinion of the Learned that he concluded with Nicholas I, which opinion is eſpouſed by Voſſius. Ciampinus, who has made a more accurate enquiry into this work, having laid down ſome critical rules, in order to judge more exactly of the ſtyle of a writer, examines that of this book (41), and ſhews, that it was written by ſeveral Authors beſides Anaſtaſius. He concludes at laſt (42), that Anaſtaſius wrote only the Lives of Gregory IV, Sergius II, Leo IV, Benedict II, and Nicholas I; and that the reſt, which precede Gregory, and follow Nicholas, were compiled by other authors. If this hypotheſis be true, Dr. Cave does not doubt but that there were two Anaſtaſius's, which he concludes from this argument eſpecially, that both in the Life of Leo IV, and Benedict III, there is a direct account given of the depoſition of Anaſtaſius, and it is expreſly affirmed, that he was canonically depoſed, and this almoſt in the ſame words, which are found in the Acts of that Council at Rome under Leo IV. Now it is very improbable that Anaſtaſius Cardinalis ſhould relate this of himſelf. In ſhort there ſeems to have been a great diſparity between the temper and conduct of the two men. However after all, ſeveral men of eminent learning have thought that Anaſtaſius had no manner of ſhare in writing the Lives of the Popes, as we have ſeen in the preceding note; and we may add here, that this was likewiſe the opinion of Flor. Martinellus, who was many years Keeper of the Vatican Library, in his book *De Româ ex Ethnicâ ſacrâ* (43), ten or eleven of whoſe reaſons are mentioned by Ciampinus (44). This was alſo the opinion of Dr. Pearſon Biſhop of Cheſter (45), who affirms, that he never ſaw any thing to induce him to think, that Anaſtaſius was the Author of that book, except his name, which was to be found in a few manuſcripts; nor was it ever aſſerted by any writer before the 14th or 15th Century, that he had compiled a work of that kind. T.

(38) *De Hiſt. Lat.* l. 2. c. 35.

(39) *Commentar. Bibl. Vindob.* l. 8. p. 271.

(40) *Introduct. in Hiſt. Eccleſ.* c. 8. n. 3. p. 42.

(41) *See* Ciampin. *Examen. Lib. Pontif. Rom.* 1688, 4to. Sect. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(42) Ib. Sect. 11. p. 105.

(43) P. 409. *apud* Cave, *ubi ſupra*, P. 471.

(44) *Ubi ſupra*, Sect. 1. p. 27.

(45) *De Succeſſ. Diſſert.* 1. c. 11. n. 6. p. 128.

tation and writing. Mr. Du Pin (*i*) obſerves likewiſe, that he was an excellent Politician, and ſtrongly attach'd to the intereſts of the church of Rome.

(i) *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 7. p. 197. edit. de Paris 1696.

☞ANATOLIUS, an eminent writer among the Chriſtians, was born at Alexandria, and was Biſhop of Laodicea in Syria. He flouriſhed about the year 270 (*a*), under the Emperors Carus and Probus (*b*). He was a perſon of uncommon learning and abilities, as appeared from his book concerning Eaſter, and his other works [*A*]. He was exceedingly well ſkilled in Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Natural Philoſophy, Logic and Rhetoric. Theſe qualifications raiſed his character to ſuch a degree of eminence, that he was deſired by the people of Alexandria to eſtabliſh a School for the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy, after the manner of the Platonic School. Valeſius in his notes upon Euſebius (*c*) imagines, that he was the ſame with Anatolius, who, as Eunapius tells us (*d*), was the Preceptor of Jamblichus the Philoſopher; but this is a very groſs error; for there is a conſiderable difference in the times wherein they lived. There is ſtill extant a fragment of an Epiſtle of Jamblichus to Anatolius concerning *Juſtice* in Stobœus (*e*), and likewiſe ſeveral Letters of Libanius to him not yet publiſhed; but it is certain that this Anatolius was Governor of a Province, and did not profeſs the Chriſtian Religion. Our Author gained a great reputation at Alexandria, and was extremely valued and honoured by the greateſt men there. While he lived in that city, he gave a remarkable inſtance of his addreſs and policy [*B*]. At laſt leaving that city, he went to Syria, where Theotecnus (*f*), Biſhop of Cæſarea Palæſtina, ordained him Biſhop, and promiſed him that he ſhould ſucceed him in his See; and it is certain, that he aſſiſted Theotecnus for ſome time in the government of it. Afterwards in his journey to Antioch, paſſing through Laodicea, he was detained by the inhabitants of that city, and elected Biſhop in the room of Euſebius, who was juſt dead (*g*). We

(a) Cave, *Hiſt. Litterar.* p. 87. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(b) Hieronym. *de Viris Illuſt.* c. 73.

(c) *Annotat.* in lib. 7. cap. 32.

(d) *In Vitâ Jamblichi, non longè ab initio.*

(e) Serm. ix. p. 164.

(f) Dr. Cave and Olearius calls him *Theotechnus*, which is an error, for the Greek is Θεότεκνος.

(g) Euſeb. *Hiſt Eccleſ.* l. 8. c. 32.

[*A*] *His book concerning Eaſter, and his other works.*] Euſebius (1) tells us, that he did not write very many books; but thoſe, which were extant in his time, ſhewed the vigor and beauty of his eloquence, and the extent and variety of his learning; eſpecially that piece, wherein he defended his opinion concerning Eaſter. Ὅυμοι οὖν ἐσπεδώθη πλῦσα τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ συγγράμματα. Τοσαῦτα δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε, δι' ὧν αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν δυνατόν ὁμοῦ τό τε λόγιον καὶ πολυμαθές· ἐν οἷς μάλιστα τὸν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δόξαν παρίστησιν. The Hiſtorian gives an extract of Anatolius's *Paſchal Canons* (2). An incorrect and imperfect tranſlation of this work, which ſeems to have ſuffered extremely from the negligence or ignorance of the tranſcribers, was firſt publiſhed at Antwerp in 1634 in fol. by Ægidius Bucherius, and illuſtrated with a very learned Commentary, at the end of the *Canon Paſchalis of Victorius*. The tranſlation of it is ancient, but it is not certain whether it was done by Ruffinus or not; however it is extremely obſcure and inaccurate. Dr. Cave aſſerts that this piece is genuine. But Du Pin ſeems to doubt of the authority of it. He owns, that the Fragment cited by Euſebius is to be found entire in the Latin, and that the paſſages quoted by Bede are exactly word for word in it. But he ſays, that it is not at all ſurprizing, that an impoſtor may have inſerted in it the paſſage mentioned by Euſebius, which was eaſily to be found; and that this work might have been forged before Bede's time. However he acknowledges, that he thinks this Canon is antient, tho' full of errors, and probably a little corrupted by the tranſlator. Dr. Cave is extremely ſurprized, that Du Pin ſhould attempt to ſuſpect the genuineſs of this piece, without mentioning any reaſon for it, or producing any manuſcripts, or the teſtimonies of any of the Fathers for that purpoſe; and ſhould only reply with regard to the Fragment quoted by Euſebius, that it might eaſily have been found and inſerted by ſome impoſtor in a book of his own compoſition. Let thoſe who are ſkilled in ſacred criticiſm conſider what a tendency ſuch a method of reaſoning will have; ſince, if it be once admitted, there will be an end of almoſt all the writings of the ancients, which are generally proved to be genuine by this argument, above all others, that the paſſages quoted from them by the ancients are to be found in them. It is evident that the whole work of Anatolius is exactly uniform and conſiſtent, and appears to be written by one and the ſame hand. *Interim mirari ſubit Cl. Du Pinium* (3) *hujus opuſculi fidem vellicare, nullâ ratione redditâ, nullis codicibus MSS. Patrumve teſtimoniis in hanc rem adductis; nec ad locum ab Euſebium citatum aliud, quod reſponderet, habet, quam facilè fieri potuiſſe, ut aliquis impoſtor locum ab Euſebio allatum, cum facilè potuit inveniri, operi ſuo inſeruerit. Videant verò criticæ ſacræ magiſtri, quò tendat hæc argumentandi ratio, quâ ſemel admiſſâ, actum erit de pleriſque antiquorum monumentis, quæ hoc præcipuè argumento genuina eſſe demonſtrari ſolent, quod loca ex illis à veteribus citata, in iis reperiuntur. Certè integrum Anatolii opuſculum ejuſdem commatis & coloris eſt, & ab unâ eademque manu profectum eſſe videtur* (4). He wrote likewiſe *Ten Books of Arithmetic* (5); ſome extracts of which are ſtill extant, according to Valeſius (6), in the Θεολογούμενα τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς publiſhed at Paris 1543 in 4to. But Dr. Cave is of opinion, that they do not belong to our Author, but were written by a Pythagorean, as Dr. Gale intimated to him. He left alſo ſome other monuments of his learning and skill, eſpecially in ſacred Literature (7).

(1) L. 8. c. 32.

(2) Ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα Ἀνατολίου κανόνων.

(3) Tom. 1. *in Anatol.*

(4) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(5) Euſeb. *ubi ſupra*, and St. Hieronym. *de Viris Illuſtrib.* c. 73.

(6) *Annot. in Euſeb.* l. 7. c. 32.

(7) Euſeb. *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *While he lived in that city he gave a remarkable inſtance of his addreſs and policy.*] During the ſiege of Bruchium or Pyruchium, which was a part of Alexandria, the inhabitants laboured under an extreme want of proviſion, which was a dreadful calamity. Anatolius, who was with the beſieged party, contrived this expedient for the relief of them. One part of the city was in alliance with the Roman army, and upon that account were exempt from the ſiege; and among them was Euſebius, whoſe fame had reached the knowledge of the Roman General. Anatolius ſent a Meſſenger privately to him in order to inform him of the number of thoſe, who were ready to periſh by the famine, during the ſiege. Upon which Euſebius deſired it as a favour of the Roman General, that he would ſpare thoſe, who ſhould come over from the enemy; which being granted, he immediately acquainted Anatolius with it. He being extremely glad of this promiſe from the General, called together the Senate of Alexandria; and at firſt began to perſuade them all to agree to terms with the Romans. But finding them exaſperated at this, he told them, that he did not doubt of their aſſenting to him, if he ſhould adviſe them to permit the ſuperfluous and uſeleſs multitude, and particularly the aged of both ſexes, and the children, to go out of the gates where they pleaſed. "For why, "ſays he, ſhould we retain them with us, when they "are juſt ready to expire? Why ſhould we deſtroy "thoſe with hunger, whoſe bodies are entirely "weaken'd and diſabled? Whereas it is proper only "to maintain thoſe, who are in the vigor of life, "among us, and to diſpenſe the neceſſary proviſi-"ons to thoſe, who are capable of defending the "city." Having drawn over the Senate to his ſentiments by theſe reaſons, he roſe up firſt, and declared his opinion, that all the weak multitude of both ſexes ſhould be ſent out of the city; ſince if they ſhould

We have no ſatisfactory account of him after that time. But ſome writers affirm, that he ſuffered martyrdom (*h*).

(*h*) *See* Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

ſhould continue, there was no hopes of ſafety, and they muſt all periſh with hunger. The whole Senate approving of this opinion, Anatolius ſaved almoſt all the beſieged. For he took care firſt that the Chriſtians, and then others of every age; and not only thoſe, to whom the Senate gave leave, but even a great many others eſcaped privately, having diſguiſed themſelves in women's apparel, and being conveyed by his means in the night out of the gates of the city; from whence they went over to the Roman camp. There they were entertained by Euſebius, who acted like a Father and Phyſician to them, and reſtored them to their former health and vigor, tho' they had been emaciated by a long and ſevere ſiege (8). Mr. Tillemont places this under the reign of Gallienus, in the year 263 (9). T.

(8) Idem, ibid.
(9) *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. part 3. p. 974, 975. edit. Bruxelles 1693.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the moſt celebrated Philoſophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the ſeventieth Olympiad, and was a diſciple of Anaximenes. His noble extraction, his richneſs, and the generoſity which induced him to reſign his whole patrimony to his relations [*A*], gained him a high character. He applied himſelf entirely to the ſearch of nature, without concerning himſelf with public affairs. Upon this he was aſked, whether he had any concern for his country: the anſwer he gave was ſuch, that no Chriſtian Philoſopher could have returned a better. *Yes*, ſaid he, lifting up his hands towards heaven, *I am extremely concerned for my country* (*a*). Being aſked, another time, *for what end he was born; to contemplate the Sun*, anſwered

(*a*) Ex Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 6, 7.

(5) Ariſtot. *Eudemior.* lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 184.
(6) Σοφὸς μὲν, φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασιν εἶναι ὅταν ἰδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. Ariſtot. *Eudemior.* lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 184.
(7) See the 8th paragraph of the *Plan of this Dictionary*, at the end of the laſt volume.
(8) *Philo de vita contemplativa.*
(9) I quote his words in Rem. [*B*] of the article DEMOCRITUS.
(10) Philoſtrat. *in vita Apollon.* lib. 1. cap. 8.
(11) Himer. *ap.* Phot. p. 1088.
(12) Lact. l. 3. cap. 22. *Origines contra Celſum*, lib. 2.
(13) See his 7th *Homily* on the Acts of the Apoſtles, p. 67. Paris edition of 1636.
(14) *See* Rutilius Numatianus in his *Itinerary*. I have related ſome of his words at the end of Remark [*E*] in the article ADAMITES.
(15) Philoſt. *in vita Apollon.* l. 1. cap. 8. This paſſage has been wretchedly tranſlated by Vigenere, who makes the Author ſay, that Anaxagoras having betaken himſelf to the feeding of white beaſts and camels, had employed his Philoſophy more to the advantage of beaſts than men. The Latin tranſlation of Rhinuccinus is no leſs faulty. *Aiebat Clazomenium Anaxagoram gregibus & camelorum armentis nutriendis intentum, pecorum gratia magis quam hominum philoſophatum eſſe.*
(16) Euſeb. *Præp. Evangel.* lib. 14. cap. 14. p. 750.
(17) See Plutarch's words in the citation (19).

[*A*] *He reſigned his whole patrimony to his relations.*] Before the Goſpel had taught men, that they muſt renounce the world and its riches, in order to attain, in a ſhort time, to a great degree of virtue, ſome Philoſophers were ſenſible of it, and had parted with their earthly goods, that they might more freely apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the ſearch of truth. They were perſuaded, that the cares of a family, and of an inheritance, were ſo many clogs that prevented men from advancing towards the object, which moſt of all deſerves their affections. Anaxagoras and Democritus (1) were of this number. *Quid ergo*, ſays Tully (2), *aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuiſſe unquam arbitramur? An ni ita ſe res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipſe Democritus, agros & patrimonia ſua reliquiſſent, huic diſcendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto ſe animo dediſſent?* i. e. "What delight therefore or pleaſure could ever "be wanting to Homer or any learned man? If it "were not ſo, would Anaxagoras or Democritus "have left their eſtates and their patrimony, and "given themſelves up entirely to this divine pleaſure "of enquiring and learning?" It was to this renouncing of earthly things that Anaxagoras owned himſelf indebted for his wiſdom, or, to uſe his own expreſſion, for his ſafety. *Quali porro ſtudio Anaxagoram flagraſſe credimus? qui cum è diutina peregrinatione patriam repetiiſſet, poſſeſſioneſque deſertas vidiſſet,* "*Non eſſem, inquit, ego ſalvus niſi ita periiſſent* (3). i. e. "With what deſire muſt we think "Anaxagoras to have been inflamed, who when he "returned to his country after long travelling, and "found his eſtate gone to ruin, ſaid, If theſe things "had not been loſt, I ſhould not have been ſafe." Socrates, ſpeaking, as he generally uſes, ironically, ſhews that the Sophiſts of his time were wiſer than Anaxagoras, becauſe inſtead of renouncing, as he had done, their eſtates, they endeavoured, to the utmoſt of their power, to heap up riches, being cured of the folly that prevailed in ancient times, and convinced, that true wiſdom conſiſts in taking care of one's own intereſt; that is, in the art of getting money. Τουτέτου γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρα φασὶ συμβῆναι ἢ ὑμῶν. καταλιπόντα γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὰν χρημάτων καταμελῆσαι, καὶ ἀπολέσαι πάντα. ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σοφώτερον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τῶν παλαιῶν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μοὶ δοκεῖς καλὸν τεκμήριον ἀποφαίνειν περὶ σοφίας τῶν νῦν πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον· καὶ πολλοὺς συνοίσει, ὅτι γοῦν σοφὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον δὴ σοφὸν εἶναι. τοῦτο δ' ὅρος ἐστὶν ἄκρος, ὃς ἂν πλοῦτον ἀργύριον ἀγάσηται (4). i. e. "It was "quite otherwiſe with Anaxagoras than with you: "for when he had an ample fortune, he let it all "run to waſte; and ſo philoſophized fooliſhly. And "many ſuch things are told of other ancients. "Wherefore you ſeem to me to have judged right-"ly, that the preſent Philoſophy is preferable to that "of our anceſtors. And many agree in this, that a "wiſe man ought principally to be wiſe for himſelf, "that is to get as much money as he can." This puts me in mind of a diſtinction I have read in Ariſtotle. *Anaxagoras*, ſays he (5), *Thales, and ſuch like Philoſophers were deemed wiſe men, but not prudent; becauſe they were ignorant of what was profitable* (6): *they knew abſtruſe, ſublime, wonderful, and divine things, but which were of no uſe to them; for they did not mind the advantages and conveniences of life.* This is the way of thinking of a great many men: they like no calling, but what ſerves to make a fortune. Whatever does not treat *de pane lucrando*, or is of no uſe πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιτα, that is, according to the modern expreſſion, *to make the pot boil*, ſeems to them vain and ſuperfluous (7). Anaxagoras was of a quite different opinion. He left his lands to the mercy of the cattle, to apply himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy and natural Philoſophy. This is what Philo (8), Plutarch (9), Philoſtratus (10), Himerius (11), and Suidas ſpeak of: Democritus and Crates are always mentioned by ſuch as handle this ſubject. Even the Fathers of the Church take notice of the contempt which the ancient Philoſophers ſhewed for earthly things (12): but St. Chryſoſtom (13) is of opinion, that it ought to be called a folly and ſtupidity, rather than a true contempt of riches. *The Devil*, adds he, *has always ſtudied to cry down and diſcredit God's creatures, becauſe men have not been capable of making good uſe of their wealth.* This is paying the Heathens in their own coin; for they look'd upon ſuch Chriſtians, as reſigned their eſtates, and retired into ſolitudes, as fools and mad-men (14). Thus all things are liable to be blamed or commended according to the different prejudices men are led by. I obſerve that Apollonius Tyaneus taxed Anaxagoras with having a greater regard for the beaſts, than for men (15). But ſuch a cenſure is a mere cavil; for, not to mention the advantages that accrue to men from public paſtures, had not Anaxagoras reaſon to believe, that his relations would take care to till the lands he forſook? The four verſes *Sit vos non vobis &c.* we read in Virgil's Life, contain a great truth, viz. that the care, which is taken of oxen, ſheep, &c. redounds to the good of mankind. Euſebius has been more favourable to Anaxagoras than Apollonius; for he mentions the forſaking of his lands, to prove that he was more addicted to the ſtudy of natural Philoſophy than any other Philoſopher. Φασὶ γοῦν ὡς ἄρα οὗτος μάλιστα παρὰ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε φυσιολογίαν. μηλόβοτον γέ τοι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀφ' αὑτὴν εἴασι (16). i. e. "He excelled all that went before him in natural "Philoſophy, for the ſake of which he forſook his "fruitful paſtures." In the common tranſlation, by Francis Viger, obſerve, that μηλόβοτον χώραν ought to have been tranſlated thus, *agros ovibus depaſcendos*, and not *agros magnitudine paſtionis uberrimos.*

(1) See Remark [*B*] of the Article DEMOCRITUS.
(2) Cicero Tuſculan. lib. 5. *circa finem.*
(3) Val. Maximus, lib. 8. c. 7. num. 6, *in Externis.*
(4) Plato *in Hippia majore*, and not in *Phædro*, according to Mr. Menage's quotation in Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 6. p. 1246.

We have ſtill ſome obſervations to make on the diſintereſtedneſs of Anaxagoras. He was a man exceedingly well qualified for publick employments; for his advice not only proved ſerviceable, but neceſſary, to the perſon that governed the Athenians (17). Nevertheleſs he never cared to meddle with the government; nor would make uſe of the credit and authority of Pericles to raiſe himſelf to honours, but confined

anſwered he, *the Moon, and the Heavens* (*b*). Accordingly he placed the ſupreme good, or the end of human life, in contemplation, and in the free ſtate which it occaſions (*c*). He was but twenty, when he began to philoſophize in Athens (*d*). We are told by ſome writers, that he was the firſt that removed thither the School of Philoſophy, which had flouriſhed in Ionia, from the time of Thales its founder, which I ſhall examine in the article ARCHELAUS. It is certain he had ſeveral diſciples of great note in Athens, and namely Pericles and Euripides, to whom ſome add Themiſtocles and Socrates; but as to Themiſtocles, their opinion is inconſiſtent with Chronology (*e*). Nothing can give us a better notion of his ability and talents, than the progreſs the great Pericles made under his diſcipline; for it was he that inſpired him with that grave and majeſtic deportment, which rendered him ſo fit to govern the Republick (*f*). He laid the firſt foundations of that ſublime and victorious eloquence, which made his diſciple ſo powerful (*g*), and taught him to fear the Gods, without ſuperſtition (*h*). To all this we may add, that he helped him greatly with his advice, to bear the heavy burthen of the government (*i*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the novelty and ſingularity of his Philoſophy. For he held that there were hills, valleys, and inhabitants in the Moon; and that the Sun was a maſs of fire [*B*], bigger than Peloponneſus (*k*). He maintained that the ſnow is black (*l*); becauſe ſnow, ſaid he, is but condenſed water,

(*b*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 16.
(*c*) Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 2. pag. 416.
(*d*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 97.
(*e*) Plutarch. *in Themiſtoc.* p. 112.
(*f*) Idem, *in Pericle*, p. 154.
(*g*) See note [*E*] of the Article PERICLES, near the end.
(*h*) See note [*A*] and [*B*] in the article PERICLES.
(*i*) See quotation (19).
(*k*) Diog. Laertius lib. 2. num. 8.
(*l*) Cicero *Academ. Quæſtion.* lib. 2. c. 23. and 31. Lactant. l. 5. cap. 3.

fined himſelf to philoſophical ſpeculations, having quite ſubdued that ambition, which many wiſe men cannot withſtand, tho' not ſo skilled in State affairs, as he was, nor ſupported with the protection and favour of men in power. No doubt but Tully had him particularly in view, when ſpeaking of ſome great men, he ſaid, that it was a great misfortune to the Public, that they had given themſelves entirely up to the ſtudy of nature. *Eadem autem alii prudentia, ſed conſilio ad vitæ ſtudia diſpari, quietem atque otium ſequuti, ut Pythagoras, Democritus, Anaxagoras, à regendis civitatibus totos ſe ad cognitionem rerum tranſtulerint, quæ vita propter tranquillitatem, & propter ipſius ſcientiæ ſuavitatem, qua nihil eſt hominibus jucundius, plures, quam utile fuit rebus publicis, delectavit* (18). i. e. "The ſame wiſdom has "been embraced by others, but to a different purpoſe of life, the enjoyment of quiet and reſt; as "Pythagoras, Democritus and Anaxagoras left the "government of Cities to ſtudy the knowledge of "things, which kind of life, on account of its tranquillity, and the very ſweetneſs of knowledge itſelf, than which nothing is more delightful to men, "has drawn away more than is conſiſtent with the "public good." He not only deſpiſed honours; but did not ſo much as take care to provide what was neceſſary for his maintenance. He was ſo far from hoarding up riches, as he might eaſily have done by means of the credit and authority of Pericles, that he did not even reflect on the neceſſities of old age. His enquiries into the ſecrets of nature ſtifled all other paſſions. However he was ſenſible at laſt, that his contempt for riches had been too great; for in his old age he was reduced to ſuch poverty, that he had not whereupon to ſubſiſt. In ſuch ſtraits, he reſolved, with great ſedateneſs of mind, to ſtarve himſelf to death, but was prevented by Pericles. Let us hear Plutarch: *Pericles*, ſays he (19), *relieved a great many poor people with his riches, and among others Anaxagoras: of whom it is recorded, that Pericles being ſo much taken up with other affairs, that he could not mind him, he found himſelf forſaken by every body in his old age, and in that neceſſity lay down with his head wrapt up, reſolved to periſh with hunger. Which Pericles having notice of went immediately to him, and earneſtly entreated him to alter his reſolution, bewailing not ſo much the misfortune of Anaxagoras, as his own, becauſe he ſhould loſe in him ſuch a faithful and wiſe Counſellor in public affairs. Then Anaxagoras uncovered his face, and ſaid, Pericles, thoſe who want the light of a lamp, pour oil into it, to keep it in.* Here is another inſtance of his contempt of honours. They offered to pay to his memory whatever honours he pleaſed; but he rejected this offer, deſiring only, that the day of his death might be a play-day for Scholars. Τὰς διδομένας ἀφεὶς τιμὰς, ἠτήσατο τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καθ' ἣν ἂν τελευτήσῃ τὰς παῖδας ἀφιέναι παίζειν σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων (20). "Declining the honours "that were offered him, he deſired that the day of "his death ſhould be a day of diſmiſſion to the boys "from ſchool." Did he not thereby deſire that his death might be a ſubject of pleaſure to many, and not of affliction? Does not this plainly ſhew that he had an utter contempt for every thing that flatters moſt the vanity of mortals?

(18) Cicero *de Oratore*, lib. 3. cap. 15 (and not lib. 2. according to Mr. Menage's quotation on Diogenes Laertius num. 7,) folio (91) [*B*].
(19) Plutarch. *in vita Periclis*, p. 162. I follow Amiot's tranſlation.
(20) Idem, *in Præcept. Reipub. gerendæ* p. 820, D. Diogenes Laertius varies in the circumſtances, as we have ſeen in the text of this article.

It will not be amiſs to make two ſhort reflections on the paſſage of Pericles's life. It informs us, that Anaxagoras was very well skilled in Politics, though he only profeſſed ſpeculative Philoſophy. Why then may we not aſcribe to him the treatiſe *de Regno*, out of which Ælian quotes a ſentence (21)? Granting it to have been written by another Anaxagoras, as Meurſius and Menage ſuppoſe it to have been (22); yet that is not ſufficiently proved by the reaſon Menage produces (23), which he himſelf would have been ſenſible of, had he minded that paſſage in Plutarch. This is my firſt reflection. The other is, that our Philoſopher's ſuppoſed old age does not agree with what others relate, viz. that he came to Athens at the age of twenty, and lived there thirty years. He muſt then have received the viſit of Pericles, which Plutarch mentions, before he was above fifty. I ſhall conclude with a paſſage out of Ovid, from whence we may infer, that the firſt Aſtronomers muſt needs have been men free from all ſenſuality, and from the cares that attend thoſe who aſpire to honours, or ſeek after riches. Anaxagoras is an eminent inſtance of it.

(21) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 14.
(22) See the notes of Kuhnius on this paſſage of Ælian.
(23) *Alius igitur fuerit ab Anaxagora noſtro, &c.* Menag. *in Laert.* lib. 2. num. 7. He deduces this conſequence from Anaxagoras's not concerning himſelf in the government.

Felices animos quibus hæc cognoſcere primis;
Inque domos ſuperas ſcandere cura fuit!
Credibile eſt illos pariter vitiiſque locisque
Altius humanis exſeruiſſe caput.
Non Venus & vinum ſublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumque fori, militiæve labor.
Nec levis ambitio, perfuſaque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames ſollicitavit opum.
Admovere oculis diſtantia ſydera noſtris,
Ætheraque ingenio ſuppoſuere ſuo.
Sic petitur cælum, non ut ferat Oſſan Olympus;
Summaque Peliacus ſydera tangat apex.
Nos quoque ſub ducibus cælum metabimur illis,
Ponemuſque ſuos ad ſtata ſigna dies (24).

(24) Ovid. *Faſtor.* lib. 1. ver. 297, *& ſeq.*

"Thrice happy ſouls, to whom it firſt was giv'n
"To reach the lofty courts of higheſt heav'n.
"They knew the art to raiſe th' exalted mind,
"Above the ſeats and faults of human kind.
"No ſlaves to Venus, or the wrangling bar,
"Or flowing bowls or labours of the war.
"No light ambition, or falſe glory ſway'd
"Their minds, nor wealth to any crimes betray'd,
"Their mighty ſouls could lead the captive skies,
"And place the diſtant ſtars before our eyes.
"The heav'nly manſions thus we may aſſault,
"And mount the lofty skies without a fault.
"To meaſure out the heav'ns they point the way,
"And to each ſign aſcribe its proper day.

[*B*] *He held that the ſun was a maſs of fire.*] I uſe this general expreſſion, becauſe the interpreters do not agree about the true meaning of theſe words of Diogenes Laërtius: Τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον (25): ſome will have them to import a lump of red-hot iron, others a flaming ſtone, and ſome a fiery globe neither

(25) Diog. Laertius lib. 2. num. 8.

water, and all waters are naturally black (*m*); which is a very ſorry reaſon. He taught that our eyes are not capable of diſtinguiſhing the true colours of objects, that our ſenſes are fallacious, and conſequently, that in judging of things we ought to be led by reaſon, and not by them (*n*). He believed that the heavens were of ſtone (*o*), and prevented from falling down by the ſwiftneſs of their motion (*p*). Others ſay, that he believed the heavens *to be of the nature of fire as to their eſſence*, but that by their violent revolution, having drawn up ſtones from the earth, and kindled them, theſe ſtones became ſtars (*q*); he taught that the firſt animals were formed out of the earth, by means of a warm moiſtneſs (*r*), and that afterwards they engendred each other, the males on the right ſide, and the females on the left (*s*). He admitted as many different principles as compound bodies; for he ſuppoſed, that each ſpecies of bodies was made up of a great many particles of the ſame nature, which particles he called *Homæomeriæ*, by reaſon of their likeneſs. But this obliged him to admit a principle which perplexed his ſyſtem (*t*), viz. that each body contained the ſeeds, or principles of all the different ſpecies. Moreri has miſrepreſented this opinion [*C*]; though no leſs clearly explained than ſolidly confuted by Lucretius, which will afford us an occaſion of making ſome reflections

(*m*) Sextus Empiricus Pyrrhon. *Hypotypoſ.* lib. 1. cap. 13.

(*n*) Idem, *adv. Mathem.* lib. 7. p. 153.

(*o*) See the beginning of note [*I*].

(*p*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 12.

(*q*) Plutarch. *de Placitis Philoſoph.* lib. 2. cap. 13. I follow Amiot's tranſlation.

(*r*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 12.

(*s*) Id. ib. num. 9.

(*t*) See note [*G*].

of iron or ſtone. *Videtur mihi Anaxagoras*, ſays Caſaubon, *per μύδρον διάπυρον non tam lapidem aut ferrum, quam globum quendam igneum λιθώδη & βαρὺν, ut ait Plutarchus, intelligere voluiſſe* (26). Moſt of thoſe, who have mentioned this doctrine of Anaxagoras, have preferred the ſecond explanation to the other two, which entirely agrees with this Philoſopher's hypotheſis, as we ſhall hereafter make appear (27). I begin with Xenophon. *Φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ἠγνόει ὅτι λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὢν οὔτε λάμπει, οὔτε πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος τὸν πάντα χρόνον πάντων λαμπρότερος ὢν διαμένει* (28). That is, according to Charpentier's verſion; *Saying alſo, that the Sun was but a flaming ſtone, he did not reflect that a ſtone does not ſhine in the fire, nor can be long there without being conſumed; whereas the Sun continues always, and is an inexhauſtible ſource of light.* Plato ſhall be my ſecond evidence. He introduces Socrates, who finding himſelf charged with ſaying that the Sun was a ſtone, and the Moon an earth (29) anſwers. *They miſtake me for Anaxagoras, whoſe works are filled with ſuch diſcourſes, and they think, I am ſo ſilly as to teach young people ſuch abſurdities, who would laugh at me, if I aſcribed to myſelf a doctrine contained in the works of another man, which are ſold very cheap.* As this paſſage gives but a general notion of Plato's words, it is reaſonable I ſhould ſet them down at length, for the ſatisfaction of ſuch as are not contented with the abſtract of an authority.

(26) If. Caſaubon. *in hunc locum* Diog. Laert.

(27) In note [*I*].

(28) Xenophon. *Memorabil.* l. 4.

(29) Τὸν μὲν ἥλιον λίθον φησὶν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην γῆν. Plato, *in Apologia Socratis*, p. 21. A.

'Ανάξαγόρᾳ οἴει κατηγορεῖν, ὦ φίλε Μέλιτε. καὶ οὕτω καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε, καὶ οἴει αὐτοὺς, ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι τ' 'Ανάξαγόρᾳ βιβλία τοῦ Κλαζομενίου γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων. καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ, πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας, πριαμένοις, Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν, ἐὰν προσποιῆται ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὄντα (30).

(30) Id. ibid.

i. e. "You ſeem, my friend Melitus, to accuſe Anaxagoras, and ſo you deſpiſe theſe, and think them illiterate, as not knowing that the books of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian are full of ſuch opinions. And ſhall the young men learn ſuch things of me? who, as they can buy them, though they were ever ſo many, for a trifle at publick ſales would laugh at Socrates, if he was to put them off as his own, eſpecially when they are ſo abſurd." You will find in Plutarch, that Anaxagoras was condemned as an impious man for ſaying, that the Sun was a ſtone (31). St. Cyril of Alexandria (32) and St. Auſtin (33) are to be counted among thoſe, who have ſaid, that the Sun, according to Anaxagoras, was a blazing ſtone. Suidas tranſlates the μύδρον διάπυρον of Diogenes Laërtius πύρινον λίθον; and therefore I am ſurprized, that Charpentier ſhould ſay, that *Anaxagoras maintained the Sun to be a lump of red hot iron* (34).

(31) Plutarch. *de Superſtit.* pag. 169. E.

(32) Cyrillus, lib. 6. *contra Julian.*

(33) Auguſt. *de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 41.

(34) Charpentier, *vie de Socrate*, p. 7.

[*C*] *Moreri has miſrepreſented this opinion, though no leſs clearly explained, than ſolidly confuted by Lucretius.*] In this remark I ſhall collect all Moreri's miſtakes.

1. He fancies, that Anaxagoras taught, that *the principles of things contained the characters of the parts; for as gold is compoſed of ſmall particles united together; ſo this great world is compoſed of ſuch like particles, which make up the whole, and are the primum mobile of all things.* What nonſenſe! what obſcurity! could ever Heraclitus have expreſſed in a more unintelligible manner? To what purpoſe is the example he produces of *gold compoſed of ſmall particles knit together?* Is that peculiar to gold, and not common to all mixed bodies? Should he not have added, that the ſmall particles gold is made up of, are likewiſe of gold? This is what Anaxagoras held: He believed that a viſible bone was made up of many inviſible ones; and that the blood, we ſee, was compoſed of a great many ſmall drops, each of them being likewiſe blood; and this is the reaſon why he called his principles ὁμοιομερείας (35), *ſimilaritates.* Read the following verſes of Lucretius.

(35) Plut. *de Placit. Philoſoph.* lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 876. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 8.

Nunc & Anaxogoræ ſcrutemur Homœomerian,
Quam Græci memorant, nec noſtra dicere lingua
Concedit nobis patrii ſermonis egeſtas.
Sed tamen ipſam rem facile eſt exponere verbis
Principium rerum quam dicit Homœomerian.
Oſſa videlicet e pauxillis atque minutis
Oſſibu'; ſic & de pauxillis atque minutis
Viſceribus viſcus gigni; ſanguenque creari
Sanguinis inter ſe multis coeuntibu' guttis;
Ex aurique putat micis conſiſtere poſſe
Aurum; & de terris terram concreſcere parvis;
Ignibus ex ignem, humorem ex humoribus eſſe.
Cætera conſimili fingit ratione, putatque (36).

(36) Lucret. l. 1. verſ. 830.

That is,

" Now let's examine with a curious eye
" Anaxagoras his Philoſophy,
" By copious Greece term'd Homœomery:
" For which our Latin language, poor in words,
" Not one expreſſive ſingle voice affords:
" Yet by an eaſy ſhort Periphraſis
" We plainly can diſcover what it is.
" For this it means: that bones of minute bones,
" That fleſh of fleſh, and ſtones of little ſtones,
" That nerves take other little nerves for food,
" That blood is made of little drops of blood;
" That gold from parts of the ſame nature roſe,
" That earths do earth, fires fire, airs air compoſe,
" And ſo in all things elſe alike to thoſe.

Creech.

I ſhall only inſiſt upon the firſt reaſon Lucretius produces againſt this opinion, without mentioning the others. He ſhews, that if this opinion were true, the firſt principles of bodies would be as liable to corruption, as the moſt compounded bodies themſelves. This conſequence is attended with two great difficulties: The firſt is, that in the hypotheſis of Anaxagoras, there is no difference between the principles and the compounds. The difference I ſpeak of, conſiſts in this, that the principles (37) ought always to remain the ſame, let the mixt bodies be ever ſo often deſtroyed. The compounds are produced, deſtroyed, and are ſubject to a thouſand viciſſitudes of generation and corruption; but as to the principles, they maintain, without the leaſt alteration, the ſame nature under all the forms that are ſucceſſively produced. This is what Anaxagoras could not ſay of his principles; for if the principles of fleſh, for inſtance, were themſelves of fleſh, they would be no leſs ſubject to corruption, than a great lump of fleſh; and ſo of the others, for he admitted no indiviſible parts in matter (38). We ſhall ſee hereafter (39) whether

(37) I mean the matter or the *ſubjectum ex quo.*

(38) *Nec tamen eſſe ulla parte idem in rebus inane concedit, neque corporibus finem eſſe ſecundis.* Lucret. lib. 1. verſe 843. But he admits no VOID, he grants no LEAST. Creech.

(39) In remark [*G*].

reflections on this doctrine. The moſt commendable part of Anaxagoras's ſyſtem was, that he was the firſt who maintained that an intelligent being had given motion to matter,

whether he could have ſuppoſed that the principles, being eternal and uncreated, ought to have been incorruptible. The other difficulty is, that the deſtruction of the firſt principles differs not from what we call *Annihilation*; for when they ceaſe to be, they are not reſolved into any other thing, by reaſon of the ſimplicity, which is peculiar to them, and excludes all compoſition. They are then utterly deſtroyed and annihilated. Now human reaſon cannot apprehend the poſſibility of ſuch an alteration (40). The deſtruction of mixt bodies is not liable to this difficulty; for they continue in their principles; as for inſtance wood, though deſtroyed by fire, ſtill ſubſiſts as matter, or as an extended ſubſtance. There is therefore a great defect in the ſyſtem of Anaxagoras: his principles are compoſed both of matter and form, and conſequently have not that ſimplicity and immutability which order requires. Neither would he have removed this difficulty, by ſuppoſing that the intelligence, which preſides over generations, never ſuffers them to be deſtroyed. Would it not be a ſufficient difficulty, that they were liable of their own nature to corruption, and could not be preſerved from it but by a particular privilege, or rather by a miracle. I ſhall ſay nothing of their vaſt number, which is another very conſiderable defect, it being eſſential to every good ſyſtem, that few cauſes ſhould produce many effects.

(40) *At neque recedere ad nihilum res poſſe, Neque autem creſcere ex nihilo, teſtor res ante probatas.* Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 857. That is, "But I by former arguments have taught, That things nor periſh to, nor riſe from nought." Creech.

Lucretius was not aware to propoſe an objection, which would have quite overthrown Anaxagoras's whole hypotheſis. What induced this Philoſopher to admit ſuch *Homœomeries*, or *Homogeneities* was, that no being is made out of, or reduced to nothing (41). Now if the earth, for inſtance, had been formed of things that were not earth, it had been made out of nothing, and would be reduced to nothing, it having been once earth, it ſhould ever ceaſe to be earth. It muſt therefore be made of, and, when deſtroyed or corrupted, reduced to, earth. According to this way of reaſoning, there was no generation or corruption, no birth or death, properly ſpeaking. The production of a plant was merely the knitting together of many ſmall plants; and the deſtruction of a tree nothing but the diſuniting and diſperſing of many ſmall trees. *We find*, added he (42), *that the ſimpleſt food, as bread and water, is converted into hair, veins, arteries, nerves, bones, &c. there muſt be therefore little hairs, veins and arteries in bread and water, which, though not perceived by our ſenſes, yet are viſible to our underſtanding.* It is plain his ſyſtem was founded on a falſe ſuppoſition, viz. that ſomething would be made out of nothing, if the parts of the bread which afford nouriſhment to the bones, had not the nature of bones in the bread itſelf. It is amazing ſo great a genius ſhould argue in this manner. Was he not ſenſible that a houſe is not made out of nothing, though the materials it is built with are not a houſe? Is not a ſquare formed by four lines, none of which is a ſquare? Is not a coat made of ſeveral pieces of cloth, none of which is a coat? Is there any ſuch thing as creation in this? Since therefore in things done by art, the bare change of the figure and diſpoſition of parts, forms a whole, different as to its ſpecies and properties from each of its parts; could he not infer from thence, that nature, which is far more powerful than art, can form bones and veins, without joining together parts that are already bones and veins, by operating upon ſuch corpuſcles as are capable of receiving ſuch or ſuch a ſituation or figure? By this means what was not fleſh will become fleſh, without any thing being formed out of nothing. Had Lucretius ſtarted this difficulty againſt our Philoſopher's *Homœomeries*, he would have quite overſet his ſyſtem. I proceed to Moreri's other faults (43).

(41) Plutarch. *de Placitis Philoſoph.* lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 876. Ariſtot. *Phyſicor.* lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 256.

(42) Plutarch. ibid.

(43) I ſhall not take notice of his miſtakes with regard to the quotations. He only quotes Plutarch *in vita Niciæ* (he ought to have ſaid *Niciæ*;) but he relates nothing of what Plutarch ſays there; and there are other treatiſes of Plutarch more fit to be quoted.

II. *Anaxagoras*, ſays he, *was ſurnamed* Νοῦς, *or the mind, by reaſon of the ſubtilty of his doctrine.* This reaſon is not mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, who tells us, in expreſs terms, that he was ſo called, becauſe he held that a ſpiritual Being had preſided in the diſentangling of the chaos (44). Timon (45) and Harpocration (46) give the ſame reaſon. I know Plutarch mentions the reaſon alledged by Moreri; but ſince that Author produces alſo the reaſon we find in Diogenes Laertius (47), and which is the moſt likely, Moreri ought not to have paſſed it over in ſilence.

(44) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 6.
(45) Timon Phliaſius *in Sillis*, *apud* Laertium, lib. 2. num. 8.
(46) Harpocrat. *voce* Ἀναξαγόρας.

III. He falſely charges our Anaxagoras with admitting of atoms (48). This blunder is more unpardonable, becauſe he had ſaid juſt before, that Anaxagoras *held infinite parts in all bodies*. Theſe two opinions claſh one with another; for though, generally ſpeaking, the ſyſtem of atoms does not exclude infinite particles, yet it excludes them from each particular body; ſince one of the reaſons of the Atomiſts is the avoiding of the abſurdities, which ariſe from an infinite diviſibility, which neceſſarily follows from the ſuppoſition of each body's being compoſed of infinite parts.

IV. It is falſe that Lucian feigns Anaxagoras to have been killed by Jupiter with a thunder-bolt. I ſhall quote hereafter (49) Lucian's words.

V. I know not on what grounds Moreri tells us, that *Anaxagoras travelled into Egypt, where he learnt the ſecrets and myſteries of the Sages of that country.* I do not remember to have read this in any of the ancients. As for Theodoret, I beg leave to place him among the moderns, with regard to the point in queſtion. He mentions indeed this journey of Anaxagoras (50); but is at the ſame time miſtaken in making this Philoſopher and Pythagoras contemporaries. But let that be as it will; Moreri ſtill deſerves to be cenſured, for not having quoted Theodoret, or any Author for that journey.

(47) I quote Plutarch's words in remark [D] quotation (62).

(48) *See* Lucretius's verſes, p. 208. quotation (36).

(49) In remark [K] quotation (156)

(50) Theodoret, *de Græcis affect.* Serm. 2. p. 489.

VI. *He held that the Stars* (they are Moreri's words) *had at firſt an irregular motion, which at laſt became regular.* Anaxagoras held no ſuch opinion; but on the contrary believed, if we give credit to Diogenes Laertius (51), that at firſt the Stars moved in ſuch a manner, that, heaven having the form of a vault, the Pole, which never ſets, was vertical to the earth, but afterwards leaned to one ſide. This ſhews that he had but a very imperfect knowledge of the Sphere. For he knew not, that the North-Pole, tho' inclining towards the Horizon of Ionia and ſeveral other countries, is no leſs vertical to ſome place of the earth, than it could be at the beginning. If he meant, that the North-Pole was formerly in the Zenith of Ionia, but afterwards declined towards the Horizon, he expreſſed himſelf very improperly, and muſt have held Ionia to have been at firſt a moſt wretched and unhappy country. Plutarch relates this in another manner. For he tells us, that Anaxagoras believed, that the world was compoſed, and the living creatures produced out of the earth, that the world inclined of itſelf (ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου) to the South, perhaps by divine providence, (ἴσως ὑπὸ προνοίας), that ſome parts of it might be temperate and habitable, and others uninhabitable by reaſon of the exceſſive cold or ſcorching heat (52).

(51) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 9.

VII. Diogenes Laertius mentions no Orator, called Anaxagoras, who had been a diſciple to Socrates. He makes him a diſciple of Iſocrates (53).

(52) Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſoph.* lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 887.

(53) Diog. Laert. l. 2. num. 15.

VIII. It is falſe that our Anaxagoras held that the ſimilar parts were the *primum mobile*. We ſhall ſee in the next Remark, that, according to his principles, the *primum mobile* was a ſpiritual being diſtinct from his *Homœomeries*. Had Moreri underſtood the Author of our Philoſopher's Life, he would not have been guilty of ſuch a miſtake. Ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σωμάτων τὸ πᾶν συγκεκρῖθαι καὶ νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως (54). i. e. "The whole is "compounded of the homœomeries of ſmall bodies, "and the mind is the principle of motion."

(54) Idem, ibid. num. 8.

IX. Moreri has not well expreſſed the ſenſe of the firſt part of Diogenes Laertius's Greek text, which I have now quoted. *All this great univerſe*, ſays he, *is made up of ſimilar parts, which conſtitute the whole.* I have already complained of the nonſenſe of theſe words; but now I ſhall examine them more fully, in order to ſhew, how a French Writer ought to avoid the equivocations he is liable to, when he forgets, that a phraſe, which was clear to the Greeks, becomes very obſcure in our age, if it be not expreſſed by a circumlocution. I do not intend by this to make an apology for Diogenes Laertius, who, in abridging the opinions of the Philoſophers, often knew

not

matter, and digeſted the chaos; whereas all the other Philoſophers till his time, in reaſoning on the formation of the world, had only admitted on one ſide an indigeſted maſs of matter, and on the other meer chance, or a blind fatality to put it in order [*D*]. And

not himſelf what he ſaid. I wiſh Moreri had expreſſed himſelf thus: *The univerſe is the effect, or reſult, of the choice of the ſimilar particles.* For he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, that one would take the world to be a whole made up of parts, each of them having the ſame name and quality (55); which is ſo flagrant a falſhood, that it is but opening our eyes to be convinced of it: nay the blind themſelves muſt be ſenſible of it; for they know, that they are compoſed of fleſh and bones, and that their hair is not like their nails. Such as have the leaſt tincture of School-Philoſophy muſt know that an *homogeneous* compound is that whoſe parts have all the ſame name and quality with the whole; whereas the parts of an *heterogeneous* compound have not the ſame name and nature with the whole, nor have they all the ſame properties. Water, milk, wine, fleſh, bones, are *homogeneous* compounds; becauſe each drop, for inſtance, of the liquid ſubſtance that compoſes a river, is called water, and has the eſſence of water. But it happens quite otherwiſe in an *heterogeneous* compound; the parts whereof have neither the name and nature of the whole, nor the name and qualities of each other. Such, for example, is the body of an ox, which is made up of blood, fleſh, bones, and divers other parts, each of them having their peculiar name and qualities. If ſo, no body can ſay, that the univerſe is an *homogeneous*, and not an *heterogeneous*, compound. For ſome of its parts are opake, others tranſparent, ſome liquid, others ſolid. Here is earth, there is air, and water; here a meadow, and there a wood. Anaxagoras could never call in queſtion ſo plain a truth, without raving more extravagantly than any fantaſtical pretender to viſions that ever was put into a mad-houſe. And nevertheleſs he is charged with this groſs abſurdity by Moreri, whoſe words plainly ſignify, that he taught that this univerſe was an *homogeneous* compound. He ought therefore to have uſed other terms, and choſe ſuch a phraſe as did not confound the *collective* ſenſe of the word *whole* with the *diſtributive* (56). This will appear plain by an example. Let us ſuppoſe, that all the inhabitants of a great city are divided into ten claſſes; that thoſe who are worth twenty thouſand livres, are placed in the firſt, thoſe, who are worth fifteen thouſand, in the ſecond, and ſo of the others in proportion. Now this propoſition, *The town is inhabited by Citizens equally rich*, could never be true, but in a diſtributive ſenſe, which our language can hardly admit of in this caſe. The true meaning of ſuch a propoſition would be this; each of the ten parts, which ten parts compriſe all the inhabitants, is made up of Citizens equally rich; but it would be wrapt up in improper, obſcure, and intricate terms, and ſtand in need of this further explanation, viz. *that the equality in riches is only to be found among the Citizens of the ſame claſs; becauſe if thoſe of the tenth claſs be compared with thoſe of the firſt, there will be found a great inequality.* This is the bad office, which thoſe do Anaxagoras, who make him ſay, that the univerſe is compoſed of ſimilar parts: they make the reader fancy that he held a ridiculous riddle; and if they do not explain themſelves with a *that is to ſay*, the reader is at a loſs, and rails at them. I will ſave him this trouble, and lay open our Philoſopher's opinion.

(55) I mean according to the ſyſtem of Anaxagoras.

(56) Mr. Arnauld in his *Difficultez a Monſieur Steyaert*, Part 6. p. 122, makes ſome remarks on theſe two ſignifications of the word *whole*.

An explanation of Anaxagoras's Syſtem.

His true meaning, I think, was this; that the intelligent Being, which formed the world, having found, in an infinite matter, infinite ſpecies of ſmall corpuſcles, reſembling each other, and ſurrounded, in a confuſed mixture, with others that did not reſemble them, joined together the corpuſcles of the ſame ſpecies, and, by that means, produced here a planet, and there a ſtone; in one place water, air, &c. and in another wood, &c. This action divided the univerſe into ſeveral maſſes made up of ſimilar parts; tho' at the ſame time the particles of one maſs did not reſemble thoſe of another: and therefore the word *whole* muſt not be taken in a *collective*, but in a *diſtributive* ſenſe; elſe you might as well ſay that the world is compoſed of diſſimilar, as of ſimilar, particles. Ludovicus Vives having obſerved, that theſe words of St. Auſtin, *Anaxagoras ... dixit ex infinita materia, quæ conſtaret diſſimilibus inter ſe particulis*, were in the old manuſcripts with this alteration, *ſimilibus inter ſe particulis*, added, *utrumque recte.*

As to the objections, which Anaxagoras's ſyſtem was expoſed to, I ſhall take notice of them in remark [G].

[*D*] *He was the firſt, who ſuppoſed, that an intelligent Being gave motion to matter, and digeſted the chaos into order.*] For this we have very good authorities. Πρῶτος τῇ ὑλῇ νοῦν ἐπίσησαν, ἀρξάμενος οὕτω τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὃ ἐστι τῶδιος καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡρμηνευμένον. πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ, εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε (57). i. e. "He was the firſt that added a mind to matter, writing thus, *in a ſweet and noble manner*; in the beginning of his work all things were together, and afterwards the mind came and diſpoſed them." I have begun with this paſſage of Diogenes Laertius, becauſe it contains Anaxagoras's own words (58). Let us now hear Ariſtotle on the ſame ſubject. He finds fault with thoſe Philoſophers, who, in treating of principles, ſtopt at the material, without tracing out the efficient cauſe of generations and corruptions. *The material cauſe*, ſays he, *is not the principle of its own alteration; copper does not change itſelf into a ſtatue, nor wood into a bedſtead; this change proceeds from ſome other cauſe, which if we endeavour to trace out, we ſhall aſcend to the firſt Mover.* His words are ſo remarkable, that they well deſerve to be related. Ἐν ὑγιὲς ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσα φθορὰ καὶ γένεσις ἔκ τινος, ὡς ἐνὸς ἢ καὶ πλείονων ἐστὶ, διὰ τί τοῦτο συμβαίνει, καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτό. λέγω δ' οἷον, οὔτε τὸ ξύλον οὔτε ὁ χαλκὸς αἴτιον τοῦ μεταβάλλειν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν. οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ξύλον κλίνην, ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἴτιον. τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ζητεῖν, ἐστὶ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ζητεῖν, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμεῖς φαίημεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως (59). i. e. "Since all corruption and generation is from ſomething, either one or more, why is this, and what is the cauſe? for the ſubject does not cauſe itſelf to be changed. For example, neither wood nor braſs are the cauſe that either of them is changed. For neither does wood make a bedſtead, nor braſs a ſtatue, but ſomething elſe is the cauſe of that change. Now to make this enquiry, is to ſeek another principle, as that which we call the cauſe the principle of motion." He adds I, that the Philoſophers, after being convinced of the inſufficiency of the elements, were, by the force of truth, obliged to have recourſe to ſome other mover. II, That the beauty of ſome beings, and generation of others cannot, with any probability, be aſcribed to fire, earth, &c. and that it is not likely the ancient Philoſophers held ſuch an opinion. III, That it is repugnant to reaſon to make chance and fortune the cauſe of ſuch a noble effect: Οὐδ' αὐτῷ αὐτομάτῳ καὶ τύχῃ τοσοῦτον ἐπιτρέψαι πράγμα καλῶς ἔχει (60). IV, That this was the reaſon, why Anaxagoras, who admitted a ſpirit in nature, as well as in animals, and held it to be the true author of the world, and all order, ſeemed to be a man of good ſenſe in compariſon of all the Philoſophers that had gone before him. But my explanation falls ſhort of the original, as thoſe, who underſtand the Greek paſſage I ſhall quote, will own. Νοῦν δέ τινες εἶπὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸν αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῆς τάξεως πάσης, οἷον νήφων ἐφάνη παρ' εἰκῆ λέγουσας τὰς πρότερον. φανερῶς μὲν οὖν Ἀναξαγόραν ἴσμεν ἁψάμενον τούτων τῶν λόγων (61). Tho' theſe authorities be clear, yet that of Plutarch is, perhaps, ſtill clearer. His words are, Ὃν (Ἀναξαγόραν) οἱ τοτ' ἄνθρωποι νοῦν προσηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμάσαντες, εἴθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος ὑ τύχη ὑδ' ἀνάγκη, διακοσμήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἄκρατον, ἐμμιμειγμένοις πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας (62). i. e. "The contemporaries of Anaxagoras called him the "Mind, either on account of his remarkable ſagacity in natural knowledge, or becauſe he was the "firſt who was made to preſide over the univerſe, "not

(57) Diog. Laert. *in Anaxagora, initio* lib. 2. num. 6.

(58) They are likewiſe to be found in Plutarch, *de Placitis Philoſoph.* lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 876, D.

(59) Ariſt. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 645, H.

(60) Idem, ibid. p. 646, C.

(61) Idem, ibid.

(62) Plutarch. *in Pericle*, pag. 154, B.

And this, no doubt, is the true reaſon why that great Philoſopher was ſurnamed νῶς, that is, the *mind*, or *underſtanding (u)*. But his orthodoxy was not clear from all errors [*E*], (*u*) See note [*C*] num. 2.

" not fortune or fate, but a pure and ſimple mind, " ſeparating the homœomeries from the reſt that " were blended together." Some Authors, who quote this paſſage, ſeem to prefer ἰμμιμιγμένον to ἰμμιμιγμένους; but I ſhould be for rejecting them both, and ſubſtituting in their room ἰμμιμιγμένας. Voſſius quotes this paſſage with the word ἰμμιμιγμένον, but in tranſlating it prefers ἰμμιμιγμένους. His tranſlation is as follows: *Non fortunam neque fatum ordinatæ deſcriptionis principium, ſed mentem puram ac ſinceram præfecerit, ab aliis omnibus* ADMIXTIS *ſimiles particulas ſecernentem* (63). Voſſius produces this very ſame paſſage, a few pages after, to prove, that Anaxagoras taught that God was intermixed with the whole matter. *Quare ex ejus ſententia Opifex mundi Deus eſt, ut ex Plutarcho antea monitum,* Νοῦς καθαρὸς καὶ ἄκρατος ἰμμιμιγμένος πᾶσι, *Mens pura ac ſincera omnibus permixta* (64). I cannot think Plutarch means, that the divine nature was mixed with the parts of matter; for that is repugnant to the epithets καθαρὸς and ἄκρατος he had juſt before uſed, giving very plainly to underſtand by them, that Anaxagoras held God to be a pure and unmixed Spirit diſtinct and ſeparate from matter. I am apt to think that his meaning was this; that this immaterial Spirit ſeparated the homœomeries from all the other bodies which they were at firſt mixed with. Thus we ſee, how difficult a matter it is for the moſt learned men, among whom we may count Voſſius, to write much and mind every thing. Their attention fails them very often; they forget in one place what they had ſaid in another, and ſometimes even contradict themſelves in the ſame period.

(63) Voſſius, *de Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ*, lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

(64) Idem, ibid. cap. 2. p. 12.

I have another reaſon to believe, that I have taken Plutarch's true meaning. For not to mention here what I ſhall produce elſewhere out of Tertullian (65); I read in Ariſtotle that Anaxagoras ſaid, that the Spirit, which gave motion to matter was void of all mixture. Πλὴν ἀρχήν γε τὸν νοῦν τίθεται μάλιστα πάντων. μόνον γοῦν φησὶν αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων ἁπλοῦν εἶναι, καὶ ἀμιγῆ τε καὶ καθαρὸν, ἀποδίδωσι δ' ἄμφω τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ, τό, τε γινώσκειν, καὶ τὸ κινεῖν, λέγων νοῦν κινῆσαι τὸ πᾶν (66. i. e. " He ſuppoſes the mind above all " things to be the principle. For he ſaid that it " alone of all things was ſimple, unmixt and pure. " And he aſcribes to it both knowledge and motion, " ſaying that the mind moved the univerſe." This ſentiment is ſtill more clearly expreſſed in the following words: Φησὶ (Ἀναξαγόρας) δ' εἶναι μεμιγμένα πάντα, πλὴν τοῦ νοῦ, τοῦτον δὲ ἀμιγῆ μόνον καὶ καθαρόν (67). i. e. " Anaxagoras ſays, that all things are mixt " except the mind, and that alone is unmixt and " pure." That Anaxagoras maintained God to be the firſt cauſe of motion and order, appears very plain from the following paſſage out of Plutarch: Ὁ δ' Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἰρήκαι κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς δ' αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε Θεοῦ, καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὅλων ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐκ ἐσηκότα ὑπέθετο τὰ πρῶτα σώματα, ἀπάκτως δὲ κινούμενα. διὸ καὶ Θεὸς (φησὶν) ἐπιδησας ὡς τάξις ἀταξίας ἐξὶ βελτίων διεκόσμησε ταῦτα (68). i. e. " Anaxagoras ſays, that the bodies ſtood ſtill at " the beginning, but that the mind of God diſpoſed them into order, and ſo made the beginnings " of all things. But Plato ſuppoſed that the firſt bodies did not ſtand ſtill, but were in a diſorderly " motion, till God obſerving that order was better " than confuſion compoſed them." You find here a wide difference between Anaxagoras and Plato. The former ſuppoſes, that God found the bodies at reſt; and the latter that he found them in motion. Plutarch's reflection on theſe two doctrines is very ſurprizing; for it not only contains a horrible impiety, but a moſt palpable contradiction. He had found fault with the Philoſophers, who admitted but one principle. He had ſaid, *It is impoſſible* (69), *that matter ſhould be the only principle of all things; and therefore an efficient cauſe muſt be added to it; for ſilver cannot form a veſſel of itſelf, and without an artificer; neither can braſs, wood, or any other matter.* In the ſame page he had commended Anaxagoras for admitting an intelligent being, who had digeſted the ſimilar particles into order. Τὰς μὲν ὁμοιομερείας, ὕλην, τὸ δ' ποιοῦν αἴτιον τὸν νοῦν τὰ παίλα διακο-

(65) In remark [*E*].

(66) Ariſtot. *de Anima*, lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 479, D. See alſo the 4th chapter of the 3d book, p. 503, G. where we find, that Anaxagoras ſaid, that the underſtanding could not be victorious if it were not void of all mixture. Ἀμιγῆ εἶναι ἵνα κράτῃ τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἵνα γνωρίζῃ.

(67) Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 651, [*E*].

(68) Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſoph.* lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 881, A.

ξεύμενον (70). i. e. " He makes the homœomeries the " matter, and the mind the cauſe that diſpoſed all " things." That is, for adding the efficient cauſe to the paſſive ſubject, and the artificer to the matter. Ἀποδεκτέος οὗτος ἐστὶν ὅτι τῇ ὕλῃ τὸν τεχνίτην προσέζευξεν (71). What means he then by finding fault, five pages after, both with Anaxagoras and Plato; with Anaxagoras for aſcribing to God the motion and order of bodies; with Plato for attributing to him their order? *Their common error*, ſays he, *is to fancy, that God minds us mortals, and was thereby induced to frame the world.* Κοινῶς οὖν ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἀμφότεροι, ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἢ καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα (72). After this he diſplays the moſt plauſible arguments an Atheiſt could employ againſt thoſe, who attribute to God the creating and governing of the world. Does he commend Anaxagoras for admitting an intelligent mind as the firſt mover of matter, and the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and blame him at the ſame time for taking this firſt mover and agent to be God? Surely no one ever argued in a more pitiful and incoherent manner. And tho' we ſhould allow that this implies no contradiction; yet it muſt be owned at leaſt, that he confutes in this place a great many other paſſages in his books, wherein he ſuppoſes a Providence.

(70) Idem, ibid.

(71) Idem, ibid.

(72) Plutarch, *de Placitis Philoſ.* cap. 7. p. 881, A.

It would be too tedious to ſet down all the authorities that prove either of the following truths, or both of them, viz. 1. That Anaxagoras admitted an intelligent being, which gave motion to matter, and framed the world, by ſelecting the *Homogeneites*. 2. That he was the firſt author of ſuch a ſyſtem, I ſhall therefore only refer to Plato (73), Tertullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Euſebius (76), Themiſtius (77), St. Auſtin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). But as to Tully, I ſhall ſet down his words, becauſe they contain ſome difficulties, which we ſhall diſcuſs. *Inde Anaxagoras*, ſays he (82), *qui accepit ab Anaximene diſciplinam, primus omnium rerum deſcriptionem & modum, mentis infinitæ vi ac ratione deſignari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum ſenſui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum eſſe poſſe, neque ſenſum omnino, quo non ipſa natura pulſa ſentiret, Deinde ſi mentem iſtam quaſi animal aliquod eſſe voluit, erit aliquid interius, ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta ſimplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ ſentire poſſit, fugere intelligentiæ noſtræ vim & notionem videtur.* i. e. " Anaxagoras, who was the ſcholar of Anaximenes, " was the FIRST that would have the form and mode " of all things to be deſigned and brought together " by the force and reaſon of an infinite mind. In " which he did not ſee either that there can be no " motion added to ſenſe and united with it, in an " infinite, or any ſenſe at all, by which nature her " ſelf being ſtruck would not perceive. Beſides, if " he would have that mind to be as it were a ſort of " animal, there muſt be ſomething ſtill within this " very animal, to give it that name. Now what is " within the mind? It is therefore ſurrounded with " an external body. But a plain and ſimple mind, " without the addition of any thing ſenſitive, ſeems " to be beſide the power and notion of our under- " ſtanding." It is ſomewhat ſtrange that Tully ſhould ſay, that Anaxagoras was the firſt who held ſuch a doctrine, after having ſaid juſt before, that Thales (83) admitted an intelligent mind, or a God, who had formed all things out of water. *Thales Mileſius, qui primus de talibus rebus quæſivit, aquam dixit eſſe initium rerum: deum autem, eam mentem, qua ex aqua cuncta fingeret* (84). How could Cicero ſo ſoon forget his own words? Can we ſuppoſe he meant, that Thales aſcribed to God only the converting of water into other bodies; whereas Anaxagoras made him the author of the order and ſymmetry of the univerſe? This ſuppoſition has no appearance of truth, which makes me think, that the text is corrupted; as we may likewiſe conjecture from the obſcurity and confuſion of the words that follow this paſſage. But however that be, I would not have

(73) Plato *in Phædone*, p. 72.

(74) Tertull. *de Anima.*

(75) Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. 2. p. 364.

(76) Euſeb. *de Præpar. Evangel.* lib. 14. cap. 14. p. 750.

(77) Themiſt. *Orat.* 15.

(78) Auguſtin. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 2.

(79) I quote his words in the 115th quotation.

(80) Proclus *in Timæum Platonis.*

(81) Simphi *in Ariſtotel. de Phyſica Auſcult.*

(82) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 10, 11.

(83) He was Anaxagoras's predeceſſor.

(84) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 10.

rors [*E*], nor without a great many imperfections; which is not half ſo ſtrange, as that the Philoſophers who had lived before his time, ſhould have been ſtrangers to the truth he

have this authority of Cicero to be ſo much as compared with the teſtimonies of ſo many celebrated and ancient writers, who unanimouſly agree, that Anaxagoras was the firſt who joined the efficient cauſe to the material, that is, who aſcribed the ſymmetry and architecture of the Univerſe to an intelligent being. St. Auſtin valued ſo little this authority of Tully, that in the very place he follows him, in relating the opinion of the Philoſophers of the Ionian Sect, he contradicts him with regard to Thales. *Iſte autem Thales, ut ſucceſſores etiam propagaret, rerum naturam ſcrutatus, ſuasque diſputationes literis mandans eminuit—aquam—putavit rerum eſſe principium, & hinc omnia elementa mundi ipſumque mundum, & quæ in eo gignuntur exiſtere.* NIHIL *autem huic operi, quod mundo conſiderato, tam admirabile aſpicimus,* EX DIVINA MENTE *præpoſuit* (85). i. e. "Thales "taught that water was the principle of things, and "that therefore the elements of the world, the world "itſelf, and all things that are produced in it owe "their exiſtence to water. But he placed NO PART "OF THE DIVINE MIND over this work, which in "the contemplation of the world we find to be ſo "beautiful." Obſerve that Tully himſelf in another book denies what he here affirms of Thales, and makes Anaxagoras, without any reſtriction or limitation, the firſt author of the aboveſaid doctrine. I ſhall quote his words in Remark [*F*].

(85) Auguſt, *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 711.

The Jeſuit Leſcalopier endeavours to remove this contradiction, by ſaying, that Anaxagoras was the firſt, who publiſhed this doctrine; the other Philoſophers, who flouriſhed before him, having only imparted it to their diſciples (86). This is but a very indifferent ſolution; for ſince we know what opinions Anaxagoras's predeceſſors held, and in what they differed from one another; ſince, I ſay, we know this, though Anaxagoras was the firſt that publiſhed books, might we not alſo have known what they taught concerning the efficient cauſe of the world? As to the objections againſt our Philoſopher's doctrine, contained in the paſſage I have quoted out of Tully, I refer my reader to (87) St. Auſtin, who confutes them very ſolidly.

(86) Leſcalop. *in Cicer de Nat. Deorum*, p. 40.

(87) See the 56th Letter of St. Auſtin, p. 271, *& ſeq.*

[*E*] *His orthodoxy was not free from all errors.*] This is what Tertullian reproaches him with; for he held God to be an intelligent being, pure and unmixed; and at the ſame time mixed and confounded him with ſoul. *Quam Anaxagoræ turbata ſententia eſt: initium enim omnium commentatus animum, univerſitatis ojcillum de illius axe ſuſpendens, purumque eum affirmans, & ſimplicem & incommiſcibilem, hoc vel maxime titulo ſegregat ab animæ commixtione, & tamen eundem alibi anima addicit* (88). Ariſtotle obſerved this before Tertullian. Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ἧττον διασαφεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν. πολλαχῆ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς, τὸν νοῦν λέγει· ἑτέρωθι δέ, τὸν νοῦν ἴσον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ μεγάλοις, καὶ μικροῖς, καὶ τιμίοις, καὶ ἀτιμοτέροις. οὐ φαίνεται δὲ ὅ γε κατὰ φρόνησιν λεγόμενος νοῦς, πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ζώοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν (89). That is, "Anaxagoras is leſs "clear about them: for in many places he ſays the "mind is the cauſe of good and right actions. But "in another place he ſays, the mind is the ſame "with the ſoul; for he affirms it to exiſt in all ani"mals, both great and ſmall, both of value and no "value. But the mind, as it comprehends under"ſtanding, does not ſeem to be in all animals, nor "even ſo much as in all men." From this paſſage we may infer, that Anaxagoras admitted a ſoul in all Beaſts, which he called an *Underſtanding*, the very name he gave the firſt mover of matter, and author of the ſymmetry of the Univerſe. The ſame Ariſtotle obſerves, that Anaxagoras employed an intelligent being to produce things, as a meer machine; that is, he had only recourſe to that being, when he could not help it, and was at a loſs to find out any other cauſe. Ἀναξαγόρας τὲ γὰρ μηχανῇ χρῆται τῷ νῷ πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιΐαν, κ᾽ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τίνι αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσι, τότε ἕλκει αὐτὸν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τῶν γινομένων ἢ νοῦν (90). On this, no doubt, is grounded an obſervation made by Clemens Alexandrinus; that Anaxagoras did not maintain the prerogatives and dignity of the efficient cauſe; for he aſcribes the operations of this cauſe to a mind, and at the ſame time mentions ſeveral revolutions made without the knowledge or cooperation of that mind. This I take to be the true meaning of the following words: Ἀναξαγόρας πρῶτος, ſays he (91), ἐπίστησε τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὗτος ἐτήρησε τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ποιητικὴν, ὅσους τινὰς ἀνοήτους ἀναζωγράφων, σὺν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ ἀπραξίᾳ τὴ καὶ ἀνοίᾳ. This paſſage was certainly copied by Euſebius, when giving it another turn, he ſaid that Anaxagoras did not maintain ſafe and ſound the doctrine, which aſcribes the production of things to an intelligent being. Αἰγῖται ἧ μηδὲ οὗτος σῶον φυλαξαι τὸ δόγμα. ἐπιστήσαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πᾶσι, οὐκέτι ἧ κατὰ νοῦν κ᾽ λόγισμον τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀποδοῦναι τὴν φυσιολογίαν (92). He proves his aſſertion with this reaſon, that Anaxagoras reaſoned upon nature, and explained the Phænomena without recurring to that Being. I know it may be ſaid, that all Euſebius means here is, that Anaxagoras gave ſuch philoſophical reaſons, as were repugnant to good ſenſe. But three reaſons perſuade me that my interpretation of Clemens Alexandrinus and Euſebius ought to be preferred to that other. And firſt, to ſay that a Philoſopher argues ſometimes nonſenſically, fooliſhly, and contrary to the rules, is but a very weak proof of his abandoning, or even enervating, the hypotheſis of Providence, and of the univerſal activity of God. The various ſects of Chriſtian Philoſophers reproach each other in the ſame manner; but do not therefore tax one another with heterodoxy as to the univerſal concourſe of God, the firſt cauſe of all beings. If then no other complaint could have been made againſt Anaxagoras, but that, in explaining ſeveral effects of nature, he reaſoned without judgment and impertinently, it had been a piece of injuſtice to upbraid him with forſaking, or overturning his own ſyſtem, which admitted an intelligent Being to preſide over the formation of the world. This reproach therefore muſt have been founded not upon his abſurd way of reaſoning, but upon his explaining the phænomena of nature in ſuch a manner as to exclude that intelligent Being. In the ſecond place, Euſebius produces a long paſſage out of Plato, wherein Anaxagoras is complained of for not recurring, in explaining the effects of nature, to an intelligent Being, and to the true cauſes of the beauty, and order of the univerſe, but only to the air, to the æther, water, &c. as the only cauſes of beings (93). Is it not therefore very likely that Euſebius made the ſame complaint? In the third place, Anaxagoras taught, if we give credit to Plutarch, that ſome things are brought about by neceſſity, others by deſtiny, ſome by deliberation, others by fortune, or by chance. Ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἃ δὲ καθ' εἱμαρμένην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τύχην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτόματον (94). No doubt but by theſe unintelligible diſtinctions Anaxagoras robbed the intelligent Being of ſeveral events, which muſt have given occaſion to the complaint of Clemens Alexandrinus, copied by Euſebius.

(88) Tertullian, *de Anima.*

(89) Ariſtot. *de Anima*, lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 478, G.

(90) Idem, *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. c. 4. p. 646, H.

(91) Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 2. p. 364.

(92) Euſebii, *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. 14. cap. 14. p. 750.

(93) See Remark [*R*].

(94) Plutarch. *de Placitis Philoſoph.* lib. 1. cap. *ultim.* pag. 885. See alſo the paſſage Mr. Menage quotes in *Diogen. Laert.* lib. 2, num. 6, and copied from a book falſely aſcribed to *Galienus*, viz. φιλοσόφε ἱστορια.

I am in doubt, whether we ought to count among the other errors of Anaxagoras, a ſtrange opinion he is ſaid to have held about our hands; that they were the cauſe of the wiſdom and induſtry of men. This is what Plutarch charges him with, and calls him to an account for. *It happens quite otherwiſe*, ſays he (95), *for man is not the wiſeſt of animals becauſe he has hands*; but has received ſuch tools from nature, becauſe he is by nature rational and ingenious. As the works of Anaxagoras are not extant, we cannot decide whether, or not, he deſerved this cenſure. As for me, I cannot think he gave any occaſion to it. For his ſyſtem obliged him to differ in his opinion, with reſpect to this ſubject, from thoſe Philoſophers, who, aſcribing all the beings of this world to chance, were by that impious doctrine engaged to maintain, that organs were not given to man for any uſe, but that he, finding them uſeful, employed them. See Lucretius, Lib. IV. &c. (96).

(95) Plutarch. *de Amicitia fraterna, init.* pag. 478. I follow Amiot's tranſlation.

(96) Lucret. l. 4. ver. 821, *& ſeq.*

Mind the following words of one of the Fathers: *Anaxagoras autem, qui &* ATHEUS *cognominatus eſt, dogmatizavit facta animalia decidentibus è cælo in terram ſeminibus, quod & hi ipſi in matris ſuæ tranſtulerunt ſemina, & eſſe hoc ſemen ſeipſos ſtatim confitentes*

he discovered, which was very obvious, and had been often celebrated by the Poets [*F*]. I must enquire whether the *Homœomeries* do not imply a great many contradictions [*G*].

sitentes apud eos qui sensum habent, & ipsos esse quæ sunt Anaxagoræ IRRELIGIOSI *semina* (97). That is, "Anaxagoras, who is also surnamed the *Atheist*, delivered that animals were formed by the falling of seeds from heaven to earth, which these have transferred into the seeds of their own mother, and that this seed is themselves who profess it with those who have sense, and that it is they that are the seeds of the *irreligious* Anaxagoras." This passage informs us, that Anaxagoras was surnamed *the Atheist*, and that St. Irenæus looked upon him as an impious man. Vossius takes notice of this; but only says, that Justin Martyr, in the Exhortation to the Greeks, calls Anaxagoras an Atheist; to this he adds some reflections (98). I find no such thing in Justin; and Vossius, methinks, had done better to save his excuses for St. Irenæus. If Justin stands in need of them, it is only for having suppressed what was most commendable in Anaxagoras's system, that is, his sentiments relating to the first Mover, which Justin passes over in silence to speak of his homœomeries (99).

(97) Irenæus, lib. 2. *adverss. Hæres.* cap. 19.

(98) Vossius, *de Origin. & Progress. Idololat.* lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 5.

(99) Just. Mart. *Orat. ad Græcos*, p. 4.

[*F*] *The Philosophers, who lived before his time, were strangers to the truth.... so often celebrated by the Poets.*] That Anaxagoras was the first Philosopher, who ascribed the ordering of matter to the wisdom of a first mover, may be proved by innumerable witnesses (100). Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, who were his predecessors in the school of Ionia, endeavoured to explain the effects of nature without recurring to a first mover. *Princeps Thales, unus e septem, cui se reliquos concessisse primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit constare omnia. At hoc Anaximandro populari & sodali suo non persuasit. Is enim infinitatem naturæ dixit esse, e qua omnia gignerentur. Post ejus Auditor Anaximenes infinitum aera, sed ea, quæ ex eo orirentur, definita: gigni autem terram, aquam & ignem, tum ex his omnia. Anaxagoras materiam infinitam, sed ex ea particulas similes inter se minutas, eas primum confusas, postea in ordinem adductas mente divina* (101). That is, "Thales, one of the seven, to whom the other six are said to have given the preference, was the first who said that all things were made of water. But he could not persuade his countryman and companion Anaximander to believe it. For he said that all things were produced from the infinity of nature. Afterwards his scholar Anaximenes held the air to be infinite, but those bodies which arose from it to be definite: that the earth, water and fire were first formed, and out of them all the rest. Anaxagoras supposed an infinite matter, and out of it minute particles similar to each other; that they were at first confused, and afterwards brought into order by the divine mind." Is it not amazing that men of so great parts should have been guilty of such shameful mistakes? This is what the Jesuit Pererius takes care to observe. *Ferunt primos philosophorum*, says he (102), *Pherecydem Syrum, & Anaxagoram, illum quidem immortalitatem animi nostri, hunc autem Deum, quam ipse mentem, vel intellectum vocabat, esse mundi, cunctarumque rerum opificem, Græcos docuisse: ut permirum sit, priores philosophos, qui hæc ignorarunt, sapientum nomen & honorem habuisse; & duas has res, quarum cognitio cunctis mortalibus optatissima est, & ad bene pieque vivendum maxime necessaria, tam sero ad Græcorum notitiam perveniisse.* That is, "Pherecydes the Syrian, and Anaxagoras, are said to have been the first of the Philosophers who taught the Greeks the immortality of our souls, which was the doctrine of the first, and that God, whom he called the mind or understanding, was the former of the world and all things, which was the doctrine of the latter. Thus it is strange that the Philosophers who went before them should have the name and character of wise men: and that these two things, the knowledge of which is most desirable to all mortals, and most necessary to live well and piously, should have come so late to the knowledge of the Greeks." Father Thomassin's thought on this subject deserves notice. All the Poets, says he (103), who were the most ancient Philosophers, and the Sages of the fabulous times (as they are called) neither honoured with praises, or enquired after any cause besides the first, or the supreme Deity. How then could Thales, and those who came next after him, either not know, or not mention that which had been the main business of all the wise men, and of all ages, till that time? It is therefore very likely, that these first Philosophers of the Ionian School, taking for granted what was unquestionable, and till that time had never been called in question, relating to the first efficient cause, spoke only of the second causes, which had neither been known before, nor inquired into. They were afraid that, if they referred all particular effects immediately to God, men should neglect, as they had done formerly, to trace out the second causes, being satisfied with the first. The same may be said of Angels, whom Homer, and the other ancient Poets, or Philosophers, make the authors of all things, but subordinate to God. The disciples of Thales took care never to bring in the Angels, in order to shew the virtue and power of the corporeal and immediate causes.——But at last Anaxagoras judged, that in his time the world was capable of apprehending the subordination of corporeal causes to angelical substances, and of both to the wisdom and omnipotency of God.—As every one was sufficiently instructed in moral Philosophy and Metaphysicks, Thales and his disciples did not meddle with them, to the end men might apply themselves entirely to that part of Philosophy, which had been neglected to that time. But the knowledge of the second causes proving very uncertain; and besides, there being great danger that by enquiring after them men should forget the knowledge of God, of the Angels, and of morals, which was far more lasting, useful, and necessary, Anaxagoras, Socrates and Plato, restored Theology, and Morality to their former dignity and lustre.

(100) See the quotations 73, 82.

(101) Cicero *Acad. Quæst.* lib. 4. cap. 37.

(102) Pererius, *de communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis*, lib. 4. c. 4. p. 206.

(103) Thomas. *Methode d'etudier & enseigner la Philosophie*, lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. 162, 163. See also p. 165.

This is an ingenious thought, but perhaps more plausible than true. For Anaximenes, the master of Anaxagoras, did not reason in his Philosophy, as one who supposed the existence of God, in quality of the first cause, to be so plain, that it was useless to speak of it. He mentions the Gods, but is so far from allowing them to be principles, that he maintains them to be produced by the principle he establishes. *Qui* (Anaximenes) *omnes rerum causas infinito aeri dedit: nec deos negavit, aut tacuit; non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit* (104). That is, "Anaximenes ascribed all the causes of things to an infinite air: and he neither denied that there were any Gods, or was silent about them: yet he did not believe that the air was made by them, but that they were made of the air." Tully ascribes such another opinion to Anaximander, Anaximenes's master. *Anaximandri opinio est nativos esse Deos, longis intervallis orientes, occidentesque, eoque innumerabiles esse mundos.* i. e. "Anaximander's opinion was, that the Gods were born, rising and falling at long distances of time, and therefore that there are innumerable worlds." Observe, that Anaximenes's two disciples (105) corrected their master's system; Anaxagoras, by admitting an intelligent being, distinct from matter, to be author of the world; Diogenes Apolloniates, by supposing that the air (the principle of all things) was only a principle as endowed with divine knowledge. *Diogenes quoque Anaximenis alter auditor aerem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent: sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis, sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset* (106). This overthrows Father Thomassin's opinion. For these Philosophers not only have not been silent as to the doctrine of the existence of God, but have spoke of it so as to contradict both the ancient Poets and Anaxagoras. To this I may add, that their bare silence would prove too much; for the Philosophers of those times traced things to their original, and to the very chaos (107). It was therefore necessary for them to explain their opinion of the nature of God, and to exhaust the whole doctrine of the first principles; after which they might well be allowed to account for the particular and daily effects, without going back to the first cause. Our modern Philosophers mind only the second causes,

(104) Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 2. See also *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1, where he says, *Anaximenes aera Deum statuit, eumque gigni.*

(105) Anaxagoras and Diogenes Apolloniates.

(106) Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 2. See also Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, l. 1. cap. 10. where he says, *Quid? aer, quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur Deo.*

(107) *See* Cicero *Tuscul.* 5. near the beginning; and Virgil, *Ec.* 6. ver. 31.

tions [G]. In my opinion they are made up of contradictions, and, generally ſpeaking, the notions of the Ancients, who have mentioned the chaos, were no leſs confuſed

cauſes, viz. the matter, form, &c. not becauſe they ſuppoſe the knowledge of God as the firſt cauſe to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, but becauſe they treat of this ſubject very copiouſly and diſtinctly in another part of their Philoſophy (108). But however that be, it is not to be doubted but that the ancient Philoſophers knew the ſentiments of the Poets about God. Why then did they not follow their example? Was it becauſe they made no account of Poems, finding them ſtuffed with ſo many trifles and vulgar opinions, which were not proof againſt a philoſophical enquiry (109)? This is what Ariſtotle inſinuates (110). They were perhaps of Socrates's opinion, who compared the Poets to Fanatics, adding that neither of them underſtand what they ſay. Ἔγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῦεν. ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ, καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δ' οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι. τοιοῦτόν τι μοὶ ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πεπονθότες (111). i. e. "I ſoon "diſcovered with regard to the Poets, that they did "not act by wiſdom, but by a kind of natural en"thuſiaſm, like the inſpiration of Prophets. For "they alſo ſpeak many excellent things, but under"ſtand nothing of what they ſay. And the Poets "ſeem to me to be affected after the ſame manner."

(108) In Metaphyſics.

(109) As in Heſiod's *Theogonia*, which contains ſo many abſurdities concerning the Gods; and even as Lactantius complains in the 5th chapter of the firſt book of his *Inſtitutions*, the chaos is ſaid to be more antient than the Gods.

(110) Ariſt. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 3. c. 4. p. 662, B.

(111) Plato *in Apologia Socrat.* p. 17, F.

'Tis certain, that the moſt orthodox Poets have groſly erred concerning the nature of God; for Orpheus, who ſung, that God made the heavens, ſtyles him only the firſt-born of creatures; and adds, that the air was his father. Πρωτόγονος φαίτων περιμήκεος ἤερος υἱός (112). Diogenes Laertius pretends, that Anaxagoras borrowed one of his doctrines from the Poet Linus, but not that of the firſt Mover (113). Obſerve that Ariſtotle makes a great difference between Anaxagoras and Thales with reſpect to that point (114). I ſhall conclude with a fine paſſage out of Theodoret, which ſhews very plainly that the Philoſophers, who flouriſhed before Anaxagoras, were quite ſtrangers to the firſt cauſe. Ἀναξαγόρας.... τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων φιλοσόφων οὐδὲν πεπαιτέρω τῶν ὁμημένων γενομένων, πρῶτος νοῦν ἔφησεν ἐφεστάναι τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ στοιχεῖα (115). i. e. "Anaxagoras, when the Philoſophers "before his time had underſtood nothing beyond what "they ſaw, was the *firſt* that ſaid a mind ſuperin"tended the world, and reduced the elements out of "confuſion into order."

(112) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(113) Diog. Laert. *in Proœm.* num. 4.

(114) Ariſt. *de Anima*, l. 1. c. 2. t. 479.

(115) Theod. *de Græc. affect.* Serm. 2. p. 489.

[G] *I muſt enquire whether the homœomeries do not imply a great many contradictions.*] I ſhall not recur to Ariſtotle's arguments (116) however ſubtil and ſolid; wherefore if our reflections agree, it will be by mere chance.

(116) See his *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. cap. 7. and his *Phyſ.* lib. 1. c. 4.

I. We have already ſeen (117) what induced Anaxagoras to maintain that every thing is compoſed of ſimilar parts, viz. to avoid ſaying, that bodies are made out of nothing. Now as all the parts of an animal are nouriſhed with the ſimpleſt food, he could not help owning, that the graſs of a meadow, for inſtance, contained bones, horns, blood, fleſh, skin, &c. But if ſo, it was not made up of ſimilar particles, but was rather a mixture of all kinds of *heterogeneities*. To what purpoſe then were his *homœomeries?* Was he not obliged to forſake that opinion in each particular caſe, after having ſuppoſed it in general? What I have ſaid of graſs, ought to be underſtood of milk, wine, water, bread, &c. Is there any corporeal ſubſtance that does not ſerve as matter to many others in generations and corruptions? Such firſt principles therefore are, and, at the ſame time, are not *homogeneous:* they are *homogeneous* according to Anaxagoras's ſuppoſition, but are not ſo in effect; for ſince mixed bodies, which are made up of diſſimilar parts, ought, in his opinion, to be of the ſame nature with their principles, it plainly follows from thence, that their principles are *heterogeneous*. I ſhall touch upon this again in the fifth paragraph.

(117) In Remark [C].

II. According to his ſyſtem no one thing has its proper name; for if all the blood of an animal, was, for inſtance, in the graſs it fed upon, that food ought rather to have been called blood than graſs. To this Anaxagoras anſwered, that things deſerve ſuch or ſuch names according to the particles that were the moſt numerous in a mixed body, or being placed on the ſurface made it appear uniform (118). Lucretius confutes this anſwer by ſhewing the falſe inferences that may be deduced from it. "If this were true, "ſays he (119), it would follow, that by grinding "corn ſome particles of blood, or of ſome other part "of our body, might be drawn from it; which we "know by experience to be falſe."

(118) *See* Ariſt. *Phyſic.* lib. 1. c. 4. p. 456.

(119) Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 874.

Linquitur hic tenuis latitandi copia quædam;
Id quod Anaxagoras ſibi ſumit, ut omnibus omnes
Res putet immiſtas rebus latitare; ſed illud
Apparere unum, cujus ſint pluria mixta,
Et magis in promptu, primaque in fronte locata.
Quod tamen à vera longe ratione repulſum eſt.
Conveniebat enim fruges quoque ſæpe minutas
Robore cum ſaxi franguntur, mittere ſignum
Sanguinis aut aliûm, noſtro quæ corpore aluntur.
Conſimili ratione herbas quoque ſæpe dicebat,
Et laticis dulces guttas, ſimilique ſapore
Mistere, lanigeræ quali ſunt ubera lactis:
Scilicet & glebis terrarum ſæpe friatis
Herbarum genera, & fruges, frondeſque videri,
Cum præfracta forent, igneſque latere minutos.
Quorum nil fieri quoniam manifeſta docet res,
Scire licet non eſſe in rebus res ita mixtas.

"But there's a little ſhift, a ſlight excuſe
"Which Anaxagoras's ſcholars uſe.
"Tho' ſuch lie mixt in all, that part alone
"Appears, which only to the ſenſe is ſhown;
"Which in the compoſition does comprize
"The greateſt part, and on the ſurface lies.
"But this is falſe; or thro' the weighty mill,
"From broken corn would bloody drops diſtil;
"Or ſome ſuch parts, as in our bodies grow:
"From herbs and flow'rs a milky juice would flow:
"In broken clods each ſearching eye might ſee
"Some lurking, ſcatter'd herb, or leaf, or tree:
"And in cleft wood, and broken ſticks admire
"Smoke, aſhes, flame, and little ſparks of fire.
"But ſince, on ſtricteſt ſearch, no parts appear,
"We muſt not fondly fancy they are there;
"That bodies are compos'd of ſuch combin'd:
"But common ſeeds in various order join'd."

Creech.

This confutation is not amiſs; for in ſhort, mix various ſorts of grains together as you pleaſe; take an hundred times more wheat than barley; what then? will you make any one believe that there is nothing but wheat in that heap? will no grains of barley appear even after it is ſcattered? Nothing can be imagined more abſurd. The only anſwer Anaxagoras could give to this objection, was to ſay, that in each ſenſible part of a grain of corn the *heterogeneities* are fewer than the particles of corn, and wrapt up in them; and that this is the reaſon, why we never diſcover, even when the corn is ground, the *heterogeneous* parts; but if the diviſion ſhould be extended to the inſenſible parts, in that caſe the blood, fleſh, bones &c. would appear to eyes that were ſharper than ours. In a word, he cannot ſolve this difficulty, but by recurring to the diviſibility of matter in infinitum; which is to do like a man, who to avoid the thruſt of a ſword, throws himſelf into a precipice of a prodigious depth. But I intend to inſiſt only on ſuch difficulties as imply ſome ſort of contradiction.

III. I maintain, that the ſimilar particles, according to Anaxagoras's ſyſtem, were, and were not the moſt numerous in bread: they were the moſt numerous, becauſe the compound was called bread; they were not, becauſe the bread, a few hours after it is eat, is called chyle; and nothing, beſides the qualities of chyle, appear in its perceptible particles. This will be made clear by comparing dough with corn, or bread with dough, In dough, for example, there are more corpuſcles of dough, than of any other body; but after it is become bread, the corpuſcles of dough are fewer than the corpuſcles of bread; and yet the corpuſcles of bread were before in the dough. From whence it is plain, that the *homogeneities*,

fuſed than the chaos itſelf. But leſt I ſhould ſeem to make things worſe than they are,

mogeneities, according to this ſyſtem, are, and at the ſame time are not, the moſt numerous particles in each mixed body.

IV. Here follows another contradiction. It is contradicting one's ſelf to lay down an hypotheſis, which implies thoſe very abſurdities, which it was deviſed to exclude. And this is the caſe of Anaxagoras's ſyſtem. For he ſuppoſed, that the parts of matter had been, from all eternity, in a ſtate of confuſion, that is, that the ſmalleſt *homogeneous* particles had been ſurrounded on all ſides by *heterogeneous* ones, and that at laſt an intelligent Being put an end to ſuch a confuſion by ſeparating the ſimilar particles from the diſſimilar. But he himſelf overturned this very ſuppoſition, being forced to own, that all ſorts of *homœomeries* were mixed together in all kinds of bodies, even with regard to the imperceptible particles. For there were, according to him, vaſt numbers of ſmall bones, drops of blood &c. in each blade of graſs, and in each morſel of bread: all things were mingled together, ſince every thing was made out of every thing. Διὸ φασὶ πᾶν ἐν παντὶ μεμίχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς ἑώρων γινόμενον (120). Ἀναξαγόρας μεμίχθαι πᾶν ἐν παντὶ φησι (121). Is not this the greateſt abſurdity and confuſion that can be imagined? Plato thought ſo; for he frequently uſes the doctrine of Anaxagoras as a ſymbol of the chaos. Κἂν εἰ συγκρίνοιτο μὲν πάντα, διακρίνοιτο δ' οὖν, ταχὺ ἂν τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου γεγονὸς εἴη, ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα. i. e. "If "all things were to be confounded, and never to be "diſtinguiſhed, we ſhould arrive at Anaxagoras's "doctrine, that all things were together (122)." He ſays elſewhere, Τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ ἂν πολὺ ὂν, ὦ φίλε Πῶλε . . . ὁμοῦ ἂν πάντα χρήματα ἐφύρετο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἀκρίτων τ' ὄντων τῶν τε ὑγιεινῶν καὶ ἰατρικῶν καὶ ὀψοποιητικῶν (123). i. e. "Then Anaxagoras's hypotheſis "would be brought about, my friend Polus, that all things "ſhould be blended together, health, phyſic and food." We are told by Menage, that Luther called thoſe Divines Anaxagoriſts, who found every thing in each text of the Scripture. *Atque inde eſt, quod Luthero Theologicus Anaxagoricus dicitur is, qui quodlibet in quolibet loco ſcripturæ ſacræ invenire poſſit* (124).

V. His firſt principles were, and were not, firſt principles: they were according to his ſuppoſition; but were not ſo in effect, becauſe they were as much compounded, and liable to corruption as any mixed body. He admitted diviſibility in infinitum, and, of courſe, infinite ſmall bodies in the leaſt drop of water, which conſequently contained as many corpuſcles as the whole earth. Beſides, this infinite number of corpuſcles was made up of all kinds of *heterogeneities*, and therefore no leſs compounded than a tree, from which, as well as from other mixed bodies, it only differed by this, that its diſſimilar parts did not appear to the eye, as the diſſimilar parts of a tree. Laſtly, the intelligent Being, which gave motion to matter, might have divided theſe ſuppoſed firſt principles in infinitum, as eaſily as fire divides wood: wherefore they were as liable to corruption as wood is, and conſequently, if they exiſted at all, they exiſted not as firſt principles. Beſides, what can be more ridiculous and abſurd, than to lay down as principles things that have no exiſtence at all? for ſuch were, according to Anaxagoras's ſyſtem, the *homœomeries*.

Let us examine an anſwer he might have made: he might have ſuppoſed, that the eſſence of the *homœomeries* did not conſiſt in the likeneſs of all their parts, but in the conformity that is found between the contexture of the *heterogeneities* of a ſmall bone, for inſtance, and the contexture of the *heterogeneities* of any other bone. He might have ſaid; "I "do not pretend that a bone of ten inches divided "into an hundred thouſand parts, or (which is the "ſame thing in my ſyſtem) into an hundred thou"ſand little bones, does not contain any particle but "what reſembles all the reſt; I own that each of "theſe ſmall bones is made up of all kinds of prin"ciples, and contains fleſh, blood, membranes &c. "But as theſe various principles are diſpoſed after the "ſame manner in each of the ſmall bones, I have "reaſon to maintain, that the collection of an hun"dred thouſand of theſe ſmall bones is an *homoge*"*neous* compound, or a collection of *homœomeries*: "and as I ſuppoſe the intelligent Being, that ſelected "them, to have found them ready made, I may "well maintain that each of them taken aſunder is "incorruptible; for they always exiſted of them"ſelves."

This anſwer may be reduced to two heads; viz. the explanation of the hypotheſis with reſpect to the meaning of the word *homœomery*, and the incorruptibility of the *homœomeries*. I ſhall make the firſt plain by an example. Place all the copies of the ſame book, bound in the ſame manner, in a Library; this will be a collection of books, that are all alike, an *homogeneous* collection; not becauſe each of theſe volumes is made up of parts that are perfectly alike, but becauſe the ſpaces, letters, accents, points, comma's, and the other *heterogeneous* parts have the ſame ſymmetry in the one as in all the reſt. I ſhall not meddle with this part of the anſwer, but only argue againſt the ſecond.

VI. I don't ask him why the intelligent Being he admits left the *homœomeries* in confuſion during all eternity; how he came to think ſo late of moving and uniting them; nor why he denies, that ſomething may be made out of nothing, ſince he allows that motion had a beginning? Theſe three objections, and ſome others, do ſtrangely puzzle thoſe who admit a matter eternal, uncreated, and diſtinct from the divine Being. But as theſe objections may be urged againſt other Philoſophers as well as againſt Anaxagoras, it is beſide my preſent ſcope to lay any ſtreſs upon them. I ſhall therefore only explain, and in a few words, the laſt. It is paſt all queſtion, that the production of a quality diſtinct from its ſubject, does not differ from a true creation. This the modern Philoſophers (125) prove evidently againſt the Ariſtotelians, who admit innumerable ſubſtantial and accidental forms, diſtinct from matter; for ſince they are not compoſed of any pre-exiſtent ſubject, they muſt, of courſe, be made out of nothing. The beſt anſwer the Ariſtotelians can give, is to retort the objection, and ſay, that, if this be true, the Carteſians muſt own, that motion cannot be produced but by creation. The Carteſians admit this conſequence, and aſcribe the production of motion to God alone; adding, that the moving of matter is a creating of it at every moment in different places. From all this we may conclude, that Anaxagoras and ſeveral others contradicted themſelves, while on one ſide they denied, that ſomething could be formed out of nothing, and on the other held, that motion, or ſome other modification had a beginning in the eternal chaos (126). But laying this aſide, I ſhall only inſiſt on ſuch difficulties as concern none but Anaxagoras.

VII. I employ this maxim againſt him: things, that are diſtinct from each other, can be ſeparated from each other; and infer from thence, that each *homœomery* may be divided into parts in infinitum, ſince it is made up of all manner of principles mingled together. If motion therefore be a neceſſary principle of diviſion, and God produced motion in matter, it is plain, that by the ſame motive power he might divide each part of the univerſe, and break in pieces any *homœomery* whatſoever, which you ſuppoſe to be an unity. Were it an Epicurean atom, a body quite ſimple, ſingle, and void of all compoſition, I own it could not be divided. But Anaxagoras acknowledges no ſuch bodies, nor indeed any *homœomery*, how little ſoever, but what contains an infinity of corpuſcles, both diſtinct, and different from each other in their qualities. It is therefore plain, that his firſt principles are no leſs liable to corruption than the moſt compound bodies, as, for inſtance, that of an ox; this, I ſay, is plain, even allowing the *homœomeries* to have exiſted of themſelves from all eternity; for it ſuffices, that an external cauſe can make them paſs from motion to reſt, tho' it cannot produce or annihilate them. The admitting of a progreſs in infinitum would be to no purpoſe here. Neither can it be ſaid in anſwer to this objection, that the *homœomeries* being made up of infinite corpuſcles, ſuch of them, as form a ſmall bone, may be divided in infinitum, and ſtill continue to be a

(120) Ariſtot. *Phyſic.* lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 256. G.

(121) Idem, *Metaphyſic.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 671. C.

(122) Plato in *Phædone*, p. 54.

(123) Idem in *Gorgia*, p. 317.

(124) Menag. in *Laertium*, lib. 2. pag. 73.

(125) *See* Gaſſendi. *Phyſ.* Sect. 1. lib. 7. cap. 3.

(126) Methodius *apud* Photium, Cod. 236. p. 943.

are, I ſhall only ſay, that their notions were not juſt, and that they could not aſſert, that the ſtate of confuſion ſubſiſted no longer [*H*]. Anaxagoras is ſaid to have foretold, that the ſtone which fell from heaven into the river Ægos, and was preſerved and honoured as a holy relique, would fall from the body of the Sun [*I*]. Beſides this ſome other

ſmall bone, tho' ſmaller after each diviſion. This is no proper reply; for two things are to be conſidered in each *homœomery:* I, It contains infinite particles; and this is common to it with others: II, Its particles are diſpoſed after a certain manner; and this is peculiar to it, and its ſpecific form and eſſence; by this it is a little bone, a little drop of blood, and not any other of the firſt principles. Hence to alter the diſpoſition of the particles that compoſe the *homœomery* of a bone, is to ſtrip it of its eſſence, and make it change its ſpecies. Now if the intelligent Being, the firſt Mover, could divide the bodies, and diſentangle them from each other; he could ſurely have divided the corpuſcles of each particular *homœomery*, and given them a new combination; that is, made them change their ſpecies, as flower changes its ſpecies, when it is kneaded, by a different combination and diſpoſition of its particles.

I do not object againſt this Philoſopher, that he admitted the parts of matter to differ before they were moved; this objection always appeared to me very weak; for it is very plain to me, that diviſion ſuppoſes diſtinction, and that an iron pin driven into a piece of wood, and perfectly at reſt, is as different from the wood, as if it moved together with the wood.

VIII. I proceed to the laſt objection. What if we ſhould grant to this Philoſopher, that the ſame neceſſity, which cauſes bodies to exiſt, cauſes them to exiſt diſtinct in infinite *homœomeries*, each whereof muſt always remain entire, ſince the nature of things requires fixed bounds in each ſpecies, as it is generally ſaid, that there is a *minimum quod ſic* (127) in each ſpecies of living bodies? Would not ſuch a conceſſion prove advantagious to Anaxagoras's ſyſtem? would it not eſtabliſh the incorruptibility, and internal immutability of his firſt principles? would they not be ſo ſmall a bone, for inſtance, that if they became leſs by an actual diviſion of their parts, they would be no more a bone, and ſo with the other ſpecies? would not this be a ſign, that the neceſſity of nature made them indiviſible? If I ſhould allow it, it would be only avoiding one abſurdity by admitting another. For then I ſhould find fault with the ſyſtem for bringing in the Νοῦς, or underſtanding, contrary to rule; that is, for making him undertake the eaſieſt task, after the moſt difficult has been performed by a blind neceſſity. 'Tis very true, that every Philoſopher, who has a mind to give well-grounded reaſons for the order and ſymmetry of the univerſe, muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe an intelligent Being to be the author of that order. He has no occaſion to fear, that any reaſonable man will reproach him, as if he imitated thoſe Poets, who bring a God as a machine upon the ſtage to unravel a plot that is not worth his trouble. But if after ſuppoſing, that the *homœomeries* were formed without the direction of an intelligent cauſe, he ſhould have recourſe to ſuch a cauſe, for the diſentangling and ordering them, he might be ſaid, with a great deal of reaſon, to imitate the above mentioned Poets, contrary to all rules (128). To be ſenſible of the ſtrength of this objection we need only mind, that it is much more difficult to make good watches, than to pick them out of a parcel of medals and ſhells, which they are mixed with, and put them afterwards in better order: for this is what a young Apprentice, what a Child could perform. Every one will allow me, that the forming of Men (129) requires more direction, and ability, than the art of diſpoſing them according to the military evolutions. Moſt of the modern Philoſophers ſuppoſe that the general laws of nature are ſufficient to make a fœtus grow, provided it has been well formed and organized in the ſeed; but they ſuppoſe at the ſame time, that the little animals, which are organized in the ſeed, are the work of a moſt wiſe and mighty Creator. They are therefore perſuaded, that the chief difficulty, and which moſt of all requires the direction of an intelligent Being, conſiſts in firſt framing of an organized machine; that is, in the framing of the little animals, which they ſuppoſe to be in the ſeed. Each of theſe animals is, properly ſpeaking, one of Anaxagoras's *homœomeries*. It is therefore more difficult to frame *homœomeries*, than to make animals grow with nouriſhment. It is therefore chiefly to explain the formation of the *homœomeries*, that Philoſophers recur to an intelligent Being; for each *homœomery* is a collection of infinite ſorts of bodies; which collection muſt be formed according to certain proportions and ſituations. The collection which is requiſite for the *homœomery* of a bone, is very different from that which is neceſſary for the *homœomery* of fleſh; the firſt principles of blood require ſuch a ſymmetry; and thoſe of marrow and other mixed bodies a quite different diſpoſition and order of particles. Now Anaxagoras did not ſuppoſe an intelligent Being to be neceſſary for the forming of infinite ſpecies of *homœomeries*, each whereof is made up of all ſorts of bodies, mixed together in ſuch a manner, that thoſe of one ſpecies muſt prevail in number, and have ſuch a diſpoſition and no other, and, generally ſpeaking, a certain ſymmetry and proportion muſt prevail in each principle above any other. He has therefore aſcribed to a blind neceſſity what was moſt difficult; and conſequently did not argue right in thinking, that an intelligent Being was neceſſary, for what was leſs difficult. In his ſyſtem all the functions of ſuch a Being were reduced to the following; viz. to digeſt into order what was in confuſion, to move what was at reſt, to ſeparate ſuch things as were mingled together, and adorn thoſe that were void of ornaments. Ἀναξαγόρας .... ταῦτα παιδιύει, ἀρχὴ πάντων ὁ νοῦς, καὶ οὗτος αἴτιος καὶ κύριος τῶν ὅλων, καὶ παρέχει τάξιν τοῖς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ κίνησιν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις, καὶ διάκρισιν τοῖς μεμιγμένοις, καὶ κόσμον τοῖς ἀκόσμοις (130). He was liable to be attacked both in the front, and the rear. One might have ſaid; *You admit too much, or too little; if you think that nature could form the homœomeries without any direction or knowledge; you ought alſo to hold that ſhe could move, ſeparate, and diſpoſe them; and conſequently an underſtanding is ſuperfluous. But if you are perſuaded that it is neceſſary for the ſeparating and diſpoſing of your homœomeries, you ought likewiſe to aſcribe their formation to it: You have not recourſe to its influence wherever it is neceſſary. So that one part of your ſyſtem deſtroys the other; you have not formed it of well ſuited and well compacted pieces* (131). Were his works, or all the work of Theophraſtus (132) extant, we ſhould, perhaps, find that he anſwered ſome of theſe difficulties, and that he owned himſelf not to be fully ſatisfied with his ſyſtem, but ſunk under the difficulties he met with in the myſteries of nature. For he uſed to ſay, that *all things were ſurrounded with darkneſs* (133). *Anaxagoras pronunciat circumfuſa eſſe tenebris omnia.* Which other Philoſophers alſo complained of, ſo as to imagine, that the darkneſs mentioned by Moſes, which covered the deep, before God created light, was diſſipated only with reſpect to the eyes (134); *for as to the darkneſs of the mind*, ſay they, *it is ſtill on the upper part of the deep. The light of truth concentred in that abyſs never breaks out, but ſends only ſome rays which reach our mind after ſo many reflections and refractions, and after having mixed their brightneſs with ſo many obſcure corpuſcles in the dark ſpaces they paſs through, that they are only proper to form falſe images.*

[*H*] *The notions of the Antients who have mentioned the chaos were not juſt, and they could not aſſert that the ſtate of confuſion ſubſiſted no longer.*] I had a mind to make ſome reflections on this ſubject; but as the foregoing remarks, and thoſe that remain, will ſufficiently, if not too much, enlarge this article, I have altered my mind. I ſhall not want an occaſion to give in ſome other article what I omit here.

[*I*] *Anaxagoras is ſaid to have foretold that a ſtone .... would fall from the body of the Sun.*] It is

(127) That is a degree of ſmallneſs below which an animal, an ant for inſtance, could not be an ant.

(128) *Nec deus interſit, niſi nodus vindice dignus inciderit.* Horat *de Arte Poet.* ver. 191.

(129) I don't mean what parents contribute towards it, nor the material, but the efficient cauſe, which organizes the Fœtus.

(130) Hermias *in Philoſophorum irriſione.* This work is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and at the end of Juſtin Martyr's works, Paris 1636, and Cologne 1686.

(131) See a paſſage of Ariſtotle in the quotation 195.

(132) He wrote a book περὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρου. *See* Diogenes Laertius *in Theophraſt.* lib. 5. num. 42.

(133) Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 217.

(134) See the firſt chapter of Geneſis.

other predictions are aſcribed to him (*x*). He applied himſelf greatly to the ſtudy of Geometry (*y*); and wrote, while he was in priſon, on the quadrature of the circle (*z*). His genius qualified him for every ſtudy; the moſt abſtruſe Phœnomena of Nature, the Comets, the Milky-way, Earthquakes, Winds, Thunder, Lightning (*aa*), the overflowing of the Nile (*bb*), the Eclipſes, and ſuch like things, which he accounted for, beſides his Aſtronomical and Geometrical Speculations; all theſe, I ſay, could not prevent him from reading Homer with the attention of a man, who is deſirous of diſcovering ſecrets, and improving learning. He was the firſt that looked upon Homer's Poems, as moral books, explaining virtue and juſtice by allegorical narrations (*cc*). The particulars and iſſue of the action that was entered againſt him at Athens for impiety are variouſly related. Some ſay he was condemned, and others that he was acquitted [*K*]. Pericles, who protected him on this occaſion, was ſuſpected of Atheiſm, becauſe he

(*x*) *See* Note [*I*].

(*y*) Proclus Diadochus, lib. 2. in 1. *Librum Euclidis.*

(*z*) Plutarch. *de exilio.* p. 607.

(*aa*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 9.

(*bb*) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. cap. 38.

(*cc*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 12.

is related by Diogenes Laertius (135), and mentioned by Plutarch in the following words. "Some ſay, "that this overthrow was prognoſticated by the fal- "ling of a ſtone (126); for about that time, a ſtone "of a vaſt bigneſs fell from heaven (as many be- "lieved) near the river Ægos. This ſtone is to be "ſeen to this day, and is highly valued by the in- "habitants of Cheroneſos. The Philoſopher Anaxa- "goras is ſaid to have foretold, that one of the bo- "dies faſtened to the vault of heaven would fall down "upon the earth by a ſliding and ſhaking which was "to happen. For, he ſaid, that the Stars were not "in the places in which they were formed, becauſe "they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of "ſtone; that they ſhone by the reflection of the "elementary fire, and had been drawn up by force, "and were kept there by the impetuoſity of the "circular motion of the heavens, as they had been "placed there at the beginning of the world, and "prevented from falling upon the earth, when the "cold and heavy bodies were ſeparated from the "other ſubſtances of the world (137)." I have ſet down this paſſage at length to acquaint the reader with the tradition of that prodigy, and, at the ſame time, with the ſingularity of the doctrine of Anaxagoras. The words of Pliny are no leſs remarkable. *Celebrant Græci*, ſays he (138), *Anaxagoram Clazomenium Olympiadis ſeptuageſimæ octavæ ſecundo anno, prædixiſſe cœleſtium literarum ſcientia, quibus diebus ſaxum caſurum eſſe e ſole. Idque factum interdiu in Thraciæ parte ad Ægos flumen. Qui lapis etiam nunc oſtenditur, magnitudine vehis, colore aduſto, comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante. Quod ſi quis prædictum credat, ſimul fateatur neceſſe eſt majoris miraculi divinitatem Anaxagoræ fuiſſe; ſolvique verum naturæ intellectum, & confundi omnia, ſi aut ipſe Sol lapis eſſe, aut unquam lapidem in eo fuiſſe credatur: decidere tamen crebro, non erit dubium. In Abydi gymnaſio ex ea cauſa colitur hodieque modicus quidem, ſed quem in medio terrarum caſurum idem Anaxagoras prædixiſſe narratur. Colitur & Caſſandriæ, quæ Potidæa vocitata eſt, ob id deducta.* i. e. "The "Greeks record that Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, "in the ſecond year of the ſeventy eighth Olympiad, "foretold by his knowledge of the heavens on what "day a ſtone would fall from the Sun; which hap- "pened at the river Ægos in Thrace. The ſtone "is now to be ſhewn, as big as a cart, of a burnt "colour, there having appeared a burning Co- "met when it fell. Now if any one believes this "prediction, he muſt confeſs at the ſame time that "the divination of Anaxagoras was a greater miracle "than the thing itſelf; and that ſo there is an end "of the knowledge of nature, and all things are con- "founded, if either the Sun itſelf be a ſtone, or it "be believed that there ever was one in it. But "that ſtones do often fall down there will be no "doubt. In the Gymnaſium of Abydos, there is "great reverence paid to one on that account; it is but "of a middling ſize, but it is ſaid that Anaxagoras "alſo predicted the fall of it in the middle of the "earth. There is another at Caſſandria, which was "formerly called Potidæa." You ſee by this, that Anaxagoras more than once foretold the falling of ſtones, and that the worſhip paid them increaſed proportionably. Obſerve, that Ammianus Marcellinus, and Tzetzes uſed the plural number in ſpeaking of the prodigy of the river Ægos, and aſſert that Anaxagoras foretold, that ſtones would fall from heaven (139). Philoſtratus expreſſes himſelf in the ſame manner: I ſhall ſet down his words at length, becauſe they afford matter for criticiſm. *Apollonius would then have been unjuſtly charged with ſuch an impiety and error, for having foreſeen ſome things, and foretold others, in the ſame manner as Socrates had been fully informed of them by ſpirits before they happened. And Anaxagoras alſo; for who is ignorant, that he being once gone to the Olympic Games with a Gobardine on, to foretel that it would rain* (140), *although the day was very clear without the leaſt appearance of rain, yet not long after it rained apace? Having another time foretold that a houſe would fall in a few days, it fell ſoon after. Again having foretold that the day at noon would all on a ſudden become as dark as night; and another time that great ſtones would fall from heaven into the river Ægos; all happened as he had foretold. Now if we own that theſe things, and ſuch like, foreſeen by Anaxagoras, were only ſigns of a great knowledge, how can they be imputed to Apollonius for Magic* (141)? Upon this a Commentator has made a very ridiculous note. *As to what Philoſtratus ſays, that Anaxagoras foretold it would rain, and that a ſtone ſhould fall from heaven, and other things of that kind, there is no Aſtrologer now-a-days, be he ever ſo mean, but can do as much* (142). What an abſurdity is this? However great fools ſoever our modern Aſtrologers may be, they never preſume to foretel that ſtones will fall from heaven. Our Almanack-makers, and ſuch as caſt nativities, take care not to expoſe themſelves by ſuch impudent predictions. They are ſenſible, that the foretelling of ſuch prodigies is beyond their reach. Pliny had reaſon to ſay, that the prediction of Anaxagoras would have been more miraculous than the falling of a ſtone from the body of the Sun (143). Obſerve, that between the time in which, according to Pliny, the prediction was made, and the time in which, according to Plutarch, it was fulfilled, there paſſed about ſixty years. Here follows another obſervation. Photius, in his abſtract of the Life of Apollonius, pretends, that Anaxagoras was looked upon as a great Prophet, becauſe he foretold by Magic, that it would rain (144). I cannot think that Photius could ſo widely miſtake Philoſtratus's meaning; and therefore count ſuch a notorious miſtake, among the many others his work has been filled with by the tranſcribers. I am greatly amazed, that the Tranſlator ſuffered that ſheet to be printed (145). His tranſlation is a ſeries of ſuch glaring abſurdities, and monſtrous reaſonings, and beſides, ſo directly contrary to the original of Philoſtratus, that his conduct ſeems quite unaccountable. Did he think that the text of Photius was correct? He muſt then have had ſome other idle fancy in his head. Did he believe that his readers would be ſo ſtupid as to approve of his performance? This was a moſt prodigious preſumption. I wiſh ſome men of parts would be at the pains of examining this place in Photius; they will find ſuch wounds in it as require moſt skilful hands; and perhaps they might cure them by comparing the manuſcripts with the text of Philoſtratus.

[*K*] *Some ſay that he was condemned, and others, that he was acquitted.*] He was accuſed of impiety by Cleon, for having ſaid that the Sun was a maſs of inflamed matter, and, notwithſtanding the protection of Pericles, baniſhed, and fined five talents. This is what Sotion relates (146). But others ſay, that he was indicted by Thucydides, and charged both with impiety and treaſon, and that he was condemned

(135) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 10.

(136) The deſtroying of the Athenian fleet by Lyſander.

(137) Plutarch *in Lyſandro*, pag. 439. I follow Amiot's tranſlation.

(138) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 58.

(139) Ammian. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 308. Tzetzes, Chil. 2. ver. 892.

(140) This is mentioned by Diog. Laert. l. 2. num. 10. Ælian. *de Animal.* c. 8. and by Suidas alſo.

(141) Philoſt. *in vita Apollonii*, lib. 1. cap. 2. I follow Vigenere's tranſlation.

(142) *Artus Thomas Sr. d'Embri, Annotat. ſur la vie d'Apollonius*, tom. 1. p. 91.

(143) See his words above, quotation (138).

(144) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 241. p. 1017.

(145) *Andreas Schottus.*

(146) Sotion *in ſucceſſoribus Philoſophorum, apud* Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 12.

he had been instructed by such a master; as I observe elsewhere (*dd*). Diogenes Laertius, in relating a witty saying of Anaxagoras, is mistaken in point of Chronology [*L*], which [*D*].

(*dd*) In the article PERICLES Note [*C*] and

ed to die, being absent (147). Others say he was in prison when the sentence of death was pronounced against him, and that Pericles asked the Judges, *Do you find him guilty of any crime*, and that seeing none was laid to his charge, he added; *I am his disciple; destroy him not therefore, being prejudiced against him with calumnies; believe me rather, and restore him to his liberty*. The Judges granted him his demand; but Anaxagoras took this trial so much to heart, that he resolved to die (148). Others relate, that Pericles brought him before the Judges, and that his melancholy had made him so lean, and weakened him to such a degree that he could hardly walk, so that he was acquitted, rather through compassion, than because he had been found innocent (149). I have said elsewhere (150) that Pericles could find no means more proper to save this Philosopher, than to induce him to leave Athens.

(147) Satyrus *in vitis apud* Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 12.

(148) Hermippus *in vitis apud* Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 13.

(149) Hieronym. in 2 lib. *Commentar. Varior. apud* Diog. Laert. l. 2 num. 12.

(150) In the article PERICLES remark [*M*] near the middle.

Four things occur here worthy of notice. 1. Those who accused Anaxagoras (151) were of a faction that opposed Pericles. They were not therefore prompted by zeal for religion to persecute this Philosopher; they had no other end than to keep up their cabal and weaken the authority of Pericles, by maliciously throwing the suspicion of irreligion upon him. They could not better compass that end than by accusing Anaxagoras of impiety. This is, generally speaking, what gives rise to imputations of this nature. When men have a mind to revenge an affront, or to remove an obstacle to their authority, and fortune, they call the passions of the people to their aid, pretending that the honour of God lies at stake. 2. It is not true, that those who informed against Anaxagoras, grounded their accusations on his acknowledging an intelligent being to be the author of the universe. What they laid to his charge was that by maintaining the Sun to be a stone, he stripped him of his supposed Divinity, and upon this he was condemned (152). Vossius therefore was mistaken when he said, *Laertii industria nobis ipsa Anaxagoræ verba conservavit; sunt autem hujusmodi:* Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ. εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. *Quam aperte hic opificem ab opificio distinguit! Hoc ferre non potuere Athenienses, ac ἀθεότητα vel ἀσέβειαν vocarunt* (153). i. e. "The industry of Laertius "has preserved us the words of Anaxagoras entire. "They are these, *All things were together, then "came the mind and disposed them.* How clearly "does he distinguish here the workman from the "workmanship! The Athenians could not bear this, "and called him an Atheist or Impious." Anaxagoras was not condemned merely for distinguishing God from his works, but because he did not agree with the Poets in teaching, that the Sun was both the work of God, and a God. For according to the belief of the people, grounded on the writings of the Poets, the Sun was Apollo, Sun of Jupiter, and one of the prime Deities. Vossius's mistake is like that of one who should say, that the Inquisition has condemned one to die, for having taught, that God alone, who is the author, preserver, and sovereign Lord of all things, deserves the supreme worship of *Latria*, and that no creature in heaven deserves our invocations, and the worship of *Dulia*. This doctrine comprises two points, and one would be punished in Salamanca only for the second. Would not a Protestant be in the wrong, who should say he was punished for the first point? However Eusebius is in the right to think it strange, that Anaxagoras should have been like to be stoned as an Atheist, notwithstanding his Orthodoxy as to the existence of God, author of the universe, which doctrine he taught first among the Greeks. Θαυμάσαι δ' ἔστιν ὡς οὗτος πρῶτος παρ' Ἕλλησι τοῦτον θεολογήσας τὸν τρόπον, δόξας Ἀθηναίοις ἄθεος εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ τὸν Ἥλιον ἐθεολόγει, τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον ποιητήν, μικροῦ δεῖν καταλευσθεὶς ἔθανε (154). i. e. "It is strange that he "who first taught the Greeks this kind of Theology "should seem an Atheist to the Athenians, because "he did not allow the Sun but the maker of it to "be a God, and hardly escaped being killed by them." This, I say, is amazing; for in short, (and this is my third remark) it is unaccountable that in such a learned City as Athens a Philosopher could not explain the properties of the Stars by natural reasons without hazarding his life. Is it not a misfortune to have more knowledge than a superstitious mob guided by self-conceited men? What advantage can a man reap from a superior understanding and knowledge among such people? Is it not accounted as a crime? Does it not expose him to a thousand calumnies and dangers? Would he not live a more easy and comfortable life by following the current of ignorance and superstition? Οἱ προγεγραμμένοι τοῦ χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον λόγῳ πειραθέντες τὰ πράγματα θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐλέγξαι, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ περίεργοι εἰς δικαστήρια ἤχθησαν (155). That is, "Those who lived before Christ, endeavour- "ing to consider and investigate things by reason "adapted to human capacity were brought to judg- "ment as impious and over curious persons." I say in the fourth place, we have great reason to complain, that the Historians have not been better informed of such a remarkable trial as that of Anaxagoras, in which Pericles, the chief man of Athens, was so much concerned. For they relate it in a thousand different ways; nay they flatly contradict one another even with respect to the main point, which is not much for the credit of antiquity.

(152) *See* Josephus, lib. 2. *contra Appion.* pag. 1079. F. S. Cyrill. *contra Julian.* lib. 6.

(153) *De origine & progressu Idololat.* lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 5.

(154) Euseb. *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. 14. cap. 14. pag. 750. C.

(155) Justin. Martyr, *Apolog.* 1. p. 48.

I must not omit a fine passage in Lucian, where it is supposed, that the first and greatest of all the Gods endeavoured to crush Anaxagoras to pieces; but that he missed him, and that the thunderbolt, being turned off by Pericles, consumed a temple, and was like to break against a rock. Δίκην δώσουσιν ἐπιδὰν τὸν κεραυνὸν ἐπισκευάσω· κατεαγμέναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποσεσωρωμέναι εἰσὶ δύο ἀκτῖνες αἱ μίγιστοι, ὁπότε φιλοτιμότερον ἠκόντισα πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἀναξαγόραν, ὃς ἐπιδὴ τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναί τινας ἡμᾶς τοὺς Θεοὺς. ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν διήμαρτον. ὑπερεῖχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα Περικλῆς. ὁ δὲ κεραυνὸς, εἰς τὸ ἀνάκειον παρασκήψας, ἐκεῖνό τε κατέφλεξε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν συνετρίβη παρὰ τὴν πέτραν (156). i. e. "They shall be "punished as soon as I have prepared my thunder- "bolt. For the two biggest rays of it were broken "and blunted, when some time ago I threw it furi- "ously at Anaxagoras the Sophist, who persuaded "his acquaintance that there were none of us Gods. "But I missed him, for Pericles held out his hand "and saved him. And the thunderbolt being turn- "ed aside, burnt the temple of Castor and Pollux, "and had like to have been broken against a rock." Vossius by only saying, that Jupiter darted his thunderbolt against Anaxagoras (157), gave Moreri occasion to say, that he was crushed to pieces by it; for it is natural to think that a thunderbolt, levelled against one, should have killed him. But this ought to teach us to recur to the originals, and not content ourselves with the moderns, who relate only such circumstances as are to their purpose. Vossius, for instance, who had no occasion to tell whether Jupiter succeeded in his attempt or no, omitted that jest of Lucian; and his omission proved a trap for Moreri, which he had avoided, had he only translated, and not paraphrased, Vossius's words. Lambert Barlæus in his comments on this passage of Lucian asserts, that Anaxagoras was accused of Atheism, because he taught that an intelligent Being was the first Mover &c. (158). This is an error which he had from Vossius, and I have already confuted it. He adds, that a talent was promised as a reward to any one that should kill Anaxagoras (159); wherein he seems to me to confound our Philosopher with the Atheist Diagoras. Lastly he compares, as to orthodoxy, Anaxagoras with Lucian, and complains of Justin Martyr for counting Lucian among the Atheists, *Anaxagoræ .... non absimilis fuit Lucianus noster, quem immerito* Ἄθεον *vocat Justinus Martyr in oratione contra Græcos* (160). But his comparison is no better grounded than his complaint. The occasion of his mistake was this: he had read in Vossius, *Lucianus in Timone ait Jovem in Anaxagoræ caput .... sed Lucianum quid dico? Ecce Justinus Martyr oratione ad Græcos eum* Ἄθεον *vocat* (161); and did not reflect that *eum* refers to Anaxagoras, and not to Lucian.

(156) Lucianus *in Timone*, p. 65. tom. 1. *Operum.*

(157) Vossius, *de Philos. sectis* pag. 27.

(158) Lambert. Barlæus *in Luciani Timon.* p. 62.

(159) Idem, ibid.

(160) Idem, ibi pag. 63.

(161) Vossius, *de Origine & Progressu Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

[*L*] *Diogenes Laertius in relating a witty saying of*

which I am ſurpriſed no one has hitherto obſerved. The conſtancy of our Philoſopher at the news of his condemnation, and of the death of his ſons was wonderful [*M*]. He was indifferent to live and die out of his native country (*ee*), and well knew what ſtations of life are the moſt happy [*N*]. Some authors tell us, that he was never ſeen to laugh, or even to ſmile (*ff*). Tully ſays, that he was very grave, *maxima fuit & gravitatis & ingenii gloria* (*gg*). He died at Lampſacus, where he was honoured with a decent funeral, and a noble epitaph; nay even an altar was erected to him [*O*]. He was viſited, a little before his death, by the chief men of the city, who aſked him, whether he had any commands for them: The Philoſopher anſwered, that all he deſired was, that yearly diverſions might be allowed the children in the month he ſhould die (*hh*); which was granted, and this cuſtom was ſtill obſerved in the time of Diogenes Laertius. He is ſaid to have lived ſeventy two years (*ii*). It is not certain, that he

(*ee*) See note [*M*].

(*ff*) Ælian. *Var. Hiſtor.* l. 8. cap. 13. Plutarch in the *Life of Pericles.*

(*gg*) Cicer. *Quæſtion. Academ.* lib. 2. cap. 23.

(*hh*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 14. See note [*A*] near the end.

(*ii*) Idem, ibid. n. 7.

of Anaxagoras is miſtaken in point of Chronology.] He tells us that Anaxagoras beholding the tomb of Mauſolus, cried out, *This is a monument of the converſion of gold into ſtone*; I do not confine myſelf to a literal tranſlation; the Greek words are, Τάφος πολυτελὴς λελιθωμένης ἐξ ὐσίας εἴδωλον (162). He might have ſaid ſo at the ſight of a ſumptuous tomb, but that could not be the tomb of Mauſolus, which was built many Olympiads after his death. *Anaxagoras ....Olymp. LXXXVIII mortuus eſt, Mauſoli autem ſepulchrum ante Olymp. CVII conditum non eſt. Aut igitur hæc verba philoſophus ille non dixit; aut alia certe occaſione dixit: Mauſoleum enim nunquam vidit: quod ab illuſtratoribus Laertii nondum opinor obſervatum eſt. Verba ſunt Johannis Pearſonii, viri undecunque doctiſſimi in libro de Epiſtolis ſancti Ignatii pag. 9. ſecundæ partis, quibus ego aſſentior. Id ipſum obſervatum à Gisberto Cupero in antiquis numiſmatibus explicatis, viro elegantiſſimi ingenii* (163). i. e. "Anaxagoras died in the 88th Olympiad. But "the ſepulchre of Mauſolus was not erected before "the 107th Olympiad. Therefore either the Philoſopher did not ſpeak theſe words, or elſe he ſpoke "them on ſome other occaſion; for he never ſaw "the Mauſoleum: which I think has not been before obſerved by the Commentators of Laertius. "The words are the learned Pearſon's in his book of "the Epiſtles of St. Ignatius, pag. 9, of the ſecond "part, to which I aſſent. The ſame is obſerved "by the very ingenious Cuper, in his explication of "ancient coins."

(162) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 10.

(163) Menag. *in Diog. Laert.* pag. 77. Col. 2.

[*M*] *The conſtancy of that Philoſopher at the news of his condemnation, and of the death of his ſons, was wonderful.*] When he received news of the firſt, he ſaid, *Nature has long ago pronounced her ſentence againſt them* (164), *as well as againſt me; and, when news was brought him of the ſecond, I was ſenſible I had begot them mortal* (165). Diogenes Laertius inſinuates, that he loſt them all; and adds, that, according to Demetrius Phalereus, his ſons interred him with their own hands (166). This would be a contradiction among authors; but might be removed by ſuppoſing, that after he had ſhewn that conſtancy, he had other children; or that he gave this anſwer when he received news of the death of one of his ſons. Tully uſes the ſingular number. *Quem* (Anaxgoram) *ferunt, nunciata morte filii, dixiſſe, ſciebam me genuiſſe mortalem* (167). The ſame number is uſed by Valerius Maximus (168), Plutarch (169), and Simplicius (170). But Ælian tells us, that Anaxagoras had but two ſons, and that he ſpoke thoſe words, when he received news that they were both dead (171). This news was brought him while he was reading a lecture in Philoſophy (172).

(164) That is, againſt his judges.

(165) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 13.

(166) Idem, ib.

(167) Cic. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 3. cap. 24.

(168) Val. Maximus, l. 5. *in fine.*

(169) Plutarch. *Conſol. ad Apollon.* p. 118. *de cohib. ira.* pag. 463. *de tranquill. animi*, p. 474. Mr. Menag. *in Laert.* lib. 2. num. 13. quotes the treatiſe *de Cohibenda ira*, and that περὶ ἀοργησίας, as two different treatiſes.

(170) Simplic. *in Epictet. Enchirid.* cap. 22.

(171) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* l. 3. cap. 2.

(172) Plutarch. *de Conſol. ad Apollon.* p. 118; Ælian. *Var. Hiſtor.* lib. 3. cap. 2. Stobæus *Serm.* 106.

I ſhall inſert here the anſwer he gave his friends, when they asked him at Lampſacus, whether he deſired to be carried after his death to Clazomenæ his native country. *There is no occaſion for that*, ſaid he, *the way to the realms below is not further from one place than from another. Præclare Anaxagoras, qui cum Lampſaci moreretur, quærentibus amicis velletne Clazomenas in patriam, ſi quid ei accidiſſet, afferri, nihil neceſſe eſt, inquit, undique enim ad inferos tantundem viæ eſt* (173). Diogenes Laertius ſuppoſes, he ſaid ſo to one, who was unwilling to die out of his native country (174). I have often wondered, how the fine ſayings of the ancients came to be reported ſo variouſly, and examined what might have occaſioned ſuch a variety. Of all the reflections, that occurred to me on this ſubject, the following has to me moſt appearance of truth. The readers retain the ſubſtance of a fact better than the circumſtances, and therefore in relating it ſupply, in the beſt manner they can, what they have let ſlip out of their memory; and as their taſtes are different, they never agree in what they ſupply. I don't ſpeak of the additions that are made deſignedly to adapt things better to the ſubject in hand, nor of any variations that proceed from inſincerity and unfair dealing. What I ſay of readers may be applied to all others: nay men are ſtill more apt to relate differently what they hear, than what they read.

(173) Cicero *Tuſcul. Quæſtion.* lib. 1. cap. 43.

(174) Diog. Laert. l. 2. num. 2.

[*N*] *He well knew what ſtations of life are the moſt happy.*] He uſed to ſay that thoſe ſtations were the moſt happy, that ſeemed the leaſt to be ſo; and that ſuch as enjoy great riches or honours are ſtrangers to true happineſs, which is to be found among thoſe, who free from all ambition till a little ground, or apply themſelves to the ſciences. Valerius Maximus will tell you it better than I can do. *Nec parum prudenter Anaxagoras interroganti cuidam, quiſnam eſſet beatus; nemo, inquit, ex his quos tu felices exiſtimas: ſed eum in illo numero reperies, qui à te ex miſeris conſtare creditur. Non erit ille divitiis & honoribus abundans: ſed aut exigui ruris, aut non ambitioſæ doctrinæ fidelis ac pertinax cultor, in ſeceſſu quam in fronte beatior* (175).

(175) Val. Max. lib. 7. cap. 2. num. 9. *in externis*, p. 604.

[*O*] *He was honoured with a noble epitaph, nay even an altar was erected to him.*] This epitaph is recorded by Ælian and Laertius, and conſiſted of the two following verſes:

Ἐνθάδε, πλεῖον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τέρμα περήσας
Οὐρανίης κόσμου, κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρας (176).

(176) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 15.

"Here Anaxagoras the Sophiſt lies,
"Who knew the inmoſt ſecrets of the ſkies."

This diſtich expreſſes as much as the ſeven following French verſes, which contain a like elogium.

Des Cartes dont tu vois icy la ſepulture,
A deſſillé les yeux des aveugles mortels,
Et gardant le reſpect que l'on doit aux Autels,
Leur a du monde entier demontré la ſtructure.
Son nom par mille ecrits ſe rendit glorieux,
Son eſprit méſurant & la terre & les cieux,
En pénétra l'abîme, & perça les nuages (177).

(177) Baillet, *vie de des Cartes*, tom. 2. pag. 443.

"Des Cartes, whom this grave contains,
"Has opened the eyes of blind mortals,
"And preſerving the reſpect due to God,
"Has revealed to them the ſtructure of the univerſe.
"His name is become glorious by a thouſand "writings;
"His mind meaſuring both the earth and the "heavens,
"Penetrated down to the abyſs, and up above "the clouds."

Diogenes Laertius ſays nothing of Anaxagoras's altar; but it is mentioned by Ælian (178), who ſeems to inſinuate that two altars were conſecrated to him, one under the title of the *underſtanding*, and the other under that of *truth*. But a learned Critic (179) takes this paſſage in another ſenſe, and ſays, that the true meaning of it is this; that the altar was dedicated, according to ſome, to the *underſtanding*, and, according to others, to *truth*. Ariſtotle obſerves, that the inhabitants of Lampſacus continued to ho-

(178) Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 8. cap. 19.

(179) Kuhnius *in hunc locum Ælian.*

he held the doctrine of Predeſtination [*P*]. He was the firſt Philoſopher that publiſhed books [*Q*]. Socrates, not having found in them what he expected, did not approve of them; but that was probably his own fault [*R*], as I ſhall make appear in my reflections on his diſcourſe. One of the reaſons why Socrates ſlighted Aſtronomy was,

nour Anaxagoras (180). 'Tis to be obſerved, that in St. Auſtin's time, the authority of that Philoſopher was ſtill of great weight. *Quam* (veritatem) *ſi ſenſit Anaxagoras, eamque Deum eſſe vidit, mentemque appellavit, non ſolum nomen Anaxagoræ, quod propter literatam vetuſtatem, omnes, ut militariter loquar, literatiores libenter ſufflant, nos doctos & ſapientes non facit, ſed ne ipſa quidem ejus cognitio, qua id verum eſſe cognovit* (181). i. e. "If Anaxagoras perceived truth, and knew it to be God, and called it the Mind, not only the name of Anaxagoras, which on account of its antiquity, all the Learned are willing to extol, does not make us learned and wiſe, but not ſo much as the very knowledge of that by which he knew it to be true."

(180) Ariſtot. *Rhetoricor.* lib. 2. c. 23. p. 445.

(181) Auguſt. Epiſt. 16. pag. 272.

[*P*] *It is not certain that he held the doctrine of Predeſtination.*] He is ſaid to have oppoſed that doctrine very ſtrenuouſly (182), and confuted it in his works; but Alexander Aphrodiſienſis is the only Author who aſſerts it, and that in ſuch a manner as to make us ſuſpend our judgment. For he obſerves, that Anaxagoras refuted that doctrine not by a deliberate and previous choice, but in order to maintain another doctrine; that is, he wrote againſt fate, becauſe he could not otherwiſe anſwer thoſe who oppoſed one of his opinions. Alexander Aphrodiſienſis judiciouſly inſinuates, that ſuch a circumſtance makes the faith of Anaxagoras ſomewhat doubtful. And indeed an Author will do any thing in the heat of a diſpute to deprive his adverſaries of the advantages they might draw from his ſilence, or from what he allows. He will rather contradict himſelf, and aſſert what he does not believe, than ſuffer his own weapons to be employed againſt himſelf. But let that be as it will; here follows a fine paſſage of Gabriel Naudæus. *Obtulit ſe tandem Alexander ex Aphrodiſiade*, facemque in his tenebris verſanti prætulit, quanquam ex ſcrupulo injecto, quod fide dignus Anaxagoras, dum iſtud aſſereret, minime fuerit, non quod propoſitio ejuſmodi vera non eſſet; verum quia in alterius opinionis ſuæ defenſionem, quam ſuſcipere cogebatur, non autem ex ſola determinataque voluntate adverſus fatum ſcribendi, illam protuliſſet* (183). i. e. "At length came Alexander Aphrodiſienſis, and gave a clue to lead out of this labyrinth, tho' with ſome kind of doubt, obſerving that Anaxagoras was not to be depended upon in this aſſertion, not that his propoſition was not true, but becauſe he produced it to defend another of his opinions, which he was obliged to maintain, and not out of any fixt inclination to write againſt fate." This Author had ſaid juſt before, that the moderns, who aſſert, that Anaxagoras oppoſed predeſtination, do not quote any ancient Author for what they aſſert. He had alſo obſerved, that no ſuch thing is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, Tully, Galen, Plutarch, or Origen.

(182) *Commmni hominum opinioni de fato quantum potuit reluctatus eſt.* Naudæus, *de fato & vitæ termino*, p. 20.

* Lib. *de fato* cap. 1. & lib. *de anima*, cap. *ult.*

(183) Idem, ib.

[*Q*] *He was the firſt Philoſopher that publiſhed books.*] This is what Diogenes Laertius ſays in expreſs terms: Πρῶτος ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς (184). i. e. "Anaxagoras was the firſt that "publiſhed a book." But as he ſeems elſewhere to agree with Phavorinus, who ſays, that Alcmæon, a diſciple of Pythagoras, was the firſt that wrote upon Phyſics (185), his authority becomes doubtful. Clemens Alexandrinus leaves the queſtion undecided; for he only ſays, that ſome aſcribe to Alcmæeon the firſt book that was publiſhed upon Phyſics, and that others maintain, that Anaxagoras was the firſt, who offered a book to the public (186). Both theſe opinions would prove falſe, if Thales had written books, as St. Auſtin avers (187); or if the Greek tradition mentioned by Suidas (188) were true, that the firſt books were wrote by the Philoſopher Pherecydes. Note that Ariſtotle obſerves, that the works of Anaxagoras came out after thoſe of Empedocles, tho' the latter was younger than Anaxagoras (189).

(184) Diog. Laert. l. 2. num. 2.

(185) Diog. Laert. lib. 8, num. 83. See the article ALCMÆON *of Croto*, quotation (*a*).

(186) Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* l. 2. p. 308.

(187) See quotation (85).

(188) Suidas in Ἑκαταῖος.

(189) Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. cap. 3. *See* Fonſeca's *Commentary* p. 218.

[*R*] *Socrates did not approve of them, but that was probably his own fault.*] I ſhall inſert here an abridgment of Socrates's complaint, and afterwards ſome reflections. *When I came to know*, ſays he (190), *that Anaxagoras had laid down in his works, that an underſtanding had produced all things, and governed them* (191); *I was well pleaſed with ſuch a cauſe, and imagined, that from thence it would follow, that each being was endowed with the beſt qualities, and ſituated after the moſt excellent manner. I hoped therefore, with great joy, to find at laſt in Anaxagoras's book a maſter, who could inſtruct me in the cauſes of every thing, and inform me whether the earth is round or flat, and afterwards give me the reaſon for what he had determined: and as I believed that this reaſon would be grounded on moſt ſublime notions, I hoped he would have ſhewn me, that the ſituation the earth is in, was the beſt it could be in; and that if he placed it in the center, he would have told us, why that ſituation was the beſt. I was reſolved not to look out for any other cauſe, provided he had made all this clear to me, but only to enquire after the proportions of ſwiftneſs and revolution &c. between the Sun, Moon, and other Planets; what is the beſt reaſon why thoſe bodies in the quality of agents and patients, are what they are; for I ſhould never have thought, that a Philoſopher, who holds that an intelligent Being governs all things, would produce any other cauſe, but prove, that the ſtate, in which they are, is the beſt that can be. I likewiſe believed, that after explaining the particular nature of each body, he would proceed to what is convenient and common to them all. Full of this hope, I began to read, with the greateſt eagerneſs his works, that I might ſpeedily know what is the beſt, and what the worſt: but I found, that this Philoſopher does not aſcribe the ordering of the univerſe to the ſupreme Underſtanding, or to any other cauſe, but refers all things to the air, the æther, and the water, as their origin* (192). *This is juſt as if any one after ſaying that I do by the underſtanding whatever I do, ſhould account for my particular actions thus: Socrates is ſitting, becauſe his body is made up of bones and nerves, which, according to the rules of mechaniſm are the cauſe that he can bend his limbs. He ſpeaks becauſe the motion of his tongue moves the air, and conveys its impreſſion to the ear &c. Such a man would forget the true cauſe, that the Athenians having judged it the beſt to condemn me, I found it better for me to ſit down here, and that it was more juſt, I ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment they have inflicted. If any one ſhould object, that without my bones and nerves &c. I cannot do what I would, he judges right; but if he pretends, that my bones and nerves are the cauſe of my doing it, and not the choice of what is beſt, and at the ſame time ſuppoſes that I act by underſtanding, he reaſons very abſurdly* (193).

(190) Plato in *Phædone*, p. 72, & ſeq.

(191) Ὡς ἄρα νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος. Plato in Phædone, pag. 72.

(192) Ὁρῶ ἄρα τῷ μὲν νῷ οὐδὲν χρώμενον, οὐδὲ τινας αἰτίας ἐπαιτιώμενον εἰς τὸ διακοσμεῖν τὰ πράγματα, ἀέρας δὲ καὶ αἰθέρας καὶ ὕδατα αἰτιώμενον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα. Plato in Phædone, pag. 73, D.

(193) Πολλὴ ἂν καὶ μακρὰ ῥαθυμία εἴη τοῦ λογοῦ. Plato in Phædone, pag. 74, A.

In theſe words you plainly ſee Socrates's taſte. He had given over the ſtudy of natural Philoſophy, and applied himſelf wholly to the Moral; and therefore was for having all things explained by moral reaſons, and by the ideas of order and perfection. I'll venture to ſay, that his cenſure is no ways to the purpoſe. When a Philoſopher has once ſuppoſed that an intelligent Being gave motion to matter, and digeſted the parts of the univerſe into order, he is not obliged to recur to that cauſe for each particular effect of nature. He ought to explain the vegetation of plants, the meteors, the light, gravity, opacity, fluidity &c. by the action and re-action of bodies, by the qualities of elements, by the figure of the parts of matter &c. Such is the method of the Chriſtian Philoſophers of all ſects. 'Tis a current maxim among the Schoolmen, that a Philoſopher ought not to recur to God, *Non eſt Philoſophi recurrere ad Deum*: they call ſuch a recourſe the Sanctuary of ignorance. And indeed what could you ſay more abſurd in a treatiſe of Phyſics, than this; *that ſtones are hard, fire is hot, and cold freezes the rivers, becauſe God will have it to be ſo.* The Carteſians themſelves, who make God not only the firſt Mover, but the only, continual, and perpetual Mover of matter, do not recur to his will and action, when they explain the effects of fire, the properties of the

was, becauſe Anaxagoras, who had applied himſelf greatly to that ſtudy, fell into a great many miſtakes [S]. What is obſerved concerning the Treatiſe, in which he reaſons

the loadſtone, colours, ſmells &c. they only conſider the ſecond cauſes, the motion, figure, and ſituation of their particles. So that if the abovementioned remark (194) of Clemens Alexandrinus was founded only on this diſcourſe of Socrates, it was a very unjuſt one. Had Anaxagoras not only made no mention of the divine Underſtanding in explaining many Phænomena of nature, but poſitively and formally excluded it with reſpect to ſome, in this caſe that reflection had been juſt. And who knows but that he maintained ſomewhere in his works what was afterwards taught by his diſciple Euripides, that God only concerns himſelf with great things, and leaves the leſſer to fortune (195): as if the world were like a Prætor's tribunal; *de minimis non curat Prætor.* We have obſerved above (196), that our Philoſopher aſcribed ſome effects to chance, and others to neceſſity, &c. and that he called to his aid the ſupreme Underſtanding only when he could not make appear, that an effect was owing to neceſſity (197). We may ſuppoſe in general that his ſyſtem was not well digeſted, nor finiſhed. This is what Ariſtotle inſinuates, where he ſpeaks of the firſt Philoſophers who acknowledged two cauſes, the material and efficient. He compares them to ſuch as have not learnt the military exerciſe, and yet often incommode the enemy, tho' not directed by any rule. In like manner thoſe Philoſophers had not a well grounded knowledge of what they advanced. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν... δυεῖν αἰτίαν ἐφήψαντο... τῆς τε ὑλῆς, καὶ τοῦ ὄθεν ἡ κίνησις. ἀμουσοτέρως μέν τοι ἢ οὐδὲν σαφῶς, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν ταῖς μαχαῖς οἱ ἀγύμναστοι ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιφερόμενοι, τύπτουσι πολλάκις καλὰς πλήγας, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ ἐπιστήμης, οὔτε οὗτοι ἱκανῶς οἴδασιν λέγειν ἃ λέγουσι (198). We ſhall ſee elſewhere (199), that there are ſome things, which Anaxagoras did not touch upon, but would, without all doubt, have admitted, had he been put in mind of them, had any one diſcloſed them to him; and that many ſound doctrines might be deduced from his principles, if well cleared and digeſted.

(194) In the remark [E] quotation (91).

(195) Τὰν ἄγαν γὰρ ἄπτονται θεοὶ, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τύχην ἀνεῖς ἐᾷ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην. Plutarch. *in Reipublicæ gerendæ præceptis*, p. 811, D.

(196) In the remark [E] quotation (94).

(197) Quotation (90).

(198) Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1, cap. 4. p. 646, G.

(199) Idem, ib. cap. 8. pag. 651, C.

I cannot blame Socrates for deſiring ſuch an explanation of the univerſe as he inſinuates; for could any thing be more excellent and curious than to know diſtinctly and particularly, why the perfection of the ſtructure of the world required that each Planet ſhould have the figure, magnitude, ſituation and ſwiftneſs, which it has, and ſo of the reſt. But ſuch a knowledge is not for us mortals; and it was a piece of injuſtice to expect it from Anaxagoras. Had we the idea, which God followed in framing the world, we might give the explanation Socrates deſired; but without that it is impoſſible. All that the moſt skilful Philoſophers can ſay thereupon, amounts to this. That ſince the earth is round, and placed at ſuch a diſtance from the Sun, the beauty and ſymmetry of the univerſe required ſuch a figure and ſituation; ſince the Author of this vaſt fabric is endowed with an infinite wiſdom. From hence we infer in general, that the whole has its due perfection, and that nothing is amiſs in it. But if we ſhould undertake to ſhew, that each part in particular is in the beſt condition it can poſſibly be in, we ſhould infallibly give very wrong reaſons. We ſhould do like a Peaſant, who, having no notion of a clock, ſhould undertake to ſhew that the wheel, which he ſees thro' a chink, was to be of ſuch a thickneſs, and bigneſs, and preciſely placed where it is, becauſe if it had been leſs, thinner, or placed elſewhere, great inconveniences would have happened. He would judge of this machine, as a blind man of colours, and, without all doubt, argue wretchedly. The Philoſophers are no more capable to judge of the fabric of the world, than that Peaſant of a clock. They underſtand but a ſmall portion of it, and are quite ſtrangers to the model, deſign, and ends of the Artificer, as well as to the reciprocal relation of all the parts. If you ſay, that the earth ought to be round, that it may turn the eaſier about its axis, one may anſwer, that it would be more proper it were ſquare, to the end it might turn more ſlowly, and give us longer days. What could you anſwer to the purpoſe, were you obliged to ſpecify the inconveniences that would happen, if Mercury were bigger, or nearer the earth? Would Sir Iſaac Newton, who has made ſo many fine mathematical and mechanical diſcoveries in the heavens, affirm, that if things were not ſuch as he ſuppoſes them to be, as to their magnitude, diſtance, and velocity, the world would be an irregular work, ill built, and ill contrived? Is not the divine Underſtanding infinite? God has therefore the ideas and models of infinite worlds, differing from each other, and all perfect, regular, and mathematical, to the higheſt degree. Do you imagine he could not draw from an earth of a ſquare figure, and nearer Saturn ſuch uſes, as would be anſwerable to thoſe of our earth? From all this we may conclude, that Socrates was in the wrong to expect that Anaxagoras ſhould ſhew him by particular reaſons that the preſent ſyſtem of the univerſe is the beſt that can be; for God alone is capable of proving it in this manner.

Why we cannot prove by particular reaſons, that each body in the univerſe is in the beſt ſtate it can poſſibly be in.

How ſhould we do what Socrates required with reſpect to the univerſe, ſince we cannot do it with reſpect to an animal, after ſo many diſſections, and lectures of Anatomy, which have taught us the number, ſituation, uſe, &c. of its chief organs? By what particular reaſons can it be proved, that the perfection of man, and of the univerſe, requires, that we ſhould have but two eyes, and thoſe placed as they are, and that ſix eyes placed round the head would be repugnant both to the ſymmetry of our body and of the univerſe? It may be reaſonably pretended, that in order to give a man ſix eyes round his head, without acting contrary to the general laws of mechanics, the other organical parts ought to have been ſo altered, that a man's body would have been framed after another model, and been a quite different machine; but no particular reaſon can be produced for this; and all you could ſay would be liable to objections as probable as your proofs. We muſt therefore inſiſt upon this general reaſon, that the wiſdom of the Artificer is infinite, and conſequently the work is ſuch as it ought to be; we muſt not deſcend to particulars. which can hardly be attempted without turning one's ſelf into ridicule (200).

However, this diſcourſe of Socrates ſhews that he was not a diſciple of Anaxagoras; for had he been his diſciple, he would never have ſtood in need of being informed by one, who had read Anaxagoras's works, that this Philoſopher held an intelligent being to be the cauſe of all things (201).

(200) See the *Diſcours Anatomiques de Guillaume Lami*, a Phyſician of Paris.

(201) Plato in *Phædone*, pag. 72, &c.

[S] *Socrates ſlighted Aſtronomy, becauſe Anaxagoras, who had greatly applied himſelf to that ſtudy, fell into a great many miſtakes.*] That Socrates's thoughts upon this ſubject may appear more plain, I ſhall ſet down ſomewhat at length the words of his Hiſtorian. "He was of opinion that ſome time "ſhould be ſpent in ſtudying Aſtronomy, to know, "by the Stars, what a clock it is, what day of the "month, and what ſeaſon of the year; when a "centinel is to be relieved in the night, when it is "proper to travel by ſea, and when by land. He "ſaid this would be eaſily learned by converſing with "ſeamen, or ſuch as uſed to hunt in the night time. "But to endeavour to dive deeper into the matter, "ſo as to know what Stars have not the ſame de"clination; to attempt the explaining of the differ"ent motions of the Planets, and find out their diſ"tance from the earth, in what time they make their "revolutions, and what their influence is, were "things he by no means approved of; for ſuch ſci"ences ſeemed to him quite uſeleſs, not becauſe he "was unacquainted with them, but by reaſon they "took up a man entirely, and diverted him from "many other uſeful employments. In a word, he "was not for ſearching too curiouſly into the won"derful art, with which the Gods have framed the "univerſe, becauſe it is a ſecret beyond the reach of "human underſtanding; and beſides, it cannot be "pleaſing to the Gods, that we ſhould endeavour to "find out what they have thought fit to conceal "from us. He was alſo perſuaded that in ſuch high "ſpeculations men are ſubject to great errors and "miſtakes, like thoſe Anaxagoras fell into, though he "pretended to be well verſed in ſpeculations of

"that

ſons of Eclipſes, is very curious, and to be found in the article PERICLES, note [B]. I muſt not forget, that the Mount Mimas near Clazomenæ, was one of the places from whence he uſed to contemplate the Stars (*kk*); much leſs muſt we forget, that his ſublime genius, labour, application, and the many diſcoveries he made, ſerved only to raiſe new doubts in his mind; for he uſed to complain, that every thing was covered with darkneſs (*ll*); and this perhaps was what made him ſay, that all conſiſts in opinion, and that the objects are whatever we pleaſe to make them, that is, whatever we fancy them to be (*mm*). Though he taught, that the ſoul of man was an aereal being (*nn*), yet he held that it was immortal (*oo*); which honour he would not allow to the world, being one of thoſe, who believed that heaven and earth were to periſh (*pp*); and being once aſked, *whether the mountains of Lampſacus ſhould one day become part of the ſea*; yes, anſwered he, provided they are not gone to decay before that time (*qq*). I have explained elſewhere (*rr*) his opinion touching the ſouls of beaſts. It is a great pity he was no friend to Democritus, and that theſe two great men did not concert together about their hypotheſes; for the defects of the one might have been corrected by the perfections of the other; but there paſſed no manner of correſpondence between them: Nay Anaxagoras hated Democritus, becauſe the latter refuſed a viſit which the former deſired to pay him (*ss*). Servius, and Sidonius Apollinaris were ſtrangers to the opinions of Anaxagoras [T]. There are a great many Greek paſſages in the remarks upon this article, which ought to pleaſe ſuch as underſtand that language, and like to judge of things by the very words of the authors that are quoted; neither have thoſe, who are ignorant of the Greek tongue, any reaſon to complain. For beſides that my pages on this account will be ſhorter to them, they will find in them a general notion of what the Greek texts contain. Let this be ſaid once for all. Leſt I ſhould be too prolix in this article, I ſhall refer to another place (*tt*) ſome chronological diſcuſſions.

(*kk*) Philoſtrat. in *vita Apollonii*, lib. 2. cap. 2.

(*ll*) See note [G] near the end.

(*mm*) Ariſt. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 671, G.

(*nn*) Theodoret, *de Græcis affect.* Serm. 5. p. 547.

(*oo*) Idem, ibid. p. 548.

(*pp*) See the Jeſuits of Conimbra in Ariſtot. lib. 1. *de Cœlo*, cap. 3. pag. 65.

(*qq*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 10.

(*rr*) In the article PEREIRA, note [E].

(*ss*) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 14.

(*tt*) To the article ARCHELAUS the Philoſopher, note [A].

" that nature. For when he taught, that the Sun
" was the ſame thing with fire, he did not reflect,
" that fire dazzles not the eyes, whereas it is impoſ-
" ſible to bear the Sun-ſhine (202). I ſhall not mention two other reaſons produced by the Hiſtorian againſt this doctrine of Anaxagoras; for they are no better than the firſt, and leſs worth mentioning than Socrates's notion of the Gods, who imagined them to be very jealous of their ſecrets, and apt to be diſpleaſed with ſuch as curiouſly enquired into them. Xenophon's words are as follow. Ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων ἧ ἕκαστα ὁ θεὸς μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτὰ ἑωρᾶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς ἄν ἡγεῖτο τὸν ζητοῦντα ἃ ἐκείνοις σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν (203). Ariſtotle entertained a better opinion of the Deity. He owns that if the Gods were ſubject to jealouſy, they would be chiefly jealous of this ſublime knowledge, but denies what the Poets affirmed of the pretended jealouſy of the Gods. His words are very remarkable. Εἰ δὴ λέγουσί τι οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ πέφυκε φθονεῖν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι μάλιστα εἰκὸς, καὶ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι πάντας τοὺς περιττοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί (204). i. e.
" If the Poets ſay any thing, and the Divinity be
" ſubject to envy, it is probable that it chiefly hap-
" pens on this account, and that all are unhappy
" who aſpire above their reach. But the Divinity
" cannot be envious, but, according to the proverb,
" Poets tell many lies. *Quod ſi aliquid poetæ dicunt, & in naturam divinam cadit invidia, veriſimile eſt hac in re maxime accidere, & infelices eſſe eos omnes, qui altiora ſe quærunt* (205). *Sed neque divinitas invida eſſe poteſt, multaque, ut eſt in proverbio, mentiuntur Poetæ.*

(202) Xeneph. *De Socrat. Memorab.* l. 4. pag. 384. I have followed Charpentier's tranſlation.

(203) Xenophon ἀπομν. lib. 4. p. 474.

(204) Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 644, E.

(205) Thus Beſſarion renders περιττούς. Argyropylus renders it, *qui hæc ſuperflua quærunt.* See Fonſeca upon this paſſage of Ariſtotle, p. 130.

[T] *Servius and Sidonius Apollinaris were ſtrangers to the opinions of Anaxagoras.*] The firſt ſays, that he held fire to be the principle of all things (206); wherein he confounds him with Heraclitus: the other, that, like Thales, he maintained water to be the firſt principle. This deprives him of his *homæomeries*, which doctrine Sidonius Apollinaris was well acquainted with, but aſcribes it, without any ground, to Anaximander, as alſo the παντσπερμία, that is, that the ſeeds of all things were every where, which doctrine was taught by Anaxagoras, and likewiſe by Democritus, as Ariſtotle obſerves in the fourth chapter of the third book of his Phyſics.

(206) Servius in Virg. Ec. 6. ver. 31.

Sed rebus inutile ponit (207).
Principium, dum credit aquis ſubſiſtere mundum.
Hujus diſcipuli verſa eſt ſententia, dicens,
Principiis propriis ſemper res quaſque creari,
Singula qui quoſdam fontes decrevit habere
Æternum irriguos, ac rerum ſemine plenos.
Hunc etiam ſequitur, qui gignere cuncta putabat
Hunc aerem, pariterque Deos ſic autumat ortos.
Quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata ſervat:
Sed divinum animum ſentit qui fecerit orbem (208).

(207) That is Thales.

(208) Sidon. Apollin. *Carm.* 15. ver. 81. pag. 151, 152.

" His principles are wrong when he ſuppoſes,
" The world is made of water. His ſucceſſor
" Is of a diff'rent mind; that all things riſe
" From their own principles, that theſe have ſtreams
" For ever running, fill'd with ſeeds of things.
" A third maintains that all things owe their birth
" To air, and that the Gods were thus produc'd.
" But Anaxagoras retains the doctrine
" Of Thales, and he adds a Mind divine,
" That form'd the univerſe."

Theſe miſtakes have eſcaped the learned Savaro in his notes on this Poem of Sidonius Apollinaris.

ANAXANDRIDES, King of Lacedæmon, and ſon to Leo, is the only man of his country who had two wives at one time (*a*); which he was not ſo much to be blamed for as the Ephori, who obliged him to divorce his wife, becauſe ſhe was barren, and marry another by whom he might have children. As he was very fond of his wife, he proteſted, that he would never divorce her (*b*). The Ephori, ſeeing him fixt in this reſolution, propoſed to him the marrying of another, without divorcing his firſt wife, inſinuating, that if he did not comply with their requeſt, he ſhould repent it. Upon this he accepted the ſecond propoſal, but would not ſuffer his two wives to live under the ſame roof. The new ſpouſe was ſoon delivered of Cleomenes, and at the ſame time the firſt proved with child. This was a bad piece of news to the domeſtics of the other Queen, who therefore ſpread abroad a thouſand ſlanderous reports of her, giving out that it was but a ſham to deceive the world with a ſuppoſititious child; which rumour made ſuch an impreſſion on the Ephori, that when the time of her lying in drew

(*a*) Pauſanias, lib. 3. p. 84.

(*b*) She was his ſiſter's daughter.

near, they placed guards about the Queen to prevent their being impoſed upon (*c*). It proved no fiction, for ſhe was delivered of a boy, who was named Dorieüs. Not long after ſhe was brought to bed of twins; whereof the one was the brave King Leonidas, who died ſo glorioufly at the Streights of Thermopylæ, and the other was called Cleombrotus (*d*). The ſecond wife's ſon had ſcarce common ſenſe; whereas Dorieüs ſurpaſſed in every thing all thoſe of his age. Nevertheleſs his pretenſions, viz. that a greater regard ſhould be paid to merit than to birth-right, were rejected, and Cleomenes, according to the laws of the country, called to the crown he no ways deſerved (*e*). Anaxandrides was more favoured by fortune, with reſpect to the Tegeates, than any of his predeceſſors had been; for in his reign the Lacedæmonians began to conquer them (*f*), that is, about the ſixtieth Olympiad [*A*]. Plutarch gives us a collection of the Apophthegms of Anaxandrides among thoſe of the Lacedæmonians. The ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary is full of miſtakes with reſpect to this ſubject [*B*].

(*c*) The words of Herodotus might be tranſlated ſo as to make this ſenſe, that they themſelves were the inſpectors, or the Queen's guards.

(*d*) Some ſay, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were not born at one birth.

(*e*) *Ex* Herodoti lib. 5. cap. 39, *& ſeq.* See alſo Pauſanias, lib. 3. pag. 84.

(*f*) Pauſanias, ibid. Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 67.

[*A*] *In his reign the Lacedæmonians began to conquer the Tegeates, that is, about the 60th Olympiad.*] 'Tis obſerved by Hiſtorians, that the Tegeates were not vanquiſhed by the Lacedæmonians, before the latter had removed to their city the bones of Oreſtes, who was buried at Tegea; which tranſlation happened in the 58th Olympiad. *Priſcorum autem teſtantur molem etiam Oreſtis ſuprema, cujus oſſa Olympiade quinquageſima & octava Tegeæ inventa à Spartanis oraculo monitis diſcimus impleſſe longitudinem cubitorum ſeptem* (1). i. e. "The remains of Oreſtes prove "the bulk of the ancients, whoſe bones being found "in the 58th Olympiad at Tegæa by the Spartans, who "were admoniſhed by an Oracle, we learn to have been "full ſeven cubits long." 'Tis further known, that Cleomenes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Anaxandrides, was exhorted to wage war with Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (2), who died an unhappy death in the ſecond year of the 64th Olympiad (3). I do not take notice, that Cleomenes had reigned a conſiderable time, when the deſcendants of Piſiſtratus were obliged to leave Athens, which happened about the 67th Olympiad (4). Moreri ſhould not have ſaid, that *it is uncertain in what time Anaxandrides lived*, nor that *the Ephori obliged him to divorce his firſt wife*, nor that his eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife was called Dorceus; Dorieus he ſhould have called him. I take no notice of his omiſſions, which are pretty conſiderable. I muſt not forget to acquaint my readers, that it is no eaſy matter to reconcile Solinus and Herodotus in point of Chronology. Solinus places the tranſlation of the bones of Oreſtes in the 58th Olympiad. But, according to Herodotus (5), the Lacedæmonians had already obtained ſeveral victories over the Tegeates, after that tranſlation, when Crœſus deſired their friendſhip; which he did before his expedition againſt Cyrus, and this happened about the end of the 30th Olympiad (6). How then can we reconcile Solinus's Chronology with that of Herodotus? But however that be, Moreri had no reaſon to ſay, that it is uncertain in what time Anaxandrides reigned, ſince Herodotus tells us, that he reigned in the time of Crœſus (7).

(1) Solinus, l. 1. p. 9.

(2) Plutarch. *in Apophtheg.* P. 223, C.

(3) Calviſius *ad annum mundi* 3428.

(4) Idem, *ad ann. mundi* 3440.

(5) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 68, 69.

(6) *See* Calviſius *ad annum mundi* 3398.

(7) Herod. l. 1. cap. 67.

[*B*] *The Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary is full of miſtakes with reſpect to this ſubject.*] To Moreri's three miſtakes, juſt now mentioned, I add thoſe of his continuator. I, 'Tis falſe that Anaxandrides was the ſon of Eurycrates the ſecond: he was his grand-child (8), and ſon to Leo. II, 'Tis not true, that Anaxandrides took the city of Tegea, before the bones of Oreſtes were removed from thence. Fortune did not begin to frown upon the Tegeates before they were removed; how therefore could their city be taken? Is not the taking of the Capital attended with the total ruin of ſuch little Republics? III, Glycas (9) did not make his entry into Tegea in company with the victorious Anaxandrides: he went into it, as men uſe, in time of peace, to go into the cities of the neighbouring States. IV, It was not he who diſcovered the tomb of Oreſtes, and took up his bones; he only related on his return to Lacedæmon, that he believed Oreſtes to be buried at a Smith's in Tegea. For the Smith had told him, that as he was digging a well in the court of his houſe he had diſcovered a tomb of ſeven cubits, and found, in opening it, that the perſon whoſe tomb it was, had been of that ſize. Lychas concluded, that it was the tomb of Oreſtes, becauſe the Oracle had foretold, that his tomb would be diſcovered at Tegea, in a place where two winds were driven with violence, and the repreſentation of a battle was to be ſeen with wounds upon wounds. He applied this to the Smith's bellows, hammer, and anvil. He only made this conjecture, and imparted it to his Superiors, who thereupon baniſhed a criminal. The criminal retired to Tegea, hired of the Smith the place where the tomb had been diſcovered, took up the bones of Oreſtes, and brought them to Lacedæmon. V, 'Tis falſe, that the Oracle ſaid, that to make this tranſlation, *the winds, the ſtriker, and the ſtruck were to be removed with the plague and ruin of men.* Herodotus, who is quoted in the Supplement, ſays no ſuch thing. VI, There was no need to *remove all theſe things* in order to find out the tomb of Oreſtes; for it was not under the forge, but in a court, where the ſmith had been digging a well. VII, *The war was* not *at an end*, as ſoon as the bones of that Prince *were interred at Lacedæmon.* All, that Herodotus ſays, is, that from that time forth the Lacedæmonians got the better of the Tegeates in all the wars they waged with them. Ἀπὸ τουτοῦ τοῦ χρόνου ὅπως ἐπιῤῥώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (10). VIII, Hence it is falſe, that the Tegeates were entirely ſubdued by the Lacedæmonians, as ſoon as the bones of Oreſtes were buried at Lacedæmon. IX, There was no occaſion to quote Plutarch, for he makes no mention of any thing advanced in this article.

(8) Pauſan. l. 3. p. 83.

(9) It ſhould be *Lychas*, as before.

(10) Herod. l. 1. cap. 68.

ANAXANDRIDES, a comic Poet, born at Camirus [*A*] in the Iſle of Rhodes, flouriſhed about the 101ſt Olympiad [*B*]; and was the firſt, if we give credit to Suidas, who brought upon the ſtage love-adventures, and the misfortunes which befal young women after the loſs of their virginity (*a*). I could be eaſily perſuaded, that ſo nice parts as thoſe of ſuch unhappy maids were not introduced upon the ſtage before the hundredth Olympiad; but I cannot think, that the introducing of love-adventures is of ſo late a date. Anaxandrides was a man of a proper ſize, and noble aſpect; he took great care of his hair, and wore rich clothes, his uſual garment being a purple gown fringed with gold (*b*). But ſuch an equipage did not become a Poet. He affected pomp and

(*a*) Πρῶτος ἐρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορας εἰσήγαγεν. Suidas.

(*b*) Chamæleon Heracleotes, l. 6. *de Comœdia, apud* Athen. lib. 9. P. 374.

[*A*] *Born at Camirus* (1).] Suidas agrees in this with Chamæleon; but at the ſame time inſinuates, that Authors were not unanimous in this, but divided in their opinions; ſome of them holding him to be a Colophonian, and others to be a Rhodian.

[*B*] *He flouriſhed about the* 101ſt *Olympiad.*] The anonymous Author of the Olympiads agrees in this with Suidas; and as the latter obſerves, that Anaxandrides was at the Olympic games of Philip King of Macedon, he gives us a matter of fact which fixes this age of Anaxandrides. Beſides it is well known, that this Poet abuſed Plato (2), and ſome of his Comedies are quoted by Ariſtotle (3). He muſt therefore have flouriſhed in the time mentioned by Suidas.

(1) Cham. Heracleot. lib. 6. *de Comœdia, apud* Athen. lib. 9. P. 374.

(2) Diog. Laert. *in Platone*, l. 3. num. 26. edit. 1692.

(3) Ariſtot. *Rhetor.* lib. 3. cap. 12.

and grandeur to ſuch a degree, that being once engaged to read a Poem at Athens, he went to the appointed place on horſeback, and rehearſed part of his performance in that poſture. Such a behaviour renders probable what is further ſaid of him, viz. that he was extremely grieved when his pieces did not carry the prize (*c*). He never uſed, like other Poets, to poliſh or correct them, that they might enter the liſts again in a better condition; he ſent them to the *Grocers* of that time, *to wrap up pepper and cinnamon* (*d*). Such a moroſe and ſpiteful humour againſt the ſpectators occaſioned the loſs of ſeveral fine comedies. However it muſt needs have often given way to paternal affection, for he won the prize but ten times (*e*); whereas we find above twenty of his plays quoted, (ſee in the Notes the reflection of Athenæus) [*C*], and he wrote in all ſixty five (*f*). The Athenians condemned him to be ſtarved for cenſuring their government [*D*]. Perhaps the Comic Poet Alexandrides is only a miſtake of the Tranſcribers [*E*], and we might ſubſtitute our Anaxandrides wherever we meet with the name of the other.

(*c*) Ὅτι γάρ μὴ νικῶν λαμβάνων ἤδωκεν εἰς τὸν λιβανωτὸν καταπιμπῆν. Cham. Heracleotes, lib. 6. *de Comœdia, apud* Athen. l. 9. p. 374.

(*d*) *See* Boileau's firſt epiſtle.

(*e*) Suidas.

(*f*) Idem.

[*C*] *See in the remarks the reflection of Athenæus.*] After quoting a verſe (4) out of the *Tereus* of Anaxandrides, a piece not much valued, he takes an opportunity of mentioning what I have cited out of Chamæleon, and then asks, with ſome ſurprize, how the *Tereus*, and ſuch other pieces of the ſame Poet, as had not carried the prize, came to be preſerved? He might have found the ſolution of his difficulty in the very words of Chamæleon, which plainly inſinuate, that Anaxandrides uſed only in his old age to vent upon his performances the indignation which the judgment of ſpectators had raiſed. He had therefore ſpared ſeveral of his vanquiſhed Comedies, before old age had made him peeviſh and moroſe. Πόλλα ἴσχυσε κομψῶς τῶν δραμάτων ἀφανίζειν δυσκολαίνων τοῖς θεαταῖς διὰ τὸ γῆρας (5). i. e. "He "deſtroyed ſeveral beautiful Plays, being angry with "the audience, thro' the peeviſhneſs of old age."

(4) Athen. l. 9. pag. 373.

(5) Idem, ibid. p. 374.

[*D*] *The Athenians condemned him to death for cenſuring their government.*] In one of his Comedies he inſerted this verſe:

Ἡ πόλις ἐβούλεθ' ἥ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει.

That is, "The City would have it ſo, that City "which has no regard to laws."

Wherein he had only altered a word in the following verſe of Euripides,

Ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ' ἥ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει (6).

That is, "Nature, which hearkens to no laws, "would have it ſo."

(6) Euripid. ver. 295, *inter incerta*, edit. Barneſii.

See Euſtratius on the tenth chapter of the ſixth and ſeventh books of Ariſtotle's morals. Ovid is thought to have mentioned this puniſhment of Anaxandrides in the following diſtich of his Poem againſt Ibis, ver. 523;

Utque parum ſtabili qui carmine læſit Athenas
Inviſus pereas deficiente cibo.

"O may'ſt thou hated ſtarve like him, whoſe tongue
"With wretched verſe could his own Athens wrong.

[*E*] *Perhaps the Comic Poet Alexandrides is only a miſtake of the Tranſcribers.*] This is Caſaubon's opinion (7), and the reaſon he produces is this; that Suidas no where mentions Alexandrides, and that the ſame piece (8), which is aſcribed to Alexandrides in the eleventh book of Athenæus (9) is quoted under the name of Anaxandrides in his fourteenth book (10). Caſaubon adds a third reaſon. Pollux, in the ſixth chapter of the ninth book, quotes the *Anchiſes* of Alexandrides, and it is certain that Anaxandrides wrote a piece bearing that title; for it is quoted by Athenæus in the 18th chapter of the ſixth book (11). Meurſius is quite of Caſaubon's opinion, and aſcribes to Anaxandrides the two or three dramatic pieces, which, in the editions of Athenæus, are aſcribed to Alexandrides; and the Helena (12) and Piſander too (13), which in Suidas paſs under the name of Alexandrides. See his Treatiſe of *The Iſle of Rhodes*, p. 87. Voſſius is of the ſame opinion (14). So that according to this account, which is probable enough, there are no fewer than thirty pieces of Alexandrides quoted. Meurſius knew nothing of his *Theſeus*, which Diogenes Laertius quotes (15). Authors are in a like confuſion with relation to one ANAXANDRIDES of Delphi. The Scholiaſt upon Euripides (16) quotes him, Ἀναξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφὸς, where he mentions the puniſhment inflicted upon Apollo, for killing the ſerpent Python, which was to ſerve Admetus as a hired ſervant. Plutarch quotes him (17) Ἀλεξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφὸς, where he ſpeaks of the money which Lyſander depoſited in the temple of Delphi. He mentions elſewhere (18) one Anaxandrides in ſpeaking of the times, in which the Prieſteſs of Delphi delivered her Oracles. At firſt ſhe delivered them but once a year, and a long time after once a month. It is very probable, that Plutarch has quoted in both places one and the ſame Author, and that the ſame is mentioned by the Scholiaſt upon Euripides. We muſt now enquire, whether his name was Alexandrides or Anaxandrides. Voſſius is quite at a loſs (19) what to think of it. The work mentioned in the collection of Proverbs, publiſhed by Andreas Schottus from a manuſcript of the Vatican Library, ought, without all doubt, to be aſcribed to the ſame Anaxandrides. It treats of the ſacrileges committed in the temple of Delphi, Περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, and was compoſed by one Anaxandrides. He relates a ſtory, which gave riſe to the Greek proverb Ἄκρου λάβου, καὶ μέσου ἕξεις, i. e. "Take the upper part, and "you"ll be ſure of the middle." See Voſſius's Greek Hiſtorians, pag. 320.

(7) Caſaub. *in Athen.* lib. 6. cap. 18. p. 455.
(8) Entitled Μανίαται.
(9) Cap. 2. pag. 460.
(10) Cap. 20. p. 654.
(11) Page 263.
(12) Suidas in Ἀβδηρίτησ.
(13) Idem in Ἀρισταγόρης.
(14) Voſſius *de Poetis Græcis*, p. 49.
(15) Diog. Laert. lib. 3. num. 26.
(16) In Alceſtid. *initio.*
(17) Plutarch. *in Lyſandro*, p. 443.
(18) Plut. *in Quæſt. Romanis*, p. 292.
(19) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Græcis*, p. 502.

☞ANAXIMANDER, a famous Greek Philoſopher, and the author of ſeveral important diſcoveries [*A*], was born at Miletus in the third year of the forty ſecond Olympiad, and flouriſhed in the time of Polycrates tyrant of Samos (*a*). He was the ſon

(*a*) Diog. Laert. *in Vita Anaximandri.*

[*A*] *The author of ſeveral important diſcoveries.*] He demonſtrated the Compendium of Geometry (1); and was next to Homer the firſt maſter of that ſcience (2). He was the firſt who publiſhed a geographical table, as appears from Laertius, who affirms, that *he deſigned the circumference of the ſea and land.* In the 58th Olympiad (3) he diſcovered the obliquity of the Zodiack, by which means, as Pliny obſerves (4), *he opened the gates of things. Obliquitatem ejus intellexiſſe, hoc eſt, rerum fores aperuiſſe, Anaximander Mileſius traditur primus Olympiade quinquageſima octava.* He invented the *Gnomon*, and ſet up the firſt in an open place at Lacedæmon (5). He found out the Æquinoctial Solſtices and Horologies (6). He framed Horoſcopes to denote the Tropics and Æquinoxes (7). From hence Salmaſius (8) obſerves, that the uſe of his dial was only to delineate the Tropic and Æquinoctial Points. And that they did not ſerve to diſtinguiſh the hours or twelve parts of the day, he proves from this conſideration, that the very name Ὥρα in that ſenſe, or the diviſion of the day into twelve equal parts, was not known till a long time after. Laertius tells us likewiſe, that he formed a Sphere.

(1) Suidas.
(2) Strabo, l. 1.
(3) Mr. Stanley ſays in the 50th Olympiad; which is evidently an error.
(4) L. 2. c. 8.
(5) Laert.
(6) Suidas.
(7) Laert.
(8) Plinian. *Exercitat. in Soſſinum.*

ſon of Praxiades (*b*), who is corruptly called by ſome writers Praxidamus (*c*). He was countryman (*d*), companion, and kinſman (*e*) of Thales, and was likewiſe his diſciple and ſucceſſor in the propagation of his doctrine (*f*). We ſhall give an account of his Philoſophy in the note [*B*]. He adviſed the Lacedæmonians to abandon their city and houſes, and to lie armed in the open field, foretelling an earthquake, which demoliſhed the whole city, and broke off part of the mountain Taygetus (*g*). It is ſaid, that as he was ſinging, the boys uſed to ridicule him, upon which he ſaid, we muſt learn to ſing better for their ſakes. Anaximenes and Parmenides were his auditors (*h*). Apollodorus the Athenian in his Chronicles quoted by Laertius obſerves, that he was ſixty four years old in the ſecond year of the fifty eighth Olympiad, and died ſoon after. He wrote ſeveral books, particularly one περὶ φύσεως (*i*), that is, *Of Nature*. This probably is that intended by Laertius, who tells us, that he digeſted his opinions into Commentaries, which book fell into the hands of Apollodorus the Athenian. Γῆς περίοδος. Περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν; *Of the Sphere*, and ſeveral other works. There was likewiſe another Anaximander a Mileſian, who was an Hiſtorian (*k*).

(*b*) Id. ibid.
(*c*) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.
(*d*) Cicero *Acad. Quæſt.* 4.
(*e*) Suidas.
(*f*) Strabo, l. 1. and 14.
(*g*) Cicero *de Divinat.* Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 79.

(*h*) *See* Stanley's *Lives of the Philoſophers*, Part 2. c. 1. p. 61. 2d edit. 1687.
(*i*) Suidas.
(*k*) Laert.

[*B*] *We ſhall give an account of his Philoſophy in the note.*] He ſuppoſed a certain infinite firſt matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the ſole principle of the univerſe (9). That the celeſtial bodies and infinite worlds, were made of it by ſecretion; and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together from eternity. He aſſerted alſo, that the generative principles of heat and cold being ſeparated, when this world was made, a certain ſphere of fire firſt aroſe, and encompaſſed the air, which ſurrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree. This being afterwards broken and divided into ſmaller ſpherical bodies formed the Sun, Moon, and Stars (10). He held alſo, that the firſt animals were generated in moiſture, and encompaſſed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they iſſued forth, but lived only a ſhort time (11). That men were at firſt generated in the bellies of fiſhes, and being there nouriſhed till they grew ſtrong, and were able to ſupport themſelves, they were afterwards caſt out upon dry land. And the reaſon of this ſtrange opinion with regard to the original of mankind was, becauſe other animals ſoon after their birth betake themſelves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nurſed up for a conſiderable time, and therefore could not be preſerved at firſt in any other manner (12). From Anaximander's making this univerſal principle of his infinite, ſome late Writers, and even Clemens Alexandrinus (13) among the ancients, have erroneouſly inferred, that by this he meant a God, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and not ſtupid matter (14). But it is evident, that the Gods, whom he acknowledged, owed the original alſo to that infinite matter, from which he ſuppoſed all things to be ſecreted, and into which they would return; for he held the Gods to be generated, riſing and vaniſhing again in long periods of time; and that therefore there were innumerable worlds. *Anaximandri autem opinio eſt, nativos eſſe Deos, longis intervallis orientes occidenteſque, eoque innumerabiles eſſe mundos* (15). He aſſerted, that the heavens conſiſt of cold and heat mixed (16); that the Stars are globous, and conſiſt of air full of fire, reſpiring flames at ſome certain part, and moved by the circles and ſpheres, in which they inhere (17); which aſſertion was borrowed from him by Ariſtotle. That the Sun is ſeated the higheſt, the Moon next. and then the fixed Stars and Planets (18). That the circle of the Sun is twenty eight (Theodoret ſays twenty ſix) times greater than the earth, having a hollow circle about it like a chariot wheel, full of fire; in one part whereof is a mouth, at which the fire is ſeen as out of the hole of a flute, which is the Sun, equal in bigneſs with the earth (19). That the cauſe of the Sun's eclipſe is the ſtopping that hole in the midſt, out of which the fire iſſues. That the circle of the Moon is twenty nine times greater than the earth, and is like a chariot wheel, having a hollow orb in the midſt full of fire like the Sun, and oblique, breathing fire out at one part as out of a tunnel. That the eclipſe of the Moon happens according to her converſions, when the mouth, out of which the fire iſſues, is ſtopp'd (20). That the Moon hath a light of her own, but very thin and languid (21); and ſhines from the light, which ſhe borrows from the Sun (22). Which two aſſertions, as Mr. Stanley obſerves, are ſo far from being inconſiſtent, that it is the opinion of ſeveral learned Writers, that both are true (23). With regard to Meteors Anaximander affirmed, that the wind is a fluxion of the air, when the moſt ſubtle and liquid parts of it are put in motion, or reſolved by the Sun (24). That thunders, lightnings, preſters, and whirlwinds are cauſed by the wind incloſed in a thick cloud, which by reaſon of its lightneſs breaks forth with violence: the rupture of the cloud occaſions the noiſe, and the divulſion by the reaſon of the blackneſs cauſes a flaſhing light (25). Seneca repreſents this hypotheſis in a ſtronger manner (26). "Anaximander aſcribed all to "wind. Thunder, ſays he, is the ſound of a breaking cloud. Why is it unequal? Becauſe the breakings are unequal. Why doth it thunder in a clear day? Becauſe even then the wind breaks thro' the thick and dry air. Why does it ſometimes thunder and not lighten? Becauſe the thinner and weaker ſpirit is able to make a flame, but not a ſound. What is lightning? The agitation of the air ſevering itſelf, and ruſhing down, diſcloſing a faint fire. What is thunder? The motion of a piercing thick ſpirit." *Anaximandrus omnia ad ſpiritum retulit. Tonitrua, inquit, ſunt nubis ictæ ſonus. Quare inæqualia ſunt? quia & ipſe ictus inæqualis eſt. Quare & ſereno tonat? quia tunc quoque per craſſum & ſiccum aëra ſpiritus profiliit. At quare aliquando non fulgurat & non tonat? quia tenuior & infirmior ſpiritus, qui in flammam non valuit, in ſonum valuit. Quid eſt ergo ipſa fulguratio? aeris diducentis ſe corruentiſque jactatio; languidum ignem, nec exiturum aperiens. Quid eſt fulmen? acrioris denſioriſque ſpiritus curſus.* He affirmed, that all things are ſo ordered, that ſome influence deſcends from the æther upon inferior things. So fire ſounds being forced upon cold clouds. When it breaks, then it ſhines; the ſmaller flames produce lightnings, the greater thunder. *Anaximandrus ait, omnia iſta ſic fieri, ut ex æthere aliqua vis in inferiora deſtendit. Ita ignis impactus nubibus frigidis ſonat. At cum illas interſcindit, fulget; & minor vis ignium fulgurationes facit, major fulmina* (27). T.

(9) Laertius. Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſ.* l. 1. c. 3. and Simplic. *in Ariſtotel. Phyſic.* l. 1. c. 6.
(10) Plut. *apud* Euſeb. *de Præp. Evangel.* lib. 1. c. 8. See the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, Introduction, p. 18, 19.
(11) Plutarch. *de Placit. Phil.* l. 5. c. 19.
(12) Idem, *apud* Euſeb. *ubi ſupra*, and in Sympos. l. 8. Quæſt. 8.
(13) In Protrept. p. 43. See the *Univ. Hiſt.* p. 19.
(14) *See* Cudworth's *Intellectual Syſtem*, p. 124.
(15) Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.* l. 1.
(16) Stobæus, *apud* Stanley, p. 62.
(17) Idem.
(18) Idem.
(19) Plut. *de Placit. Phil.* 2, 20, 21.
(20) Idem, 2, 24, 25.
(21) Id. 2. 28.
(22) Laert.
(23) *See* Eraſm. Reinholdus *in Theoricas Purbachii*, p. 164.
(24) Plutarch. *de Placit. Phil.* 3. 7.
(25) Id. 3. 3. and Stob.
(26) *Natur. Quæſt.* l. 2. c. 18.
(27) Id. l. 2. c. 19.

☞ANAXIMENES, an eminent Greek Philoſopher, was born at Miletus, and the ſon of Euriſtratus (*a*); he was the friend (*b*), ſcholar (*c*), and ſucceſſor of Anaximander. His Philoſophy was very little different from that of his maſter, for he held air to be the firſt principle, and infinite (*d*); but that the things which aroſe out of it were finite, and ſhould at laſt be reſolved into it again. He ſuppoſed all things were generated by a ſucceſſive condenſation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water and fire being firſt produced out of it, and then the other parts of the univerſe. He held alſo, that motion was from all eternity; that the Sun gained its heat from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe,

(*a*) Laertius, *in vita Anaximenis.*
(*b*) Simplic.
(*c*) Cicero *Academ. Quæſt.* and Plin. l. 2. c. 76.
(*d*) Laert. Ariſt. *de Auſcult. Phyſ.* and Cicero *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 2. See *The Univ. Hiſt.* Introduct. p. 19.

courſe, and that the air held the world together in the ſame manner as the ſoul, (which he ſuppoſed to be air alſo,) did the human frame (*e*). He does not appear to deny the exiſtence of Gods, but he was ſo far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewiſe to have taken their riſe from the air (*f*). We ſhall give ſome further account of his Phyſiology in the note [*A*]. Euſebius tells us, that he flouriſhed in the ſecond year of the fifty ſixth Olympiad; but Suidas ſays he lived in the 55th Olympiad at the taking of Sardis, when Cyrus conquered Crœſus; ſo that the account of Apollodorus in Laertius, which aſſerts that he was born in the ſixty third Olympiad, is erroneous (*g*). Some likewiſe affirm that he heard Parmenides (*h*). He uſed the Ionic dialect plain and unaffected. Pliny (*i*) calls him the inventor of Gnomonicks; but this perhaps is a miſtake for Anaximander. There are two epiſtles of his extant in Laertius [*B*]. Anaxagoras and Diogenes Apollonites were his auditors (*k*).

(*b*) Laertius.
(*i*) L. 2. c. 76.
(*k*) Stanley, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Plutarch. in *Strom. apud* Euſeb. *de Præpar. Evangel.* l. 1. c. 8. and *de Placit. Philoſ.* l. 1. c. 3.
(*f*) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, l. 8. c. 2.
(*g*) Stanley, *Lives of the Philoſophers*, Part 2. p. 63. 2d edit. 1687.

[*A*] *We ſhall give ſome further account of his Phyſiology in the note.*] Plutarch having delivered the opinion of this Philoſopher and of Anaximander obſerves, that they were both extremely miſtaken in ſuppoſing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cauſe; ſince matter of itſelf is able to produce nothing, any more than a veſſel can be made out of a maſs of ſilver, without the help of an Artificer (1). Anaximenes held, that the external ſuperficies of the heavens is formed of earth (2). That the Stars are of a fiery ſubſtance, inviſible, earthly bodies being intermixt with them; and that they are inherent, as nails in a cryſtal. That they are forced back by the thick reſiſting air (3), and move not above (or under) but about the earth (4). That the Sun is flat as a plate, and of a fiery ſubſtance (5). That the ſigns of Summer and Winter come not by the Moon, but by the Sun only (6). That the Sun is eclipſed, when the mouth, from which his heat iſſues, is cloſed (7). That the Moon is likewiſe of a fiery nature, and is eclipſed, when the mouth, out of which iſſues her heat, is ſtopp'd (8). With regard to Meteors he affirmed, that the clouds are formed by a condenſation of air; rain by condenſation of the clouds, out of which it is ſqueezed; ſnow of rain congealed in falling; and hail of the ſame contracted by a cold wind (9). Concerning thunder, lightning, &c. he maintained the opinions of Anaximander (10); to which he added the compariſon of the ſea, which ſhines when it is broken with oars (11). He held, that the rainbow is formed by a reflection of the ſun-beams upon a thick cloud, which not being able to penetrate it are refracted upon it (12). That earthquakes proceed from the rareneſs and dryneſs of the earth, one being cauſed by exceſſive heat, the other by exceſſive cold (13). This is further explained by Ariſtotle (14), who tells us, that Anaximenes held, that the earth breaks, as well when it is moiſt as when it is dry, and is ſhaken by thoſe great pieces of it, which fall upon it. Hence it is, that earthquakes happen either in a dry ſeaſon, or during great rains. It is broken by the former, and being moiſten'd by exceſſive ſhowers divides aſunder. He called the contraction and condenſation of matter, Cold; the laxation and rareneſs of it, Heat; from whence a man breathes out of his mouth both hot and cold. His breath compreſs'd by his lips and condens'd is cold; but breathed out with an open mouth is hot by reaſon of the rareneſs (15).

(1) *De Placit. Philoſ.* l. 1. c. 3. See *Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.*
(2) Plutarch. ib. 2. 11.
(3) Ibid. 2. 23.
(4) Laert.
(5) Plutarch, *ubi ſupra*, 2. 29.
(6) Idem, ibid.
(7) Idem, 2. 24.
(8) Idem, 2. 29.
(9) Id. 3. 4.
(10) See his article note [*B*].
(11) *See* Stanley, *ubi ſupra.*
(12) Plut. *ubi ſupra*, 3. 5.
(13) Id. 3. 15.
(14) *Meteor.* 2. 7. and Seneca, *Natur. Quæſt.* l. 6. c. 10.
(15) Plutarch. *de primo frigido.*

[*B*] *There are two Epiſtles of his extant in Laertius.*] We ſhall give them in the tranſlation of the learned Mr. Stanley. "*Anaximenes* to *Pythagoras.* "Thales having lived happily even to old age, "ended his days unfortunately. One night going "out of his houſe, as he uſed, with his maid, to "contemplate the Stars, gazing and not taking heed "to the place, he lighted upon a precipice and fell "down. This was the fate of the Mileſian Aſtronomer. But let us, who were his auditors, preſerve the memory of the perſon, and our ſons and "auditors after us. Let us ſtill retain his ſayings, "and begin all our diſcourſes with Thales." The other Epiſtle was as follows. "*Anaximenes* to *Pythagoras.* You are more adviſed than we, who "leaving Samos for Crotona live there in quiet. The "Æacides prove injurious to others, and the Mileſians want not Tyrants of their own chooſing. The "King of Media is likewiſe terrible to us, but would "not be ſo, ſhould we pay him tribute. The Ionians "are reſolved to war with the Medes for the general "liberty; and if they fight, we have no hope of "ſafety. How then can Anaximenes perplexed with "fear of death and ſlavery apply his mind to celeſtial ſpeculations? But you are coveted by the Crotonians and all the Italians. Auditors come to you "as far as from Sicily." T.

☞ANAXIMENES the ſon of Ariſtocles of Lampſacus, an Orator, was the diſciple of Diogenes the Cynick, and of Zoilus of Amphipolis, the railer againſt Homer. He was Preceptor to Alexander of Macedon, and followed him to the wars. When the King was incenſed againſt the people of Lampſacus, becauſe they had taken the part of the Perſians, and threatened them with grievous puniſhments, he circumvented him after the following manner. The people being in danger of loſing their wives, children and country, ſent Anaximenes to intercede for them. Alexander knowing the cauſe of his coming, ſwore by the Gods, that he would do the very reverſe of what he deſired of him. Upon this Anaximenes ſaid to him, *Grant me the favour, O King, to enſlave the wives and children of the people of Lampſacus, to burn their temples, and lay their city even with the ground.* Alexander not being able to evade this ſtratagem, or counter-plot it, and being held down by the obligation of his oath, pardoned Lampſacus againſt his will. Anaximenes revenged himſelf on his enemy Theopompus the ſon of Damoſtratus after a very cunning but very odious manner. For as he was a Sophiſt, and could imitate the ſtyle of Sophiſts, he wrote a book againſt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, carefully framing a railing ſtory, and ſetting the name of Theopompus to it, ſent it to thoſe cities. Hence aroſe an univerſal hatred of Theopompus throughout all Greece. Anaximenes is ſaid to be the inventor of ſpeaking *ex tempore* (*a*).

(*a*) Suidas.

☞ANCHARANUS or DE ANCHARANO (PETER) an eminent Civilian of the fourteenth Century, and author of ſeveral works [*A*], was born at Bologna in Italy,

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral works. Commentaria in ſex Libros Decretalium*; i. e. "Commentaries upon "ſix Books of the Decretals;" with the *Scholia* of Codecha and John de Monteferrato, at Bononia in fol. 1581 (1). *Lectura ſuper Clementinas*; i. e. "A "Lecture upon the Clementines;" with the Additions of Cathar. Pariel and others, at Lyons fol. 1549 and 1553. *Selectæ Quæſtiones omnium præſtantiſſimorum Juriſconſultorum in tres tomos digeſtæ*; i. e. "Select Queſtions from all the beſt Civilians digeſted "in

(1) Oudin. *Comment.* tom. 3. col. 1239.

Italy, and deſcended from the illuſtrious family of the Farneſes. Beſides his uncommon knowledge in the Civil Law, he was extremely converſant in Philoſophy and political affairs, and maſter of a noble eloquence. Theſe qualifications raiſed him a prodigious reputation, and gave him a great authority among his own countrymen. He was likewiſe in high eſteem with the Princes of Italy, and applied to by many divers cities and univerſities (*a*). He ſtudied chiefly under Baldus, whoſe intimate friendſhip he gained, and who inſtructed him in the moſt abſtruſe parts of the Civil Law. He read public Lectures upon the law at firſt in Padua, and afterwards at Bologna, in conjunction with Bartholomew Salicetus, with the greateſt applauſe of his auditors. He flouriſhed about 1380, and the following years; for in May 1382 Salicetus, who was his contemporary, began his Commentaries *in IX Libros Codic.* (*b*) at Bologna. Our author died there about the year 1410, and was buried in the church of St. Benedict (*c*); though ſome writers pretend, that he lived till 1497, which they infer from his epitaph [*B*]. But this is evidently a miſtake, ſince the manuſcript of his Lecture upon the *Clementines* and *Reſcripts*, which is preſerved in the Library at Augſburg, appears to have been written in 1397; and another manuſcript of his Lecture upon the ſecond book of the *Decretals*, which is likewiſe in that Library, ſhews that it was finiſhed at Venice in 1392 (*d*).

(*a*) Oudin. *Comment. de Script. & Scriptis Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Sæc. 14. Col. 1239. edit. Lipſiæ 1722.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) John Fichard, *in Vitis Juriſconſultorum recentiorum*, ſays it was in the church of St. Dominic.

(*d*) Hen. Wharton, *apud* Cave, *Hiſt. Literar. Appen.* p. 77. ed. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

" in three volumes," at Francfort upon the Main, fol. 1581. *Conſilia ſive Reſponſa Juris*; i. e. " Counſels or Anſwers in Law;" with the Additions of Jerom Zanchius, at Venice, 1568, 1585, 1589, 1599, in fol. *Repetitiones in C. Canonum Statuta, de Conſtit.* Venice 1587 (2).

(2) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *His Epitaph.*] Upon the upper part of his monument there is the following inſcription in Roman characters. *D. O. M. Petro Ancharano Juris Pontificii & Cæſarei clariſſimo Interpreti ejus amantiſſimi Saxum hoc inſtauratum poſuere anno Sal. MCCCCLXXXXVII.* i. e. " To the memory of Peter " Ancharanus, a celebrated Profeſſor of the Canon " and Imperial Law this monument was erected by " thoſe, who have the greateſt regard for him, in the " year 1497." Upon the lower part of the monument are the following verſes in Gothic characters.

Canonis hic ſpeculum, civilis & Anchora Juris
Hic jacet, æternas mens tenet alta domos.
Nomen erat Petrus, genuit Farneſia proles;
Nunc Ancharanum dat ſibi Juris opes.
Quis ſuperavit eum virtute micante? quis iſto
Conſiliis hominum clarior ante fuit?
Pro meritis nunc aſtra dedit ſibi Jupiter almus,
Et voluit gelido membra jacere ſolo.

That is,

" Peter, who from the great Farneſian race
" Was ſprung, and bore the name of Ancharanus,
" Of Canoniſts the Mirrour, and the Anchor
" Of Civil Law, lies here interr'd below;
" But his vaſt mind is rais'd to bliſs eternal.
" Who equall'd him in every noble virtue?
" Who more was fam'd for great extenſive wiſdom?
" Heav'n crowns his merits with unfading joys,
" While the cold earth conceals his mortal part."

T.

ANCHISES, a Trojan Prince, deſcended from Dardanus, and ſon of Capys (*a*), was ſo pleaſing to Venus, that ſhe appeared to him under the form of a beautiful nymph, to make known her love to him. She told him ſhe was conſtrained by her deſtiny to come and offer herſelf in marriage to him: She aſſured him he would find her a virgin (*b*), and conjured him to preſent her to his relations, in order to have the marriage contract ſpeedily prepared. Anchiſes, like a well bred man, made anſwer, that ſince ſhe was not a Goddeſs, nothing ſhould prevent his enjoying her on the ſpot (*c*). He was taken at his word; they went to bed, &c. towards evening Anchiſes fell aſleep, and at his waking was ſenſible he had lain with a Goddeſs. He was apprehenſive, that, after ſuch an adventure, his life would be but ſhort [*A*]; but Venus encouraged him, and told him, ſhe ſhould bear him a ſon, who would be called Æneas; that ſhe would cauſe Sylvan Nymphs to breed up the child, till it attained to the age of

(*a*) Hom. Iliad. lib. 20. ver. 239.

(*b*) Ἀπυρήτην φιλότητος. *Homerus in Hymno Veneris*, ver. 133.

(*c*) Πρὶν σὴ φιλότητι μιγαναὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀκοίτιν ἔλθῃ. *Homerus in Hymno Veneris.*

[*A*] *He was apprehenſive after having lain with Venus his life would be but ſhort.*] There was a tradition in thoſe days, that mortals, who lay with Goddeſſes, were not long-lived. For this reaſon Anchiſes, underſtanding the adventure he had had, entreated Venus to have compaſſion on him.

Ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο
Μή με ζῶὸν ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς
Ναίειν· ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ' ἐπεὶ ὀ βιοδάλμιος ἀνὴρ
Γίγνεται, ὅτε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτῃσι (1).

(1) Homer. *in Hymno Veneris*, ver. 188.

" But I intreat thee by Jupiter
" Do not ſuffer me to live weak among men.
" But pity me, becauſe no man is long liv'd,
" Who enjoys immortal Goddeſſes.

At firſt ſight one would imagine, that this thought of the ancients could have had no manner of foundation; for this cloſe union of a mortal man with the immortal nature, this mixture, this confuſion of principles, ought to be deemed an advance towards immortality, and not a cauſe of ſhort life. Thus we ſee, that the moſt refined Cabal has taught, that the inhabitants of the elements repair the misfortune of their deſtiny, which has ſubjected them to an annihilation; " by " the alliance, which they are capable of contracting " with man. . . . Thus a Nymph or a Sylphe become " immortal and qualified for the enjoyment of that " beatitude to which we aſpire, when they are ſo " happy as to marry a Sage: and a Gnome or a Sylphe " ceaſe to be mortal, the moment they marry one of " our daughters (2)." But if we examine this affair thoroughly, we ſhall find a plauſible reaſon for Anchiſes's fear, and for the maxim laid down by him. The Gods, according to the opinion of the Heathens, were jealous of their ſuperiority, and took care, that man ſhould not be unmindful of his inferiority. It was therefore incumbent on them to exclude him from the poſſeſſion of Goddeſſes, and to give him to underſtand, that this was too delicious a morſel for him. It was neceſſary they ſhould inſtil into him the fear of an exemplary puniſhment, ſuch as is that of a premature death, in caſe he ſhould taſte a pleaſure of this nature, which they reſerve for themſelves. They were to ſtrike terror, not only into thoſe men, who ſhould be ſo audacious as to tempt a Goddeſs, but alſo into every mortal, that ſhould be overcome by

(2) See the *Comte de Gabalis*, p. 54.

of five years, and that ſhe would then put him into his hands. She gave him notice to be on his guard not to boaſt his having enjoyed Venus; at the ſame time letting him know, that, ſhould his diſcretion ever fail him, he would be thunder-ſtruck by Jupiter (d). It is pretended, that Anchiſes had not the power to refrain from ſpeaking of this his good fortune [B], and that one day drinking with his friends, the ſecret eſcaped him. Venus's menace had its effect; he was ſtruck by thunder, but did not die of it [C]. Some ſay it occaſioned only the loſs of his ſight [D]; others pretend that the wound never cloſed [E]. It is ſaid he lived to the age of eighty, and was buried on Mount Ida [F],

(d) Idem, ibid.

by the declarations of love made to him by the Goddeſſes, even tho' he ſhould believe them to be but women. Don't we ſee, that human laws puniſh with death ſervants, who lie with their Maſter's wife or daughter? It little avails them to plead in excuſe, their having long reſiſted the temptation, and that ſo many advances have been made them, and even threatenings uſed to prevail on them, that at laſt they had not been able to defend themſelves from the ſnare: the law, notwithſtanding it ſuppoſes their excuſe to be true, delivers them over to the executioner. The Gazette a few days ago (3) informed us, that a ſervant had been hanged at Paris for a like caſe. And as the public intereſt in ſome inſtances requires, that the rigor of the law ſhould paſs the bounds of juſtice, becauſe injuſtice exerciſed againſt an individual (4) is, politically ſpeaking, leſs an evil than the public utility, which reſults from it, is a good, I don't believe, that Judges animated by a rigid zeal for the preſervation of the purity of families would have any regard to the apology of a ſervant founded on the daughter or wife's having come to him diſguiſed like a ſervant, &c. It is of uſe, that ſervants ſhould, in this caſe, have no hopes of pardon, not even from ignorance of the fact; for this is proper to keep them on their guard, and to make them look with horror on the ſuppoſed advantage of being beloved. This may ſerve them for a caution againſt promiſes, againſt menaces, againſt the wiles of diſguiſement. If they could promiſe themſelves impunity, in the caſe of a ſeducement diſguiſed, they would hope for it in a plain ſeducement; and if they hoped to eſcape by alledging with truth, that they had been tempted, they would ſoon arrive at the audaciouſneſs of tempting on the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs. They muſt therefore be reſtrained by fear as much as poſſible; for the man that does not depend upon their reſiſtance, has not all the neceſſary helps the caſe requires. Now as the Pagans imagined, that men of the higheſt rank were in a greater degree inferior to the Gods, than a footman to a man of the firſt diſtinction, it is not to be wondered at, if they believed that Anchiſes was by the celeſtial law expoſed to chaſtiſement, altho' he enjoyed not Venus but under the notion of her being a woman.

(3) This was written in July 1698.

(4) *See* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 25. cap. 44.

[B] *It is pretended that Anchiſes had not the power to refrain from ſpeaking of this his good fortune.*] Yet was the menace a terrible one.

Εἰ δὲ κὲν ἐξείπῃς καὶ ἐπεύξεαι ἄφρονι θύμῳ
Ἐν φιλότητι μιγῆναι εὐστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
Ζεύς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ (5).

(5) Homer. *in Hymno Ven. ſub fin.* ver. 287.

" If you reveal this ſecret, and madly boaſt,
" That you have mixed in love with Venus,
" Jupiter will be enraged againſt you
" And ſtrike you with a fiery thunderbolt.

This adventure is a picture often copied. Ladies of the firſt quality, who fall in love with their inferiors, are obliged to make all the advances; they exact great ſecrecy, and threaten an heavy puniſhment on indiſcretion, notwithſtanding which the favourite, when the wine has got into his head, abſtains not from prating more than is proper. Sometimes he is ſo vain as to talk too much even when ſober. Let us bring ſome authority for Anchiſes's indiſcretion. *Fulminatus eſt Anciſes, quia ſe cum Venere concubuiſſe jactabat.* i. e. " Anchiſes was ſtruck with thunder, " becauſe he boaſted of having lain with Venus." This is what Servius ſays (6). Here follows what Hyginus ſays: *Venus Anchiſam Aſſaraci* (7) *filium amaſſe, & cum eo concubuiſſe dicitur: procreavit Æneam, eique præcepit ne id apud homines enunciaret. Quod Anchiſes inter ſodales per vinum eſt elocutus. Ob id à Jove fulmine eſt ictus* (8). i. e. " Venus is " ſaid to have been in love with Anchiſes the ſon of " Aſſaracus and to have lain with him. She had Æ- " neas by him, and charged him not to ſpeak of it " amongſt men. But being in liquor he blabbed it out " amongſt his companions, for which he was thun- " derſtruck by Jupiter."

(6) Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 2. ver. 649.

(7) Hyginus had done better to have given him Capys for father, and not Aſſaracus, who was father to Capys.

(8) Hygin. cap. 94.

[C] *He was ſtruck with thunder, but did not die of it.*] Venus underſtanding that Anchiſes had boaſted of the favours he had received from her, complained to Jupiter, and obtained that he ſhould be thunder-ſtruck: but as ſhe had no deſire to deſtroy him, nor had hopes of his eſcaping a ſtroke of thunder, ſhe took care to divert the blow. *Cum inter æquales exultaret Anchiſes gloriatus traditur de concubitu Veneris, quod cum Jovi Venus queſta eſſet, emeruit ut in Anchiſam fulmina mitterentur; ſed Venus eum, cum fulmine poſſe vidiſſet interimi, miſerata juvenem in aliam partem detorſit. Anchiſes tamen afflatus igne cæleſti ſemper debilis vixit* (9). Here we have an original again from which copies are drawn in all ages. Women are angry with an indiſcreet Gallant; are glad to make him ſenſible of his fault; yet don't carry matters too far, but leave room for his return.

(9) Servius *in Æneid.* lib. 2. ver. 649.

[D] *It occaſioned only the loſs of his ſight.*] We learn from Servius, that Anchiſes, for having boaſted of favours granted him by Venus, was deprived of his ſight by thunder: *Quòd cum jactaret Anchiſes, afflatus eſt fulmine, oculoque privatus eſt* (10). We are not to imagine from *oculo* in the ſingular, that he was only blind of one eye; for Servius in another place (11), makes uſe of the authority of Theocritus, to inform us that it was a total blindneſs.

(10) Servius upon theſe two verſes of the 1ſt of the Æneid. *Tunc ille Æneas, quem Dardanio Anchiſæ Alma Venus genuit Phrygii Simoentis ad undas,* ver. 617.

[E] *The wound never cloſed.*] In *Virgil* he complains only of a great weakneſs occaſioned by the thunder-ſtroke.

Jampridem inviſus divis & inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis, & contigit igni (12).

(11) In Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 687.

(12) Virg. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 647.

" 'Tis long ſince I, for my celeſtial wife,
" Loath'd by the Gods, have drag'd a ling'ring life:
" Since ev'ry hour and moment I expire,
" Blaſted from heav'n by Jove's avenging fire."
Dryden.

I am ſurprized that Scarron, who in his burleſque Paraphraſe on this paſſage of Virgil, has ſhewn he was not ignorant of the cauſe of this misfortune, has been ſo reſerved; it ſeems to me a ſubject capable of having been well ridiculed by him. However that be, his verſion is as follows.

Vieil, caſſé, mol propre à la guerre,
Je ne ſers de rien ſur la terre.
Spectre, qui n'ai plus que la voix,
J'y ſuis un inutile poids.
Depuis le tems que de ſon foudre
Jupin me voulut mettre en poudre:
Depuis le tems qu'il m'effraya,
Ce grand Dieu qui me giboya,
Par une vengeance ſecrette;
Mais je ſuis perſonne diſcrete;
Je n'en dirai point le ſujet:
Suffit que s'aurois eu mon fait,
Sans Venus, qui ſauva ma vie:
J'ay depuis eu cent fois envie
De m'aller pendre un beau matin,
Et finir mon chien de deſtin.

" Old, worn out, for war unfit,
" I am uſeleſs on earth.
" A ſpectre, whoſe voice alone remains,
" An unſerviceable weight.

" Ere

Ida [F], where ſhepherds paid honours to his monument. This opinion differs much from that of Virgil; for, according to that Poet, the night on which Troy was taken, Æneas took his father on his ſhoulders [G], and carried him to a place of ſafety; and this good old man died not till the Trojans, who had joined Æneas, were, after numberleſs fatigues, arrived in Sicily. This tenderneſs of Æneas for his father, together with the care he took to ſave the houſhold Gods, is the foundation of the character by which he is diſtinguiſhed from other heroes. This character conſiſts in his piety (e). There are ſome who ſay, that Anchiſes lived till his ſon's arrival in Italy, that Land of Promiſe, which the deſtinies had ordered him to go in ſearch of through a thouſand dangers (f). Cato, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, and Strabo, embrace this opinion (g). Laſtly, Venus's love for Anchiſes was no tranſitory paſſion; the firſt child-birth did not

(e) Virgil often applies the epithet of *Pius Æneas* to him.

(f) See amongſt other paſſages the firſt book of the Æneid, ver. 205, and 258.

(g) See the note [F] towards the end.

" Ere ſince the time that with his thunder
" Jove was about to reduce me to powder;
" Ere ſince the time he frighted me,
" That great God who ſhot at me,
" Out of a ſecret vengeance;
" But I'm a diſcreet perſon,
" And will not mention the cauſe:
" Let it ſuffice I had been deſtroy'd,
" Had not Venus ſaved my life.
" I have ſince an hundred times been prompted
" To hang myſelf ſome morning or other,
" And end my ſcoundrel deſtiny.

If we compare a paſſage of Plutarch with one of Dionyſius Halycarnaſſeus, we ſhall prove that the thunder-ſtroke cauſed a wound which never cloſed. Plutarch ſomewhere ſays (13), that if on one hand garments the moſt torn are by musk rendered odoriferous; on the other the corruption of an ulcer impoiſons the richeſt ſtuffs (14). This is his thought; but inſtead of ſpeaking in general, as I make him, he applies himſelf to the particular example of Anchiſes. *From under the rich and precious attire of Duke Anchiſes*, ſays he, according to Amyot's verſion, *there iſſued a very ſtinking matter, as the Poet ſays,*

(13) Plutarch. *de Vitio & Virtute. Oper. Moral.* p. 100.

(14) I do not tie my ſelf up to Plutarch's words, but his thought.

Son veſtement, qui de fin lin eſtoit,
Boue d'odeur puante dégoutoit,

" His garment, which was a fine linen,
" Dropt a ſtinking matter.

Meziriac tranſlates thus,

" Anchiſes's ulcer threw out a ſtinking matter.

Qui ſuppurant, ſons ceſſe dégoutoit
Sur ſon habit, qui de fin lin eſtoit (15).

(15) Meziriac, Ovid's *Epiſtles*, p. 671.

In the original thus;

Τῷ δὲ Ἀγχίσῃ τὸ ῥάκος ἰχῶρα πονηρὸν ἐξεδίδου,
Μοσχῷ καταζώννυτα βύσσινον φάρος.

Now as according to the common uſage, ῥάκος ſignifies ragged, tattered garments, there is no likelihood that ſuch a word ſhould be left in the Greek text; therefore a learned Critic puts ἕλκος, wound, ulcer, inſtead of ῥάκος (16). The Tranſlators were not ignorant, that Plutarch reports the words of ſome Poet, but that is not ſufficient; we muſt farther know what Poet's words they are. Meziriac will inform us (17); he found them in Dionyſius Halycarnaſſeus (18), who reports ſome verſes of Sophocles, of which the third is the ſame that Plutarch cites.

(16) Ibid. pag. 670.

(17) Ib. p. 671.

(18) Dion. Hal. lib. 1. cap. 48. Theſe verſes of Sophocles are taken out of his Laocoon.

Νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνείας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ
Πάρες' ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων, κραυνίᾳ
Μοσχῷ καταζώννυτα βύσσινον φάρος.

Je vois deſ-ja le fils de Cytherée,
Le bon Ænée, aux portes d'Ilion,
Deſſus ſon dos portant ſon pere Anchiſe,
Qui du grand coup de foudre qu'il receut
Garde la playe encore diſtillante
Sur le fin lin dont il eſt reveſtu.

" I ſee already the ſon of Cytherea
" The good Æneas, at the gates of Ilium,
" Upon his back carrying his father Anchiſes,
" Who from the great thunder-ſtroke he received,
" Retains the wound ſtill diſtilling
" Upon the fine linen with which he is clad.

Meziriac, who is the author of theſe French verſes, has corrected a fault in the beginning of the third verſe of Sophocles, inſtead of νάτῳ, which we read in all the editions of Dionyſius Halycarnaſſeus, he has put μοσχῷ. There is nothing in that which is not according to the rules of criticiſm; the comparing of authors, who have at different times cited the ſame paſſage, often occaſions the true reading's being found out. Sylburgius, who reviſed the Latin verſion of Dionyſius Halycarnaſſeus done by Sigiſmund Gelenius, has left in a bad condition what relates to the third verſe of Sophocles. Here follows the tranſlation of thoſe three verſes:

Nunc in porta eſt Æneas deæ filius,
Humeris bajulans patrem fulminata
Terga amictum fluxa veſte byſſina.

We do not find here the ſuppurating wound, and we ſee Anchiſes ſmitten on the back; that is to ſay, we ſee not what Sophocles wrote, and we ſee what he did not write. If the antient writers were to return into the world, they would be very much ſurprized to find in their books a great many things which they never thought of.

[F] *He was buried on Mount Ida.*] Euſtathius relates this (19); but Pauſanias is of quite another opinion. He ſays, that Æneas, going to Sicily, put into Laconia, and there built two cities, and that Anchiſes, dying at the foot of a mountain in Arcadia, was there buried, which occaſioned the Mountain's being called Anchiſia (20). Pauſanias adds, that the ruins of a temple of Venus were to be ſeen near this ſepulchre of Anchiſes; and that the inhabitants of Troy did not in any place ſhew the monument of this old man. Stephanus Byzantinus will have it, that Anchiſes was buried in a city of Thrace built by Æneas (21); or rather, he cites an old Scholiaſt named Theon, who had ſaid this. Tzetzes is of the ſame opinion; he only differs in ſaying that city was in Macedonia (22). Virgil has brought the good man as far as Sicily; it is in that Iſland he makes him die; with this paſſage it is he concludes his hero's long narration to Dido.

(19) Euſtathius in *Iliados*, lib. 12.

(20) Pauſan. lib. 8. p. 247.

(21) Steph. Byzant. in Ἄγχισα.

(22) Tzetzes in *Lycophron.*

Hinc Drepani me portus & illætabilis ora
Accipit. Hinc pelagi tot tempeſtatibus actus,
Heu Genitorem, omnis curæ caſuſque levamen,
Amitto Anchiſen. Hic me, pater optime, feſſum
Deſeris, heu tantis nequidquam erepte periclis (23).

(23) Virgil. Æn. lib. 3. ver. 707.

" At length on ſhore the weary fleet arriv'd;
" Which Drepanum's unhappy port receiv'd.
" Here, after endleſs labours, often toſt
" By raging ſtorms, and driv'n on ev'ry coaſt,
" My dear, dear father, ſpent with age I loſt.
" Eaſe of my cares, and ſolace of my pain,
" Sav'd thro' a thouſand toils, but ſav'd in vain.
Dryden.

According to Servius, Anchiſes monument was on the mountain of Eryx, near Drepanum (24). I have quoted three writers, who have ſaid, that Anchiſes died in Italy. Cato (25), Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (26) and Strabo (27) ſay ſo.

(24) Servius in Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 570.

(25) *Apud* Servium, ibid.

(26) *Antiquit.* lib. 1. cap. 64.

(27) Lib. 5. p. 158.

[G] *He took his father on his ſhoulders and carried him to a place of ſafety.*] Virgil's words are ſo beautiful as to deſerve citing.

Ergo

not cure it, ſhe brought Anchiſes a ſecond ſon, as Apollodorus takes notice in the third book of his *Bibliotheca*.

(28) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 707.

Ergo age, chare pater, cervici imponere noſtræ,
Ipſe ſubibo humeris, nec me labor iſte gravabit (28).

(29) Ibid. ver. 721.

Hæc fatus, latos humeros ſubjectaque colla
Veſte ſuper, fulvique inſternor pelle leonis,
Succedoque oneri; dextræ ſe parvus Iülus
Implicuit, ſequiturque patrem non paſſibus æquis (29).

(30) Ibid. ver. 728.

Nunc omnes terrent auræ: ſonus excitat omnis
Suſpenſum, & pariter comitique onerique timentem (30).

" Haſte, my dear father, ('tis no time to wait,)
" And load my ſhoulders with a willing fraight.

" Thus, ord'ring all that prudence could provide,
" I cloath my ſhoulders with a lion's hide;
" And yellow ſpoils: Then, on my bending back,
" The welcome load of my dear father take.
" While on my better hand Aſcanius hung,
" And with unequal paces tript along.

" At ev'ry ſhadow now I am ſeiz'd with fear,
" Not for myſelf, but for the charge I bear."
Dryden.

The Poets have very much celebrated this action; it deſerved it well. They have even ſaid, that the flames ſhewed him reſpect, and that for fear of hurting a ſon, who had ſuch great tenderneſs for his father, they ſeparated to leave a ſpace free for Æneas (31).

(31) See the proofs of this in La Cerda's Commentary on this paſſage of Virgil.

ANCILLON (DAVID) a Miniſter of the Reformed Church at Metz, where he was born (a) the ſeventeenth of March 1617. He ſtudied *from the ninth or tenth year of his age* in the Jeſuits College, which was then the only one at Metz, where there was an opportunity of learning polite Literature (b). In this College he gave ſuch lively proofs of his genius, that the heads of the Society *left nothing unattempted in order to draw him over to their religion and party*; but he continued firm againſt their attacks, *and upon this took a reſolution of ſtudying Divinity* (c). He was indefatigable in labour (d), ſo that his father was often obliged to interpoſe his authority to interrupt his continual application; for *he was guilty of an exceſs, and if we may term it ſo, an intemperance in his manner of ſtudying* (e). He went to Geneva in the year 1633 (f), and performed his courſe of Philoſophy there under Mr. du Pan (g), and his Divinity ſtudies under Spanheim, Diodati and Tronchin, who had a prodigious love and eſteem for him (h). He left Geneva in April 1641, and offered himſelf to the Synod of Charenton, in order to take upon him the office of a Miniſter (i). His abilities were greatly admired by the Examiners, and his modeſty by the Miniſters of Paris (k); and the whole Aſſembly was ſo highly ſatisfied with him, that they gave him *one of the moſt conſiderable Churches, which was unprovided for* (l). It was that of Meaux. He exerciſed his Miniſtry there with all the ſatisfaction imaginable till the year 1653. He was prodigiouſly loved by his people. He married to very great advantage [A]; he raiſed himſelf an extenſive reputation by his learning, eloquence and virtue, and was even highly reſpected by thoſe of the Roman Catholick communion. He ſhewed theſe excellent talents of his with ſtill greater reputation and ſucceſs in his own country, where he was Miniſter from the year 1653 till the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. He retired to Francfort after that fatal blow (m); and having preached in the French church at Hanaw, *the whole Aſſembly was ſo edified by it, that they immediately called together the heads of the families, in order to propoſe that he might be deſired to accept of the office of Miniſter among them.... (n) The propoſition was agreed to*; and they ſent Deputies to him, *who obtained what they deſired. He began therefore the exerciſe of his miniſtry in that church about the end of the year* 1685 (o). We ſhall ſee below the reaſon why he returned ſo ſoon to Francfort [B], where he would have fixed, if the circumſtances of his family, which

(a) *Diſcours ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 6.
(b) Ib. pag. 8.
(c) Ibid. pag. 9.
(d) Ibid. p. 13.
(e) Ibid. p. 13, 14.
(f) Ibid. p. 14.
(g) Ibid. p. 18.
(h) Ibid. pag. 20, 21.
(i) Ibid. p. 31.
(k) Ibid. p. 35.
(l) Ibid. pag. 36.
(m) Ibid. p. 352.
(n) Ibid. 353.
(o) Ibid. p. 354.

[A] *He married to very great advantage.*] The manner, in which this affair was managed, is very curious. " The principal Heads of families of the " Church of Meaux ſeeing how much their Miniſter " diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and hearing him ſometimes " ſaying, that he would go to Metz to ſee his father and " relations, whom he had not ſeen for ſeveral years, " were apprehenſive leſt they ſhould loſe him. They " thought of a thouſand expedients in order to fix him " with them for a long time; and the ſureſt way in " their opinion was to marry him to ſome rich Lady of " merit, who had an eſtate in that country or near " it. One of them recollected he had heard, that " Mr. Ancillon having preached one Sunday in the " morning at Charenton, he was univerſally applaud- " ed; and that Mr. Macaire eſpecially, who was a " venerable old Gentleman, of very exemplary vir- " tue and piety, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate " at Paris and about Meaux, had given him a thou- " ſand bleſſings and commendations, and ſaid aloud " to thoſe, who ſat near him in the Church, that " *he had but one daughter, who was an only child,* " *and very dear to him; but if that Gentleman,* " ſpeaking of Mr. Ancillon, *ſhould come and ask her* " *in marriage, he would give her with all his heart.* " Upon this, they went to ask him, whether he ſtill " continued in that favourable opinion of him; he " replied, that he did; and accompanied that anſwer " with new expreſſions of his eſteem and affection " for Mr. Ancillon; ſo that the marriage was con- " cluded in the year 1649, and conſummated a little " time after. Mademoiſelle Mary Macaire, his ſpouſe, " was then very young, for ſhe was but fourteen " years of age; but as ſhe had then all the virtues " growing in her, we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this " diſcourſe, that ſhe was not only an help to him in " piety, and in the comforts of ſociety, which ren- " der'd her agreeable to him, but likewiſe in point " of œconomy, and the care of his family, which he " repoſed entirely in her (1)."

(1) *Diſcours ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 75, &c.

[B] *He returned very ſoon to Francfort.*] His preaching *made a great noiſe at Hanaw* (2). *Several perſons, who had quitted the French Church, for ſome diſguſt, which they had received, returned to it again. The Profeſſors of Divinity, and the German and Dutch Miniſters attended frequently upon his Sermons. The Count of Hanaw himſelf, who had never before been ſeen in that Church, was ſo obliging as to come thither to hear Mr. Ancillon. They came from the neighbouring parts, and even from Francfort.... people, who underſtood nothing of French, flock'd together with great eagerneſs, and ſaid, that they lov'd to*

(2) Ib. p. 354.

which *was very numerous, had not obliged him to go to ſome other place, where he might ſettle himſelf (p)*. He choſe Berlin, where he received a kind reception from his Highneſs the Elector of Brandenbourg (*q*). He was made Miniſter of Berlin, where he had the pleaſure of ſeeing his eldeſt ſon made *Judge and Director of the French*, who were in that city (*r*), and his other ſon rewarded with a penſion, and entertained at the Univerſity of Francfort upon the Oder, and at laſt Miniſter in ordinary of the Capital (*s*). He had likewiſe the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his brother *made Judge of all the French in the States of Brandenbourg* [*C*], and Mr. Cayart, his ſon-in-law, Engineer to his Electoral Highneſs (*t*). He enjoyed theſe agreeable circumſtances, and ſeveral others till his death; and he finiſhed his courſe with all the ſentiments of piety which are worthy of a faithful Miniſter of Chriſt, at Berlin, the third of September 1692, aged ſeventy five years (*u*). I could make this article much longer than I have done, for the book, from which I have extracted this, contained a great many particulars; but as that is a work which it is much eaſier to conſult than to procure this Dictionary, I choſe rather to refer the reader to it, than to give too large an extract from it (*x*). I ſhould have taken another method, if I had been to write from manuſcript memoirs. I ſhall only mention two things, one which relates to the Library of the late Mr. Ancillon, and his manner of ſtudying [*D*], and the other to the books which he publiſhed [*E*];

(p) Ibid. p. 366.
(q) Ibid. p. 372, &c.
(r) Ib. p. 375.
(s) Ibid. p. 397.
(t) Ibid. p. 395.
(u) Ib. p. 487.

(x) It is entitled, *Diſcours ſur la Vie de feu Monſ. Ancillon, & ſes dernieres Heures*. It was printed at Baſil in 1698, and contains 500 pages in 12mo.

to ſee him ſpeak. Inde iræ & lacrymæ. *This diſtinction gave occaſion to the jealouſy of two other Miniſters. Nature influenced by this paſſion forgot its duties* (3); *they took umbrage from the marks of eſteem and affection which were ſhewn to their new Collegue; they were diſpleaſed at it; and obliged him by a thouſand uneaſy circumſtances to abandon voluntarily a place which they could not force him from. The virtue of Mr. Ancillon was a ſecond time engaged in the combat. His two kinſmen* (4), *inſtead of the zeal, which they teſtified for his intereſt, which was ſo extraordinary, that they ſeemed to wiſh, that they could change the ſtones into bread to ſupport him, while he was only as a ſtranger in their city, as ſoon as ever he was engaged to their congregation, they became his abſolute enemies; they gave him a thouſand mortifications, and they would readily have changed the bread into ſtones, to drive him out of the city, ſo uneaſy was he to them. . . . . This conduct of theirs produced two very conſiderable effects* (5); *one, that the Roman Catholics and the irreligious made this a ſubject of raillery; and the other, to enrage the people* (6). *Mr. Ancillon maintained their favour and good opinion; and if he would have made uſe of that, it is probable he might have ſurmounted the malice of his enemies; but as he thought a faithful Paſtor ought not to eſtabliſh his own intereſts upon any diviſion between a congregation and its Miniſters, and thro' his whole life he had been averſe to parties, and had remonſtrated often againſt cabals and factions, he would not take advantage of the diſpoſition, which the people were in towards him, nor permit them to act. Having therefore attempted every method, which charity and honeſty ſuggeſted, to recover theſe two men to their duty, he reſolved to quit Hanaw, ſince that place, which he had regarded as a quiet refuge, and a ſafe port, into which he was driven by the ſtorm, was now become a field of battle, where he muſt contend without intermiſſion, and where his patience, which had ſupported ſeveral grand trials, might poſſibly be at laſt overcome; and upon theſe conſiderations he left it. . . .* (7). *He departed therefore. from Hanaw privately, at a time when they leaſt expected it; or rather he ſuffered himſelf to be taken out of the hands of his enemies and of his friends* (8); *the one holding him, if I may ſo expreſs it, by one hand, abuſed him; and the other holding him by the other hand, endeavoured all they could to reſcue him from the oppreſſion, which he ſuffered; and both of them were ready to come to a quarrel, that is, to make their contention public, and to ſee who ſhould carry the diſpute. To avoid this ſcandal he ſacrificed his own intereſts to peace; he went away without acquainting any perſon, for fear leſt his friends by endeavouring to detain him ſhould raiſe again the flame which lay lurking under the aſhes, and which he was willing to extinguiſh.*

(3) Ibid. p. 356.

(4) One had been married to his ſiſter, and the other was actually husband to his niece. ibid. P. 353.

(5) Ibid. p. 357.

(6) Ibid. p. 359.

(7) Ib. p. 360.

(8) Ib. p. 361.

An obſervation concerning the jealouſy occaſion'd by another's eloquence.

I think I have ſome where obſerved (9), that the jealouſy of another's eloquence is the ſtrongeſt paſſion in the world. We ſee too often the ſcandalous diviſions which it produced. The reflections, which might be made upon this point, are proper only to be ſuppreſſed. The ſubject is of too delicate and invidious a nature. I ſhall only ſay, without alluding to any particular caſe, that in this affair people do not conduct themſelves with prudence and charity enough. They ought to chooſe for their Paſtors men, whoſe qualifications are pretty near equal; or if one of them is very remarkably ſuperior to his Collegues, they ought not to magnify his ſuperiority too much. They have no compaſſion for human infirmities, they run in troops to hear one Preacher, while they leave the churches of the reſt almoſt empty. They ſhew theſe marks of diſtinctions in ſo open a manner, that this imprudence of theirs may be conſidered as a chief cauſe of the diſagreement. This is ſowing of tares; whereas men of ſenſe are never guilty of this indiſcretion. All the hearers ought to follow this example; but as this is not to be expected from the people in general, the beſt method perhaps, that can be taken, would be, that thoſe, who manage the elections, ſhould avoid too viſible an inequality in the talents of the Candidates; and ſhould conſider, that in certain profeſſions many perſons approve of that law of Epheſians, *that there ſhould be no perſon among us of too great eminence and ſuperiority; and if there be ſuch an one, that he be ſent to ſome other part, rather than be ſuffered to continue in our city* (10). This law was condemned by Heraclitus; but he was a Philoſopher. I ſhall give here a remark of the Author of the book, which I have ſo often quoted above. *Mr. Ancillon*, ſays he (12), *having none of thoſe defects, which it is obſerved are the common ſources of diviſion among Miniſters of the ſame Church; as, 1, an attachment to their particular opinions, and a deſire of promoting them; 2, a fondneſs for the eſteem and glory of the world; 3, a love of power; 4, a regard to their own intereſts; and having a great eſteem for Mr. Ferry* (13) *on account of his great age, and his approved merit for many years; he obliged, if I may ſo expreſs it, that great man to live in a conſtant and inviolable Friendſhip with him.*

(9) In the rem. [*B*] of the article ATTICUS.

(10) See the quotation following.

(11) *Eſt apud Heraclitum Phyſicum de principe Epheſiorum Hermodoro. Univerſos ait Epheſios eſſe morte mulctandos, quod quum civitate expellerent Hermodorum ita locuti ſunt; "Nemo de "nobis unus excellat; ſed ſi "quis extiterit, "alio in loco & "apud alios ſit.* Cicero, *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 5. c. 36.

(12) *Diſc. ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 93.

(13) The Collegue of Mr. Ancillon at Metz.

[*C*] *He had the ſatisfaction to ſee his brother* (14) *made Judge of the French in Brandenburg.*] "A "poſt, which he ſtill fills with honour; and which, "as laborious as it is, does not hinder him from "obliging the world in the *Journals of Berlin* with "a great many accurate and judicious pieces, which "ſhew the ſolidity and vaſt extent of his knowledge "and learning (15)."

(14) He had been a famous Advocate at Metz.

(15) *Diſcours ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, pag. 102, 392, 393.

[*D*] *I ſhall ſpeak of his library and manner of ſtudying.*] The riches, which he obtained by his marriage, having enabled him to gratify *his favourite paſſion* (16), *he bought all the chief books, which may be called* the Pillars *of a large Library, ſuch as the Bibles, which are moſt curious on account of the edition or the notes, the ſeveral Dictionaries, the beſt Commentators upon Scripture, the Works of the Fathers, the Collections of the Councils, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and ſeveral others of the ſame kind. He choſe the beſt editions* (17). *He always followed the ſame rule, and gave good reaſons for it; which would be too long to mention particularly; but the ſubſtance*

(16) He ſaid ſometimes of himſelf, that he was troubled with the *Bibliomania*, or diſeaſe of buying *Books*, ib. p. 105.

(17) Ib. p. 77.

ſubſtance of them in ſhort is this: He ſaid, that it is certain the leſs the eyes are fatigued in reading a work, the more liberty the mind has to judge of it. As we ſee more clearly the excellencies and defects of a printed book, than when it is in manuſcript; ſo we ſee them more plainly, when it is printed in a fair character and upon good paper, than when the impreſſion and paper are both bad. After he had laid this good foundation of a Library, he enlarged it with all the good books of any importance, which were publiſhed afterwards. He had the pleaſure of having them new; for his friends at Paris, and in Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with whom he kept a ſtrict correſpondence, ſent him them as ſoon as ever they were publiſhed. The opinion of thoſe, who ſay that the firſt editions are the leaſt valuable, becauſe they ſerve only as a fair copy of the works of an Author, had no effect upon his curioſity. He knew well enough that the famous Mr. Menage, Dean of St. Peter's at Angers, in the Dedication of his Origines de la Langue Françoiſe *to Mr. Du Puy, tells him, that he once heard from him, that Mr. Loyſel, a celebrated Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, uſed to ſay that the firſt editions of books ſerve only as a fair copy of the works of an Author; and that this judicious Gentleman ſpoke this of all kinds of books with great reaſon; but that the obſervation is more true with regard to Dictionaries, than to any other ſorts of writings. He knew that others were of opinion, that firſt editions were only to be conſidered as imperfect Eſſays, which the Authors propoſe to Men of learning in order to know their ſentiments of them. But all this did not hinder him from indulging his curioſity; and the event having ſhewn him, that he run but a ſmall riſque in it* (18), *he continued the ſame cuſtom. In ſhort we have ſeen hitherto but a few Authors like Cardinal Perron in this reſpect, who ſpared no pains, nor care, nor coſt in his works, and always had them printed twice over; the firſt time only to diſtribute a few copies amongſt his particular friends, that he might have their obſervations upon them; and the ſecond time, to publiſh them in the form, which he thought proper: and to prevent the firſt impreſſion from being publiſhed contrary to his deſign, he had them printed in his own houſe, where he had a printing-preſs on purpoſe.*

(18) See the quotation (29) below.

" The Library of Mr. Ancillon was very curious " and very large, and he enlarged it every day with " all that appeared new and important in the Re- " public of Letters; ſo that at laſt it was one of " the nobleſt collections, which was in the hands " of any private perſon in the Kingdom. Foreig- " ners, who were curious, uſed to viſit it, as they " paſſed thro' the city of Metz as the moſt valuable " curioſity there (19)." When he ſaw the Catalogue of *pretended heretical books*, publiſhed by the Archbiſhop of Paris, he laid aſide all thoſe books, *which were ordered to be ſuppreſſed* (20); and they *compoſed his Library in the foreign countries, which he retired to* (21); *for his own was plundered after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; he would not have had a book remaining, if thoſe, which he had hid, had not been concealed from the perſons who ſeized the reſt of his Library. . . . . The Monks and Eccleſiaſtics of Metz and the neighbouring towns had long coveted the Library of Mr. Ancillon* (22). His being obliged to depart on a ſudden gave them a fair pretence to take poſſeſſion of it; ſome of them propoſed to buy the whole together, and others required, that it ſhould be ſold by retail; but neither the one nor the other *had any deſign to pay the value of it; they only contrived how to get poſſeſſion of it. The expedient of the laſt was followed, as the moſt favourable to this unjuſt deſign. A company of Eccleſiaſtics of all orders came from every part to lay hands on this fine and copious Library, which had been collected with the utmoſt care for forty years, and conſiſted of thoſe books, which were moſt rare and worthy of the curioſity of the moſt learned Men. They took away a large number of them together, and gave a little money, as they went out, to a young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who look'd after them, that they might have it to ſay, they had paid for them. Thus Mr. Ancillon ſaw that valuable treaſure diſperſed, which he had been ſo long collecting, and in which he had placed his chief pleaſure, and as it were his heart.* We may obſerve, that the loſs of his Library involved in it that of an infinite number of letters, which he deſigned to have publiſhed (23), and which Mr. Ancillon received from ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed genius and learning; and particularly thoſe, which his intimate friend Mr. Daille wrote to him: An irreparable loſs (24)!

(19) *Diſcours ſur la Vie de Mr. Ancillon*, p. 102, 103.

(20) Ib. p. 328.

(21) Ib. p. 383.

(22) Ib. p. 342.

(23) Ib. p. 219.

(24) They gave one another, inſtead of the common title of *Monſieur*, only that of *Mon cher Atticus, my dear Atticus*. ibid. A reflection upon the fate of ſome Libraries, and upon the indolence of thoſe who wait for ſecond editions.

This might furniſh us with ſeveral ſubjects for reflection; for is it not a very melancholly thing, to ſee one day deſtroy all that has been doing with a prodigious deal of care and expence for ſeveral years? Is it not a deplorable misfortune to be deprived in one moment of what had been collected in a long courſe of time by the moſt innocent methods, and prepared as a continual ſource of the moſt laudable delight, and noble inſtruction? Is it not a ſad reflection to ſee one's ſelf deprived at once of an infinite number of volumes, which had been amaſſed together with the utmoſt care, and which we had fixed our peculiar ſatisfaction upon? We ſhould have been much more eaſy, if the flames had conſumed them; but there is no poſſibility without a peculiar ſhare of grace of bearing the thought, that they ſhould be the prey of an unjuſt poſſeſſor, to whom they coſt nothing but the pains of carrying them home. The Triumvirate, who diſpoſſeſſed thoſe of their lands, who had manured them for their whole life, and gave them to people, who had never contributed any thing for their cultivation, never occaſioned ſo ſenſible a grief, as that was of thoſe Scholars who ſaw their Libraries diſpers'd, and falling into the hands of a cruel perſecutor, who deſerved hatred, if he acted contrary to his conſcience; and pity, if his falſe Religion perſuaded him, that he was doing God good Service.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has ſegetes (25).

(25) Virg. Ec. 1. ver. 71.

" Did we for theſe Barbarians plant and ſow?
" On theſe, on theſe our happy fields beſtow?
Dryden.

Thus exclaimed the good people of Italy, when they ſaw themſelves obliged to reſign their eſtates to the ſoldiers of the Triumvirate:

En queis conſevimus agros!
Inſere nunc Melibæe pyros, pone ordine vites (26).

(26) Id. ibid. ver. 13, 14.

Vivi pervenimus, advena noſtri,
Quod nunquam veriti ſumus, ut poſſeſſor agelli
Diceret, hæc mea ſunt; veteres migrate coloni (27).

(27) Id. Ec. 9, ver. 2.

" Now let me graft my pears, and prune the vine?
" The fruit is theirs, the labour only mine.

. . . . At laſt
" The time is come I never thought to ſee,
" (Strange revolution for my farm and me!)
" When the grim Captain in a ſurly tone
" Cries out, pack up, ye raſcals, and be gone.
Dryden.

Mr. Ancillon, and ſeveral others, might have applied moſt of theſe expreſſions to their own misfortunes. It had been better perhaps not to have fixt ſo much of his happineſs on his Library, ſince he was obliged to addreſs himſelf to it after this manner;

Nuper ſollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc deſiderium, curaque non levis (28).

(28) Horat. Od. 14. l. 1. ver. 17.

" O lately thou, my grief and fear,
" And now my freſh and preſent care.
Creech.

But let us leave, if poſſible, the remembrance of that fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was attended with ſo many inſtances of injuſtice; and turn our view to objects, which do not raiſe ſuch a tumult of paſſion. Let us commend the juſt way of thinking of this excellent Divine. He choſe to take the firſt edition of books, tho' there was a probability they would be reprinted with additions and corrections (29). This is to underſtand things; this is what may be juſtly called a Love of books, a Deſire of inſtruction. But thoſe, who wait calmly for a book, till it is reprinted, ſhew plainly that they are reſigned to their ignorance, and prefer the ſaving of a piſtole to the acquiſition

(29) He found ſometimes that this probability was without effect. See above the quotation (18).

publiſhed [*E*]; and as for the reſt, I ſhall ſay in general, that the diſcourſe which is publiſhed of his life, repreſents him as a perſon of a very extraordinary merit. It gives us

quiſition of uſeful knowledge. I ſpeak of thoſe, (and the number of them is very conſiderable,) who on one hand are perſuaded that a new book will teach them a thouſand things, and on the other, tho' they are able to purchaſe it, yet defer the buying it, becauſe they are told, that there will be a better or cheaper edition of it. This indolence is very blameable; it is nothing but a ſtupid acquieſcence in their want of that knowledge, which they might obtain. Mr. Bigot told me one day, that a perſon at Roan, who applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Genealogies, wanted to make uſe of the works of Father Anſelme; yet he would not buy them, but waited for a ſecond edition, which never appeared; and ſo it is probable the man died without gratifying his curioſity. Mr. Bigot repreſented to him more than once, that it was much better to have two editions of a book, than to deprive himſelf of the advantage, which the reading of the firſt might procure him; and that he muſt have a very indifferent judgment of things, who would prefer three or four crowns to that advantage. Thoſe, who can bear the charge of it, cannot be better adviſed, than to purchaſe the firſt editions. I confeſs, that thoſe printed in foreign countries are cheaper; but then are they ſo exact? Do not they make alterations in them? Do not they add ſomething? Does not the Abbe de la Roque complain publickly (30), that the Printers in Holland have corrupted his book? I have been aſſured a few days ago, that the *Hiſtory of Davila*, and that of *Strada*, printed in the Low-Countries, are different from the editions of Italy; the Printers of Flanders having ſuppreſſed or altered ſeveral things, out of complaiſance to ſome noble families. It will be urged to me, that an Author generally corrects his errors in the ſecond edition; I acknowledge this; but then they are not always real errors; they are only alterations, which he makes out of regard to prudential reaſons to his own peace, or to the injuſtice of his cenſors, whoſe power is formidable to him. The ſecond edition which Mezerai gave of his *Abregé Chronologique*, is more correct; he has taken away ſeveral errors; but he has at the ſame time taken away ſeveral truths, which happened to be diſpleaſing; and it is upon this account that the curious always endeavour to procure the edition in 4to, which is the firſt, and pay a great price for it. I ſay nothing of the advantage, which may reſult from comparing the editions. This is ſo great, when a man of genius has reviſed his work exactly, that his firſt eſſay deſerves to be kept. All this ſhews us, that Mr. Ancillon was very intelligent in affairs relating to books.

(30) In the Preface to his *Journal des Savans*. See likewiſe the remark [*F*] of the article PELISSON towards the end.

Let us now ſpeak of his manner of ſtudying: *He loſt not a moment of time in vain and uſeleſs ſtudies. He read indeed all ſorts of books, even ancient and modern Romances. There was not one, from which he thought he might not draw ſome advantage. He often mentioned thoſe words, which are attributed to Virgil,* Aurum ex ſtercore Ennii colligo (31). i. e. "I collect gold from Ennius's dung." We find, *ſaid he frequently*, in ſome neglected Authors particular things, which are to be met with no where elſe; and tho' it were only for the ſtyle, yet we may diſcover ſomething worth obſerving. *But he did not give a particular attention to theſe, but only to works of importance, and ſerious ſubjects..... He placed a prodigious difference between the reading of thoſe books, which he look'd upon, as he ſaid himſelf, only that he might not be ignorant of any thing; and thoſe, which he eſteemed uſeful to his profeſſion. He read the former but once, and that tranſiently, and as the Latin proverb expreſſes it:* Sicut canis ad Nilum bibens & fugiens; i. e. "*Like a dog drinking at the Nile as he runs;*" *but he read the other with care and application. He read them ſeveral times; the firſt, he ſaid, ſerved only to give him a general idea of the ſubject; and the ſecond diſcovered the beauties. Indexes, which other great men have called* the Soul of Books, *were entirely uſeleſs to him, becauſe he read them over with ſufficient attention and often enough to make himſelf Maſter of the work; and beſides he had a ſtrong memory, and particularly a local one, which is of great advantage to men of learning. He read them over exactly, and even to the title, the name of the Printer, the place and year of the impreſſion; for every thing in his opinion had its proper uſe. He ſcored the books as he read them, and placed in the margin references to other Authors, who treated of the ſame ſubjects, or related ſomething, that had regard to what he read....* (32). *He changed the ſubject he was reading ſometimes; and this change was inſtead of a relaxation to him* *. *He did not always read a book throughout; he ſtudied ſometimes the ſubject to the bottom, and then he conſulted the Authors, who had treated of it. He frequently ſaw the ſame thing in different Authors; but this did not diſguſt him; on the contrary he ſaid they were as ſo many new ſtrokes, which compleated the idea, which he had conceived, and gave it the utmoſt perfection. The variety of Authors, which he conſulted, was the cauſe, that there was generally to be ſeen in the middle of his ſtudy a large table, covered with books for the moſt part open* (33). *The famous Father Paul, whom I mentioned, ſtudied in this manner; he did not diſcontinue it, as we are told by the accurate and faithful Writer of his Life, till he had ſeen all; that is, till he confronted the Authors one with another, and the places, times, and opinions: and this method he fixed upon, that he might have no occaſion to doubt, or think again of the ſame thing, but might take the proper ſide of the queſtion, and ſatisfy himſelf at once as much as he could naturally do. It was thus Mr. Ancillon ſtudied ſometimes, and he gave the ſame reaſons for it. As he read a great deal, he found many things worth his obſervation; and tho' he had an admirable memory, yet he noted in his common-place books what he found moſt remarkable. He knew well enough, that Govean, for inſtance, who would not have an ink horn in his ſtudy, and Salmaſius and Menage, and ſeveral other great men, condemned theſe Collections, and were ſo far from conſidering them as helps in learning the Sciences, that on the contrary they regarded them as obſtacles, which interrupted the courſe of reading and meditation, and deſtroyed the proper fruits of them. But he thought, that as thro' a misfortune peculiar to the preſent age, it is not ſufficient to know things accurately, and their analyſis, and all their reaſons they are built upon, if we do not quote our authorities for it, and the text itſelf, it was neceſſary to have a book, which ſhould ſerve as a vein or current of water to lead him directly to the ſpring; and ſo much the more, becauſe as he was to ſpeak before ſome perſons, who were rather ſpies than hearers, and would frequently demand of him authorities and proofs for what he advanced, it was in ſome meaſure neceſſary to have a repertory to refreſh his memory, and to direct him immediately to what he wanted, according to the different conjunctures in which he was.* Theſe obſervations, I think, will be of ſome advantage to a great many of my readers. We ſhall ſpeak below (34) of his conſtant application to ſtudy.

(31) *Diſc. ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 107.

(32) Ib. p. 109.

* Πόση μεταβολὴ εἶδως ἐςὶν ἀναπάυσεως.

(33) Ib. p. 111.

(34) In remark [*F*].

[*E*] *The books which he publiſhed.*] He publiſhed at Sedan a volume in 4to in the year 1657, *in which the whole diſpute concerning traditions is amply and ſolidly examined* (35). This is *a faithful account of all that paſſed* in the conference, which he had with Mr. de Bedacier, *Doctor of Sorbonne, Biſhop of Auguſte, and Suffragan of the Biſhop of Metz* (36). He diſputed with him before ſeveral perſons, at firſt in his own houſe (37), and afterwards before a large audience in the Biſhop's palace (38). All the articles were reduced to writing, and ſigned. *He maintained this grand cauſe with honour, and finiſhed it with ſucceſs. After he had replied methodically to all the objections which were urged, he repreſented, that it was his turn then to propoſe his arguments. But as he had given a mortal wound to error in his anſwers, it was apprehended, that he would deſtroy it, if he had the liberty of eſtabliſhing the truth, as he pretended. Mr. de Bedacier thought proper to break off the diſpute; and to conceal his reaſons for it, he ſaid, that it was much better to continue the argument by writing than by perſonal diſputation. It was agreed however, that neither party ſhould publiſh the particulars of this conference* (39). There was a Monk notwithſtanding,

(35) *Diſc. ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 218.

(36) Ibid. pag. 207, 208.

(37) Ibid. p. 212.

(38) Ib. p. 213.

(39) Ib. p. 214.

(y) See, concerning the ill consequences of doing otherwise, the same *Disc. sur la Vie de Monsr. Ancillon*, p. 175, &c.

us in short in him the model of an accomplished Minister. He is painted there as learned, eloquent, wise, pious, modest, charitable, dispensing his reproofs with mildness, or vigour, according to the circumstances of the case; practising what he preached (y), employed entirely in the functions of his Ministry [*F*], without intermeddling, as too many do, with secular affairs, and suffering his house to be open to informers and

standing, who took upon him to print a false account
(40) Ib. p. 217. of it (40), whose imprudence was so flagrant, that *although Mr. Ancillon had managed this contest with great honour to himself, yet he attempted to persuade the publick, that it was very fatal to him and to his party, and that he lost the victory in it irrecoverably*
(41) Ib. p. 218. (41). This occasioned Mr. Ancillon to publish the book abovementioned. Mr. Hottinger commends it extremely in his sixth chapter of the third book of
(42) Ib. p. 220. his *Bibliothecarius Quadripartitus* (42). Father Clivier, a Minim, and Provincial of that Order, *undertook to refute that work, and published a piece with that design intitled*, Le Fort des Traditions abbatu par les Maximes de Mr. David Ancillon. *Others wrote Satyrs upon it; but all these Libels failed in*
(43) Ibid. *their success* (43). The Roman Catholicks themselves advised Mr. Ancillon not to answer them, as he had undertaken; they told him, that he and his book *were too much above the level of common writers for*
(44) Ib. p. 221. *him to engage with them* (44). When the *Method* of Cardinal de Richlieu appeared, "he wrote a full and "excellent answer to it; but he understood that Mr. "Martel, Professor at Montauban, had written one "which was ready to be published; and that Mr. "Claude, who had the same design, had desisted "from executing it for the same reason, as appears "new from the third Letter of his Collection of "Letters, in the fifth tome of his posthumous works. "He suppressed therefore what he had done, and "published only some sheets, which contain an an"swer to the sixth chapter of that Method, or, to "speak more properly, *an Apology for Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Beza*, and that was the "title which was given them in the edition publish"ed at Hanaw in 1666. Mr. Ancillon wrote *the "Life of William Farel, or the Idea of a faithful "Minister of Christ*. The famous Mr. Conrart, who "was one of his intimate friends, read this and ap"proved it, and wrote with his own hands several "remarks in the margin of the manuscript. This "was a piece, that well deserved to be published: "but he would not agree to it; which was the oc"casion, that a copy of it full of faults falling into "the hands of a Bookseller in Holland, he was in"duced by the reputation of the Author to print it. "This edition was surprizingly incorrect and defec"tive; and if ever that copy revised by Mr. Conrart "appears, the other will be scarce known to be the "same book, it is so mutilated and faulty. Tho' "Mr. Ancillon explained several entire books of the "holy Scripture, and wrote all his Sermons, yet "he never could be persuaded to print any one of
(45) Ib. p. 255. "them . . . . (45). All that we have of him in that "kind is a Sermon preached at Metz on a Fast"day. The Consistory used some sort of authority "towards him to induce him to print it, which was "done at Paris in 1676. This Sermon is upon the "18th and 19th verses of the 3d chapter of St. "Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and is entitled, "*The Tears of St. Paul.* He wrote at last an ex"cellent Answer to *the Pastoral Advice, the Circular "Letters, and the Methods*, which the Clergy ad"dressed to the Reformed of France in the year "1682. But he kept it concealed in his cabinet, "till several Persons of Figure having obliged him to "publish it, he sent it to Monsieur Turretin, Profes"sor of Divinity at Geneva, his old friend, with "leave to dispose of it as he thought proper: but "the copy, which he sent, very probably miscarri"ed; for there was never any thing more heard "of it. Mr. Ancillon had so little regard to his "own writings, that he never gave himself the "trouble of enquiring after it. However this An"swer, which was then expected to be published, "is mentioned in the Preface to a very solid and ju"dicious book, entitled, *Examen des Méthodes, &c.* "where we are told, that *we shall soon see an An*
(46) Ib. p. 258. "*swer written by an eminent Hand at Metz* (46).

[*F*] *He was employed entirely in the functions of his Ministry.*] Those, who devote themselves to the office of a Pastor of souls, "have occasion for their "whole time, to employ it in study, labour, and the "discharge of their duty. And it is without doubt "for this reason, that the sixth of those which are "called the Apostolical Canons orders, that no Bi"shop, Priest, or Deacon shall apply himself to any "secular affairs, or undertake any public office; and "the sixth of the African Canons forbids all per"sons of that character to take upon them the care "of affairs and law-suits of others. The loss of "the time, which is spent in worldly concerns, is "not one of the least motives of these excellent "constitutions; but I believe this was not the only "consideration, which gave occasion to them. Ex"perience shewed that the intrigues of the world, "the hurry of affairs, and the ambition of paying "court to the Great, are the three rocks, which al"ways have been, and always will be fatal to them. "They abandon insensibly that apostolical simplici"ty, which ought to be their chief ornament. "They learn the maxims of this world; they ac"custom themselves to its intrigues, its compli"ances, and artifices; and afterwards practise them "insensibly themselves (47)." The Minister, whom (47) Ib. p. 95, I am speaking of, avoided all these rocks; he loved 96. study, ease, and retirement; he never embarrassed himself with the business and hurry of the world (48). "He was appointed by the laws of the coun- (48) Ib. p. 100. "try, and against his own inclination Guardian to "his brother and sister; but he left the administra"tion of the estate and other affairs to his brother, "who was then, tho' under age, a very able man. . . "So that his Guardianship being concluded upon his "pupil's coming to age, his brother, the minor, gave "in his accounts to his Guardian, and his Guardian "upon this gave them up, for form's sake only, "to his minors, in the same manner, that he re"ceived them, quite contrary to the common and "natural custom. He never interposed at all in "any worldly affairs. Like a true hermit he secluded "himself from the conversation of men, and attend"ed only upon God and his Church (49). He had (49) Ib. p. 102. "a very curious and copious Library. . . . . There "you was always sure to find him. . . . . (50). He (50) Ib. p. 103. "never went out of his lodging, but to go to "church to discharge some of the duties of his "functions. He never left his books but for this; "and as if the days were not long enough, he pas"sed part of the night in meditation or study. "Tho' he had several country-houses, and some of "which were bought for him in the suburbs of the "city very near him, in order to engage him the "more readily to pass some days, or at least some "hours there, yet he never saw them above three "or four times for two and thirty years that he was "Minister at Metz. He was always calm and serene "in his chamber, insensible to jealousy, which occa"sions so many uneasy moments to others. He "lived peaceably at home, without any regard to "the reputation, which is procured by frequent vi"sits, by intense application to affairs, and the great "measures that are exactly to be kept.

This is a model which every Minister of the Gospel ought to regulate himself upon. They have all *chosen the better part* with Mary (51); but some of (51) Luk. x. 42. them seem to imitate Martha too much, who *was busied about many things* (52). They interpose in (52) Ib. ver. 41. State-affairs; they thrust themselves into the intrigues of the city; they seek to know all kinds of news; they traffic, and pay their court. They sometimes even hazard themselves in giving their advice in war and negotiations, and are not at all shock'd at the contempt, which is shewn to their wrong counsels. They are frequently to be seen in the anti-chambers of great men; they attend impatiently to be introduced. This is not upon affairs of conscience and religion; it is only to ask favours; to recommend their children, relations, and friends to posts of honour

and news-mongers [G]. We cannot form a truer idea of the variety of learning, which enlivened his converſation, than from the book which I ſhall mention below [H]. I ſhall examine in another place (z) ſome particulars relating to a cut of him. I muſt not omit mentioning that he was the ſon of an eminent Lawyer; that *one of his anceſtors was formerly* PRESIDENT AU MORTIER *in one of the principal of the ſupreme courts of France*; *and that* GEORGIN ANCILLON, *one of the chief members of the church of Metz, was likewiſe one of the firſt founders and managers of it* (aa).

(z) In the remark [F] of the article FERRI.

(aa) *Diſc. ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 7.

nour and profit. They know exactly when a place is vacant, and they endeavour to fill it up immediately upon their recommendation. They were to be commended indeed, if their intereſt was employed only in procuring bread for thoſe, who want it; but they generally uſe it only in favour of thoſe, who are already rich enough; perſons, who would not attempt to ſollicit them, if they eſteemed them true Miniſters of Chriſt; for in ſuch a caſe, they would expect a reproof, and apprehend that St. Paul's rule would be repreſented to them, that *if we have but food and raiment, we ought to be therewith content* (53). It is not the duty of a Miniſter to procure for his flock the means of engaging them in too ſtrict an attachment to the things of this world. He ought rather to wean their minds from them, and abate their covetouſneſs and ambition; and he would do this undoubtedly, if he was himſelf diſengaged from the deſires of vain-glory. But as the neceſſities of his own paſſions require, that the offices of a city ſhould be in the hands of thoſe, who have obligations to him, and who, either out of gratitude or hope of new favours, are always ready to ſerve him; he endeavours all he can to raiſe them; he applauds their ambitious views; and in order to ſupport himſelf in this management of affairs, he is obliged to intrigue, and to have his Emiſſaries every where. Such a perſon deſerves that threatning, which is ſometimes uſed againſt thoſe Biſhops, who break the canons of reſidence, and never reflect with themſelves, that their office is of ſuch a kind, that all the powers of human nature are ſcarce ſufficient to diſcharge it fully. Thoſe, who conſider this, imitate Mr. Ancillon, and do not ſpend ſo much time in viſits of compliment and ſollicitation;

(53) Epiſtle to Timothy, c. vi. ver. 8.

Forumq; vitat, & ſuperba civium
Potentiorum limina (54).

(54) Horat. *Epod.* Od. 2. ver. 7.

That is,

" He flies the bar; from noiſe retreats;
" And ſhuns the Nobles haughty ſeats.

Creech.

Obſerve that thoſe who do not follow this conduct, ſometimes employ their intereſt likewiſe for thoſe who are not in good circumſtances; but if we conſider rightly we ſhall find, that theſe perſons are what we call uſeful men, proper for every thing, and inclined to devote all their leiſure to the gratification of the paſſions of their patron who procured it them. They treat him as their Deity:

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit:
Namq; erit ille mihi ſemper Deus; illius aram
Sæpe tener noſtris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus (55).

(55) Virg. *Eclog.* 1. ver. 6.

That is,

" Theſe bleſſings, friend, a Deity beſtow'd;
" For never can I deem him leſs than God:
" The tender firſtlings of my woolly breed,
" Shall on his holy altars often bleed.

They acknowledge themſelves to be his creatures, and perform all the duties expreſſed in that term.

[G] *He never ſuffered his houſe to be open to informers and news-mongers.*] " He was never fond of " ſtories nor ſtory-tellers; and he held it for a max- " im, that they were ſcarce ever to be believed, " becauſe a report is never ſo true and exact, but " that it receives ſomething from the paſſion of " him that repeats it, and is like water, which re- " tains the tincture of the veins of the earth or mi- " nerals which it paſſes through. He had particu- " larly an extreme averſion to thoſe who go from " houſe to houſe to know what paſſes, and to ſet " people a talking, and then to report abroad what " they have as it were extorted from them by arti- " fice and fraud ..... (56). He ſaid there was a " great deal of danger in crediting too ſoon what " is reported abroad. He was always upon his " guard in this point (57)." The houſe of ſuch a Miniſter was far from being the reſort of news-mongers, it would have been a great ſcandal. I have ſpoken of this above in the remark [H] of the article (HENRY) ALTING; and I ſhall ſpeak further in the remark [N] of the article of (JANUS) GRUTERUS.

(56) *Diſc. ſur la Vie de Monſ. Ancillon*, p. 229.

(57) Ib. p. 230.

[H] *We may judge by the book mentioned below of the variety of learning, which enlivened his converſation.*] This book is entitled, *Melange Critique de Litterature, recueilli des Converſations de feu Mr. Ancillon* (58). It was publiſhed at Baſil in 1698 in two volumes in 12mo, by Mr. Ancillon the Advocate, the eldeſt ſon of the Miniſter, who was before well known in the Republic of Letters (59). I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention this miſcellaneous collection; and though I do not ſometimes allow that it is every where exact, yet it is without pretending at all to prejudice either the author or the publiſher. It is rather to be admired, that Mr. Ancillon in an extempore converſation ſhould be ſo exact in many places, than that his memory ſhould not be infallible every where: and with regard to his ſon, he was obliged to publiſh things, as he heard them from his father's mouth. See what I have remarked concerning the *Menagiana* (60). The caſe is juſt the ſame. We ſee in the preface to this collection the reaſon why it was not intitled *Ancilloniana*.

(58) See the *Journal de Leipſic* for June 1698, p. 287.

(59) We have ſeveral pieces his, tho' for moſt part wi out his name.

(60) In the remark [A] of the article MENAGE.

☞ ANCILLON (CHARLES), ſon of the preceding, and the author of ſeveral works [A], of

[A] *The author of ſeveral works.*] 1. *L'Irrevocabilité de l'edit de Nantes prouvé par les principes du droit & de la politique:* i. e. " The Unlawfulneſs of " revoking the edict of Nantes proved from the " Principles of Law and Policy." *Amſterdam* 1688 *in* 12mo, *pagg.* 226. II. *Reflexions Politiques, par leſquelles on fait voir que la perſecution des Reformez eſt contre les véritable interêts de la France:* i. e. " Political Reflections, by which it is ſhewn, that " the perſecution of the Reformed is contrary to " the true intereſts of France." *Cologne* 1686 *in* 12*mo*. Mr. Bayle was miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that this work was written by Sandras des Courtils, the author of the *Nouveaux Interêts des Princes* (1). III. *La France intereſſée a rétablir l'Edit de Nantes.* i. e. " The Intereſt of France to reſtore the Edict " of Nantes." *Amſterdam* 1690, *in* 12*mo*. IV. *Hiſtoire de l'Etabliſſement des Francois Refugiez dans les Etats de Son Alteſſe Electorale de Brandebourg*; i. e. " An Account of the Settlement of the French Re- " fugees in the Dominions of his Electoral Highneſs " of Brandenbourg." *Berlin* 1690, 8*vo*. He wrote this out of gratitude to the Elector for the generoſity which he had ſhewn to the French Proteſtants. It appears from this piece, that the Elector's humanity extended to all the different ranks of perſons among them. The men of learning taſted all the ſatisfactions of eaſe notwithſtanding the preſſures of misfortune and diſtreſs, and enjoyed the charms of ſociety in the conferences which were held at Mr. Spanheim's, their Patron and Mecænas, who was one of the ornaments of that court, as well as of the Republick of Letters. The ſoldier found employments to exert his valour in; and the artificer had

(1) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 7. p. 384.

of two of which we ſhall give a more particular account [*B*], was born at Metz the 29th of July 1659. He began his ſtudies in that city, and went to Hanaw for the proſecution of them. He afterwards applied himſelf to the Civil Law at Marpurg, Geneva, and Paris, in the laſt of which cities he was admitted an Advocate. Upon his return to Metz in 1679 he followed the bar, where he began to raiſe himſelf a conſiderable reputation. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Proteſtants of Metz deputed him to court in order to repreſent, that they ought not to be comprehended in this revocation. But all that he could obtain was, that this city ſhould be treated with more lenity and favour (*a*). He followed his father to Berlin, where the Elector of Brandenbourg

(*a*) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 7. p. 382. edit. Paris 1729.

an opportunity of exerciſing his induſtry and skill. In ſhort they compoſed as it were one body, which was ranged under proper Judges of their own nation. The Elector ſeemed willing rather to exhauſt his treaſury, than his charity towards them (2). This opened a noble and extenſive field of panegyric for our Author, who has very happily applied that line of Ovid,

Sæpe premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.

(2) See *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans, Juillet* 1690, Art. 11, p. 511, 512.

V. *Melange Critique de Litterature recueilli des converſations de feu M. Ancillon, avec un diſcours ſur ſa vie & ſes dernieres heures*; i. e. "A critical Miſcellany relating to points of Literature collected from "the converſations of the late Mr. [David] Ancillon; "with an Account of his life and laſt hours." Baſil 1698, in 8vo, three volumes (3). Mr. Bayle tells us (4), that this book was printed at Baſil in two volumes in 12mo. There was likewiſe a new edition of it publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1702 in one volume in 12mo, which was diſowned by Mr. Ancillon, becauſe there were ſeveral things inſerted in it, which were injurious to his father's memory, and his own character (5). This Collection of Ancillon was formed from what he heard his father ſpeak of in converſation, and he has digeſted it under proper heads. It contains a great number of uſeful and curious remarks; but there are ſeveral miſtakes in it (6). VI. *Diſſertation ſur l'uſage de mettre la premiere pierre au fondement des edifices publics, addreſſée au Prince Electoral de Brandebourg, à l'occaſion de la premiere pierre, qu'il a poſée lui même au fondement du temple qu'on conſtruit pour les François Refugiez dans le quartier de Berlin nommé Friderichſtadt*; i. e. "A Diſſertation upon the cuſtom of laying the "firſt ſtone in the foundation of public buildings, "addreſſed to the Electoral Prince of Brandenbourg, "on occaſion of his laying the foundation of the "church built for the French Refugees in that quar"ter of Berlin, which is called Friderichſtadt." Berlin 1701 in 8vo, pagg. 98. The Author having given an account of every thing which his knowledge and reading would ſupply him with on this ſubject, acknowledges at laſt, that this cuſtom is very like thoſe rivers, whoſe ſource is unknown, tho' we may obſerve the courſe of them (7). VII. *Le dernier triomphe de Frederic Guillaume le Grand, Electeur de Brandebourg, ou diſcours ſur la Statuë Equeſtre érigée ſur le Pont Neuf du Berlin*; i. e. "The laſt "triumph of Frederic William the Great, Elector of "Brandenbourg, or a Diſcourſe upon the Equeſtrian "Statue erected upon the New Bridge in Berlin." Berlin, 1703, fol. pagg. 75. Mr. Beauval tells us (8), that this piece is an Oration and a Diſſertation united together, and that the ſtyle is a little too turgid. He has introduced into it ſo many remarks relating to Literature, that they are ſufficient to compoſe a Diſſertation in form. He has in ſhort collected every thing that can be ſaid concerning equeſtrian and pedeſtrian ſtatues. VIII. *Hiſtoire de la Vie de Soliman II, Empereur des Turcs*; i. e. "The Life of Soly"man II, Emperor of the Turks." Rotterdam 1706, in 8vo, pagg. 270. This Hiſtory is not very correct. IX. *Traité des Eunuques, par C. d'Ollincan*; i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning Eunuchs by C. d'Ollincan." 1707, in 12mo. Ancillon wrote this piece on occaſion of an Italian Eunuch, who wanted to marry. He examines the right of ſuch perſons with regard to marriage, which he proves to be abſolutely prohibited to them. There is a great deal of learning in this tract, and a variety of curious and diverting remarks. The name *Ollincan*, which he aſſumed, is taken from the Anagram of his own (9). X. *Memoires concernant les Vies & les Ouvrages de pluſieurs modernes celebres dans la Republique des Lettres*; i. e. "Memoirs concerning the Lives and Works of "ſeveral modern Writers of eminence in the Repub"lic of Letters." Amſterdam, 1709, in 12mo. Theſe Memoirs are a little too diffuſe (10). XI. *Hiſtoire de la Vie & de la Mort de M. Ltſcheid*; i. e. "An Account of the Life and Death of M. Ltſcheid." Berlin, 1713 (11).

(3) *Memoirs, &c.* p. 384, 385.

(4) In the article DAVID ANCILLON, note [*H*].

(5) *Memoires, &c.* p. 385.

(6) Ibid. and Bayle, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) *Memoires, &c.* p. 385, 386.

(8) *Hiſt. des Ouvrag. des Savans* 1703 *Mars*, p. 142.

(9) *Memoires, &c.* p. 386, 387.

(10) Ib. p. 387.

(11) Ibid.

[*B*] *Of two of which* (*works*) *we ſhall give a more particular* account.] The firſt is his *Hiſtory of Solyman the ſecond, Emperor of the Turks.* There is prefixed to it a long Dedication to the ſon of the Count de Wartemberg, firſt Miniſter of State and Great Chamberlain to the King of Pruſſia; in which is a Compliment both to the father and ſon. Then follows a very long Preface, in which the Author explains his deſign. He tells us, that he gives this Life as a ſpecimen of a more conſiderable work, which he was engaged in. And to ſhew the advantage of his book, he diſcourſes very largely upon the uſe of Hiſtory in general; and adds authority to his reaſons. He aſſerts, that God himſelf propoſed to form the manners of men, when he thought proper, that the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament ſhould be written; and he tells us, that *Chriſt himſelf had no other view in the Goſpel.* This paſſage has given occaſion to a criticiſm of Mr. Bernard in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (12); who obſerves, that this is a mere figure of Rhetoric, which may paſs in a Preface. However that Mr. Ancillon was too good a Divine to imagine that Chriſt had no other view in the Goſpel, than *to give us all kinds of examples proper to form our manners.* We muſt not expect the exactneſs of a logical treatiſe in a piece of mere oratory. Our Author likewiſe intimates, that he propoſed to tranſlate the *Elogia* of Thuanus, which ſhould ſerve him for the text of his articles, and then to write the Lives of thoſe eminent learned men, whoſe characters had been given by that noble Hiſtorian. He informs us, that ſeveral perſons of learning had promiſed to aſſiſt him in that attempt; and that he had the opportunity of conſulting a great many curious Libraries at Berlin. The Preface is followed by *an Extract from a book of Mr. Charles Arndius, Public Profeſſor at Roſtock, entitled,* Bibliothéque Politique-Heraldique Choiſie, *printed at Roſtock and Leipſic in the year* 1705, *in* 8vo, *tranſlated from the Latin into French.* This Extract contains ten remarks relating to Thuanus, the ſubſtance of which is as follows: 1, The courſe of his life. 2, The ſweetneſs of his temper. 3, The difference of his ſtyle. 4, His employments in Poetry and Painting. 5, The regard which ought to be had to the ſeveral editions of his Hiſtory, 6, The ſupplement of that Hiſtory. 7, Some errors with regard to the names. 8, The eſteem and hatred, which he has met with. 9, The excellence of his Library. 10, His ſon puniſhed with death for his fidelity to his friend in keeping his ſecret. After theſe preliminaries we have the Elogium of Thuanus upon Solyman II tranſlated into French, and the Life of that Emperor by Mr. Ancillon. He informs us, that we are not to imagine, that he choſe to publiſh this Life firſt as his maſter-piece, and as if he eſteemed it ſuperior to all the other Lives, which he was compiling. Since it was only chance, which determined him to pitch upon that before any other, becauſe it was finiſhed firſt; whereas he waited for ſome further lights with regard to the reſt. But for the future he ſhould follow the order of Chronology, and begin with Lewis XII, King of France. He has given us likewiſe an alphabetical Table of the names of thoſe perſons of either ſex, whoſe Lives he propoſed to publiſh, which are about five hundred in all. However theſe are not the only

(12) Sept. 1706, Art. 6. p. 342.

(13) Ibid.

Brandenbourg appointed him Judge and Director of the French who were in that city. In 1695 that Prince gave him new marks of his confidence and favour, by ſending him to Swiſſerland in order to negotiate ſome affairs of importance. The Marquis of Baden Dourlach, who was then at Baſil, having had an opportunity of ſeeing him, entertained ſo great an eſteem for him, that he choſe him for his Counſellor, and deſired the Elector of Brandenbourg to give Ancillon leave that he ſhould ſerve him for ſome time. Our author did not return to Berlin till the end of the year 1699, and was then appointed Inſpector of all the Courts of Juſtice which the French had in Pruſſia, and Counſellor of the Embaſſy. The Elector being crowned King of Pruſſia made him likewiſe his Hiſtoriographer and Superintendant of the French School, which had been founded at Berlin, according to the ſcheme which he had formed. He died in that city the fifth of July 1715, being fifty ſix years of age (*b*).

(*b*) Ib. p. 383.

ly works, which he promiſed; for he mentioned ſeveral others, which he had in view. And yet he owns that he was not born to be an Author; but ſince he was engaged in that employment, he reſolved not to bury his talent (13). The other work of our Author, which we ſhall mention, is his *Memoirs concerning the Lives and Works of ſeveral modern Writers of eminence in the Republic of Letters*. He informs us in his *Advertiſement to the Reader*, that Mr. Leers Bookſeller at Rotterdam having reſolved to print a Supplement to Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, wrote to Mr. Ancillon, that eight or ten men of learning, as well in England as in Holland, had undertaken to compile each of them a certain number of articles, and deſired him likewiſe to draw up ſome Lives for that purpoſe. He accepted of that propoſal, and pitched upon *twenty famous Moderns*, whoſe Lives he deſigned to write. But his health not permitting him to continue that work, he was obliged to abandon it. But being afterwards a little recovered, and imagining that the Supplement was either finiſhed or at leaſt very forward, and that he ſhould not have time to complete his part in order to be inſerted, he thought proper to digeſt it into his own form, and publiſhed it ſeparately. In this piece he has collected all that he could poſſibly find with regard to the learned men, whom he writes of; and has added ſeveral reflections of his own. He tells us in his Preface, that the *Journals* of Paris, Hambourg, and of Fontenelle, Bayle, Le Clerc, Beauval, Bernard, and Chauvin, are the ſources, to which he had the moſt frequent recourſe, and which furniſhed him with the greateſt part of the materials. The learned men, which he mentions in this volume, are Valentine Conrart, whoſe article contains 133 pages; Bartholomew d'Herbelot, Urban Chevreau, Henry Juſtel, Adrian Baillet, James Aubery, Benjamin Aubery Sieur du Maurier, Lewis Aubery, John Aubery, Claudius Aubery, John Baptiſt Cotelier, and Laurence Beger. He promiſed a continuation of this work, and informed the Publick, that this new deſign would not prevent him from proſecuting his former ſcheme of publiſhing in French the *Elogia* of famous Men extracted from Thuanus's Hiſtory, with ſuch additions as his reading would ſupply him with. However he ſhould draw them up in a different form from that of the Specimen, which he had publiſhed. For he was now of the ſame opinion with his friends, who had repreſented to him, that his former undertaking was too vaſt and extenſive, and that he could hardly expect to live long enough to execute it. Upon this account he propoſed only to give the *Elogia* as they ſtand in Thuanus, and to ſubjoin to them ſeparately ſuch additions, as the materials, which he had collected upon every article, would permit him to make, without attempting to write all that might be ſaid with regard to every learned man, but only to give what he knew, in the ſame manner as he had done in his *Memoirs* abovementioned (14). T.

(13) Bernard, ibid. p. 345.

(14) Idem, ibid. *Mois d'Avril* 1709, Artic. 4. p. 428, &c.

☞ANCINA (JOHN JUVENALIS) Biſhop of Saluſſes in Piedmont in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Foſſan near Saluſſes. His father was a man of great probity, and perceiving the quickneſs and vivacity of his ſon's genius, put him under the care of the beſt maſters, in order to be inſtructed in every branch of learning. The prodigious progreſs which he made in polite Literature, appears from the verſes which he wrote while he was a youth with the utmoſt elegance, and particularly a Poem in praiſe of the Academy in Piedmont (*a*). His virtue likewiſe in this critical and dangerous part of life was no leſs remarkable [*A*]. He applied himſelf afterwards to the teaching and practice of Phyſick, which he had principally in his view in his firſt ſtudies; and in this function he acted in ſuch a manner, that in a ſhort time his name became very celebrated, and he was appointed Phyſician to Frederic Madrutius, who was at firſt Ambaſſador of the Duke of Savoy, and afterwards of the Emperor Rodolphus, and attended him to Rome. In this city he gained an intimate friendſhip with the moſt eminent and learned men there, particularly Francis Toletus, Martin Navarre, M. Anthony Muretus, Robert Bellarmin, Sylvius Antonianus, Francis Panicarola, and others. Here he formed a reſolution of abandoning his profeſſion of a Phyſician, and applying himſelf to Divinity, in conſequence of that ſerious turn to piety which he originally had in his mind. He made a vaſt progreſs in this ſtudy in a ſhort time, ſo that he received holy orders, and was determined to put himſelf under all the rigours of a monaſtic life, if he had not been diverted from this deſign by St. Philip de Neri, the Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory at Rome, into which he entered himſelf. Here he behaved in ſo exemplary a manner, that there was a deſign afterwards of having him canoniz'd. He had ſeveral rich benefices offered him, which he rejected, but at

(*a*) *De Academiæ Subalpinæ laudibus.* Jan. Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacothec.* 1. pag. 171. edit. Lipſiæ 1712.

[*A*] *His virtue likewiſe in this critical and dangerous part of life was no leſs remarkable.*] While he was young, beſides the excellence of his genius, he was diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar honeſty and probity of temper, which was never the leaſt altered by the freedom he enjoyed of acting in his own manner, or by the heat of youth; but he always proceeded in an uniform courſe of virtue, without any failure or blemiſh in it; ſo that it was generally believed, that he had preſerved his modeſty untainted, and acted in every inſtance of life to his laſt moments with the moſt perfect integrity and regularity. *Erat etiam in puero præter docilitatem ingenii ſumma probitas, quam nec liberior vivendi poteſtas, nec ætatis fervor, nec lubricæ adoleſcentiæ viæ, de ſtatu dimovere potuerunt, ſed ſemper recta omnem vitæ ſuæ curſum, ſine caſu & prolapſione, confecit. Quare conſtans erat omnium opinio, nullam eum unquam pudicitiæ vel alienæ labem intuliſſe, ſed uſque ad extremum vitæ ſpiritum ſe integrum incorruptumque ſervaſſe* (1).

(1) Nic. Erythr. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 171, 172.

at last was obliged by Pope Clement VIII to accept of a Bishoprick, the Functions of which he executed with the utmost zeal and application [*B*]. Erythræus wrote a particular account of his life and character, besides the elogium which he has given of him in his *Pinacotheca*.

[*B*] *To accept of a Bishopric, the functions of which he executed with the utmost zeal and application.*] He shewed, in this case, the disinterestedness of his mind, and his regard for the salvation of men rather than his own private advantage, for when he had several vacant Bishoprics proposed to him, that he might choose which he thought proper, he determined upon that of Saluzzes, which was much inferior to the rest in point of revenue, but required more application, and was attended with greater danger, as Erythræus informs us; who says that this was occasioned by the Calvinistical Religion, which had overrun that Diocese. *In eo vero animi sui moderationem, atque animarum salutis, non utilitatis suæ studium, declaravit, quòd aliquot ipsi propositis ecclesiis, rectoribus suis orbatis ejus, quam vellet, eligendi optio data esset, eam amplexus est, quæ cæteris opibus inferior, sed laboribus periculisque superior, Salutiarum nimirum cathedram, in cujus diœcesin Calvinianæ hæresis contagio pervaserat* (2). Erythræus observes, upon this occasion, that there can be no stronger characteristic of a true Shepherd, according to our Saviour's representation, than his avoiding no labours, fearing no dangers, and withdrawing himself from no pains of body or mind, on account of the flock committed to him. This is the only circumstance, which distinguishes the true Shepherd from the mercenary and pretended. But let us hear the reflection of this zealous Roman Catholic Writer in his own words. *Nullum ex Christi Domini sententia ne excogitari quidem potest, neque certius, neque clarius egregii pastoris documentum, quam si ille nullos pro ovibus sibi traditis labores subterfugiat, nulla pericula reformidet, nullos corporis animique cruciatus doloresque deprecetur. Etenim hac una præsertim in re verus pastor a simulato, gratuitus à mercenario dignoscitur* (3). Our Bishop was eminent for this resolution and fortitude; he acted up to the most perfect idea of a Pastor and a Bishop; he exposed himself to the greatest fatigues, and the most formidable dangers; and even to death itself at last in the discharge of his office. For having used his authority in restraining a Monk of a very vicious and profligate character from visiting the Convents of the Nuns, which gave great offence to every body; it is imagined that this man poisoned our Ancina. *Nam cum improbum religiosæ cujusdam familiæ virum à sacrarum Deo virginum septis repelleret, qui circum loca illa, magnâ hominum cum offensione, obambulabat, ab illo creditur per summum nefas veneno fuisse sublatus* (4).

(2) Idem, ibid. p. 172, 173.

(3) Idem, ibid. p. 171.

(4) Idem, ibid.

☞ANCOURT (FLORENT CARTON D'), an eminent Actor and Comic Writer in France was born at Fontainbleau in October 1661. His father was Florent Carton Esq; Sieur d'Ancourt; and his mother's name was Louisa de Londé, who was descended by the mother's side from the Budé, and related to the Chevalier de Londé, who settled in England, and was made a Knight of the Garter. D'Ancourt's parents had both been Protestants, but afterwards embraced the Roman Catholick religion. Our author studied at first in the Jesuits College at Paris under father de la Rue, who discovering a prodigious vivacity, penetration and capacity for learning in him, was extremely desirous of engaging him in their order; but d'Ancourt's aversion to a religious life rendered all his efforts ineffectual. After he had passed through a course of Philosophy, he applied himself to the Civil Law, and was admitted Advocate at seventeen years of age (*a*). But falling in love with an Actress, whose name was Therese le Noir, he was induced to go upon the stage; and though his birth and rank might have diverted him from such an employment, yet he engaged in it, and in 1680 married the Actress, who had first inspired him with that resolution. As he had all the qualifications necessary to succeed upon the Theatre, he soon distinguished himself to great advantage. He was not contented only with the applause of an Actor, but he wrote likewise a great number of pieces for the stage [*A*], many of which had such prodigious success, that most of the players grew rich from the profits of them. The ease with which he spoke, and the natural eloquence which animated all his discourses, was the

(a) *Memoires pour servir à l'Hist. des Hommes Illust.* tom. 16. p. 287, 288. edit. Paris 1731.

[*A*] *A great number of pieces for the stage.*] They are fifty two in all; most of which were printed separately at the time when they were first represented. They were afterwards collected into five volumes, then into seven, and at last into nine. We shall mention particularly what is contained in the last edition, which is the most compleat of all. It is intitled, *Les Oeuvres de M. d'Ancourt, troisiéme edition, augmentée de plusieurs Comédies, qui n'avoient pas été imprimées*; i. e. "The Works of Mr. d'Ancourt; "the third edition, enlarged with several Comedies, "which were never printed before." Roan 1729, in 12mo, nine volumes. The first volume contains six Comedies. 1. *Les Fonds perdus*; a Comedy in prose in three Acts, acted the first time the 8th of June 1686. 2. *Le Chevalier à la mode*; a Comedy in prose in five Acts, represented in October 1687. 3. *La Maison de Campagne*; a Comedy in prose in one Act, represented the 27th of January 1688. Sir John Vanbrugh has translated this into English, under the title of *The Country-House*. 4. *La Folle enchere*; a Comedy of one Act in prose, represented the 30th of May 1690. 5. *L'Eté des Coquettes*; a Comedy of one Act in prose, represented the 12th of May 1690. 6. *La Parisienne*; a Comedy of one Act in prose, represented the 13th of June 1691. The second volume likewise contains six pieces, all in prose. 7. *La Femme d'intrigue*; a Comedy of five Acts, represented the 30th of January 1692. 8. *Les Bourgeoises a la mode*; a Comedy of five Acts, represented the 15th of November 1692. 9. *La Gazette*; a Comedy of one Act, represented the 24th of April 1693. 10. *L'Opera de Village*; a Comedy of one Act, represented the 18th of August 1693. We have a piece in English, intitled, *The Village Opera*, written by Mr. Charles Johnson. 11. *L'Impromptu de Garnison*; a Comedy of one Act, represented in November 1693. 12. *Les Vendanges*; a Comedy of one Act, represented the 30th of September 1694. The third volume contains also six Comedies in prose, all of one Act each. 13. *Le Tuteur*; represented the 13th of July 1695. 14. *La Foire de Besons*, represented the 14th of August 1695. 15. *Les Vendanges de Suresne*; represented the 15th of October 1695. 16. *La Foire S. Germain*; represented the 19th of January 1696. 17. *Le Moulin de Javelle*; represented the 7th of July 1696. 18. *Les Eaux de Bourbon*; represented the 4th of October 1696. The fourth volume contains seven Comedies, all of one Act and in prose. 19. *Les Vacances*; represented the 31st of October 1696. 20. *Renaud & Armide*; represented the 12th of June 1697.

the reaſon that his fellow-actors always choſe him for their ſpeaker upon all particular occaſions, and the publick always heard him with applauſe. His merit procured him a very favourable reception at court; and Lewis XIV honoured him with many marks of peculiar favour [*B*]. The charms of his converſation, and the politeneſs of his behaviour, made his company deſirable to all the men of figure both at court and in the city; and the moſt conſiderable perſons were extremely pleaſed to have him at their houſes, and to viſit him at his own (*b*). Having taken a journey to Dunkirk to ſee his eldeſt daughter who lived there, he took the opportunity of paying his compliments to the Elector of Bavaria, who was then at Bruſſels. This Prince received him with the utmoſt civility, and having retained him a conſiderable time, diſmiſſed him with a preſent of a diamond valued at a thouſand piſtoles. He likewiſe rewarded him in a very generous manner, when upon his coming to Paris, d'Ancourt made a particular entertainment for his diverſion. At laſt our author began to grow weary of the Theatre, which he quitted entirely in Lent 1718, and retired to his eſtate of *Courcelles-le-Roy* in Berry, where he applied himſelf wholly to devotion. He compoſed a tranſlation of David's Pſalms in verſe, and a ſacred Tragedy, which were never printed. When he found himſelf near death, he ordered his tomb to be made in the chapel belonging to his ſeat, and went to ſee it with all the reſolution and firmneſs of a ſoul abſolutely diſengaged from the objects of this world, and aſpiring only after thoſe of the other life. He died the ſixth of December 1726, being ſixty five years of age. He left two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was married to a Commiſſary and Comptroller of the Marine; and the younger to a Gentleman, who was ſon to a Lieutenant General of the Artillery (*c*).

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 289, 290.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 291.

1697. 21. *La Loterie*; repreſented the 10th of July 1697. 22. *Le Charivary*; repreſented the 19th of September 1697. 23. *Le Retour des Officiers*; repreſented the 19th of October 1697. 24. *Les Curieux de Compiegne*; repreſented the 4th of October 1698. 25. *Le Mary retrouvé*; repreſented the 25th of October 1698. The fifth volume contains only four Comedies. 26. *Les Fées*; a Comedy of three Acts in proſe, repreſented the 29th of October 1699. 27. *Les Enfans de Paris*; a Comedy of five Acts in verſe, repreſented the 18th of December 1699. 28. *La Fete de Village*; a Comedy of three Acts, in proſe, repreſented the 13th of July 1700. 29. *Les trois Couſines*; a Comedy of three Acts in proſe, repreſented the 18th of October 1700. The ſixth volume contains ten pieces. 30. *Colin-Maillard*; a Comedy of one Act in proſe, repreſented the 28th of October 1701. 31. *L'Operateur Barry*; a Comedy of one Act in proſe, repreſented the 11th of October 1702. 32. *Nouveau Prologue, & nouveaux Divertiſſemens pour la Comedie de l'Inconnu*; in verſe, repreſented the 20th of Auguſt 1703. 33. *Nouveau Prologue & nouveaux Divertiſſemens pour la Comedie des Amans magnifiques*; in verſe, repreſented the 21ſt of June 1704. 34. *Le Galant Jardinier*; a Comedy of one Act in proſe, repreſented the 10th of November 1704. 35. *Prologue & Divertiſſemens nouveaux pour Circé, Tragedie en Muſique*; in verſe, repreſented the 6th of Auguſt 1705. 36. *L'Impromptu de Livry*; in verſe, repreſented the 12th of Auguſt 1705. 37. *Le Diable Boiteux*; a Comedy of one Act in proſe, repreſented the 5th of October 1707. 38. *Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteaux*; a Comedy of two Acts in proſe, repreſented the 20th of October 1707. 39. *Divertiſſement de Sceaux*; in verſe and proſe, repreſented the 13th of September 1705. The ſeventh volume contains four Comedies. 40. *La Trahiſon punie*; a Comedy of two Acts in verſe. 41. *Madame Artus*, a Comedy of five Acts in verſe. 42. *Les Agioteurs*; in three Acts in proſe. 43. *La Comedie des Comediens, ou l'Amour Charlatan*; in three Acts in proſe, repreſented the 5th of Auguſt 1710. The eighth volume contains likewiſe four Comedies. 44. *Cephalus & Procris*; in three Acts in verſe, repreſented the 27th of October 1711. 45. *Sancho Pança, Gouverneur*; in five Acts in verſe. 46. *L'Impromptu du Sureſne*; in one Act in proſe, repreſented the 21ſt of May 1713. 47. *Les Fêtes du Cours*; in one Act in proſe. The ninth and laſt volume contains five Comedies. 48. *Le Verd-Galant*; in one Act in proſe, repreſented the 18th of December 1699. 49. *Le Prix de l'Arquebuſe*; in one Act in proſe. 50. *La Metempſycoſe*; in one Act in verſe. 51. *La Déroute du Pharaon*; in one Act in proſe. 52. *La Deſolation des Joüeuſes*; in one Act in proſe. He left likewiſe, beſides the tranſlation of the Pſalms into French verſe, and a ſacred Tragedy, two large comic pieces in verſe, which had been received by the Players; but were withdrawn by him, before they were repreſented, upon his quitting the Stage; and likewiſe an Entertainment of three Acts in verſe, and ſeveral little pieces, which may ſome time or other be publiſhed (1).

(1) Ibid. p. 297.

[*B*] *Honoured him with many marks of his favour.*] When the King intended to go to the Play, d'Ancourt uſed to read his performances to him in the cloſet, where no perſon was admitted but Madam de Monteſpan. And it is ſaid, that one day finding himſelf diſordered by the great fire, which was there, the King took the trouble himſelf of opening a window in order to give him air. Another time d'Ancourt having the honour to ſpeak with him, as he went from Maſs, upon ſome affairs, which related to the Company of Comedians, and walking backward to the top of a pair of ſtairs, which he did not perceive, the King held him by the arm, and ſaid to him, *Have a care, d'Ancourt, you are going to fall*; and turning back then to the Lords, who ſtood round him, he ſaid to them, *It muſt be owned, that this man ſpeaks extremely well*; and granted all that he deſired (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 289.

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ANCRE (the Mareſchal d'). See CONCINI.

☞ANDERSON (EDMUND) Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and author of ſeveral valuable books in the Law [*A*], was born of a good family at Broughton in Lincolnſhire, and was the younger ſon of Thomas Anderſon Eſq; who was deſcended from the Anderſons of Scotland, and lived in Northumberland before he removed to Broughton. Our author ſtudied firſt at Lincoln

(1) V. 1. Col. 328.
(2) Idem, ibid.
(3) *See* Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 3. p. 183. edit. London 1699.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral valuable books in the Law.*] Mr. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes* tells us (1), that he wrote much, but that nothing is printed under his name, except the following books: *Reports of many principal caſes argued and adjudged in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the Common Bench.* London, 1644, fol. (2); French in two parts (3). *Reſolutions and Judgments on the caſes and matters agitated in all the Courts of Weſtminſter in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* Theſe were collected by John Goldesburg Eſq; Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, and publiſhed at London 1653 in 4to (4).

(4) *See* Wood, *ubi ſupra*, and Col. 453. and Nicholſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 185.
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coln College in Oxford; from whence he went to the Inner Temple, where by his indefatigable application he gained a prodigious knowledge of the Law. In the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth he was either Lent or Summer Reader in that Houſe; in the ſixteenth, Double Reader; and in the nineteenth Serjeant at Law. In 1582 he was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas upon the death of Sir James Dyer, and in the year following was knighted (*a*). In 1586 he ſat in judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots (*b*), and cenſured Secretary Davilon on account of the execution of that Queen, for having done *Juſtum non juſtè* *. He was ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the Church of England, and very ſtrict in his proſecution of the Puritans, eſpecially the Browniſts (*c*). Mr. Pierce in his *Vindication of the Diſſenters* (*d*), ſpeaks with great ſeverity of his behaviour in the trial of Mr. Udal the Puritan in the year 1590. He died at London Auguſt 1ſt 1605 (*e*), and was interred September 5th at Eyworth or Eworth in Bedfordſhire, where he had an eſtate. He left iſſue ſeveral ſons (*f*). He was ſucceeded in his place of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas by Sir Francis Gaudy of the Inner Temple (*g*).

(*a*) Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 328. edit. 2. 1721.
(*b*) Camden's *Annals of Queen Eliz. ann.* 1586. *See* Kennet's *Complete Hiſtory of England*, vol. 2. p. 519.
(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

* *See* Fuller's *Worthies* in Lincolnſhire.
(*d*) Part 1. pag. 129, 130. edit. London 1717.
(*e*) Camden's *Annals of King James.*
(*f*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*
(*g*) Camden *and* Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

ANDLO (PETRUSAB) a fictitious name, aſſumed by a Carteſian, when he wrote againſt the Diſſertation *de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ ſurrepente & vitando in rebus theologicis & fidei.* Mr. Des Marets, Profeſſor of Divinity at Groningen, the author of that Diſſertation, publiſhed it in 1670, to repreſent to the Proteſtant churches the great inconveniences, which were to be apprehended, if the opinions of Mr. Des Cartes were permitted to paſs from the ſchools of Philoſophy to thoſe of Divinity. Some months after there appeared a book intitled, *Petri ab Andlo, Batavi, Specimen Confutationis Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*, &c. There never was any confutation written in a more violent ſtyle; Mr. Des Marets was treated in the ſevereſt manner in the world. He did not continue ſilent upon this; his Apology was ſoon publiſhed, intitled, *Vindiciæ Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*, in which there is no kind of reproaches which he has not caſt upon his antagoniſt. He treats him as an inſolent Socinian, Spinoſiſt, an impious, unchriſtian, and atheiſtical perſon. Petrus ab Andlo ſoon publiſhed a reply, intitled, *Animadverſiones ad Vindicias Diſſertationis, quam Samuel Mareſius edidit de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ.* If he was violent in his firſt diſſertation, he was much more ſo in the ſecond, intermixing however, as well as in the former, ſome ſtrokes of pleaſantry amidſt all his paſſion. He denied abſolutely that he knew Spinoza, or had ever ſeen him, or approved at all of his ſentiments (*a*). Mr. Des Marets received a ſecond piece from Petrus ab Andlo the 19th of December 1670, and anſwered it with ſuch expedition, that his rejoinder was finiſhed the third of January following (*b*). It is intitled, *Samuelis Mareſii Clypeus Orthodoxiæ, ſive Vindiciarum ſuarum priorum pro ſua Diſſertatione de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ .... Vindiciæ poſteriores, &c.* The author declared that he would write no more againſt ſuch an inconſiderable perſon [*A*]; but that he ſhould be always ready to enter the liſts for the ſake of truth with any learned and reputable writer, who would not be aſhamed to declare his name. He kept his word; for he gave no reply to the third piece of Petrus ab Andlo, intitled, *Specimina Bombomachiæ Samuelis Mareſii ſe defendentis clypeo orthodoxiæ, ceu Vindiciis Vindiciarum Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ.* Thus ended the diſpute which verified the proverb, *nullum violentum durabile*; i. e. "nothing that is violent, "is long laſting," though it is otherwiſe very often falſe in conteſts of learning [*B*]. Mr. Des Marets never was able to diſcover the true name of his antagoniſt [*C*]. There appeared in 1673 a little book in 4to intitled, DANIELIS AB ANDLO, *Petri Filii*, Κατήγορος ἀδελφῶν ἐλεγχόμενος, *ſive ad clariſſimi Theologi Samuelis Mareſii Tractatum brevem de ſtudio Theologico notæ breves.*

(*a*) *Spinozam non novit Petrus, nec vidit, nec audivit, nec abſ.vda ejus dogmata probat.* Animadverſ. ad Vindicias, p. 7.

(*b* Vindic. Vindiciarum Diſſert. *ſub finem.*

We

[*A*] *Mr. Des Marets declared, that he would write no more againſt ſuch an inconſiderable perſon.*] The term that he uſed is the ſame with what the Scripture uſed againſt the Gods of the Gentiles, calling them *Gods of Dung. Animo non ulterius hanc ſerram cum hoc* STERCOREO HOMINE *reciprocandi* (1). *In anteceſſum me proteſtari nihil amplius mihi futurum negotii cum hoc hominis ſterquilinio & infami nebulone, quem pudet ſui ipſius* (2).

(1) Mareſ. Vindic. Vindiciarum Diſſert. *ſub finem.*

(2) Idem, *in Judicio de Theologia Pacifica Wittichii, ſub fin.*

[*B*] *The proverb* NULLUM VIOLENTUM DURABILE; *i. e.* "*nothing violent is long laſting,*" *is very often falſe in conteſts of learning*] We ſhall not go far for an inſtance of this. The diſpute between Des Marets and Mr. Voetius was extremely violent, and laſted about thirty years, as long as the war in Germany, which was concluded at the peace at Munſter.

[*C*] *Des Marets was never able to diſcover his true name.*] He employed his own conjectures, and the enquiries of his friends to no purpoſe; ſo that he was obliged to deſiſt from his vain ſearch, and leave his antagoniſt under the mask. *Quis ſit ille larvatus* Petrus ab Andlo, Batavus .... *ut nec hactenus conjecturâ aſſequi, nec amicorum diligentiâ reſcire potui, ita nolo amplius inquirere.* Thus he ſpeaks in the beginning of his *Clypeus Orthodoxiæ*. His friends, who were diſperſed in ſeveral parts, and were over officious to ſerve him with more zeal than diſcretion, as it generally happens to thoſe who ſet up for the ſcourgers of innovators, made him believe that there was a Miniſter in Zealand, named Petrus ab Andlo, married to a daughter of Cocceius. He publiſhed this in order to make ſuch uſe of it as occaſion might require, but finding that Cocceius's ſon-in law was named Anſelaer, he begged his pardon for it: *Apud R. D. Anſelaer curavi me honeſte, quod id mihi excidiſſet ex relatione honeſti cujuſdam R. viri, etiam in Carteſianiſmum .... pronioris, cui non erat cur ultro aſſerenti fidem detrectarem* (3). i. e. "I deſired the "Reverend Mr. Anſelaer's pardon for publiſhing "this, though I had it from a very honeſt and Re- "verend Gentleman, who has likewiſe ſome biaſs "to the Carteſian hypotheſis, and whom I had no "reaſon to queſtion, as he aſſerted it of his own ac- "cord." He tells us ſomewhere, that there was a rumour diſperſed about that three perſons were engaged in the defence of Wittichius, and that they had publiſhed their performance under the fictitious name of *Petrus ab Andlo* (4). We ſhall ſee whether Mr. Placcius or Mr. Baillet will ſucceed better in unmasking this writer, whom I imagine to be Regnier de Manſvelt, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Utrecht.

(3) Vindic. Vindiciar. p. 6.

(4) *In Judicio de Theologiâ Pacificâ Wittichii.*

We may obſerve, that there is a true ANDLO an author (*c*). He was of Alſace, a Doctor of Canon Law, and Canon of Colmar (*d*). The two books which he wrote *de Imperio Romano, Regis & Auguſti Inauguratione, &c. deque Officio & poteſtate Electorum, &c.* were publiſhed at Straſburg with notes in the year 1603, by Marquard Freher.

(*c*) Petrus de Andlo.
(*d*) Mich. Hortzius, *Biblioth. German.* num. 224.

ANDRADA (DIEGO DE PAYVA D') in Latin *Andradius*, a learned Portugueſe, born at Conimbria, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Council of Trent, to which King Sebaſtian ſent him as one of his Divines (*a*). He preached before the Aſſembly the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter in 1562. He was not contented with the ſervice which he did them in explaining thoſe points, upon which he was conſulted, but he voluntarily employed his pen in defence of the Canons of the Council. This he did in a book intitled, *Orthodoxarum Explicationum Lib. X*(*b*). He anſwers in this piece a book which Chemnitius publiſhed againſt the doctrine of the Jeſuits [*A*], before the cloſe of the Council of Trent; and as Chemnitius took this opportunity of writing a very large work intitled, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, Andradius thought himſelf obliged to defend his firſt piece againſt his learned antagoniſt [*B*]. He compoſed therefore a book, which was publiſhed after his death by his two brothers at Liſbon in 1578, intitled, *Defenſio Tridentinæ fidei Catholicæ quinque libris comprehenſa, adverſus hæreticorum calumnias, & præſertim Martini Kemnitii.* Theſe writings of Andradius were reprinted ſeveral times (*c*), and yet are now ſo ſcarce at Paris, that Mr. Peliſſon could not find them in all the *Rue St. Jaques* [*C*]. There is hardly any Catholick author who has been more quoted by the Proteſtants than he; and this is becauſe he maintained ſome opinions a little extravagant concerning the ſalvation of the Heathens. He was an eminent preacher; his ſermons were publiſhed in three parts, the ſecond of which was tranſlated out of Portugueſe into the Caſtillian language by Benedict de Alarcon (*d*). The *Bibliotheca* of Spaniſh writers does not mention all his works [*D*]. Great elogiums

(*a*) Palavic. *Hiſt. Concil. Tridentin.* l. 19. c. 16. num. 7.

(*b*) Printed at Cologne in 1564. The firſt of theſe ten books, which is an apology for the Jeſuits, was printed in French at Lyons in 1565. Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Franc.* p. 266.

(*c*) *Ex* Nicolai Antonii *Bibl. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. p. 236.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He anſwered a book of Chemnitius againſt the doctrine of the Jeſuits.*] A Lutheran Miniſter, who made the Elogium upon Chemnitius, expreſſes himſelf in this manner: *Breve quidem, ſed nervoſum Scriptum, durante adhuc Concilio Tridentino, Jeſuitarum Theologiæ oppoſuit, cujus Opuſculi cum Andradius Luſitanus in ſe ſuſcepiſſet refutationem, Chemnitio occaſionem ſubminiſtravit inſigne illud .... Opus, quod* TRIDENTINI CONCILII EXAMEN *nuncupavit* (1). I ſhall add to this a paſſage from Eiſengreinius, becauſe it ſeems to furniſh a little point of criticiſm. That author pretends that Andradius did wonderful things againſt the Hereticks in his orthodox explications, and eſpecially againſt Chemnitius; *Præſertim contra Martini Kemnitii petulantem audaciam, qui Colonienſem Cenſuram, quam a viris Societatis Jeſu compoſitam eſſe ait, una cum ejuſdem ſanctiſſimæ Societatis vitæ ratione temere calumniandam ſuſcepit* (2). Nicholas Antonio having quoted this paſſage, cenſures Eiſengreinius for imagining that Andradius was a Jeſuit: *Hæc ille*, ſays he, *falſus ſaltem in eo quod Andradam noſtrum unum ex Jeſuitico Sodalitio credidit.* If this cenſure has no other foundation than the words which Don Antonio has quoted, I am of opinion it is falſe.

(1) Spizelius *in Templo Honoris*, p. 4.

(2) *In Catalogi Teſt. Veritatis, apud* Nicol. Anton. *Bib. Hiſp.* tom. 1. p. 235.

[*B*] *Andrada ..... maintained his firſt piece againſt his learned Antagoniſt.*] This Elogium is due to Chemnitius; and in reality I ſay no more of him than Don Nicholas Antonio has done. It ſeems at firſt view, that theſe words of his, *Cui cum repoſuiſſet profligatiſſimus hæreticus librum, in quo graviſſimas adverſus univerſalem Eccleſiam contumelias intorquebat, deſcendere denuò in campum ſibi opus eſſe Paiva vidit, ut immanem hoſtem totis viribus profligaret.* That is, "When this moſt profligate heretic had publiſhed an Anſwer to this, in which he caſt the moſt "ſevere reflections upon the univerſal Church, "Payva thought it neceſſary for him to enter the "field again, that he might attack this dreadful "enemy with his whole ſtrength;" theſe words, I ſay, ſeem at firſt very ſevere upon him; but when they are well weighed, they will appear the greateſt compliment to Chemnitius, and ſufficient to raiſe his vanity; for is it not an exquiſite gratification to a man, to be conſidered as the Goliah and Polyphemus of his party by thoſe of the contrary ſide, when he thinks himſelf defending a good cauſe?

[*C*] *Mr. Peliſſon could not find his works in all the Rue St. Jaques.*] An account of this will not be diſpleaſing to the curious. Mr. Leibnitz in his *Remarks againſt the reflections upon the differences of Religion* (3), alledges amongſt other things, that Andradius wrote a book intitled, *Explicationes orthodoxæ de controverſis religionis capitibus*, in which he aſſerted in plain terms, that *the Philoſophers, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to know the true God and to worſhip him in the beſt manner, had ſuch a faith, as the juſt ſhall live by..... That it would be the greateſt cruelty in the world* (neque immanitas deterior ulla eſſe poteſt) *to condemn men to eternal puniſhment for the want of a faith, which they never had the means of obtaining* (4). Mr. Peliſſon replies to this, that *he had never ſeen that Author, but that he would enquire for him for curioſity ſake, when he ſhould go to Paris* (5). Some time after, he gave the world to underſtand, that *he had ſearched with the utmoſt care for the book of this Portugueze Doctor Payva Andrada*; "but, continued he (6), it is no ſmall difficulty "to find it at Paris. The Rue St. Jaques knows no"thing of it; the moſt conſiderable Libraries have "it not; not even that of the Jeſuits, which is very "remarkable, becauſe it was written in their favour. "At laſt I diſcovered it in the Library of Sorbonne. "The Abbot Pirot, a Gentleman of as great merit, "as any one in France and other Countries, and one "of the moſt able and illuſtrious Members of that "houſe, who knew no more of this Author than "myſelf, gave himſelf the trouble of reading it at "my deſire..... This Writer has a great deal of me"rit, and is not a dry inſipid School-man as too "many are; we find every where in him a ſpirit, "elegance, and vivacity, much above the common "rate; in ſhort he anſwers the character, which he "had at the Council of Trent." It is ſurprizing, that a book ſo little known to the moſt conſiderable Bookſellers and the moſt copious Libraries, ſhould be quoted by an hundred Authors, who have ſcarce any books: This, I ſay, is ſurprizing to thoſe, who do not know that the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* of Chemnitius is a very common book, and that from thence they have an opportunity of quoting Doctor Andradius without ever ſeeing him themſelves. A great many other Authors have ſpoken as ſtrongly as he upon this point, as Monſieur La Mothe le Vayer ſhews in one of his books (7). How comes it then, that they have not been quoted ſo often as Andradius, when the point has been to excuſe Zuinglius by way of recrimination, or to reproach the Papiſts with inclining towards the hereſies of Pelagius? How comes this, I ſay, if I have been miſtaken in accounting for the frequent quotations from Andradius?

(3) This is the title of a book of Mr. Peliſſon.

(4) See the book of Mr. Peliſſon, intitled, *De la Tolerance des Religions*, p. 19. It was printed at Paris in 1692.

(5) Ibid. p. 71.

(6) Ibid. p. 83.

(7) At the end of his *Traite de la Vertu des Payens.*

[*D*] *The Bibliotheca of Spaniſh Writers does not mention all his works.*] We do not find there the book, which he wrote upon the authority of the Pope, during the ſitting of the Council, in the year 1562 (8). The Legates of the Pope, who were very well

(8) Palavic. lib. 19. cap. 16. num. 7.

ums have been given to Andradius [*E*]; you will find them in the remarks.

well pleaſed with this piece, ſent it to Cardinal Borromeo. The Court of Rome approved it extremely. The Pope thank'd the Author very obligingly. I believe this work is the ſame with that *De Conciliorum Autoritate*, which Palavicini has quoted in his firſt book (9).

(9) Id. lib. 24. c. 10. num. 17.

[*E*] *Great Elogiums have been given to Andradius.*] We have ſeen the judgment of Mr. Peliſſon concerning him. Oſorius, in his Preface to the *Orthodox Explications* of Andradius, gives him the character of a man of genius, great application and knowledge in the languages, and all the zeal and eloquence neceſſary to a good Preacher. Roſweidus ſpeaks of him as follows: *Ad Concilium Tridentinum & profundiſſimi Theologi mentem, & linguam Oratoris attulit* (10); that is, "He brought to the Council of "Trent the genius of a moſt profound Divine, and "the eloquence of an Orator."

(10) *In Lege Talionis Caſaubono retaliata, apud* Nicol. Antonium, tom. 1. p. 236.

ANDREAS (JOHN) a famous Canoniſt of the fourteenth Century, was the ſon of a Prieſt [*A*], and born at Mugello near Florence. He was very young when he went to Bologna on account of his ſtudies (*a*). He would have been under ſome difficulties to maintain himſelf, if he had not happened upon the place of a Preceptor; but by means of the ſupport which that employment procured him, he was enabled to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Canon Law, in which he made a very great progreſs under the Profeſſor Guy de Baïf (*b*). He had always a peculiar reſpect for the perſon and the gloſſes of that Profeſſor; for he had an equal regard to theſe gloſſes as to the text itſelf. Beſides he had another obligation to him, which is generally more ſenſible than that of inſtruction. Guy de Baïf perceiving, that for want of money he could not venture to demand his Doctor's degree, he put him upon deſiring it, and procured it for him *gratis*; Andreas himſelf acknowledges this particular (*c*). The ſame Guy encouraged him to aſk for a Profeſſorſhip, in which he had all the ſucceſs that he could promiſe himſelf. We find that Andreas was a Profeſſor at Padua about the year 1330, and likewiſe at Piſa; but he was recalled to Bologna (*d*), where he acquired the greateſt reputation. We are told wonderful things of the auſterity of his life [*B*]. He macerated his body with prayer and faſting, and lay upon the bare ground every night for twenty years together, covered only with a bear ſkin (*e*). He affirmed, that he had obtained ſeveral things by his prayers (*f*). He married a woman named Milantia, whom he mentions ſometimes in his writings. He acknowledges, that he learned a great many things of her, and amongſt the reſt, that if names were to be ſold, parents ought to buy good ones for their children (*g*). I forgot to obſerve that his mother was named Novella, and that he had a daughter of the ſame name, who was ſo well accompliſhed in learning, that he uſed to ſend her to read Lectures in his place [*C*], when he had not time

(*a*) *Bononiam admodum adoleſcens venit, ubi ob paupertatem pædagogum geſſit, Scarpettam filium Mainardi Ubaldini audiendo.* Volater. lib. 21.

(*b*) He is better known by the name of *Archidiaconus*, i. e. the Archdeacon, which Eccleſiaſtical office he bore at Bologna. Doujatius, *Præno. Canon.* pag. 602.

(*c*) *In* 1 *Sexti Decretal. apud* Doujat. *Prænot. Canon.* p. 603.

(*d*) Panzirol. *de Claris Legum interpret.* lib. 3. c. 19.

(*e*) Volaterr. lib. 21. p. 781.

(*f*) *Apud* Panz. *de Claris Leg. Interpret.* lib. 3. c. 19.

(*g*) *In cap.* cum ſecundum, *Extravag.* de Præbend.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of a Prieſt.*] All Authors agree that Andreas's Father was a Prieſt, but not that he was ſo when he begot him. *Patrem conſtat presbyterum fuiſſe; an filium ante, an poſt ſacerdotium, genuerit incertum.* Thus ſpeaks Mr. Doujat (1) after having read Panzirolus, who aſſerts poſitively, that John Andreas was born before his Father became a Prieſt. *Is ex Andrea presbytero, antequam ſacerdos fieret, et matre nomine Novellâ genitus* (2). This ſhews, that Mr. Doujat did not much regard, at leaſt in ſuch a point as this, the determination of Panzirolus; and what reaſon is there to believe this latter Author, rather than Volaterranus, who aſſures us of the contrary? *Joannes Andreas patre Andrea presbytero & matre concubinâ natus apud Mugellum Agri Florentini oppidum, juris ſcientiâ virtutibuſque aliis natalium pudorem contexit* (3). He tells us poſitively, that John Andreas was born of a Prieſt in concubinage; and no perſon has ever pretended to ſay, that Novella was married at all to his father. It is indiſputable therefore, that our celebrated Canoniſt was born, as Eraſmus was, out of lawful matrimony, and that his father was a Prieſt. We are not then to imagine, that Forſterus aſſerts, that he did not become a Prieſt, till after the birth of his ſon. He means only, that the father of John Andreas was a Prieſt at the place where he was born: *Patre Joanne Andreæ, cive initio, deinde presbytero Mugellano, natus eſt* (4).

(1) Prænot. Canon. p. 604.

(2) Panzirol. *de Clar. Leg. Interpret.* l. 3. c. 19. *init.*

(3) Volaterran. lib. 21. p. 781.

(4) Forſter. *Hiſt. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. c. 26.

[*B*] *We are told wonderful things of the auſterity of his Life.*] Here is a Comment, which has been communicated to me (5); I have altered nothing in it. "What you obſerve of the auſterity of John "Andreas's manner of life is atteſted by very good "Authors. However if the ſtory, which Poggius "tells of him in his *Jeſts*, be true, there is reaſon "to ſuppoſe that he afterwards relaxed very much "of his former continency. *Joannem Andream*, "ſays he, *Doctorem Bononienſem, cujus fama admodum vulgata eſt, ſubagitantem ancillam domeſticam uxor deprehendit. Re inſuetâ ſtupefacta mulier in virum verſa; Ubi nunc, ait, Joannes, eſt ſapientia veſtra? Ille, nil amplius locutus; In vulvâ iſtius, reſpondit, loco admodum ſapientiæ accommodato.* The French tranſlation of this perhaps will not be diſpleaſing.

(5) By Mr. de la Monnoie.

"*Jean, dit André, fameux Docteur és Loix,*
"*Fut pris un jour au péché d'amourette:*
"*Il accolloit une jeune ſoubrette.*
"*Sa femme vint, fit un ſigne de croix.*
"*Ho ho, dit-elle, eſt-ce vous? non je penſe:*
"*Vous, dont par tout en vante la prudence.*
"*Qu'eſt devenu cet eſprit ſi ſubtil?*
"*Le bon André, pourſuivant ſon négoce,*
"*Honteux pourtant, Ma foi, répondit-il,*
"*Prudence, eſprit, tout giſt dans cette foſſe.*"

Since it is agreed, that John Andreas had a baſtard, this ſtory is at the bottom very probable; and it was perhaps with the mother of *Banicontius*, that his wife found him. If it be ſo, he might be placed in the liſt of the *Menagiana* (6).

(6) See the remark [*E*] of the article BRISEIS.

[*C*] *He ſent his daughter to read Lectures in his place.*] I do not find this fact in Forſterus, nor Panzirolus, nor Mr. Doujat; but only in the *Cité des Dames* of Chriſtine de Piſe. This book was printed at Paris in 1536, and written in the reign of Charles VI. The paſſage is as follows: *In like manner, to ſpeak of more modern times, without ſearching into ancient Hiſtories, John Andry, a famous Lawyer at Bologna, not quite ſixty years ago, was of opinion, that is was not amiſs to make women Scholars. For he inſtructed his beautiful daughter Novella, whom he loved extremely, ſo well in all parts of Learning, and particularly in the Laws, that when he was employed in any affair, which hindered him from reading Lectures to his Scholars, he ſent his daughter Novella in his room; and leſt her beauty ſhould prevent the attention of the hearers, ſhe had a little curtain drawn before her. And thus ſhe ſometimes aſſiſted her father in his Profeſſorſhip, who had ſuch an affection for her, that to perpetuate the memory of her name, he call'd a famous book, which he wrote, upon the Law, by her name* (7). It is ſtrange,

(7) *Cité des Dames de Chriſtine de Piſe*, Part. 2. chap. 36.

time himſelf. It was for love of his mother, and this daughter, that he intitled his *Commentary upon the Decretals of Gregory IX*, the *Novellæ* (*h*). He had a natural ſon, named *Banicontius*, who publiſhed ſeveral books [*D*]; and it is ſaid, that having loſt him, he adopted John Calderinus, a learned Canoniſt, and married his daughter *Novella* to him [*E*]. He had another daughter, whom he married to John de St. George, a famous Profeſſor of Canon Law at Bologna. She was named Betina and died in 1355 (*i*) at Padua, where her huſband was ſent for to take upon him a Profeſſorſhip. John Andreas died of the plague at Bologna in 1348, after he had been a Profeſſor five and forty years, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans. He wrote ſeveral books [*F*]. He has pompous elogiums given him; but he is accuſed of being a great plagiary [*H*]. We are told by ſome authors that the extraordinary ſhortneſs of his ſtature ſet

(*h*) Panzirol. *de Claris Leg. Interpret.* lib. 3. cap. 19.

(*i*) Panzirolus mentions her Epitaph in his 3d book, c. 19. *de Clar. Leg. Interpret.*

ſtrange, that a thing of ſo extraordinary a nature as this ſhould not be found in any other authors, who treat of John Andreas, or at leaſt in the greateſt part of them; and I own this makes me a little doubtful, whether to credit it or not. But however that be, it may give the hint to a very diverting queſtion; and that is, whether this young Lady contributed to, or leſſened the profit of her hearers, by hiding her beautiful face. There are an hundred things, that might be ſaid on both ſides. I own the Scholars might have been too much amuſed in obſerving her beauty, and ſo have loſt their attention to her Lectures; but in other reſpects, we are generally more affected and perſuaded by what comes from a fine mouth; and we obſerve a great many women, who fix their eyes moſt intently upon an handſome Preacher, and yet equally retain what he ſays. What an old Poet remarks concerning virtue, that it pleaſes moſt in a beautiful body (8), may be applied to learning likewiſe. However, if the daughter of the Profeſſor John Andreas placed a curtain between herſelf and the auditory, that the charms of her beauty might not ſtrike them too forcibly, and interrupt their attention, ſhe made a great ſacrifice to them, which they would willingly have diſpenſed with. 'Tis probable they would have been well pleaſed to have ſeen her, and ſhe on her part would not have been unwilling to be ſeen, if ſhe had not preferred their profit to her own ſatisfaction. This is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, and what nature dictates; for ſhe was not one of thoſe learned women, who have reaſon to ſay, as Sappho did,

(8) *Gratior & pulchro veniens de corpore virtus.* Virgil *Æneid.* lib. 5. ver. 344.

Si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
Ingenio formæ damna rependo meo (9).

(9) Ovid. *Epiſt. Sapph.* ver. 31.

" To me what nature has in charms deny'd
" Is well by wit's more laſting charms ſupply'd.
Pope.

See below the remark [*D*].

[*D*] *His natural ſon Banicontius publiſhed ſeveral books.*] This was the name of his grandfather. The books which he publiſhed, were *De Privilegiis & Immunitate Clericorum*; *De Accuſationibus & Inquiſitionibus*; *De Appellationibus*. I have taken this from Panzirolus.

[*E*] *He adopted Calderinus, and married his daughter Novella to him.*] The ancient manner of adoptions would not have allowed ſuch a marriage as this (10); and perhaps we are to underſtand nothing by this adoption of Calderinus, but that John Andreas made him his ſon-in-law. It is ſaid that Calderinus very often conſulted his wife. *Is conjugem velut eruditis parentibus* (Milantia the wife of John Andreas was a learned woman) *ortam, prudentem nactus, ſæpe ob ſapientiam conſulere conſueverat* (11). But if we are to judge of the other matters, which he conſulted his domeſtic Oracle upon, from that, which Calderinus mentions himſelf, we ſhall ſee nothing in it, that anſwers to the character, which Chriſtine de Piſe gives of Novella. There is ſcarce any woman, but what might paſs for as ingenious a perſon as ſhe. The fact ſtands thus. Calderinus asked his wife one day, whether, if a man invited company to a feaſt with him, he ought to ſend to let his gueſts know, when it was ready? She replied, that it was neceſſary to do ſo to Ladies and Foreigners, but not to others, unleſs they were Perſons of Quality and Figure. See the raillery of Francis Hotman upon this ſubject. *Verum enim vero medius fidius*, ſays he (12), *nequaquam inficiandum aut dubitandum eſt, quin mulieres conſilium dare poſſint, quandoquidem* (*ô dignam hiſtoriam & digito ligandam,*) *refert Joh. Calderinus Canoniſt. famoſiſſimus, quod ſemel conſuluit ſuam uxorem, an convivator teneatur horâ prandii mittere ad convivas ut veniant, quæ ſapienter & tanquam altera Sybilla reſpondit, ad fœminas & extraneas eſſe mittendum, qui ſe faciſe non ingerunt, ſed non ad alios, niſi eſſent graves perſonæ. Joh. Calderin. in c. ult. de renunt. & poſt eum Ægid. Bell. in c. quidam col. 3. verſ. tertio quæro. eo. ti. & Panormit. in c. cum inter univerſal. in fin. de elect. & de hoc etiam ſer collect. in cap. à crapula. Ext. de vit. & hon. cleric. & Bal. in proœm. Gregor. col. 5. verſ. quære, quidam Scholaris.* That is, " It is not to be denied or doubted, " that women are capable of giving counſel, ſince " we have a very curious and remarkable Hiſtory con- " cerning the famous Canoniſt John Calderinus, who " conſulting his wife, whether a perſon who makes " a feaſt, ought to ſend to his gueſts to acquaint them " when dinner is ready, ſhe like another Sibyll an- " ſwered with great prudence, that we ought to do ſo " to Ladies and Foreigners, becauſe they are ſuppoſed " not to be very forward to come, but not to others, " unleſs they are Perſons of Figure. *Joh. Calderin.* " *in c. ult. de renunt. &c.*". What moſt inclines me to think, that Calderinus married the daughter of John Andreas, is that I obſerve one John Calderinus, who repaired the monument of Andreas in 1501, calls him his fourth grandfather, —— *atavum*, and ſays, that one John Calderinus was his third grandfather, —— *abavus* (13). I queſtion whether the adoption of theſe latter ages has founded ſuch degrees of kindred to the fifth generation; and I do not really believe, that if Madam de Gournai had left iſſue behind her, that her deſcendants would ſtyle themſelves in a public inſcription ſimply and abſolutely the grand-children or great grand-children of Michael de Montagne.

(10) *Octaviam Claudius antequam Neroni traderet, ne ſororem is ſuam ducere videretur, Claudii & ipſe filius adoptivus, in aliam familiam adoptandam dedit.* Torrentius in Sueton. Claudii, c. 35. *ex* Xiphil. & Zonarâ.

(11) Panzirol. lib. 3. c. 21.

(12) Hotman. *adverſus Italo-Galliam Matharelli*, p. 214.

(13) *See* Panz. *de Clar. Leg. Interpret.* lib. 3. c. 19.

[*F*] *He wrote ſeveral books.*] His firſt work was *a Gloſs upon the ſixth book of the Decretals*. He was very young, when he wrote this, and he reviſed and enlarged it afterwards. He wrote likewiſe *Gloſſes upon the Clementines*, and after that *a Commentary upon the Decretals*, which he intitled *Novellæ* for the reaſon abovementioned. He wrote a Commentary *in Regulas Sexti*, which he intitled *Mercuriales*, becauſe he either was engaged in it on Wedneſdays (*Diebus Mercurii*), or inſerted his Wedneſday-diſputes in it. He enlarged the *Speculum* of Durant in the year 1347. I ſhall not ſpeak particularly of his other writings. It is a great misfortune, that he followed the method of the Pyrrhonians ſo much; for he proves his own opinion very ſolidly, when he has a mind to it; but this he ſeldom does; he chooſes rather to relate the ſentiments of others, and leaves his reader in the midſt of the diſpute (14).

(14) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *He has pompous Elogiums given him.*] He is called, *Archidoctor Decretorum*, i. e. " the Arch- " Doctor of the Decretals," in the Epitaph upon his daughter Betina. In his own Epitaph he has the title of *Rabbi Doctorum, Lux, Cenſor, Normaque Morum.* i. e. " the Rabbi of the Doctors, the Light, Cenſor, " and Rule of Manners." It is ſaid that Pope Boniface VIII gave him the compliment of *Lumen Mundi*, i. e. " the Light of the world (15)".

(15) Idem, ibid.

[*H*] *He is accuſed of being a great Plagiary.*] The greateſt part of his additions to the *Speculum* of Durant were taken word for word from a book of Oldradus (16); ſo that Baldus having detected and expoſed their piece of Plagiariſm, could not forbear ſtyling him, *an eminent plunderer of other men's labours, inſignis alienorum laborum fur* (17). This was ſo much the more inexcuſable in him, becauſe in

(16) Intitled *Conſilia.*

(17) Panzirol. *de Clar. Legum Interpret.* lib. 3. c. 19.

set the Cardinals a laughing [*I*] in an audience, which Boniface VIII gave him in a full consistory. It is said he foretold his death a year before it happened (*k*).

(*k*) Panz. ibid.

in those same Additions he discovers and points out a great number of instances of Durant's *Plagiarism* (18). He is accused likewise of having stolen the treatise *De Sponsalibus ac Matrimoniis*, which was composed by John Anguissola of Cesena (19).

(18) *See* Thomas. *de Plagio Literario* num. 359. 414.

(19) Panz. *de Clar. Leg. Interp.* l. 3. c. 19. Doujatius *prænotion. Canonic.* p. 604.

[*I*] *The extraordinary shortness of his stature set the Cardinals a laughing.*] It is said, that some of the Decretals being suspected of forgery, the Academy of Bologna sent James de Castello, who was a very short and ill-favoured man, to Pope Boniface VIII. He entered the Consistory with a great number of attendants. The Pope shewed him a great deal of respect, and supposing him to be kneeling, bid him rise three times together (20). The Deputy could not tell what to say he was so confounded. Upon this one of the Cardinals said, that he was a second Zaccheus, which threw every body into a laughter. Several are of opinion, that this happened, not to Castello, but to John Andreas, who was a man of a very short and mean figure (21).

(20) See the remark [*I*] of the article ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

(21) Panz. *de Clar. Leg. Interp.* l. 3. c. 19.

ANDREAS (JOHN), author of a book intitled, *The Confusion of the Sect of Mahumed*, was born a Mahometan at Xativa in the Kingdom of Valencia, and succeeded his father in the dignity of Alfaqui of that city. He was enlightened with the knowledge of Jesus Christ by being present at a sermon in the great church of Valencia on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the year 1487 (*a*). Upon this he desired to be baptiz'd, and in memory of the calling of St. John and St. Andrew he received the name of *John Andreas*. "Having received holy orders, says he (*b*), and "from an Alfaqui, and a slave of Lucifer, become a Priest and Minister of Christ, "I began, like St. Paul, to preach and publish the contrary of what I had erroneously "believed and asserted; and with the assistance of Almighty God, I converted at first a "great many souls of the Moors, who were in danger of hell, and under the dominion "of Lucifer, and conducted them into the way of salvation. After this I was sent for by "the most Catholick Princes King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, in order to preach "in Grenada to the Moors of that Kingdom, which their Majesties had conquered. "By God's blessing on my preaching, an infinite number of Moors were brought to "abjure Mahumed, and to turn to Christ. A little after this I was made a Canon by "their Grace, and sent for again by the most Christian Queen Isabella to Arragon, that "I might be employed in the conversion of the Moors of those Kingdoms, who still "persisted in their errors to the great contempt and dishonour of our crucified Saviour, "and the prodigious loss and danger of all Christian Princes. But this excellent and "pious design of her Majesty was rendered ineffectual by her death." He adds, that *he might not continue idle, he undertook to translate from the Arabick into the language of Arragon the whole law of the Moors*, that is, the Alcoran and its Glosses, and the seven books of the Suné. He resolved upon this work at the command of Martin Garcia, Bishop of Barcelona, and Inquisitor of Arragon (*c*). And having finished this design, he composed that work, which I mentioned at the beginning [*A*], and which is esteemed a pretty good one [*B*].

(*a*) The Preacher was named *Marques Adesora*.

(*b*) In his Preface to his *Confusion de la Secta de Mahumed*, fol. 3 verso.

(*c*) Taken from the same Preface.

[*A*] *The work, which I mentioned at the beginning.*] I mean the book, which is intitled *The Confusion of the Sect of Mahumed.*] It contains twelve chapters. The Author has collected there *the fabulous stories, impostures, forgeries, brutalities, follies, obscenities, absurdities, impossibilities, lies, and contradictions, which the perverse and impious Mahumed, in order to deceive the simple people, has dispersed in the writings of that Sect, and especially in the Alcoran; which, as he says, was revealed to him in one night by an Angel in the city of Meke, tho' in another place he contradicts himself, and affirms that he was twenty years in composing it. He entitles this book* the Confusion of the Sect of Mahumed (1). He tells us (2), that he wrote this work, *that not only the learned amongst Christians, but even the common people, might know the different belief and doctrine of the Moors, and on the one hand might laugh at and ridicule such insolent and brutal notions, and on the other might lament their blindness and dangerous condition.*

This book, which was published at first in Spanish, has been translated into several languages. I make use of the French translation, which Guy le Fevre de la Boderie made of it from the Italian, printed at Paris by Martin le Jeune, in 1574, in 8vo.

[*B*] *This book is esteemed a pretty good one.*] All those, who write against the Mahometans, quote it very much. See among others Hoornbeeck in his Dispute *de Muhammedismo* (3), Hottinger in his *Historia Orientalis*, and Samuel Schultetus in his *Ecclesia Mahummedana breviter delineata.*

(1) John Andreas in his Preface, fol. 4.

(2) Ibid.

(3) This is one part of his *Summa Controversiarum.*

ANDREAS (TOBIAS) Professor of History and Greek at Groningen, was born at Braunfels in the county of Solms the tenth of August 1604. His father was Minister to Count de Solms-Braunfels, and Inspector of the churches which belong to that county. His mother was daughter to John Piscator, a famous Professor of Divinity at Herborn in the county of Nassau. He performed his humanity-studies at Herborn, and then studied Philosophy at the same place under Alstedius and his uncle Piscator (*a*); after which he went to Bremen, where he lived seven years [*A*]. He was one of the

(*a*) Son to the Professor of Divinity.

[*A*] *He lived seven years at Bremen.*] The reader would be in the wrong to believe this, if the Author of the Lives of the Professors of Groningen was not more exact in his calculation, than he was with regard to the time that Tobias Andreas was at Herborn. It is strange, that a Corrector of the press should leave such blunders in the space of five or six lines, when the Author thro' the hurry of his thoughts was prevented from observing them. We find in the Life of our Andreas, that he went to Herborn in CIↃIↃCXVII; that he studied five years in the Schools and one year in Philosophy; that he continued the same studies at Bremen for seven years; and that after this, having made a tour into his own country, he went to Groningen in the year CIↃIↃCXXVIII. There was nothing written in numbers; the faults were apparently in the copy. Paul Freher has transcribed this very exactly (1), without perceiving the mistake in the calculation.

(1) In his *Theatrum Virorum Illustrium*, pag. 1538.

the moſt conſtant Auditors of Gerard de Neuville, a Phyſician and Philoſopher; and as he had a deſire to attain a publick Profeſſorſhip, he prepared himſelf for it by ſeveral Lectures, which he read in Philoſophy. He returned to his own country in 1628, where he did not continue long, but went to Groningen, being ſent for by his kind patron Henry Alting. He read there for ſome time Lectures upon all parts of Philoſophy; after which Alting made him tutor to his ſons; and when they had no longer occaſion for his inſtruction, he procured him the ſame employment with a Prince Palatine, which laſted for three years, part of which he ſpent at Leyden, and part at the Hague at the court of the Prince of Orange. He was called to Groningen in 1634 to ſucceed Janus Gebhardus, who had been Profeſſor of Hiſtory and Greek (*b*). He executed that Profeſſorſhip in the moſt ample and induſtrious manner imaginable till his death, which happened the ſeventeenth of October 1676 (*c*). He was Library-keeper to the Univerſity, and a great friend to Mr. Des Cartes [*B*], which he ſhewed both during the life [*C*], and after the death of that illuſtrious Philoſopher [*D*]. He wrote ſeveral pieces in his defence, as we ſhall ſee in the remarks. He married the daughter of a Swede (*d*), famous among other things for charity towards thoſe who ſuffered for the ſake of the Goſpel.

(*b*) *Ex Vitis Profeſſor. Academiæ Groning.* p. 124.

(*c*) Witte, *Diar. Biograph.*

(*d*) Lewis de Geer.

[*B*] *He was a great friend to Mr. Des Cartes.*] He ſerved him vigorouſly in the law-ſuit againſt Martin Schoockius, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Groningen. This Profeſſor was proſecuted by Mr. Des Cartes on account of the ſcandalous calumnies, which he caſt upon him; for he had accuſed him publicly of Atheiſm. Tho' Mr. Des Cartes had never ſeen our Andreas but once in his Life, yet he recommended this affair to him, finding him full of very kind ſentiments towards himſelf. Mr. de la Thuillerie Ambaſſador of France, and the friends of Mr. Des Cartes, exerted themſelves on one ſide, and the enemies of Voetius at Groningen on the other (2); and by this means Mr. Des Cartes obtained juſtice. His accuſer acknowledged him to be innocent of his charge (3); and this acknowledgment acquitted him of any further trouble, which was a ſcandalous indulgence towards him, and of very bad example; for if he had been obliged to ſuffer the Law of retaliation, which he well deſerved, this would have reſtrained a little the inſolence of thoſe abuſive writers, which ſo raſhly throw the imputation of Atheiſm upon ſo many valuable perſons. *Mr. Des Cartes wrote the 26th of May* 1645 *to the Sieur Tobias Andreas to thank him in particular for his good offices, and to deſire him to preſent in his name his very humble thanks to the Judges: And tho' his adverſary had been treated very gently, notwithſtanding he had deſerved the puniſhment of a public ſlanderer, yet he could not but acknowledge, that the Judges had given him all the ſatisfaction, which he deſired, and could lawfully pretend to.* " For, ſays he (4) to the Magiſtrates of " Utrecht, private men have no right to demand the " blood, or honour, or eſtate of their enemies." It is " ſufficient, that they are cleared as far as it is in the " power of the Judges. The reſt has no regard to " them, but only to the Public." The text of my remark obliging me to mention the good offices of Tobias Andreas to Mr. Des Cartes, I thought the reader would not be diſpleaſed without changing the page, to know in general the iſſue of this cauſe.

(2) The condemnation of *Schoockius* fell by a counter-blow upon Voetius.

(3) See the *Life of Mr. Des Cartes* by Mr. Baillet, tom. 2. pag. 252, &c. *ad ann.* 1645. AN exceſſive indulgence towards one, who accuſed Mr. Des Cartes of Atheiſm.

(4) Tom. 3. of his *Letters*, pag. 17. See the *Life of Des Cartes*, p. 257.

[*C*] *He ſhewed his friendſhip for Mr. Des Cartes during his life, &c.*] We have ſeen a proof of this. I ſhall add, that he was a favourer of the Diſciples of Mr. Des Cartes, and that he procured him as many followers as he poſſibly could. It was by his advice, that Claubergius became a Carteſian (5); and this was a conqueſt, that was a great honour and advantage to the whole party.

(5) Clauberg. *Epiſt. Dedicator.* Logicæ.

[*D*] *... and after the death of that illuſtrious Philoſopher.*] He wrote in defence of him againſt a Profeſſor of Leyden, whoſe name was Revius, and publiſhed a vigorous Anſwer to him in 1653, intitled *Methodi Carteſianæ Aſſertio, oppoſita Jacobi Revii.... Præf. Methodi Carteſianæ conſiderationi Theologicæ.* The ſecond part of this Anſwer appeared the year following. He wrote likewiſe in 1653 againſt Mr. Regius, in defence of the remarks of Mr. Des Cartes upon a *Programma*, which contained an explication of the human mind (6). He taught the Carteſian Philoſophy in his own houſe, tho' his Profeſſorſhip did not oblige him to that, and even when his age had quite weakened him. Mr. Des Marets acquaints us with theſe particulars on occaſion of a Suiſſe Student, who dared not venture to attend upon the Philoſophical Lectures of Tobias Andreas, for fear it ſhould be known in his own country, and that might be an obſtacle to his promotion to the Miniſtry. *Nec defuit unus ex illis, cujus nomini parco, benè alias doctus, & in Philoſophiam Carteſianam valde propenſus, qui dum hic eſſet, profeſſus eſt non audere ſe frequentare Collegia Carteſiana Cl. Tobiæ Andreæ (qui Clinicus licet, quod ſummopere doleo, Deumque veneror ut illi ſuas vires reſtituat, ea ſolet habere in ſuo perpondium ſuæ profeſſionis, nec enim ad Philoſophiam, ſed ad linguam Græcam & Hiſtorias eſt vocatus) ne hoc in ſuâ patriâ reſciretur, & ſuæ promotioni obeſſet* (7).

(6) The title of this piece is *Brevis Explicatio brevi Explicationi Mentis humanæ Dn. Henrici Regii repoſita.*

(7) Mareſius *in Judicio de Theologiâ pacificâ Wittichii*, printed in 1671.

☞ANDREAS (JAMES) a famous Lutheran Divine in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Waibling, a town in the Duchy of Wirtemberg on the 25th of March 1528. His father, whoſe name was James Endris, was a Smith [*A*]. He applied himſelf to Letters with great ſucceſs for three years; but his parents being poor reſolved to bring him up to ſome mechanical profeſſion, and agreed with a Carpenter for that purpoſe; but ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who diſcovered the marks of a very good genius in the body, contributed to ſupport him in the proſecution of his ſtudies, in which he made a conſiderable advance [*B*]. In the year 1546 he was appointed Miniſter of the church of Stutgard, the Metropolis of the Duchy of Wirtemberg; and his ſermons were ſo well approved of, that his fame reached the Duke, who ordered him to preach before him, which he performed with great applauſe. The ſame year he married a wife

[*A*] *His father ... was a Smith.*] This we are informed of by Melchior Adam (1), who tells us that our Author was upon that account called James *Smidlin*, when he was a boy. But when he gave in his name to the Rector of the Univerſity at Tubing, who was at that time the Baron Arbogaſt ab Hewen, he called himſelf James Andreas; which name was entered into the *Matricula* of the Univerſity. *Exercuit autem ille artem fabrilem; unde huic* Jacobo Smidlini *nomen adhæſit, &* Smidlin *ab æqualibus in pueritiâ fuit dictus. Verum ipſe, cum nomen ſuum Tubingæ ad Rectorem, generoſum tunc Baronem* Argobaſtum ab Hewen, *profiteretur,* Jacobum Andreæ *ſe nominavit; & ſic in catalogum ſtudioſorum, quem matriculam vocant, relatum eſt nomen.*

(1) *Vitæ Germanor. Theolog.* p. 636.

[*B*] *In the proſecution of his ſtudies, in which he made a conſiderable advance.*] He was educated in the School of Stutgard under Alexander Marcoleon, a man

wife at Tubing, by whom he had nine ſons and nine daughters, nine of which children ſurvived him (*a*). During the war, in which Germany was about the ſame time involved, he met with great civilities even from the Emperor's party [*C*], till he was obliged upon the publication of the *Interim* to retire to Tubing, where he executed the function of Miniſter (*b*). In the year 1553 he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was appointed Paſtor of the Church of Gopping, and Superintendant of the neighbouring Churches. He was afterwards ſent for to ſeveral parts [*D*]; and in 1557 he went to the Diet of Ratiſbon with Chriſtopher Duke of Wirtemberg; and was appointed one of the Secretaries at the conference at Worms between the Papiſts and the Divines of the Auguſtan Confeſſion. The ſame year he publiſhed his firſt work *de Cænâ Domini*, i. e. "Of the Lord's Supper," in which he propoſed a method of agreement upon that difficult point of controverſy. In June the ſame year he went with the Duke abovementioned to Francfort upon the Maine, where he preached a ſermon, though he was publickly oppoſed by a Romiſh Prieſt [*E*]. In 1558 he replied to Staphylus's book againſt Luther, which was intitled, *Epitome trimembris Theologiæ Lutheranæ*, and in which he had collected the opinions of ſeveral Sects, and aſcribed them all to that Reformer, as the original author of them (*c*). In 1559 he was ſent to Augſburg, where the

(*a*) Melchior. Adami *Vitæ Germanor. Theolog.* p. 636. edit. Heidelbergæ 1620, in 8vo.

(*b*) Id. p. 638.

(*c*) Id. p. 642.

man extremely converſant in polite Learning, and in two years time he made himſelf Maſter of the Grammar of the Latin and Greek tongues, and of Logic; ſo that in the year 1541 he was ſent to Tubing, where two years after he was made Batchelor of Arts. In 1545 having finiſhed his courſe of Philoſophy, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. With his Philoſophical Studies he had likewiſe joined thoſe of Divinity and the Hebrew tongues (3).

(3) Melch. Adam, *ubi ſupra*, p. 636, 637.

[*C*] *Met with great civilities even from the Emperor's party.*] Charles V having engaged the Proteſtant Princes of Germany in a war, was very ſucceſsful in the proſecution of it, and ſeized upon the Duchy of Wirtemberg, which by that means was the ſcene of the moſt dreadful calamities. However our Author continued at Stutgard with his wife, and diſcharged his duty even in the midſt of the Spaniards both by preaching, and adminiſtring the Sacraments; and met with no oppoſition from them; ſo that when an Herald belonging to the Emperor was deſired by one of the Duke of Wirtemberg's ſervants to ſtand Godfather to a child of his, who was to be baptized by our Andreas, he immediately agreed to it; and when the ceremony was concluded, made him a preſent, and told him, that he thank'd God, that he had found him baptized in the faith of the Catholic Church, (for he had heard him repeat the Apoſtle's Creed;) and aſſured him, that he would acquaint the Emperor with it; "for, ſays he, all of us of the "Emperor's party were before perſuaded, that you "had thrown off all Faith and Religion; that you "had no Sacraments among you, and paid no man"ner of regard to the Saints. And therefore I want "to talk with you, and deſire you would come to "the dinner, which is provided by the Senate." *Certè apud nos Cæſarianos perſuaſiſſimum eſt, vos & fidem & religionem omnem abjeciſſe; nulla apud vos eſſe ſacramenta; nullam ſanctorum venerationem. Qua de re cuperem tecum colloqui; ideoque peto, ut ad prandium venias in prætorio à ſenatu paratum* (4). Our Author went thither accordingly, and was treated by him with the utmoſt humanity, and diſmiſſed with this caution, that if he had any of the ſcholaſtic Divines, as Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Holcot, Bricot, Mephret, and others of that ſtamp, he ſhould put them into the room of his Lutheran books, which he ought to remove immediately; by which means he would be ſecure from any violence from the Spaniards. But a few days after a peace was concluded between the Emperor, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who returned to his Duchy.

(4) Idem, ibid. p. 638.

[*D*] *He was afterwards ſent for to ſeveral parts.*] He was ſent for by Lewis Count Oeting in order to reform the Churches of his Dominions from Popery. It is remarkable, that Chriſtopher Duke of Wirtemberg gave particular orders to our Andreas in writing, that if Count Lewis undertook this deſign, in order that under the pretence of Religion he might ſeize upon the Church revenues, eſpecially thoſe of the Monaſteries, for his own uſe, our Author ſhould not be preſent at any more conſultations, but return home immediately. This writing was delivered to the Count by his Chancellor, with a grave admonition not to pollute his hands with the profanation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. *Ubi memorabile eſt, quod dux Chriſtophorus D. Jacobo peculiari ſcheda in mandatis dedit; ut ſi Comes Ludovicus hoc ageret, quò prætextu religionis bona eccleſiaſtica, monaſteriorum inprimis, ad ſe rapere, inque ſuum convertere uſum poſſet; ipſe D. Andreas nulli amplius intereſſet deliberationi; ſed ſtatim domum ſe reciperet. Hæc ſcheda Comiti per cancellarium ejus eſt reddita; additâ graviſſimâ commonefactione, ne manus ſuas eccleſiaſticorum bonorum profanatione pollueret* (5). The year following he was ſent for by the Count of Helfenſtain in order to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion in his Territories. But this deſign was attended with many obſtacles; for the College of Canons having ſeized the Church would not ſuffer the Count and our Andreas to enter, and even reſiſted with open force. But the Count removed theſe impediments, and ſubſtituted Proteſtant Miniſters in the room of theſe Prieſts. And tho' he was ſome years after prevailed upon by threats to abandon the Proteſtant Religion, yet his revolt cannot poſſibly be imputed to the neglect of our Divine, who uſed all imaginable methods to animate him to conſtancy and reſolution, and confuted all the arguments, which were urged by him (6).

(5) Idem, ibid. p. 639.

(6) Idem, ibid.

[*E*] *Where he preached a Sermon, tho' he was publicly oppoſed by a Romiſh Prieſt.*] The Proteſtant Princes having thought proper to hear a Sermon upon the Feaſt of St. John Baptiſt in the great Church of of St. Bartholomew, which belonged to the Roman Catholics, ſo unuſual a circumſtance was reported over all the City. There was a prodigious concourſe therefore of all kinds of people; and after the bell had rung, a Popiſh Doctor mounted the pulpit; upon which the people began to ſing with a loud voice the Hymn of the Holy Ghoſt. This being finiſhed, he read the uſual Goſpel concerning the Nativity of John the Baptiſt, which they heard very attentively; but when he began to explain it, they interrupted him by ſinging another Hymn. The Preacher being aſtoniſhed at this ſtopp'd for ſome time; and when he found they would not ceaſe ſinging, he came down from the pulpit, and went directly to the Duke of Juliers, who was the firſt and only one of the Princes, who was then preſent, and ſolemnly proteſted before him, that he was driven by force from his place and his duty, and deſired him, that he would bear witneſs of this outrage at the laſt judgment. The Duke anſwered him, that it was agreed among the Princes to hear one of their own Divines preach that day, and therefore he ſhould not have attempted to oppoſe their reſolution. But with regard to what he deſired, that he would bear witneſs for him at the laſt day; *This*, ſays he, *is very difficult for me to do; for perhaps either I and you ſhall not meet there, or at leaſt not know each other. Quod autem à me petis, ut tibi in noviſſimo die teſtis eſſe velim, id perdifficile mihi eſt. Aut enim fortaſſis ego & tu ibi non conveniemus, aut alter alterum non agnoſcet* (7). The Prieſt hearing this went away with the utmoſt indignation, and threw down the hour-glaſs, which he had in his hand, upon the ground near the altar, and uttered ſome blaſphemous expreſſions.

(7) Idem, ibid. p. 641.

the Diet of the Empire was held [*F*]. In 1561 he was ſent to Paris, in order to be preſent at the conference of Poiſſi, which was broken up before he came thither [*G*]. Some time after his return he was made Chancellor and Rector of the Univerſity of Tubing (*d*). In the beginning of the year 1563 he went to Straſburg, where Jerom Zanchius had propagated ſeveral novel opinions, and particularly this, that *the regenerate and believers could not poſſibly fall again from grace, or loſe the faith, though they had committed ſins againſt the light of their conſcience.* Our Author at laſt engaged him to ſign a form of confeſſion, which he had drawn up (*e*). In 1565 he was invited to eſtabliſh a church at Hagenaw, an Imperial city, where he preached a great many Sermons upon the principal points of the Chriſtian Religion, which were afterwards printed (*f*). In 1568 he aſſiſted Julius Duke of Brunſwick in reforming his churches. In 1569 he took a journey to Heidelberg, and Brunſwick, and into Denmark. In 1570 he went to Miſnia and Prague, where the Emperor Maximilian II had a converſation with him upon the ſubject of an agreement in Religion (*g*). In 1571 he went to viſit the churches at Mompelgard; and upon his return had a conference with Flacius Illyricus at Straſburg, in which he confuted his paradoxical aſſertion, that *Sin is a Subſtance* (*b*). He took ſeveral journies after this [*H*], and uſed his utmoſt efforts to effect an

(*d*) Id. p. 645.

(*e*) Idem, pag. 645, 646.

(*f*) Id. p. 646.

(*g*) Idem, pag. 647, 648.

(*h*) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *Sent to Augsburg, where the Diet of the Empire was held.*] This Diet was appointed among other reaſons, that the Acts of the Conference at Worms, which had been broken off almoſt as ſoon as it was begun, might be publiſhed. Our Andreas was therefore deputed thither with ſome other perſons to be preſent at the publication of thoſe Acts, where was he charged for having been the occaſion of forcing the ordinary Preacher of St. Bartholomew's Church at Francfort from his duty, and by that means diſturbing the public peace. He was accuſed likewiſe for having publicly contradicted a Roman Catholic Divine in the great Church at Augsburg during the Diet, and charging him with a lie in point of doctrine, and endeavouring to excite a tumult. The occaſion of this complaint againſt him was as follows. A Popiſh Prieſt preaching at Augsburg, our Andreas whiſpered to a perſon, who ſtood next to him, *He lies*; which being over-heard by another Prieſt, who ſtood behind him, he called out to him with a loud voice, ſo that he might be heard by the Preacher, as well as others, *Why don't you ſay publicly to the Preacher that he lies?* in order to prevent a tumult among the people, Andreas went away with his friend. Depending therefore upon the goodneſs of his cauſe, he anſwered this charge againſt him, to the ſatisfaction of every unprejudiced perſon, and demonſtrated his own innocence and the malice of his adverſaries. During this Diet he preached two Sermons before all the Princes of the Auguſtan Confeſſion, one upon *Juſtification*, and the other upon the Lord's Supper; both which were printed at Tubing before the concluſion of the Diet, and a great number of them ſold at Augsburg (8).

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 642, 643.

[*G*] *To be preſent at the Council of Poiſſi; which was broken up before he came thither.*] About the end of September 1561 an Embaſſador came from the King of Navarre to the Duke of Wirtemberg with Letters, to deſire him to ſend one of his Divines, whoſe aſſiſtance might be of ſervice to him at that Conference, in which the controverted points of Religion were to be calmly debated in the preſence of Charles IX, King of France, the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, and the reſt of the States of the Kingdom. This affair being communicated by the Duke to his Council, it was agreed to ſend James Beurlin, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Tubing, our Andreas, and Balthaſar Bidenbach, Preacher to the Court of Wirtemberg, and Melchior à Salhauſen, a Man of Quality, who underſtood the French Language, and other Miniſters. But before their arrival at Paris, the Conference was diſſolved on account of a ſpeech of Beza, who, as Melchior Adam informs us (9), diſcourſing in that Aſſembly before the King and the Nobility concerning the Lord's Supper, made uſe of theſe words: "As far as the "higheſt heaven is diſtant from the loweſt earth, "ſo far is the Body of Chriſt diſtant from the bread "and wine in the Euchariſt." *Quantum diſtat ſupremum cælum ab infimâ terrâ, tantum corpus Chriſti diſtat à pane & vino Euchariſtiæ.* As ſoon as ever the Papiſts had heard this, they roſe up, and would not hear him ſpeak any longer. But ſilence being ordered by the King's command, Beza was permitted to finiſh his Speech. The Cardinal of Lorrain is ſaid to have propoſed in that Conference that the Auguſtan Confeſſion, which had been exhibited to the Emperor Charles in 1530, ſhould be the ground of peace and agreement between both parties. If Beza therefore and his friends would have ſubſcrib'd this Confeſſion, there would have been a laſting tranquillity with regard to Religion in the Kingdom of France. But this being refuſed by them, all the conſultations about Religion were broke off, and the Aſſembly immediately diſſolved. The King of Navarre was extremely ſorry that the Conference was ended before the Divines of Wirtemberg were arrived. However Andreas and Bidenbach ſent a writing to him at his requeſt *concerning the true and genuine Meaning of the Auguſtan Confeſſion in the article concerning the Lord's Supper*; but they received no anſwer. However being ſent for to the Queen Mother, they were diſmiſſed with the utmoſt civility, and returned home (10).

(9) Idem, ibid. pag. 644.

(10) Idem, ibid. p. 645.

[*H*] *He took ſeveral journeys.*] In 1573 he was ſent to Memming, an Imperial Town, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Zuinglian doctrine, which was propagated by Euſebius Cleber, the Miniſter of that Church; who being admoniſhed by Andreas before the Senate, and continuing inflexible, was removed from his Miniſtry. In 1575 upon the death of Philip Heerbrand, Paſtor of the Church of Hagenaw, he fixed George Volmar in his room, and upon his return home went to Alen, an Imperial Town, where he preach'd for one month, and having removed the Popiſh Prieſts ſettled Proteſtant Miniſters in their room. He afterwards went to Lindaw, an Imperial Town upon the Maine, and had a conference with Tobias Rupius, Miniſter of that Church, who was involved in the opinions of Flacius Illyricus, and confuted him before the Senate and all the people. In the beginning of the year 1576 he was ſent for by Philip Lewis Count Palatine on the Rhine to conſult upon eccleſiaſtical affairs; and by the Magiſtrates of Ratisbon, to determine a diſpute between the Miniſters of that Church and the Senate concerning Excommunication. While he was abſent upon theſe affairs, Auguſtus Elector of Saxony wrote Letters to Lewis Duke of Wirtemberg to deſire the aſſiſtance of our Author, becauſe he found that the Divines of Wittemberg had introduced the Zuinglian doctrines into that Academy, and propagated them among the youth. Andreas therefore went to Torga in April following, and was preſent at the Aſſembly of Divines, which was held there, in order to ſettle a form of agreement, and put an end to the diſputes, which were raiſed in ſeveral parts. To this Aſſembly the Elector had likewiſe invited ſeveral other eminent Divines, particularly Andrew Muſculus and Chriſtopher Cornerus, the Divines of the Elector of Brandenbourg; Martin Chemnitius, David Chytræus, Profeſſor in the Acadamy at Roſtoch, and Nicholas Selneccer. Theſe Divines wrote in conjunction a book which was afterwards reviſed at Bergen. Andreas was ſent by the Elector of Saxony upon the ſame account to Julius Duke of Brunſwick, Lewis Landgrave of Heſſe, and George Marquis of Brandenbourg. After this he returned to Tubing in or-

an union of the Churches of the Auguſtan Confeſſion [*I*]. In 1583 he loſt his firſt wife, with whom he had lived thirty ſeven years; and about an year and half after he married a ſecond wife, who had voluntarily attended her former huſband, when he was obliged to leave his country on account of religion (*i*). About the ſame time he wrote a controverſial piece, in which he maintained the Ubiquity [*K*]. In 1586 he was engaged in a conference at Mompelgard with Theodore Beza concerning *the Lord's Supper, the Perſon of Chriſt, Predeſtination, Baptiſm, the Reformation of the Popiſh Churches, and* Adiaphora *or indifferent things*; but this had the uſual event of all other conferences, which, though deſigned, as Thuanus obſerves (*k*), to put an end to diſputes in Divinity, are often the occaſion of ſtill greater. In 1587 he was ſent for to Nordling upon church affairs; and upon his return fell ſick, and publiſhed his Confeſſion of Faith, in order to obviate the imputations of his adverſaries; but he afterwards recovered, and was ſent for again to Ratiſbon, and then to Onolſbach by Frederick Marquis of Brandenbourg (*l*). Upon the publication of the Conference at Mompelgard above-

(*i*) Id. p. 652.

(*k*) *Hiſtor.* l. 35. *apud* Melch. Adam. ib. p. 653.

(*l*) Melch. Ad. p. 653.

der to remove his wife and family to Leipſic, becauſe the Elector of Saxony had occaſion for his aſſiſtance for a conſiderable time in ſettling the Schools and Church, and procuring an agreement in points of Religion; for which purpoſe he ſent Jodocus Didamerus, Counſellor of the Landgrave, to the Duke of Wirtemberg, to obtain leave for Andreas to be abſent (11).

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 648, 649.

[*I*] *Uſed his utmoſt efforts to effect an union of the Churches of the Auguſtan Confeſſion.*] This undertaking was a very arduous one, and coſt him a prodigious deal of labour, and ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to be executed. The Papiſts perpetually objected the differences among Proteſtants, and urged, that there were ſcarce two or three to be found among the Miniſters of the Auguſtan Confeſſion, who agreed in all points of doctrine. Andreas therefore took infinite pains in procuring ſeveral thouſands to ſign the Form of Agreement, which he had drawn up; by which means the malicious imputations of their enemies were effectually diſproved. He took a great many long journeys upon that account to Princes, Electors, and others, to Magiſtrates of Towns, and to various Aſſemblies and Conferences, which were continually appointed for this purpoſe for five years together, in which he proſecuted this deſign. It may eaſily be imagined how prodigious a task it muſt have been to collect the conſent and ſubſcriptions of Churches, in which the determination was left free to every perſon, and to ſatisfy the queſtions of every one, who doubted of any part of the Form, and to paſs thro' ſo many journeys, conferences, and diſputations. He travelled ſeveral thouſands of miles, attended with only one ſervant, and yet never met with the leaſt misfortune in all his journeys. In 1580 this book of *Concord*, which had been ſo impatiently expected, was publiſhed, ſubſcribed, and approved of by three Electors of the Empire, one and twenty Princes, two and twenty Counts, four Barons, thirty five Imperial Cities, and eight thouſand Miniſters; which important work was drawn up by Andreas, under the influence and authority of Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony, after having conferred with the celebrated Divines abovementioned, and gained the free ſuffrages of all the Churches and Miniſters. As our Author's aſſiſtance therefore had been of ſuch great importance in this affair, the Elector of Saxony ſhewed him the utmoſt regard in a variety of inſtances, and preſented him with the Complutenſian Edition of the Bible elegantly bound, with this inſcription in the frontiſpiece of it. *D. O. M. Gratia. D. Auguſtus, Dux Saxoniæ, S. Rom. Imperii Archimarſchallus & Elector Landgravius Thuringiæ, Marchio Miſniæ, & Burggravius Magdeburg, hæc ſacro-ſancta Biblia, ſummo Viro, pietate, doctrinâ & virtute ornatiſſimo, D. Jacobo Andreæ, S. Theologiæ Doctori celeberrimo, doctrinæ cœleſtis, ab ultimi Heliæ, D. D. Lutheri Morte, in his regionibus, ab hominibus leviſſimis corruptæ, inſtauratori integerrimo, de eccleſia Chriſti optimè merito, ob grati animi memoriam ſempiternam dono dedit, anno S. M.D.LXXIX, & manu propriâ ſubjunxit & ſubſcripſit ſequentia:*

Tandem bona Cauſa triumphat.
Auguſtus Dux Saxoniæ Elector.

i. e. "Thankſgiving to Almighty God. Auguſtus Duke of Saxony, Arch-Marſhal and Elector of "the holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, "Marquis of Miſnia, and Burggrave of Magdeburg, "preſented this holy Bible to James Andreas, Dr. "of Divinity, a Man of great abilities, adorned with "piety, learning and virtue, the moſt faithful Reſtorer "of the heavenly doctrine, which ſince the death of "Luther, the laſt Elias, has been corrupted by men "of inconſtant minds, and a perſon, who has extremely "deſerved of the Church of Chriſt, as an exter-"nal mark of his gratitude towards him, in the "year of our Lord M.D.LXXIX, and ſubjoined and "ſubſcribed what follows with his own hand.

"At length the good cauſe is triumphant.
"Auguſtus Duke and Elector of Saxony."

Andreas having finiſhed theſe affairs, and ſettled the Churches and Schools took his leave of the Elector at the latter end of the year 1580, after he had laboured almoſt five years upon *the Book of Concord*. But many perſons objected againſt this performance of his, and ſaid, that he had confounded, or at leaſt was willing to confound Chriſt and Belial, light and darkneſs, good and evil, into one Chaos (12).

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 650, 651.

[*K*] *Wrote a controverſial piece, in which he maintained the Ubiquity.*] Thoſe of the contrary party having publiſhed their *Orthodox Conſent*, the confutation of it was enjoin'd Andreas by public authority. He undertook it therefore in the year 1583 and 1584, and wrote a very large work concerning *the univerſal Cauſe, the Perſon of Chriſt, perſonal Union, and the real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, not only in the Lord's Supper, but even over the whole world.* But the Ubiquity of the Body of Chriſt, which he aſſerted, was not a corporal or local preſence, by which he may be ſeen or felt; but it was the preſence of the whole Chriſt, not only with regard to his Divinity, but likewiſe his human nature; ſo that being intire, God and Man undivided, he is really preſent every where in heaven and earth with all creatures, whether viſible or inviſible, celeſtial or terreſtrial, in an heavenly, ſpiritual, and ſupernatural manner, and ſuch as is inconceivable by human underſtanding; and he ſees, does, hears, and knows all things according to his human nature, being preſent, not abſent, as the King of Spain governs the Indies. *Cæterum ubiquitas, quam D. Andreas docuit, non eſt corporalis, ut ipſi loquuntur, vel localis præſentia, qua videtur vel palpari poſſit, ut ſtramen in ſacco; ſed eſt præſentia totius Chriſti, non tantum divinitate, verum etiam adſumptâ humanitate; ita ut totus, Deus & homo indiviſus, ubique in cælo & in terrâ omnibus creaturis, viſibilibus & inviſibilibus, cæleſtibus & terreſtribus, cæleſti tamen, ſpirituali ſupernaturali, humanaque ratione imperveſtigabili modo, adſit verè præſens, omniaque ſecundum naturam humanam videat, faciat, audiat, ſciat; & præſens, non abſens, ut Rex Hiſpaniarum Indiam adminiſtret & regat* (13). This doctrine he attempts to eſtabliſh firſt from the Scriptures, and then from the teſtimonies of the orthodox Fathers, and the books of Luther and many other Writers. "Let them therefore, "ſays he, who would ſeem to be of the ſame opinion "with us, concerning the true and real Preſence of "the whole Chriſt in the Supper, conſider how it "is poſſible for them, ſince the Lord's Supper is ce-"lebrated in above a thouſand different places at one

(13) Id. ibid. p. 652.

abovementioned, he was accuſed of having falſely imputed ſome things to Beza, which the latter had never aſſerted; he therefore went to Bern to clear himſelf of the charge [*L*]. His laſt publick act was a Conference at Baden in November 1589 with John Piſtorius, who then inclined to Calviniſm, and afterwards revolted entirely to the Papiſts (*m*). He had a very early preſentiment of his death; and when he found it drawing near, he made a declaration to ſeveral of his friends of his conſtancy in the faith, which he had aſſerted, and ſhewed the moſt undoubted ſigns of a ſincere devotion, till he expired on the ſeventh of January 1590, being ſixty one years and nine months old (*n*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Luke Oſiander, and afterwards publiſhed. Several falſe reports were propagated concerning his death [*M*]. His manner of preaching and his Lectures deſerve to be mentioned [*N*]. We ſhall give his character

(m) Id. p. 655.

(n) Id. p. 658.

" and the ſame time, to maintain that Chriſt is preſent at them all at once, while they deny his Omnipreſence in all places and every where. And why ſhould they deny this, they have no manner of reaſon, as Peter Martyr juſtly obſerved, that if the Body of Chriſt could be proved to be preſent in two or three places at once, he ſhould diſpute no longer concerning the Ubiquity." *Viderint illi, qui de totius Chriſti in cœna præſentia vera & reali nobiſcum ſentire videri volunt, quomodo, cum diverſis locis mille amplius uno & eodem tempore Cœna Domini celebretur, Chriſtum omnibus illis ſimul præſentem ſtatuere, ſicque in cœna retinere, negata ipſius omnipræſentia in omnibus locis vel ubique poſſint. Et cur eam negent, cauſam non habent, ſicut rectè Petrus Martyr dixit*; Si Chriſti corpus duobus vel tribus locis ſimul præſens eſſe probetur, ſe de *Ubiquitate* verbum amplius facturum eſſe nullum (14).

(14) Idem, ibid.

[*L*] *He therefore went to Bern to clear himſelf of the charge.*] When the Account was publiſhed of the Conference at Mompelgard. Samuel Huber having read it, obſerved the following aſſertions of Beza; 1, *That Chriſt did not die for all men:* 2, *That the promiſes of the Goſpel were particular, and not univerſal:* 3, *That by the abſolute decree of God, without any antecedent cauſe, the greateſt part of mankind were reprobated by the mere will of the Deity, who is the cauſe of all things:* 4, *That no certainty of Salvation is to be ſought for in Baptiſm.* Theſe opinions appeared to Huber ſo ſhocking and injurious to the Attributes of God, that he began to diſpute againſt them. Upon which Beza, James Grynæus, William Stuckius, and John Jetzler were ſent for to diſpute with him, who informing the Magiſtrates concerning this affair, intimated, that none of theſe poſitions were propoſed by Beza and Muſculus at the Conference; but that Huber had raſhly credited a falſe and deluſive book publiſhed by Andreas at Tubing, in which thoſe things were maliciouſly imputed to them. This charge reflecting highly upon the honour of our Divine, and likewiſe of Prince Frederic of Wirtemberg and Mompelgard, who had given a ſanction to the Acts of that Conference by a Preface and Teſtimonial, it was thought neceſſary to confute this calumny in perſon. A Deputation was therefore ſent with Andreas to complain of it to the Senate of Bern. On the ſixth of September they were introduced into the *Leſſer Senate*, which conſiſts of the principal perſons of the Commonwealth, and Dr. Andreas in a long Speech complained of the injury done to him, and deſired that the Helvetian Divines might do juſtice to Prince Frederic's character and his own. He then informed them, that thoſe four articles, which were objected againſt by Huber, were contained in the *Theſes* written by Beza, and ſigned and approved of by the reſt of the Divines, and that he was ready to produce their own hand-writing. Beſides, that many other opinions, no leſs abſurd than theſe, were propagated by the Calviniſts. After many things had been debated both in public and in private, he ſignified, that no expedient ſeemed to him more proper to put an end to this conteſt, and to preſerve the honour of the Republic of Bern, than that the Helvetian or Wirtemberg Divines ſhould meet together, and compare the original papers with the printed book; for then it would eaſily appear with what ſincerity thoſe Divines had propoſed their cauſe. This ſcheme pleaſed the Conſul and the Senate, and therefore on the ſeventh of September they came to this reſolution, that the propoſal of Dr. Andreas was approved by all of them, and that they would write to the Princes upon that affair, to procure their conſent, and likewiſe to the Helvetian Republics, that they might give their aſſiſtance in appointing an Aſſembly. In ſhort the Senate of Bern omitted nothing in order to effect this affair. But when the Helvetian Divines found, that Dr. Andreas had made a great impreſſion upon that Senate, they uſed their utmoſt efforts to prevent the calling of ſuch an Aſſembly; as appears from a Letter of Abraham Muſculus to Grynæus quoted in Melchior Adam (15). And the reſolution was intirely broke off by the war, in which the Republic of Bern was engaged with the Duke of Savoy. However it was of great advantage to Dr. Andreas's character, that he had ſo favourable an opportunity of explaining in a copious and elaborate Speech his ſentiments with regard to the points controverted between the Divines of Wirtemberg and thoſe of Helvetia, before a body of men remarkable for their wiſdom and piety (16).

(15) Pag. 654, 655.

(16) Idem, ibid. P. 655.

[*M*] *Several falſe reports were propagated concerning his death.*] The Popiſh Prieſts in the parts adjacent publicly declared from the pulpit, that before his death he had recanted and condemned all the doctrines, which he had maintained in word or writing. Beſides, there was a Letter diſperſed, in which they affirmed with all the aſſurance imaginable, that he deſired very anxiouſly before his death, that a Jeſuit might be ſent for immediately, to adminiſter the Sacraments to him; which requeſt being denied him, he fell into deſpair, and expired under all the horrors of it. *Poſt obitum à ſacrificulis in viciniâ de ſuggeſtu publicè fuit ſparſum, D. Andreæ ante finem vitæ ſuæ univerſam ſuam doctrinam, quam voce ſcriptiſve eſſet profeſſus, revocâſſe & erroris damnâſſe. Fuit & epiſtola diſſeminata, qua omni aſſeveratione confirmare non dubitaverant neſcio cujus ſpiritûs homines, eum ante obitum anxiè à ſuis petiiſſe, Jeſuitam actutum advocarent; qui ſacra ſibi adminiſtret. Quod cum detrectarent illi, in deſperationem incidiſſe, inque eâ vitam finiiſſe* (17).

(17) Idem, ibid. P. 658, 659.

[*N*] *His manner of preaching, and his Lectures deſerve to be mentioned.*] He had a very eaſy manner of inſtructing the people, ſo that he delivered the moſt obſcure points in ſuch a perſpicuous ſtyle, that they were well underſtood by the generality of the Audience. When he exhorted them to the reformation of their lives, or remonſtrated againſt vice, he made uſe of great energy of language and elevation of voice. He was powerful in refuting the enemies of ſound doctrine; gentle and mild in comforting and raiſing of thoſe, who were depreſſed; and extremely well qualified both by nature and art for moving the paſſions; and when there was occaſion for it, his eloquence was forcible like thunder, and he ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that he would ſweat all over his body even in the midſt of winter. *Fuit is in docendo populo popularis, ut diſtinctè & perſpicuè poſſet etiam obſcura aliàs proponere, & facilè intelligerentur. In exhortando ad vitæ emendationem, increpando, & invehendo in vitia & mores depravatos vehemens, extollens vocem ſuam ſicut tubam. In refutando adverſarios ſanæ doctrinæ potens; in conſolando & perturbatos erigendo mitis; in ciendis & movendis affectibus naturâ & arte inſtructus; & ſi quando opus erat, mera ſonabat tonitrua, tantâque animi & vocis contentione, vehementia & affectu pro concione loquebatur, ut etiam mediâ brumâ toto ſudaret corpore, interulamque madefaceret omnem* (18). This happened to him in the laſt Sermon but one, which he preached, on the ſecond Sunday in Advent; which being

(18) Idem, ibid. P. 659.

character in the note [O]. He wrote a great number of books, ſo that a Gentleman of Learning wrote to Tubing after his death, that he had in his Library above an hundred and fifty Works of his upon various ſubjects (o).

(o) Id. p. 660.

being finiſhed, tho' the weather was intenſely cold, yet with the other Miniſters of the Church he would adminiſter the Lord's Supper to a great number of Communicants. This he himſelf thought was a principal cauſe of his death; for having been extremely heated by preaching, he caught cold immediately after, which very probably caſt him into the diſtemper, of which he died. As often as he had leiſure from the affairs of importance, in which he was engaged, and the frequent journeys, which he was obliged to take, he employed himſelf in inſtructing the youth of the Academy with the utmoſt care; but he chiefly read to them practical Divinity, tho' he was converſant in all the branches of Theology. He appointed a great many diſputations in the Univerſity of Tubing, in which he explained the moſt difficult and obſcure points relating to *the Perſon of Chriſt, the perſonal Union of the two Natures, Predeſtination, Original Sin*, and almoſt all the Controverſies agitated at that time; which he examined with the utmoſt accuracy, ſo that he generally ſpent whole days, and ſometimes ſeveral days together in diſcuſſing them.

[O] *We ſhall give his character in the note.*] It is eaſy to judge of it from the courſe of his actions, which we have related above. But we ſhall conclude it with the following obſervations upon him from Melchior Adam, who extracted his Life from an Oration written by James Heerbrand in honour of his memory, as appears from the cloſe of Dr. Andreas's article in that Author. In executing the ſeveral branches of his duty he ſpared no labour, and was deterred by no fatigue. He was perpetually engaged in compoſing ſome work or other, or writing letters upon all kinds of ſubjects to perſons of all ranks, who conſulted him. Theſe things he diſpatched with admirable quickneſs and ſucceſs. There was no day paſs'd, but he gave advice to ſeveral perſons, who came to deſire it; being ready to gratify all, who ſollicited him. He was in great favour with Princes and Men of the higheſt rank, his converſation being very agreeable and facetious. He had a warm zeal for the Religion which he profeſſed; and was extremely ſorry, whenever he heard, that any perſon had abandoned it. *In officio denique toto nullis unquam pepercit laboribus; nullis moleſtiis ſuccubuit, aut oneribus fractus fuit. Scriptis & epiſtolis, non ſolùm familiaribus, ſed & ſeriis diverſiſque ad diverſos varii argumenti, ad omnis ordinis homines, dum de variis interrogatus reſpondit, & conſilia dedit quotidiè, cum dies nulla tranſiret, qua non aliquot magna celeritate & felicitate exaraverit. Nulla dies præteriit, quâ non plures ad eum confluerent, petentes conſilium ab eo, dum omnibus gratificari ſtuderet. Principibus viris fuit gratus & charus, cum in colloquiis eſſet jucundus & ſuavis: in religionis, quam profitebatur, zelo fervens; & qui ſummopere doleret, ſicubi audiviſſet, alibi alios defeciſſe* (19). T.

(19) Idem, ibid. p. 659, 660.

ANDREINI (ISABELLA) a native of Padua, was one of the beſt Comedians in all Italy about the end of the ſixteenth Century, and the beginning of the ſeventeenth. She was not only diſtinguiſhed for this, but ſhe likewiſe wrote verſes in perfection. We have proofs of this, not only from the elogiums given her by an infinite number of learned Men and fine genius's, (for that would be but an equivocal kind of proof) but alſo from the works which ſhe publiſhed. The *Intenti* (a) of Padua thought they did their Academy an honour in making her a member of it. And ſhe, to ſhew her acknowledgment of that favour, always placed among her titles that of *Academica Intenta*; and without doubt ſhe eſteemed it a particular honour to her. All her titles together are theſe; *Iſabella Andreini, Comica Geloſa, Academica Intenta, detta l'Acceſa*. She had one advantage, which is not very common among excellent Actreſſes, and that is an extraordinary beauty, ſo that upon the ſtage ſhe charmed the eyes and ears at the ſame time [A]. Cardinal Cinthio Aldobrandini, nephew to Clement VIII, had a great eſteem for her, as appears by ſeveral Poems which ſhe wrote for him, and the Epiſtle Dedicatory of her Works. She came to France, where ſhe was kindly received by their Majeſties, and perſons of the higheſt Quality at Court (b). She wrote ſeveral *Sonnets* in their praiſe, which are to be ſeen in the ſecond part of her Poems. She died of a miſcarriage at Lyons the tenth of June 1604, in the forty ſecond year of her age. Her huſband Francis Andreini had her interred in the ſame city, and honoured her with an Epitaph [B], which teſtifies that ſhe was adorned with a great deal of piety and chaſtity.

(a) So the Academiſts of Padua are ſtiled.

(b) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the 2d part of her Poems.

[A] *She charmed both eyes and ears.* This gave occaſion to a variety of fine compliments to her. Under her picture it is written, *Hoc hiſtricæ eloquentiæ caput lector admiraris, quid ſi auditor ſies?* i. e. "If "you admire, reader, this glory of the theatre, when "you only ſee her, what would you do, if you "heard her? "The Antitheſes and points of Erycius Puteanus turn for the moſt part upon this thought.

Hanc vides, ſays he, *& hanc audis?*
Tu diſputa, Argus eſſe malis, ut videas,
An Midas, ut audias?
Tantum enim ſermonem vultus,
Quantum ſermo vultum commendat:
Quorum alterutro æterna eſſe potuiſſet,
Cum vultum omnibus ſimulacris emendatiorem,
Et ſermonem omni Suada venuſtiorem poſſideat.

That is,

"Do you ſee her, and hear her likewiſe?
"Diſpute then, whether you would chooſe to be
"An Argus, to ſee her,
"Or a Midas to hear her.
"For her beauty as much recommends her voice,
"As her voice does her beauty.
"Either of theſe advantages might procure her immortal honour,
"For her face is more beautiful than the fineſt "ſtatues,
"And her voice more harmonious that that of the "Goddeſs perſuaſion herſelf."

[B] *Her husband honoured her with an Epitaph.*] Tho' it were only to ſatisfy thoſe, who ſpeak with ſo much ſeverity of the Church, for burying Comedians in conſecrated ground, I ſhould think it worth while to copy here the Epitaph of Iſabella Andreini, wherein we ſee the character of an Actreſs joined to the hope of a reſurrection.

D. O. M.

Iſabella Andreina, Patavina, mulier magnâ virtute prædita, honeſtatis ornamentum, maritaliſque pudicitiæ decus, ore facunda, mente fœcunda, religioſa, pia, Muſis amica, & artis Scenicæ caput, hic reſurrectionem expectat.

Ob abortum obiit 4 Id. Junii 1604, annum agens 42.
Franciſcus Andreinus mœſtiſſimus poſuit.

That is,

"Iſabella Andreini, of Padua, a woman of great vir-
"tue

chaſtity. He let the Publick know ſince that time, that he extremely regretted the loſs of her [C], and had a great eſteem for her. The death of this Actreſs threw all Parnaſſus into a general concern and lamentation, which they ſhewed by their Latin and Italian Elegies. Several of theſe pieces are printed before her Poems in the edition of Milan in 1605. And they have not forgot to inſert the ingenious inſcription which was wrote in commendation of her during her life by Erycius Puteanus, Profeſſor at that time at Milan (*c*). Beſides her *Sonnets*, *Madrigals*, *Songs*, and *Eclogues*, we have a *Paſtoral* of hers intitled *Mirtilla*, and *Letters*, which were printed at Venice in 1610. She ſung extremely well, and was an admirable miſtreſs of inſtrumental muſick; ſhe was not unacquainted with Philoſophy (*d*), and underſtood French and Spaniſh.

(c) See the Remark [A].

(d) See the verſes in her praiſe prefix'd to her Poems.

" tue, and honour, the ornament of conjugal chaſti-
" ty, of an eloquent charming tongue, and an ele-
" gant mind, religious, pious, beloved by the Muſes,
" and the Glory of the ſtage, here lies in expectation
" of the Reſurrection.
" She died of a miſcarriage the 10th of June
" 1604 in the 42d year of her age.
" Francis Andreini her ſorrowful husband erected
" this Monument to her memory."

The following remark will ſhew the conjugal tenderneſs of Francis Andreini towards her.

[C] *Her husband afterwards let the Public know how much he regretted the loſs of her.*] The Preface of his *Bravure del Capitano Spavento* ſhews us, that he was a native of Piſtoia, and that while he belonged to the company of the Comedians Geloſi, he was highly delighted in acting the part of a Bully. He took upon him the title of *Capitan Spavento da Vall' Inferna*, and left the part, which he was moſt diſtinguiſhed for, which was that of a Lover, *Io laſciai di recitare la parte mia principale, la qualle era quella dell' inamorato.* This Company of Comedians got a prodigious reputation; but the death of Iſabella Andreini was the beginning of their decline. Her husband upon this left the character of an Actor for that of an Author, and choſe for the ſubject of his writings that which he had exerciſed himſelf in upon the ſtage, the Rodomontades of a bullying Captain. He wrote ſeveral Dialogues or *Ragionamenti* in proſe, and gave them the title abovementioned. The edition which I make uſe of, is the fourth, printed at Venice in 1623 in 4to; but as the privilege is dated in 1607, the firſt edition may be placed under that year. We find at the beginning of this book the complaints of the Shepherd *Corinto alla defunta ſua Fillide* (ſo he calls his wife) *& alla ſua Boſcarettia Sampogna.* Never any Lover carried his paſſionate expreſſions further, nor complained with more warmth againſt the inexorable rigour of fate. Theſe are without doubt the complaints of Andreini upon the death of his Iſabella. But read his words, which leave no room for conjecture. *Finito che fu quel termine, e venuto meno il vivere d'Iſabella mia dilettiſſima conſorte, (la quale fu lume e ſplendore di quella virtuoſa e honorata compagnia,) fui da molti amici miei conſigliato à ſcrivere alcuna coſa e donarla alla ſtampa, per laſciar qualche memoria di me, e per ſeguitare l'honorato grido della moglie mia, la quale haveva laſciato all mondo con tanta ſua gloria, e con tanto ſuo honore, il ſuo bellizzimo Canzoniero, la ſua belliſſima Mirtilla Favola Boſcarreccia, e il compendio delle ſue belliſſime Lettere* (1). That is, " After the death of Iſabella, my deareſt wife, " (who was the Light and Glory of our excel- " lent and honourable Company,) I was ſollicit- " ed by many of my friends to write ſomething " and publiſh it, in order to leave ſome Memorial of " myſelf, and to follow the glorious ſteps of my " wife, who publiſhed with ſo much reputation to " herſelf her fine Songs, her beautiful *Paſtoral of* " *Mirtilla*, and her *Collection of excellent Letters.*" There was one John Baptista Andreini, who wrote a Tragedy intitled *La Florinda*, printed at Milan in 1606.

(1) *Prefat. del* Capitano Spavento

ANDRELINUS (P. FAUSTUS) a native of Forli in Italy, was a long time Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of Paris. Lewis XII made him his Poet Laureat (*a*). I cannot tell whether Queen Anne of Britany, or ſome other Queen, honoured him with her ſpecial protection; but I find that Eraſmus, who was very well acquainted with him, tells us he was not only Poet to the King but likewiſe to the Queen [A]. He was not ſatisfied only with making verſes; but he wrote in proſe *Moral and proverbial Letters*, which were printed ſeveral times. There is an edition of them at Straſbourg in 1517, and another reviſed again by the Author in 1519 (*b*). Beatus Rhenanus added a Preface to them, wherein he commends them extremely [B]. John Arboreus a Divine of Paris wrote Comments upon them. The greateſt part of his Poetry are

(a) *Fauſtus Andrelinus item Poeta ſuaviſſimus a Ludovico XII Franciæ Rege laureâ coronatus.* Leand. Alberti Deſcript. Ital. p. 478.

(b) Geſneri Biblioth. p. 573.

[A] *Eraſmus . . . . tells us that he was Poet to the King and Queen.*] He writes thus: *Fauſtus Andrelinus, Forolivienſis, poeta non ſolum laureatus, verum etiam regius, atque etiam ſi Diis placet, regineus, vetus congerro meus, qui plus quam triginta jam annos in celeberrima Pariſiorum Academia Poeticen docet, in carmine quod* de Pavimento Pariſienſi *inſcripſit, adagionem* (Syracuſana Menſa) *in Anglos derivavit, Menſa, inquiens, Britanna placet* (1). That is, " Fauſtus Andrelinus of Forli, not only the Poet " Laureat, but likewiſe Poet to the King and Queen, " my old companion, who has been Profeſſor of Poe- " try in the famous Univerſity of Paris above thirty " years, in his Poem *de Pavimento Pariſienſi*, has ap- " plied the Adage *Syracuſana Menſa*, i. e. *a Syracu-* " *ſian Table*, to the Engliſh, and ſays *Menſa Britan-* " *na placet*, i. e. *the Britiſh Table pleaſes me.*" We find amongſt the Letters of Eraſmus (2) two or three Letters of Andrelinus to him in ſo Laconic a ſtyle, that Brutus's Letters, compared to them, would be thought very prolix. Eraſmus, who anſwered him in the ſame ſtyle, is a little more diffuſe, when he deſired him to recommend his Adages (3), and when he deſcribed to him the pleaſures of England, in order to engage him to come over thither (4). I ſhall obſerve by the bye, that it is a very wrong cuſtom in Authors to fix the time when they write only by the vague uncertain term of *nunc*, *jam*, *&c.* They ſhould mark the year preciſely; for beſides that ſome books are ſeveral years in compoſing, or are not publiſhed till long after the Author has finiſhed them, a great many of them are reprinted ſeveral times. How then can we aſcertain the date, when we meet with *hoc anno*, i. e. " this year," *nunc*, i. e. " now," and the like? Thus Eraſmus ſpeaks of Andrelinus as a man ſtill living, and who had been thirty years Profeſſor of Paris. He writes this in a book printed 1546, in which the Preface has no date; but there is an Epiſtle Dedicatory dated the 13th of Auguſt 1528. Is not this apt to make us imagine that Andrelinus was living in 1528? And may we not collect from this, that the greateſt Men, when they reviſe their works for a new edition, leave a thouſand things in them, which are not true? I have obſerved this fault in the laſt edition of *the great Hiſtory of France* by Mezerai.

(1) Eraſm. Adag. 68. Cent. 2. Chiliad. 2.

(2) Lib. 5. pag. 326. edit. Londinenſ.

(3 and 4) Eraſm. Epiſt. 23. and 10. lib. 5. pag. 321 and 315.

A Censure upon Authors, who make uſe of the vague term of *nunc*. See the remark [B] of the Article ABULFEDA, num. 4.

[B] *Beatus Rhenanus added a Preface to them, wherein he commends them extremely.*] Geſner's words are as follows: *Beatus Rhenanus in præfatione commendat has epiſtolas tanquam eruditas, lepidas, & utiles;*

are Diſtichs. They were printed with the Commentary, which Joſſe Badius Aſcenſius did them the honour to write upon them, tranſlated verſe for verſe into French, by a Poet of Paris, who called himſelf Stephen Privé (c). This tranſlation was publiſhed in 1604, and is only fit *to expoſe the original to contempt.* John Paradin had before tranſlated (d) into French Stanza's of four verſes an hundred diſtichs, which Andrelinus had addreſſed to John Ruzé, *Treaſurer General of the Finances of King Charles VIII, in order to thank him for a very conſiderable and honourable penſion, which that Prince ordered to be paid him punctually, and which did not deſerve the contempt which that merry Poet intended to ſhew it, by inſinuating, that his verſes were paid for by the quarter or hundred* (e) [C]. The Poems of Andrelinus are inſerted in the firſt tome of the *Deliciæ Poet. Italor.* though the beſt judges have not eſteemed them very much [D]. His death is placed under the year 1518 [E]. The Letters, which he wrote in Proverbs, have been thought worth a new edition at Helmſtadt in 1662, according to that of Cologne of 1509 (f). The manner of life of this Author was not very exemplary; but he was ſpared on that account, becauſe he gave a luſtre to the Univerſity of Paris. He was ſo fortunate, that though he took the liberty of rallying the Divines, yet he was never brought into trouble about it. It is Eraſmus who acquaints us with theſe little particulars [F].

(c) Baillet, *Jugemens ſur les Poetes*, tom. 3. p. 121.

(d) In 1545.

(e) Baillet, *Jugem. ſur les Poetes*, quoting Colletet. p. 118, 125, 126. of the *Art Poetique.*

(f) Morhof *Polyhiſtor.* p. 258.

Obſerve, that I have left this whole Article in the ſecond edition of this Work juſt as it was in the firſt, though I have been adviſed to correct it in ſeveral places. But

utiles; "*Etſi enim hic author, (inquit,) in nonnullis* "*opuſculis genuino poetarum more laſciviuſculus ſit,* "*hic tamen integrum ac modeſtum oratorem agit* (5)." That is, "Beatus Rhenanus in his Preface commends "theſe Epiſtles, as learned, witty, and uſeful; *for* "*tho'*, ſays he, *this Author in ſome of his works,* "*after the manner of Poets, is a little too looſe and* "*wanton; yet here he appears like a modeſt and ele-* "*gant Orator.*"

(5) Geſner. *Biblioth.* fol. 573.

[C] *He inſinuates that they paid for his verſes by the quarter or hundred.*] Mr. Baillet brings for proof of this theſe four verſes tranſlated from the Latin of Andrelinus by Paradin (6).

(6) *Jugem. ſur les Poetes*, tom. 3. p. 122.

Croiſſez mes vers, ſoyéz en plus grand nombre;
Car c'eſt aux frais & ſalaires du Roi.
Seure Richeſſe, empeſchant tout encombre,
Exige vers en copieux arroi.
That is,
"Ariſe, my Muſe, let copious numbers flow,
"Rich as the penſion be the verſe we owe;
"The royal bounty claims a due regard;
"And ample be the theme, as the reward.

The tenth Eclogue of Andrelinus gives us a very extraordinary thing; and that is a Poet, who is ſo far from complaining of the ingratitude of the age, and accuſing the Muſes of ſtarving thoſe, who apply to them, that he acknowledges his penſion was very noble; and that when he recited his Poem upon the conqueſt of Naples (*) before Charles VIII, he received a bag of ſilver ſo large, that he could ſcarce carry it upon his ſhoulders.

Dum ſtupeo totus viſu defixus in iſto,
Jupiter ecce venit magno ſtipatus honore.
Ipſe olim vultus inter nutritus agreſtes
Admiror primo aſpectu; mox poplite flexo
Ante ipſum quæſita Jovem modulamina fundo,
Scilicet ut bello claram expugnavit aperto
Parthenopem, patrios victorque redivit in agros,
Quamvis Heſperio vetitus foret orbe regreſſus.
Neſcio qua noſtri captus dulcedine cantûs
Ipſe fuit, fulvi ſaccum donavit & æris
Vix iſtis delatum humeris, cunctoſque per annos
Penſio larga datur, qualem non lentus habebat
Tityrus umbroſis reſonans ſua gaudia ſylvis.

§ (*) It muſt be in this Poem, that Andrelinus having ſaid it ſeems, that tho' the conqueſts and victories of King Charles were ſoon vaniſhed, yet the marks (*ſtigmata*) of them ſtill remained upon the forehead of the Italians; Brantome, who inſtead of *vera ſtigmata* read *vera ſtemmata*, repreſents this Poet as ſaying, that the victories and warlike exploits of King Charles VIII were as ſo many *marks and enſigns of honour* upon the forehead of the Italians. See *Brantome, Hommes illuſtres François*, Tom. IV, p. 25. CRIT. REM.

[D] *The beſt judges have not eſteemed his Poems very much.*] Voſſius names three Authors, who are guilty of ſaying pompous nothings in a prodigious multitude of words (7); the firſt is the Orator Anaximenes, the ſecond Longolius, an Orator likewiſe, and the third Andrelinus. With reſpect to the firſt, he tells us, that Theocritus of Chios ſeeing him go to harangue, ſaid immediately of him, *We are going to have a torrent of words, and a drop of ſenſe*: Ἀεχσιμ λέξεων μὲν ποταμὸς, νοῦ δὲ σταλαγμός. He ſays upon the authority of Francis Luiſinus, that Conſtantine Laſcaris paſſed the ſame judgment upon Longolius; but this is much truer of Andrelinus, in whoſe Poems there wants but one ſyllable, as Eraſmus very ingeniouſly obſerved. That ſyllable was νοῦς, which ſignifies *good ſenſe, underſtanding*, and *genius*. If I could tell where Eraſmus ſpeaks in a manner ſo inconſiſtent with the great compliments, which he paid to Andrelinus (8), I would have mentioned it. I doubt not but that the judgment of Julius Scaliger concerning the Poet Fauſtus has more relation to him, than to Gerhardus Fauſtus. *Fauſti facilitas*, ſays he (9), *viventis in ſcribendo ſecundo plauſu exceptа eſt. Scholas tamen ſapit illa juniorum, à qua nihil aliud quam hoc ipſum expectes.* That is, "The "facility, with which Fauſtus wrote, was much ap- "plauded, while he was living; but it ſavours too "much of the modern Schools, from which we can "expect nothing but this."

(7) Voſſius, *Inſtit. Poet.* p. 2.

(8) See the 23d Letter of the fifth book of Eraſmus.

(9) Jul. Cæſ. Scalig. *de Poetic.* lib. 6. p. 736. *See* Baillet, *Jug. ſur les Poetes*, tom. 3. p. 122.

[E] *His death is placed under the year* 1518.] I ſhall not quote the *Bibliotheca* of Konig, nor the Letters of the learned Reineſius to Daumius (10). I have a contemporary witneſs of this, who in a Letter dated the 6th of March 1518, obſerves that year had carried off ſeveral Men of Learning: *Hic annus multos eximios viros tui ſimiles abſumpſit, Marcum Muſurum Romæ, tum Archiepiſcopum deſignatum, & ante hunc Paleotum Camillum, Lutetiæ Fauſtum immortalitate dignum* (11). i. e. "This year has "cut off ſeveral excellent Men of merit like you, "Marcus Muſurus at Rome then Archbiſhop elect, and "before him Paleotus Camillus, and at Paris Fauſtus, "who deſerved immortality." However it would be wrong to conclude from theſe words, that Andrelinus died in 1518; for it is certain that Muſurus died in the year 1517 (12).

(10) Pag. 15.

(11) Eraſm. Ep. 20. lib. 3. *ad Petrum Barbirium.* See likewiſe Epiſt. 24. of the 2d book.

(12) See the remarks upon his Article.

[F] *It is Eraſmus, who acquaints us with theſe little particulars.*] The reader will be pleaſed to ſee them in the original. *Pariſienſis Academiæ candorem ac civilitatem jam olim ſum admiratus, quæ tot annos Fauſtum tulerit, nec tulerit ſolum, verum etiam aluerit evexeritque. Cum Fauſtum dico, multa tibi* (13) *ſuccurrunt quæ nolim literis committere. Quâ petulantia ſolitus eſt ille in Theologorum ordinem debacchari? Quam non caſta erat illius profeſſio? Neque cuiquam obſcurum erat qualis eſſet vita. Tantum malorum Galli doctrinæ hominis condonabant, quæ tamen ultra mediocritatem non admodum erat progreſſa* (14). That is, "I have long admired the good nature and "eaſineſs of the Univerſity of Paris, which bore "Fauſtus for ſo many years, and even maintained

(13) He wrote this to *Ludovicus Vives.*

(14) Eraſm. Ep. 20. lib. 21. pag. 1090.

But I thought it more modeſt to give the corrections, which have been ſuggeſted to me, diſtinct by themſelves [*G*]. You will find them in a remark below.

" and raiſed him. When I mention Fauſtus, many " things will occur to you, which I would not " commit to a letter. With what inſolence did he " uſe to abuſe the whole body of Divines? How " ſcandalous was his manner of life? Every body " knew this very well. And yet the French excuſed " theſe things on account of his learning, tho' even " that was not very conſiderable." Obſerve the difference of ſtyle between the letters, which Eraſmus wrote to Andrelinus, and thoſe, which he wrote to others concerning him. Tho' it is true, he does ſometimes ſpeak of him with commendation in his letters to other perſons (15).

(15) See the remark [*E*].

[*G*] *I ſhall give.... the corrections, which have been ſuggeſted to me, &c.*] Here are word for word the remarks, which Mr. de la Monnoie was ſo kind as to communicate. " I. Inſtead of *P. Fauſtus*, it " ſhould have been given at length *Publius Fauſtus*, " leaſt the *P.* ſhould be miſtaken for *Peter*, *Paul*, or " ſome other Chriſtian name. Fauſtus very probably " aſſumed this name of *Publius* at Rome, after the " example of the Academicians, who are lovers of " antiquities, of whom Pomponius Lætus was the " Head II. It ſhould not be ſaid in the Dictionary, " that Fauſtus was ſimply Profeſſor of Poetry in the " Univerſity of Paris. For he taught there not only Poetry, but Rhetoric, and the Doctrine of the " Sphere. He likewiſe explained David's Pſalms. " III. It was at Rome, long before the reign of " Lewis XII, that Fauſtus, who was then but twenty " two years old, received the crown of Laurel (16). " His Love-Verſes, divided into four books, intitled *Livia* from the name of his Miſtreſs, were " eſteemed ſo fine by the Roman Academy, that " they adjudged the prize of the Latin Elegy to the " Author above the other Poets his rivals. It is upon this account, that when he printed his *Livia* " in 4to at Paris in 1490, and his three books of E- " logies four years after in the ſame city, he took " upon him the title of *Poeta Laureatus*, to which " he added that of *Poeta Regius* and *Regineus*, as he " was Poet to Charles VIII, Lewis XII, and Queen " Anne. IV. To make up the thirty years, during " which Fauſtus was Profeſſor at Paris, we muſt ſuppoſe, that Eraſmus made this calculation in the " year 1517. By this means we ſhall carry it to " 1487, which is about the time of Fauſtus's ſettling " at Paris. This Chronology is the more certain, " becauſe there was in 1517 an edition of the *Adages* " of Eraſmus (17), which he mentions in the Adage " *Chænici ne inſideas*. V. The *Diſtichs* of Fauſtus " are not above two hundred, and conſequently but " a very ſmall part of his Poems, ſince beſides the " four books of *Love*, and the three books of miſ- " cellaneous *Elegies*, which I mentioned, there are " twelve *Eclogues* of his, printed in 8vo in 1546 in " the Collection of thirty eight Bucolic Poets publiſh- " ed by Oporinus. Fauſtus promiſed ſeveral other " pieces in proſe and verſe, *Decem Satiras morales*; " *Epiſtolas centum*; *Chriſtianum Adventum*, which is " perhaps the ſame, which is called in another place " *Opus de vera Religione*; *Sphæricum Dialogum*; *Repertorium, ſive Obſervationes Linguæ Latinæ.*"

(16) This falls upon Leander Alberti, whom I quoted.

(17) The fault of Eraſmus conſiſts, as I have obſerved in the remark [*A*], in his not having changed the Chronology in the later editions.

What is wanting to my article of Andrelinus, would have been inſerted here, if I could but have procured the works of this Author. But not having that opportunity, I was obliged to follow thoſe, who have mentioned him without ever conſulting his writings; and thus the blind have led the blind. It is a great misfortune, when a perſon is compoſing ſuch a Dictionary as this, not to have all the neceſſary books; but it is a misfortune, which I cannot poſſibly remedy in the ſituation, which I am in.

☞ANDREWS (LANCELOT) an eminent Engliſh Divine and Biſhop in the ſeventeenth Century, was born in the pariſh of All-hallows Barking in the City of London (*a*) about the year 1555 (*b*). He was deſcended from an ancient family of that name in the County of Suffolk; and his father, having moſt part of his life uſed the Sea, was at laſt choſen Maſter of Trinity Houſe (*c*). He had his firſt education at the Cooper's Free-School in Ratcliff under Mr. Ward, from whence he was ſent to Merchant-Taylors School, where he made a prodigious progreſs under Mr. Mulcaſter in the Greek and Hebrew Languages; ſo that Dr. Thomas Watts, Prebendary and Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who had lately founded ſome Scholarſhips in Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, beſtowed the firſt of thoſe Scholarſhips upon him (*d*). He took his Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo highly, that he was choſen Fellow [*A*], and continued there, till Mr. Hugh Price, Founder of Jeſus College in Oxford, named him, without his knowledge, for one of his firſt Fellows there (*e*). During his reſidence in the two Univerſities he ſhewed the moſt intenſe application to his ſtudies imaginable [*B*]. His merit became now ſo con-

(*a*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, Book 11. § 46. and his *Abel Redivivus, or Lives and Deaths of the Modern Divines*, London 1651, in 4to. The Life of our Author in that collection was written by Mr. Iſaackſon, as appears by Dr. Fuller's Preface.

(*b*) His epitaph informs us, that he died in 1626, in the 71ſt year of his age.

(*c*) Abel Redivivus, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. *See* Wood. *Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univerſitat. Oxon.* lib. 2, p. 325.

[*A*] *Diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo highly, that he was choſen Fellow.*] As ſoon as he was a Batchelor of Arts, and therefore capable of a Fellowſhip, there being then but one place vacant in the Hall, and Mr. Thomas Dove, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, being then a Scholar likewiſe in the ſame College, and extremely well approved of by many of the Society, the Maſter and Fellows put theſe two young men to a trial before them by ſome ſcholaſtical exerciſes; upon the performance of which they preferred our Author, and choſe him into the Fellowſhip. However they formed ſo high an opinion of Mr. Dove's abilities, that being unwilling to loſe him, they made him ſome allowance for his preſent maintenance, under the title of a *Tanquam Socius* (1).

(1) Abel Redivi. *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *He ſhewed the moſt intenſe application to his ſtudies.*] He employed even the uſual vacations in the improvement of himſelf in various parts of uſeful knowledge. For his cuſtom was, after he had been three years in the Univerſity, to go to London once a year to viſit his parents, and this was always a fortnight before Eaſter, ſtaying till a fortnight after. Againſt which time, his father being directed by letters from him prepared a perſon to inſtruct him in ſome language or art, which he had not attained before: ſo that within a few years he had laid the foundations of all arts and ſciences, and had gained a conſiderable knowledge in moſt of the modern languages. It is likewiſe remarkable, that in his journeys between London and Cambridge he always uſed to walk on foot till he was a Batchelor of Divinity; and profeſſed, that he would not even then have rid on horſeback, but to avoid the imputation, that it was merely to ſave charges. He never loved nor uſed any games or ordinary recreations; but his common exerciſe was walking either alone by himſelf or with ſome ſelect companion, with whom he might engage in an agreeable and uſeful converſation. And he would often profeſs, that to obſerve the graſs, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, and heavens, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, and uſes, was to him the moſt exquiſite entertainment imaginable. After he had been ſome time Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, in which he made ſo prodigious an advance, that his reputation grew very extenſive and conſiderable; ſo that when he was choſen Catechiſt in the College, and read upon the Ten Commandments

conſpicuous, that Henry Earl of Huntingdon ſent for him to attend him into the North, of which he was Preſident, where he converted ſeveral Recuſants, and among them ſome Prieſts, to the Proteſtant Religion (*f*). He gained likewiſe the favour of Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth; and that great Man would never ſuffer him to take any country benefice, leſt he with his great Learning ſhould be buried in obſcurity. His intent was to make him Reader of Controverſies in Cambridge; and for his maintenance, he aſſigned to him the leaſe of the Parſonage of Alton in Hampſhire, which after his death he returned to his Lady, which ſhe never knew or thought of (*g*). By his intereſt he was made Vicar of St. Giles Cripplegate London; then Prebendary and Reſidentiary of St. Paul's; and afterwards Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell (*h*). Upon the deceaſe of Dr. Fulke he was elected Maſter of Pembroke-Hall, a place of greater honour than profit, for he always ſpent more upon it than he received by it (*i*). He was afterwards made Chaplain in Ordinary (of which office there were then but twelve) to Queen Elizabeth, who was ſo highly pleaſed with his preaching and behaviour, that ſhe made him in 1597 Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and Dean of that Church in 1601 (*k*). He ſoon grew into great eſteem with her Succeſſor King James I, who admired him above all other Divines, on account of his ſolid and extenſive Learning; and conferred upon him in 1605, October 16, the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, in which he was conſecrated the third of November following (*l*), and made him Lord Almoner, and ſoon after added the Rectory of Cheyham in Surry, which he held in *commendam* (*m*). From this See he was tranſlated to that of Ely Sept. 22, 1609 (*n*), and made a Privy Counſellor, firſt of England, and then of Scotland, in his attendance on the King thither (*o*). He was preferred to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter Feb. 18, 1618 (*p*), and appointed Dean of the King's Chapel. The manner of the acquiſition of theſe dignities was very honourable to him [*C*]. His ſkill in the controverſies with the Papiſts endeared him to King James, for his Majeſty having in his *Defence of the Right of Kings* (*q*) aſſerted the authority of Chriſtian Princes in cauſes, and over Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of *Matthew Tortus*, attacked him with prodigious acrimony and virulence. The King ſcorning to reply, our Biſhop took the cauſe upon himſelf, and with great ſpirit and judgment anſwered the Cardinal [*D*]. In the Life of Mr. Waller the Poet we

(*f*) See his *Funeral Sermon* by the Biſhop of Ely, ſubjoined to the 2d edition of Biſhop Andrews's *Sermons* in 1631. p. 18.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Abel Redivivus. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. and Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 122. edit. 2. 1721.

(*l*) *See* Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.* p. 58.

(*m*) Abel Rediviv. *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) Le Neve, pag. 70.

(*o*) Abel Rediv.

(*p*) Le Neve, p. 287.

(*q*) Printed among his *Works*, p. 427.

ments every Saturday and Sunday at three a clock in the afternoon, (which was the hour of catechizing,) a great many perſons of the other Colleges, and even out of the country, duly reſorted to the College Chapel, as a publick Divinity Lecture. He was likewiſe particularly eminent for his skill in Caſuiſtry, and very much conſulted in that point (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *The manner of the acquiſition of theſe dignities was very honourable to him.*] Tho' they were many, and of great importance, yet he never made uſe of any means to obtain them; but they were all conferred upon him without the leaſt ſollicitation on his part. For he was ſo far from ambition or covetouſneſs, that when the Biſhopricks of Salisbury and Ely were ſeveral times offered to him upon ſome propoſitions prejudicial to the ſtate of thoſe Churches, he abſolutely refuſed them (3). It is remarkable, that when he was Almoner, Dean of the Chapel, and Privy Counſellor to King James I, and King Charles I, he interpoſed very little in civil and temporal affairs, eſteeming them foreign to his profeſſion and character; but in cauſes, which related to the Church and the Duties of his function, he exerted himſelf with great vigour (4).

(3) Ibid. and his *Funeral Sermon*, p. 18.

(4) *Funeral Sermon.* p. 19.

[*D*] *With great ſpirit and judgment anſwered the Cardinal.*] His book was entitled, *Tortura Torti: ſive, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Reſponſio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam ſereniſſimi potentiſſimique Principis Jacobi, Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro Juramento Fidelitatis.* It was printed at London by Roger Barker, the King's Printer in 1609 in 4to, pagg. 402, and dedicated to the King by the Author, who was then Biſhop of Chicheſter. Caſaubon calls it in his *Epiſtle to Fronto Ducæus the Jeſuit*, a work of the greateſt accuracy and diligence imaginable: *Exactiſſimæ fidei & diligentiæ ſcriptum.* The preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury in his *Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Supremacy* (5), obſerves, that what our Author aſſerts, and with great force of reaſon and evidence of antiquity defends, is to this effect: "That Kings have power both to "call Synods, and to confirm them; and to do all "other things, which the Emperors heretofore di"ligently did do; and which the Biſhops of thoſe "times willingly acknowledged of right to belong "to them." *Ut conſiſtat adhuc poteſtai ſua Regibus, quâ & ſynodos convocare, & confirmare poſſent; & obire reliqua omnia, quæ & olim qui Imperatores diligenter obierunt, & qui tum Epiſcopi libenter agnoverunt* (6). And 1, that to Chriſtian Princes belongs the ſole right of calling Synods, the Biſhop evinces from the Hiſtory of the General Councils, which were aſſembled under them (7); and from the examples of thoſe, which were afterwards held under Charles the Emperor (8). 2. That having aſſembled them, they have a right of inſpecting and examining, of approving and rejecting their Acts, he likewiſe proves beyond all poſſible diſpute (9). "*You* "*know*, ſays he (10), *how Conſtantine wrote to the* "*Synod of Tyre:* All you, as many as made up the "Synod of Tyre, haſten without delay to come to "us, and ſhew us truly how ſincerely and righte"ouſly ye have judged, and that before me, whom "even ye will not deny to be a ſincere ſervant of "God." Scis quid ad (11) Synodum Epiſcoporum Tyri. *Cuncti quotquot Synodum Tyri complêſtis, ſine morâ ad pietatis noſtræ caſtra properetis, ac reipſa quam ſincerè ac rectè judicaveritis, oſtendatis, idque coram me, quem ſincerum eſſe Dei miniſtrum neque vos ſanè negabitis.* 3. The Biſhop adds, that they may come to, and make a part of the Synod (12), and then ſums up the royal authority in this manner (13); "Put this together: The King aſſembles the "Synod; the Synod preſumes to do nothing with"out his knowledge. The King commits the whole "affair to their power. They by virtue of his "Princely Command proceed to do what was need"ful to be done." *Collige jam: Synodum ibi Rex congregat; illa ſine Regis notitiâ nihil præſumit: Rex illorum poteſtati rem committit: illi ſecundum principalia præcepta, quæ hoc illorum tribuunt poteſtati, faciunt quod facto opus eſt.* This manner of reaſoning of the Biſhop's is exactly conformable to the doctrine, which he maintained upon another very remarkable occaſion, which was as follows (14): King James being diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the Presbyterian Miniſters in Scotland, for holding a general Aſſembly at Aberdeen contrary to his command, ſent for a certain number of the moſt eminent of them to come up to him at London, and ſatisfy him in ſome things, in which he thought that he had reaſon to complain of them. He delivered to theſe Miniſters three queries relating to his

(5) P. 56, 57.

(6) *Tortura Torti*, p. 177.

(7) Ibid. p. 165.

(8) Ibid. p. 164.

(9) Ibid. p. 162, 164.

(10) Ib. p. 173.

(11) Socrat. l. 1. c. 34.

(12) Ibi p. 174.

(13) Ib. p. 176.

(14) *See* Dr. Wake's *Appeal*, p. 58, &c. and Spotſwood, l. 7. p. 486.

we have a very agreeable ſtory related of him when he was Biſhop of Winchester [*E*].

his authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and demanded their ſeveral anſwers to them. The ſecond of theſe queſtions was this (15); *Whether they acknowledge his Majeſty, by the authority of his prerogative royal, as a Chriſtian King, to have lawful and full power, to convocate, prorogate, and cauſe deſert, upon juſt and neceſſary cauſes known to him, the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, within his Majeſty's Dominions?* During the courſe of this tranſaction, the King cauſed four of his Engliſh Biſhops on certain days appointed to them, to preach before him at Hampton-Court, and commanded the Scots Miniſters to be preſent at their Sermons. The third of theſe turns fell upon our Author, at that time Biſhop of Chicheſter, whoſe ſubject aſſigned him by the King was to prove the power of Princes in convocating Synods and Councils. We ſhall give an abſtract and ſome paſſages of this Sermon, that the reader may form ſome idea of the genius and manner of the Author. He premiſed theſe two points (16); 1, That when the Prince calls, the Clergy are to meet: And 2, That they are not to meet of themſelves, unleſs he calls them. The proof of theſe points he thus purſues; 1, From the Law of God (17), confirmed by the Law of Nature and Nations (18). 2, From matter of fact before Chriſt, from Moſes to the Maccabees in the Jewiſh Church (19): After Chriſt, from Conſtantine till a thouſand years after Chriſt; 1, By General Councils: 2, By national and provincial Councils, aſſembled: 3, Under Emperors: and 4, Kings, by the ſpace of many hundred years (20). This is the ſubſtance of his Sermon; from whence we ſhall proceed to extract ſome paſſages from it. I. In ſpeaking of the Law of Nations he has this remark (21); "The Law of Nations in this point (both before the "Law written, and ſince where the Law written "was not known) might eaſily appear, if time would "ſuffer, both in their general order for Conventions "ſo to be called, and in their general oppoſing to "all Conventicles called otherwiſe. Verily the "Heathen Laws made all ſuch Aſſemblies unlawful, "which the higheſt authority did not cauſe to meet; "yea, tho' they were ἱερῶν ὀργίων ἕνεκα, ſay Solon's "Laws, yea tho' *ſub prætextu Religionis*, ſay the "Roman Laws. Neither did the Chriſtian Empe"rors think good to abate any thing of that right; "nay they took more ſtraight order." II. Concluding his account of the Jewiſh ſtate, he has theſe words (22): *Thus from Moſes to the Maccabees, we ſee in whoſe hands this power was. And what ſhould I ſay more? There was in all God's people no one religious King, but this power he practiſed. And there was of all God's Prophets no one that ever interpoſed any prohibition againſt it.... What ſhall we ſay then? Were all theſe wrong? Shall we condemn them all?.... Yet to this we are come now, that either we muſt condemn them all, the one after another; the Kings as Uſurpers, for taking on them to uſe more power than ever orderly they received; the Prophets for ſoothers of them in that their unjuſt claim: or elſe confeſs, that they did no more than they might, and exceeded not therein the bounds of their calling. And indeed that we muſt confeſs, for that is the truth.* III. In treating of General Councils he thus ſpeaks of that of Nice (23). "At Nice there were together "three hundred and eighteen Biſhops, *totius orbis* "*lumina*, (as Victorinus well termeth them) the "Lights of the whole world, the chiefeſt and "choiceſt men for holineſs, learning, virtue, and "valour, that the Chriſtian Religion ever had be"fore or ſince; men, that had laid down their "lives for the teſtimony of the truth. Did any of "them refuſe to come being called by him (Con"ſtantine) as not called aright? Or coming was "there any of them, that did proteſt againſt it, or "pleaded the Church's intereſt to meet of them"ſelves? Not one.... Verily the Council of Nice, "(which is, and ever had been ſo much admired by "all Chriſtians) cannot be excuſed before God or "men, if they thus conſpired (all) to betray the "Church's right; and ſuffered it, contrary to all "equity, to be carried away; leaving a dangerous "precedent therein for all Councils, ever after, to "the world's end..... There is no man of reaſon, "but will think it reaſonable, if this were the "Church's own peculiar, if appropriate unto it, "(and ſo known to them to be) there ought to have "been plain dealing now, at the very firſt Council "of all, that if Conſtantine would embrace Religion, "he muſt needs reſign up one of his trumpets, and "forbear to meddle with their Aſſemblies." IV. *But it may be*, continues the Biſhop (24), *General Councils have a faſhion by themſelves. Thoſe Congregations may be called thus; but National or Provincial ſuch as ours, how? Even ſo too, and no otherwiſe.... Yea I add this, which is a point to be conſidered, that even then when the Emperors were profeſſed Arians, even then did the Biſhops acknowledge their power to call Councils; come to them being called; ſued to them, that they might be called.... And ſometimes they ſped,... and ſometimes not. And yet when they ſped not, they held themſelves quiet, and never preſumed to draw together of their own heads.* "But it may be this was ſome Imperial power, and "that the Emperors had in this point more juriſdic"tion than Kings? Not that neither. For about "five hundred years after Chriſt, when the Empire "fell in pieces, and theſe Weſtern parts came into "the hands of Kings, thoſe Kings had, held, and "enjoyed, and practiſed the ſame power,..." *If it be excepted then, that there are of the* (Provincial and National) *Councils, which carry in their Acts no mention how they were called; for them we are to underſtand, that after the Decrees of the firſt Nicene Council were by Conſtantine's Edict confirmed, wherein, as likewiſe in the Council of Chalcedon, it was ordered, that each Province ſhould yearly hold their Synods twice..... We are to conceive the Emperor's authority was in all afterwards, habitually at leaſt.* V. "But "what ſay you to the three hundred years before "Conſtantine? How went Aſſemblies then?..... "Truly even as the Jews did before in Egypt under "the Tyranny of Pharaoh. They were then a Church "under perſecution, till Moſes was raiſed up by "God, a lawful Magiſtrate over them.... No Ma"giſtrate did aſſemble them in Egypt, and good rea"ſon, they had none then to do it..... True it is "therefore, that before Conſtantine's time, they "met together as they durſt, and took ſuch order "as they could..... But when Conſtantine came in "Moſes's place, it was lawful for him to do as Moſes "did. And ſo he did; and they never ſaid to him, "..... Look how we have done hitherto, we will "do ſo even ſtill; meet no otherwiſe now, than in "former times we have, by our own agreement.... "No, but they went to him, as to Moſes, for their "meetings. At his hands they ſought them: with"out his leave or liking, they would not attempt "them. Yea (I dare ſay) they bleſſed God from "their hearts, that they had lived to ſee the day, "that they might now aſſemble by the ſound of "the trumpet." *To conclude this point then; theſe two times or eſtates of the Church, are not to be confounded. There is a plain difference between them, and a diverſe reſpect to be had of each. If the ſucceſſion of Magiſtrates be interrupted, in ſuch caſe, of neceſſity, the Church of herſelf maketh ſupply, becauſe then God's order ceaſeth. But God granting a Conſtantine to them again, God's former poſitive order returneth, and the caſe is to proceed and go on, as before..... In a word, none can ſeek to have the congregation ſo called (as before Conſtantine) but they muſt ſecretly and by implication confeſs they are a perſecuted Church, as that then was; without a Moſes, without a Conſtantine.* Having thus ſtated his judgment in this important point, let us ſee what application he made of what he advanced. "You may "pleaſe to remember, ſays he (25), there was not "long ſince a Clergy in place, that was wholly *ad* "*oppoſitum*, and would never have yielded to reform "ought. Nothing they would do; and (in the eye of "Law) without them nothing could be done. They "had encroached the power of aſſembling into their "own hands? How then? How ſhall we do for an Aſ"ſembly? Then—the Prince had this power, and to "him of right it belonged. This was then good Divi"nity. And what Writer is there extant of thoſe times, "but it may be turned to in him? And was it good

(15) *See* Calderwood, *Hiſt.* pag. 543.

(16) See his *Sermons upon ſeveral Occaſions*, p. 105.

(17) *Sermons*, p. 104, 105.

(18) Ib. p. 106.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ib. p. 108.

(21) Ib. p. 106.

(22) Ib. p. 107.

(23) Ibid. pag. 108, 109.

(24) Ib. p. 110, 111, &c.

(25) Ib. p. 113.

cheſter [*E*]. His publick and domeſtick character was great and noble. He was exemplary in his devotions, and his charity was very extenſive [*F*]. His fidelity and integrity in all parts of life were firm and unſhaken [*G*]. He had a warm ſenſe of gratitude, which extended

" Divinity then, and is it now no longer ſo? Was " the King but licenſed for a while to hold this " power, till another Clergy were in, and muſt he " then be deprived of it again? Was it then uſurp- " ed from Princes; and are now Princes Uſurpers of " it themſelves? Nay I truſt.... we will be better " adviſed, and not thus go againſt ourſelves, and " let truth be no longer truth, than it will ſerve " our turns." Our Author concludes his Sermon with theſe words: *It remaineth that as God by his Law hath taken this order, and his people in former ages have kept this order, that we do ſo too; that we ſay, as God ſaith,* Erunt tibi. *This power pertaineth unto Moſes; and that neither with Core we ſay,* Non veniemus, *We will not come; nor with Demetrius run together of ourſelves, and think to carry it away with crying,* Great is Diana. *But as we ſee the power is of God, ſo truly to acknowledge it, and dutifully to yield to it. That ſo they, whoſe it is, may quietly hold it, and laudably uſe it to his glory, that gave it, and to their good, for whom it was given.*

[*E*] *A very agreeable ſtory related of him, when he was Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] Mr. Waller having been choſen into the laſt Parliament of King James I, in which he ſerved as Burgeſs for Agmondeſham in Buckinghamſhire, and that Parliament being diſſolved, on the day of its diſſolution he went out of curioſity or reſpect to ſee the King at dinner, with whom were our Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr. Neal Biſhop of Durham, ſtanding behind the King's chair. There happened ſomething very extraordinary in the converſation, which thoſe Prelates had with the King, on which Mr. Waller often reflected. We ſhall relate it as it is repreſented in his Life (26). " His " Majeſty asked the Biſhops, *My Lords, cannot I* " *take my ſubjects money when I want it, without all* " *this formality in Parliament?* The Biſhop of " Durham readily anſwered, *God forbid, Sir, but* " *you ſhou'd; you are the breath of our noſtrils.* " Whereupon the King turned, and ſaid to the Bi- " ſhop of Wincheſter, *Well, my Lord, what ſay* " *you? Sir,* replied the Biſhop, *I have no skill to* " *judge of parliamentary caſes.* The King anſwered, " *No put-offs, my Lord; anſwer me preſently. Then,* " *Sir,* ſaid he, *I think it lawful for you to take my* " *brother Neal's money, for he offers it.* Mr. Wal- " ler ſaid the company was pleaſed with this anſwer, " and the wit of it ſeemed to affect the King. For " a certain Lord coming in ſoon after, his Majeſty " cry'd out, *O my Lord, they ſay you* LIG *with my* " *Lady: No, Sir,* ſays his Lordſhip in confuſion, *but* " *I like her company becauſe ſhe has ſo much wit.* " *Why, then,* ſays the King, *do not you* LIG *with* " *my Lord of Wincheſter there?*"

(26) Prefix'd to his Works. 9th edit. 1712. pag. 6, 7.

[*F*] *He was exemplary in devotions, and his charity was very extenſive.*] His piety ſhewed itſelf not only in his private and ſecret devotions between God and himſelf, in which thoſe, who attended him, perceived, that he daily ſpent many hours; but likewiſe in his public prayers with his family in his chapel, wherein he behaved ſo humbly, devoutly and reverently, that it could not but excite others to follow his example. His charity was remarkable even before he came to great preferments; for while he continued in a private ſtation of life, he relieved his poor pariſhioners, and aſſiſted the priſoners, beſides his conſtant Sunday alms at his pariſh of St. Giles Cripplegate. But when his fortune became greater, his charity encreaſed to a larger proportion, and he releaſed many priſoners of all ſorts, who were detained either for ſmall debts or the Keeper's fees. One circumſtance in his charity is very obſervable, that he gave ſtrict charge to his ſervants, whom he intruſted with the diſtribution of it, that they ſhould not acknowledge whence this relief came; but directed, that the acquittance, which they, in order to make the charge of their truſt appear, deſired of them, who received ſuch relief, ſhould be taken in the name of a Benefactor unknown. Other large ſums he beſtowed yearly and oftner in clothing the poor and naked, in relieving the neceſſitous, and aſſiſting families in the time of the infection, beſides his alms to poor houſe-keepers at his gate. So that his private alms in his laſt ſix years over and above his publick, amounted to above thirteen hundred pounds. He left in his Will four thouſand pounds to purcha'e two hundred pounds *per annum* in land for ever, to be diſtributed by fifty pounds quarterly in the following manner: To aged poor men, fifty pounds; to poor widows, the wives of one husband, fifty pounds; to the binding of poor orphans apprentices, fifty pounds; and to the relief of poor priſoners, fifty pounds. Beſides he left to be diſtributed immediately after his deceaſe among maid-ſervants of a good character, and who had ſerved one Maſter or Miſtreſs ſeven years, two hundred pounds; and a great part of his eſtate, after his funeral and legacies were diſcharged, among his poor ſervants (27). To this virtue of his we may add his hoſpitality. From the firſt time of his preferment to the laſt moments of his life, he was always hoſpitable and free in the entertainment of perſons, who deſerved reſpect, eſpecially Scholars and Strangers; his table being conſtantly furniſhed with proviſions and attendance anſwerable. He ſhewed himſelf ſo generous in his entertainments, and ſo gravely facetious, that his gueſts would often profeſs, that they never came to any man's table, where they received more ſatisfaction in all reſpects. He was at a prodigious expence in entertaining all ſorts of people in Scotland, when he attended King James thither; and it coſt him three thouſand pounds in the ſpace of three days, when that King came to viſit him at Farnham Caſtle, one of the ſeats belonging to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter (28).

(27) Abel Rediv. *ubi ſupra*, and his *Funeral Sermon*, P. 20, 21.

(28) Ib. p. 20.

[*G*] *His fidelity and integrity in all parts of life were firm and unſhaken.*] He was unblemiſhed both in his ordinary tranſactions, and in the diſcharge of his ſpiritual and temporal offices. He was always careful to keep in good repair the houſes of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments, particularly the Vicarage-houſe of St. Giles Cripplegate, the Prebend's and Dean's houſes of Weſtminſter, and the Reſidentiary's houſe of St. Paul's. He ſpent four hundred and twenty pounds upon the palaces belonging to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter; above two thouſand four hundred and forty pounds upon that of Ely; and two thouſand pounds upon thoſe of Wincheſter, beſides a penſion of four hundred pounds *per annum*, from which he freed that See at his own charge. With regard to his paſtoral and epiſcopal charge, he was the moſt exact in the execution of it imaginable. He promoted men of character and abilities to the livings and preferments within his own gift. For which purpoſe he took care beforehand to enquire what hopeful young men there were in the Univerſity; and directed his Chaplains to inform him of ſuch perſons, whom he encouraged in the moſt liberal manner. He uſed to ſend for men of eminent learning, who wanted preferment, tho' they had no dependance upon him, nor intereſt in him, and entertain them in his houſe, and confer preferment upon them, and likewiſe defray their charges of a diſpenſation or faculty, and even of their journey. And this he did, that his Dioceſe in general, and his own preferments in particular might be filled with able men. If we conſider him in thoſe temporal affairs, with which he was intruſted, we ſhall find him no leſs faithful and juſt. He diſpoſed of divers conſiderable ſums, which were ſent him to be diſtributed among poor Scholars and others at his diſcretion, with the utmoſt care, and exactly agreeable to the Donor's intent. For his integrity in managing thoſe places, in which he was intruſted for others jointly with himſelf, Pembroke Hall, and the Church of Weſtminſter were ſufficient evidences. For when he became Maſter of the former, he found it in debt, having then but a ſmall endowment; however by his care he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treaſury of that College. And when he was Dean of the latter, he left it free from all debts and

extended even to the relations of thoſe who had obliged him [*H*]. His behaviour was influenced by an open and generous humanity and affability, and an unaffected modeſty [*I*]. Nor did he, even in the higheſt dignities which he poſſeſſed, remit of his application to ſtudy [*K*]. He had a particular averſion to three vices above all others, Uſury, Simony and Sacrilege [*L*]. Dr. Fuller obſerves (*r*), that King James had ſo great an awe of and veneration for him, that in his preſence he refrained from that mirth and levity in which he indulged himſelf at other times. His reputation for learning and genius was univerſally allowed. He underſtood a great variety of Languages, at leaſt fifteen (*s*), and was particularly converſant in the Oriental Tongues (*t*). Caſaubon extols his *ſkill in all kinds of learning* (*u*). Spanheim calls him a *Prelate of a moſt*

(*r*) *Church Hiſtory*, Book 11. § 46.

(*s*) Fuller, Abel Rediv. *ubi ſupra.*

(*t*) Idem. *Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) *Epiſt. ad Fronton. Ducæum.*

and encroachments; and took ſuch care of the School, that the Scholars were much improved not only by his direction and ſuperintendence, but even by his own perſonal labours among them. Add to this, that as by virtue of his Deanery of Weſtminſter, his Maſterſhip of Pembroke Hall, and his Biſhoprick of Ely, the election of Scholars into Weſtminſter School, and from thence into the two Univerſities, and of many Scholars and Fellows into Pembroke Hall, ſome in Peter Houſe, and ſome in Jeſus College, were in his power and diſpoſal, he was always ſo juſt, that he waved all letters from great Perſonages for inſufficient Scholars, and diveſted himſelf of all partiality, and choſe only ſuch, as he thought had moſt merit. Being likewiſe often deſired to aſſiſt at the election of Scholars from the Free-ſchools of Merchant-Taylors, St. Paul's, and the Mercers, and perceiving favour and intereſt ſometimes over-ballancing merit with thoſe, to whom the choice belonged, and that divers good Scholars were omitted, and others preferred, he frequently took care of ſuch as were neglected, and ſent them to the Univerſity, where he beſtowed preferment upon them. To conclude this part of his character, let us take a view of his fidelity in that great place of truſt, the Almonerſhip. He never would ſuffer any part of what aroſe to him from that place to be mingled with his own rents or revenues; and was extremely exact in diſpoſing of it. When he found a ſurplus over and above the ordinary charges, he diſtributed it in the relief of the indigent and diſtreſſed; tho' it was in his power to have applied this to his own uſe, (his Patent being *ſine computo*,) and no perſon could have queſtioned him concerning it (29).

(29) Abel Rediv. *ubi ſupra.*

[*H*] *He had a warm ſenſe of gratitude, which extended even to the relations of thoſe who had obliged him.*] He gave a great many noble inſtances of this virtue. He beſtowed upon Dr. Ward, ſon to his firſt School-Maſter, the living of Waltham in Hampſhire. He ſhewed the utmoſt regard for Mr. Mulcaſter, his other School-Maſter, in all companies, and always placed him at the upper end of his table; and after his death cauſed his picture (though he had but few others in his houſe) to be ſet over his ſtudy door. Beſides theſe external marks of gratitude he ſupplied his neceſſities privately in a very liberal manner, and left his ſon a valuable legacy. He enquired very carefully after the kindred of Dr. Watts, who, as we obſerved in the text of this Article, had ſent him to Pembroke Hall, and having found out one, he conferred upon him preferments in that College. Nor did he forget his patron Dr. Watts in his Will; for he ordered there, that out of the Scholarſhips of his foundation, the two Fellowſhips, which himſelf had founded in that College, ſhould be ſupplied, if the Candidates ſhould be fit for them. To omit the legacies which he left to the pariſh of St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Martin Ludgate where he had lived, St. Andrew's Holbourn, St. Saviour's Southwark, All-Hallows Barking, where he was born, and others; he gave to Pembroke Hall one thouſand pounds to purchaſe lands for two Fellowſhips, and for other uſes in that College, expreſſed in his Will; beſides three hundred ſuch folio books of his own as were not in the Library there, with ſeveral other valuable gifts (30).

(30) Ibid. and his *Funeral Sermon*, p. 20, 21.

[*I*] *An open and generous humanity and affability, and an unaffected modeſty.*] His humanity extended to every perſon who converſed with him; ſo that he was admired not only by the Men of Learning and others in this Kingdom, but even by Foreigners of the greateſt eminence, particularly Caſaubon, Cluverius, Voſſius, who correſponded with him by letters, Grotius, Peter du Moulin, Barclay, the Author of the *Argenis*, and Erpenius, to whom he offered an annual ſtipend to read Lectures here in the Oriental Tongues, the Profeſſors of which he encouraged very liberally, and particularly Mr. Bedwell, to whom he gave the Vicarage of Tottenham in Middleſex. His modeſty was ſo remarkable, that though the whole Chriſtian world admired his profound Learning, he was ſo far from being elated with the opinion of it, that he often complained of his defects; and when he was preferred to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, and urged his own inſufficiency for ſuch a charge, he cauſed theſe words of St. Paul (31), *Et ad hæc quis idoneus?* i. e. "And who is ſufficient "for theſe things?" to be engraven about his Epiſcopal Seal. One inſtance of his modeſty mixed with his humanity may be added, that after his Chaplains had preached in his Chapel before him, he would ſometimes privately requeſt them, that he might have a ſight of their notes, and encourage them in the kindeſt terms imaginable.

(31) 2 Cor. ii. 16.

[*K*] *Nor did he in the higheſt dignities, which he poſſeſſed, remit of his application to ſtudy.*] Even in thoſe days, when it might have been ſuppoſed, that he would have taken ſome eaſe from his former pains, from the hour he roſe (his private devotions being finiſhed) to the time he was called to dinner, which, by his own order, was not till twelve at noon at the ſooneſt, he continued at his ſtudies, and would not be interrupted by any, who came to ſpeak to him, or upon any occaſion, publick prayer excepted. So that he would be diſpleaſed with ſcholars, who attempted to ſpeak with him in the morning, and ſaid, that he doubted they were no true ſcholars, who came to ſpeak with him before noon. After dinner for two or three hours ſpace he would willingly paſs the time, either in diſcourſe with his gueſts or other friends, or in diſpatch of his own temporal affairs, or of thoſe, who by reaſon of his Epiſcopal Juriſdiction attended him. Having diſcharged which he returned to his ſtudy, where he ſpent the reſt of the afternoon, even till bed-time, except ſome friend engaged him to ſupper, and then he eat but ſparingly (32).

(32) Abel Rediv. *ubi ſupra.*

[*L*] *He had a particular averſion .... to Uſury, Simony, and Sacrilege.*] He was ſo far from the firſt, that when his friends had occaſion for ſuch a ſum of money as he could aſſiſt them with, he lent it to them freely, without expecting any thing in return but the principal. Simony was ſo deteſtable to him, that by refuſing to admit ſeveral perſons, whom he ſuſpected to be ſimoniacally preferred, he ſuffered much by Law-ſuits, chooſing rather to be compelled to admit them by Law, than voluntarily to do that, which his conſcience made a ſcruple of. With regard to the livings and other preferments which fell in his own gifts, he always beſtowed them freely, as we obſerved above (33), upon men of merit, without any ſollicitation. So that the ſame character was applied to him, as had been to Robert Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica nunquam niſi doctis contulit; precibus ac gratiâ Nobilium fretos & ambientes ſemper repulit.* i. e. "He never conferred Ec"cleſiaſtical Benefices upon any but men of learning, "and always rejected thoſe who depended upon the "ſollicitations and favour of the Nobility, and were "eager in their purſuits of preferment." The laſt thing which he had a peculiar averſion to was Sacrilege; ſo that when the Biſhoprick of Sarum and that of Ely were offered to him upon terms, which favoured that way, he abſolutely rejected them. With reſpect to that of Sarum, we may obſerve here a very remarkable paſſage of his, which happened many years

(33) Note [*G*]. See his *Funeral Sermon*, p. 21.

(x) *Acutiſſimi & acerrimi Judicii ac ſtyli Præſul. See* Leigh's *Fælix Conſortium*, l. 3. c. 3. London 1663.
(y) L. 3. c. 53. *Vir longè doctiſſimus.*

moſt acute and ſagacious judgment (x), and Voſſius in his book *de Vitiis Sermonis* (y) gives him the character of *a man of moſt accompliſhed learning*. What opinion the greateſt men of our own nation at that time had of him, will appear from the note [*M*]. And to come nearer our own times, Mr. Wood ſtiles him (z) *the moſt eminent Divine of our nation in his time*. And the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Wake, in his *Appeal to all the true members of the Church of England, &c.* (aa), gives him the titles of a *learned* and *great Prelate*, and tells us, that *there was no man in that time, or perhaps in any other age of the church, that was either fitter to deliver the ſenſe of our Clergy, or better qualified to maintain it*. However, his ſtyle and manner of writing are very peculiar, and though generally admired in that age [*N*], are extremely excepted againſt by the beſt Critics of the preſent. Nay, we even find in Fuller (bb), that a certain Author (cc),

(z) *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 122.
(aa) Printed at London 1698. p. 60, 66 and 67.
(bb) *Ubi ſupra*, § 48.

years after his refuſal of it, and was as follows. At a Parliament under King James, when an Act was to paſs concerning Sherburne Caſtle, it was remarked, that only Biſhop Andrews and another gave their votes againſt the ſame. There was no wonder that the other ſhould do ſo, but that the Biſhop ſhould act thus, when none but the other Lord joined with him, appeared ſo ſurprizing, that he was demanded by a great perſon what his reaſon was for it. He replied, that it could not well be wondered at, why he ſhould now vote againſt that, which if he would have yielded unto (many years before, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) he might have had this Biſhoprick of Sarum. This reaſon being told to the Prince, afterwards King Charles I, who was preſent at the paſſing of the Act, he blamed him, that when he denied his aſſent, he did not declare the reaſon of his denial alſo; aſſuring him, that if he had been acquainted with the ſtate of the caſe, as now he was, he would with the King his father's permiſſion have laboured againſt paſſing of that Act. To conclude this point, he went yet a degree further in refuſing when he was Biſhop of Wincheſter divers conſiderable ſums to renew ſome leaſes, becauſe he conceived that the renewing of them might be prejudicial to his ſucceſſors (34).

(34) Abel Redivi. *ubi ſupra*, and his *Funeral Sermon*, p. 20.

[*M*] *What opinion the greateſt men of our own nation at that time had of him will appear from the note.*] We have the following paſſage in his Funeral Sermon (35) preached by Dr. John Buckeridge Biſhop of Ely. " I ſpeake my knowledge of him in many " things. I loved and honoured him for above thirty " years ſpace. I loved him, I confeſs, but yet *Ju-* " *dicio non obſtat amor, qui ex judicio natus eſt*; " My love doth not blind or out-ſway my judgment, " becauſe it proceeded from judgment. Of whom " what can I ſay leſſe, than that he was *Vitâ innocen-* " *tiſſimus, ingenio florentiſſimus, & propoſito ſanctiſ-* " *ſimus*; In his life was moſt innocent, in his know- " ledge and learning moſt flouriſhing and eminent, " and in his purpoſe and life moſt holy and devout. " Whoſe carriage was ſo happy, *Quem nemo vitu-* " *perat, niſi etiam laudet*; No man could ever diſ- " commend him, but will he nill he, he muſt with- " all commend him. And no man's words were " able to diſgrace him; *Vera, neceſſe eſt, benedicat*; " *falſa vita moreſque ſuperant*; they that ſpake truth " of him, could not but ſpeake well of him; and " if they ſpake falſely of him, his life and manners " did confute them." In the dedication of his Sermons to King Charles I, we have the following character of him by Dr. William Laud then Biſhop of London, and the Biſhop of Ely abovementioned. *The perſon, whoſe works theſe are, was from his youth a man of extraordinary worth and note. A man, as if he had beene made up of learning and virtue, both of them ſo eminent in him, as 'tis hard to judge, which had precedency and greater intereſt. His virtue (which we muſt ſtill judge the more worthy in any man) was comparable to that, which was wont to be found in the primitive Biſhops of the Church. And had he lived among thoſe ancient Fathers, his virtue would have ſhined even amongſt thoſe virtuous men. And for his learning, that was as well, if not better known abroad, than reſpected at home. And take him in his latitude, we, which knew him well, knew not any kind of learning, to which he was a ſtranger; but in his profeſſion admirable. None ſtronger than he, where he wreſtled with an adverſary. And that Bellarmin felt, who was as well able to ſhift for himſelf as any that ſtood for the Roman party. None more exact, more judicious than he, where he was to inſtruct and informe others. And that, as they knew, which often heard him preach, ſo they may learne, which will read this, which he hath left behinde him.* " And yet this fulneſſe of his material learning left " room enough in the temper of his brain for almoſt " all Languages, learned and moderne, to ſeat them- " ſelves. So that his learning had all the helpes " language could affoord; and his languages learning " enough for the beſt of them to expreſſe. His " judgement, in the meane time, ſo commanding " over both, as that neither of them was ſuffered " idly or curiouſly to ſtart from or fall ſhort of their " intended ſcope. So that we may better ſay of " him, than 'twas ſometimes ſaid of Claudius Druſus, " *He was of as many and as great virtues, as mortal* " *nature could receive, or induſtrie make perfect* (36).

(35) Pag. 17.

(36) Patercul. *Hiſt.* lib. 2.

[*N*] *Generally admired in that age.*] The Biſhop of Ely in his funeral Sermon upon our Author (37) tells us, *that he was, as all our Engliſh world knows, a* SINGULAR PREACHER *and a moſt famous Writer. He was ſo* SINGULAR A PREACHER, *and ſo profound a Writer, that you will doubt in which he did excell; whoſe weapons in the mouthes of the adverſarie proved as ſtone in teeth of dogs; while they thought to withſtand or anſwer them, they bit the ſtones, and brake their own teeth; and ſo it is true of him,* Reſponſa ejus fine reſponſionibus, *his anſwers were anſwerleſſe. Never durſt any Romaniſt anſwer him; as their common uſe is, that which they cannot anſwere and confute, they ſlight it and let it paſſe without any anſwer at all.* He tells afterwards (38), that *he was a diligent and painful Preacher; in moſt of his ſolemn Sermons he was moſt careful of and exact; I dare ſay, few of them but they paſſed his hand and were thrice reviſed, before they were preached; and he ever miſliked often and looſe preaching, without ſtudie of antiquity; and he would be bold with himſelf, and ſay, when he preached twice a day at St. Giles, he prated once. And when his weakeneſs grew upon him, and that by infirmitie of his body he grew unable to preach, he began to goe little to the Court, not ſo much for weakneſſe, as for inabilitie to preach.* He obſerves likewiſe in another place (39), that he was *Concionator and Scriptor potentiſſimus*, a moſt powerful Preacher and Writer. In the Dedication of his Sermons quoted in the preceding Note, the two Biſhops of London and Ely obſerve to the King, that *they need not tell whoſe they are; the Sermons are able to ſpeak their Author.* " When the Author died, *ſay they*, " your Majeſty thought it not fit his Sermons ſhould " die with him. And though they could not live " with all that elegance, which they had upon his " tongue, yet you were graciouſly pleaſed to think " *a paper-life* better than none. Upon this your " Majeſty gave us a ſtrict charge, that we ſhould " overlooke the *papers* (as well *Sermons* as other " *Tractates*) of that reverend and worthy Prelate, " and print all that we found perfect. There came " into our hands a world of Sermon-Notes, but " theſe came perfect. Had they not come perfect, " we ſhould not have ventured to adde any limme " unto them, leſt mixing a pen farre inferiour, we " ſhould have diſfigured ſuch compleat bodies. Your " Majeſtie's firſt care was for the preſſe, that the work " might be publick. Your ſecond was for the work " itſelf, that it might come forth worthy the Author; " which could not be, if it came not forth as he " left it. In purſuance of theſe two, we have " brought the work to light, and we have done it " with care and fidelity; for as the Sermons were " preached,

(37) Pag. 18.
(38) Pag. 21.
(39) Pag. 22.

Author (*cc*), who was contemporary with him, cenſured his Sermons as *affected and ſurcharged with verbal alluſions*. This great and good man, with all his conſpicuous virtues, did not eſcape the attacks of calumny; for Fuller informs us (*dd*), that after his death he was accuſed of covetouſneſs, though, as we have ſhewn before, he was actuated by a ſpirit of the moſt unbounded generoſity, and left the main of his eſtate to charitable uſes. Mr. Prynne (*ee*) likewiſe charges him with uſing Popiſh and ſuperſtitious ceremonies and ornaments in his chapel. But Fuller aſſures us (*ff*), that when he was Miniſter, Dean, and Biſhop, he never innovated in any reſpect, or troubled his Pariſh, College, or Dioceſe with any new ceremonies or uſages. He died at Wincheſter Houſe in Southwark (*gg*) the 25th of Sept. (*hh*) 1626, and was buried at St. Saviour's Southwark (*ii*). He was then in the ſeventy firſt year of his age (*kk*). Dr. John Buckeridge Biſhop of Ely preached his Funeral Sermon the 11th of November following (*ll*). His Executors erected him a monument of marble and alabaſter, upon which was inſcribed an epitaph in Latin [*O*]. We have a beautiful Elegy upon his death written in that language by Milton when he was but ſeventeen years of age (*mm*). He

(*cc*) Mr. Bayley in his *Laudenſium Autocatacriton.*
(*dd*) *Church Hiſtory*, Book 11. § 47.
(*ee*) *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 121, *& ſeq. apud* Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, § 48.
(*ff*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*gg*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 122.
(*hh*) Abel Red, *and* Le Neve, p. 287, ſays *the 21ſt*; and Wood, *ubi ſupra, the 26th.*
(*ii*) Abel Red. *and* Le Neve, *ubi ſupra.*
(*kk* Abel Rediv.
(*ll* Le Neve, *ubi ſupra.*
(*mm*) See his *Elegiar.* lib. 1. *Eleg.* 3.

" preached, ſo are they publiſhed. When he preach-
" ed them, they had the general approbation of the
" Court, and they made him famous for making
" them. Now they are printed, we hope they will
" have the generall liking of the Church, and in-
" large and indeare his name to them, that knew
" not him." They afterwards obſerve, that *theſe works coming from ſo grave, learned and religious an Author, have but two things to do in their publiſhing to the world. The one is to teach the world, what a treaſure they have of them. And the other to tell this Church, what a jewell ſhe loſt, when ſhe loſt their Author. The worke is a body of Sermons. To them he had been moſt bred, and in them he moſt excelled. And he was not a greater Preacher in his age, than he was both great and frequent in his younger and ſtronger time. As for the body of the worke itſelf, were it not that we like not to diſparage any man's endeavours by comparing, we would ſay, the Chriſtian world hath not many ſuch bodies of Sermons, as we here preſent under your Majeſties favour, to the view and uſe of this Church. And if another Nation had them, they would as highly value them. And here we humbly beg leave to tell your Majeſty, that theſe Sermons are in this like their Author, mixed of religion and wiſdom. It is an excellent thing for a man to ſpeak wiſely and eloquently, both at once; but where theſe perfections meet not, there ſaith Auguſtine* (40), Dicat ſapienter, quod non poteſt eloquenter, *Let the Preacher (of all men) ſpeak that wiſely, which he cannot utter eloquently. And if St. Auguſtine in his time found that fit, out of all doubt it is neceſſary now, that men of our profeſſion ſet themſelves to preach with more wiſdom, than eloquence. With Chriſtian and religious wiſdom, which alone knows how to preſerve truth and peace together; for as all other Churches in the world are moſt happy when theſe meet, ſo is this too. But too many among the people, choſe rather to have their humor fed, than their ſouls edified; and carry partial ears even to the houſe of that God,* who is no Accepter of perſons (41). *To ſettle therefore the peace of the one, and to abate the humor of the other, nothing certainly under God would be of greater efficacie than* Conciones ſapientes, *wiſe and diſcreete Sermons, which yet may be as zealous and devout as any other. For he that is zealous according to knowledge, is no leſſe zealous for his knowledge ſake. And true wiſdom, which is not true if it be not Chriſtian, carries no water about it to quench zeale, but only to ſprinkle, that it may burn within compaſſe, and not fire that houſe, which is but intended to warme.....* " Theſe Sermons, when
" they were preached, gave great contentment to
" the religious and judicious ear of your Royal Fa-
" ther of ever bleſſed memorie, the moſt able Prince
" that ever his Kingdome had to judge of Church-
" worke. And therefore we hope, that the print-
" ing of them ſhall be as acceptable to your Ma-
" jeſtie, as the preaching of them was both to your
" ſelf and him. We conceive, that if your liking
" had not continued to them, your Majeſtie would
" not have commanded us the printing of them.
" And we aſſure ourſelves, ſince the lines are the
" ſame, the preſſe, which hath made them legible,
" hath made no blot upon your gracious favours.
" We have been only ſervants, as we are many waies
" bound to be, to your Majeſties command, in
" making them ready for the preſſe, but the Au-
" thors of nothing in them. And we heartily pray,
" that the publiſhing of them may be honour to
" your Majeſtie, good to the Church, and meanes
" of comfort and ſalvation to them, who read them."

(40) *De Doctrin. Chriſt.* 4. ch. 28.

(41) Acts x. 34.

In the Dedication likewiſe of his poſthumous Tracts (42) to King Charles, the ſame Biſhops obſerve that this volume of Sermons, which they had publiſhed juſt before by the King's command, *was compoſed with the utmoſt accuracy and the moſt happy genius imaginable.* " Let that volume, ſay they, paſs with
" ſucceſs thro' the whole extent of your Majeſty's
" Dominions, for the inſtruction and comfort of your
" ſubjects. But its being written in our language
" will prevent it from reaching foreign Nations."
Concionum quidem, quas ille fæliciſſimo ingenio elucubratas perpolivit, volumen ſatis amplum, eodem juſſu fulti, nuperrimè in lucem dedimus. Fauſto illud pede Imperii tui ſpatia peragret; doceat ſimul & conſoletur. Sed ejus limites ne egrediatur, lingua, quâ uſus eſt, vernacula obſtat. But however eſteemed his Sermons were in that age, the taſte of the preſent times is ſo extremely altered, that notwithſtanding the learning, wit, and good ſenſe, which runs thro' them in general, yet the affectation in the ſtyle and compoſition of them deters almoſt every perſon now from reading them. Mr. Oldmixon in the Dedication to his *Arts of Logick and Rhetorick* (43) paſſes the following judgment upon our Biſhop.
" How many great genius's have miſcarried by not
" thinking rightly on ſubjects they were otherwiſe
" well able to handle and adorn; and for want of
" conſidering, that truth, in all the productions of
" the mind, is what only renders them agreeable
" and uſeful; and the falſe brillant of thoughts is
" like the glare of lightning, which dazzles and
" hurts the ſight, as that does the underſtanding?
" Thus it was, that Biſhop Andrews, and the moſt
" eminent Divines at the beginning of the laſt Cen-
" tury, reduced preaching to punning, and the elo-
" quence of the chair to the buffoonry of the ſtage."
And in another place (44) he ſpeaks of him in this manner:

(42) Printed by Felix Kyngſton in 4to, 1629.

(43) Pag. 6.

(44) *Arts of Logick*, &c. p 20.

The reverend Prelate, who St. Swithin's chair
So fairly fill'd, would pun ye out a pray'r.
At viſitation he'd inſtruct his ſons
In Sermons made of nothing elſe but puns:
The Court itſelf ſo tickled with his chimes,
They called him the beſt Preacher of the times.

[*O*] *An Epitaph in Latin.*] It was written by a perſon, who had formerly been his Houſhold-Chaplain, and ſucceeded him in ſeveral of his places in the Church. The Author of the Biſhop's Life publiſhed in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, calls it *a moſt excellent, ſignificant, and ſpeaking Epitaph*, and Fuller (45) *an elegant and true one. Lector, ſi Chriſtianus es, ſiſte: Moræ pretium erit, non neſcire te, qui vir hîc ſitus ſit. Ejuſdem tecum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Membrum, ſub eadem fælicis Reſurrectionis ſpe, eandem D. Jeſu præſtolans Epiphaniam, ſacratiſſimus Antiſtes,* Lancelotus Andrewes, *Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ, Aulæ Pembroch: Alumnorum, Sociorum, Præfectorum*

(45) *Church Hiſt.* B. 11. § 46.

(nn) *See* Fuller, *Church Hiſt.* B. 10. *and* Collier, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Vol. 2. B. 8. p. 693.

He had a ſhare in the tranſlation of the Pentateuch, and the Hiſtory from Joſhua to the firſt book of Chronicles excluſively (*nn*). We ſhall mention his other Works in the Note [*P*].

ANDRI-

Præfectorum unus, & nemini ſecundus. Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum, Humanorum, Divinorum omnium infinitus Theſaurus, ſtupendum Oraculum; orthodoxæ Chriſti eccleſiæ dictis, ſcriptis, precibus, exemplo incomparabile propugnaculum: Reginæ Elizabethæ à ſacris, D. Pauli London. Reſidentiarius, D. Petri Weſtmonaſt. Decanus, Epiſcopus Ciceſtrienſis, Elienſis, Wintonienſis, Regique Jacobo tum ab Eleemoſynis, tum ab utriuſque Regni Conſiliis; Decanus denique Sacelli Regii. Idem ex indefeſsâ operâ in ſtudiis, ſumma ſapientia in rebus, aſſiduâ pietate in Deum, profuſâ largitate in egenos, rarâ amœnitate in ſuos, ſpectatâ probitate in omnes, æternum admirandus. Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ ſatur, ſed bonorum paſſim omnium cum luctu denatus, cœlebs hinc migravit ad aureolam cœleſtem, Anno Regis Caroli II. Ætatis ſuæ LXXI. Chriſti MDCXXVI. Tantum eſt, Lector, quod te mœrentes poſteri nunc volebant, atque ut ex voto tuo valeas, dicto Sit Deo gloria. i. e. "Reader, if thou art a Chriſtian, ſtay; "it will be worth thy tarrying to know how great "a man lies here; a Member of the ſame Catholic "Church with thy ſelf, under the ſame hope of an "happy reſurrection, and waiting for the ſame ap"pearance of our Lord Jeſus, the moſt pious Prelate, "LANCELOT ANDREWES, who was born at London, "educated at Cambridge, one of the Scholars, Fel"lows, and Maſters of Pembroke Hall, and inferior "to none; an infinite Treaſury, an amazing Ora"cle of Languages, Arts, Sciences, and every "thing of human and divine knowledge; an in"comparable Defender of the orthodox Church of "Chriſt by his words, writings, prayers, and example. "He was Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, Reſidentiary "of St. Paul's in London, Dean of St. Peter's Weſt"minſter, Biſhop of Chicheſter, Ely, and Winche"ſter, Almoner to King James, and Counſellor to "him for both Kingdoms, and Dean of the Royal "Chapel. His name will be eternally admired on "account of his indefatigable diligence in his ſtu"dies, his conſummate knowledge in things, his "conſtant piety towards God, his profuſe liberali"ty to the poor, his uncommon humanity and affa"bility to his friends and dependants, and his un"ſhaken integrity towards all. Being at laſt full of "years and public fame, to the regret of all good men "he died unmarried, and left this world for a crown "of glory in heaven, in the ſecond year of King "Charles, the ſeventy firſt of his age, and in that "of our Lord MDCXXVI, &c."

[*P*] *We ſhall mention his other works in the note.*] In the volume of his Sermons there are ſeventeen upon the Nativity, preached upon Chriſtmaſs Day; eight upon Repentance and faſting, preached upon Aſh-Wedneſday; ſix in Lent; three upon the Paſſion, preached upon Good-Friday; eighteen upon the Reſurrection, preached upon Eaſter Day; fifteen upon ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, preached upon Whitſunday, eight Sermons preached upon the fifth of Auguſt; ten Sermons upon the fifth of November; and eleven Sermons preach'd upon ſeveral occaſions, London 1628 and 1631, in fol. He wrote likewiſe *A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every day in the week*; and *A Manual of Directions for the Viſitation of the ſick. Reſponſio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam ſereniſſimi ac potentiſſimi Principis Jacobi &c. omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus atque Ordinibus inſcriptam*; i. e. "An Anſwer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, "which he lately publiſhed againſt the Monitory "Preface of the moſt ſerene and potent Prince King "James &c. addreſſed to all Chriſtian Monarchs, "Princes and States." Printed at London by Robert Barker the King's Printer, in 4to, 1610, and dedicated to King James. *Tortura Torti*, mentioned above in note [*D*]. *Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris &c.* i. e. "A Sermon to the Clergy for "his Degree of Dr. of Divinity upon Proverbs xx. "25." *Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ad D. Pauli, &c.* i. e. "A Sermon preached to the Clergy in the Provincial Sy"nod of the Province of Canterbury at St. Paul's "the 20th of February 1593 upon Acts xx, 28." *Concio Latinè habita coram Regia Majeſtate quinto Auguſti MDCVI in Aulâ Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem noſtrum inviſurus, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Chriſtianus quartus, Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex.* i. e. "A Sermon preached in Latin "before the King's Majeſty on the fifth of Auguſt "1606 in the Hall at Greenwich, when the moſt "ſerene and potent Prince Chriſtian IV, King of "Denmark and Norway, came to England to viſit "our King." Upon Pſalm cxliv. 10. *Concio Latinè habita coram Regia Majeſtate decimo tertio Aprilis MDCXIII in Aulâ Grenwici, quo tempore, cum lectiſſimâ ſua Conjuge, diſceſſurus jam erat Gener Regis, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque Princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum.* i. e. "A Latin Ser"mon preached before the King the thirteenth of "April 1613 in the Hall at Greenwich, when the "moſt ſerene and potent Prince Frederic Count Pa"latine on the Rhine, the King's ſon-in-law, was "about to depart with his excellent Lady." *Upon Iſaiah lxii. 5. Quæſtionis, nunquid per jus divinum, Magiſtratui liceat à reo jusjurandum exigere? Et id, quatenus ac quouſque liceat? Theologica determinatio, habita in publicâ Scholâ Theologicâ Cantabrigiæ, menſe Julio anni* 1591. i. e. "A Theolo"gical Determination of the queſtion, Whether it "be allowed by the Law of God for a Magiſtrate to "require an oath of a guilty perſon; and in what "reſpect or how far it be lawful? delivered in the "public Divinity-School at Cambridge, in July 1591." *De Uſuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publicâ Scholâ Theologicâ Cantabrigiæ.* i. e. "A Theologi"cal Determination concerning Uſury, delivered "in the public Divinity-School at Cambridge;" wherein he determines abſolutely againſt the Lawfulneſs of Uſury; *Uſuras legitimas eſſe illicitas. De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita &c.* i. e. "A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, "delivered in the public Divinity-School at Cam"bridge;" wherein he declares expreſly, that Tythes ought not to be abrogated; *Decimæ non ſunt abrogandæ. Reſponſiones ad Petri Molinæi Epiſtolas tres, unà cum Molinæi Epiſtolis.* i. e. "Anſwers to three "Letters of Peter du Moulin, with du Moulin's Let"ters." *STRICTURÆ; or a brief Anſwer to the eighteenth Chapter of the firſt booke of Cardinall Perron's Reply, written in French to King James his Anſwer written by Mr. Caſaubon in Latine. An Anſwer to the twentieth Chapter of the fifth booke of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French to King James his Anſwer, written by Mr. Caſaubon to the Cardinall in Latine. A Speech delivered in the Starr-Chamber againſt the two Judaicall opinions of Mr. Traske.* The two Judaicall opinions, advanced by Mr. Traske, were as follows: 1. That *Chriſtians are bound to abſtain from thoſe meats, which the Jews were forbidden in Leviticus.* 2. That *they are bound to obſerve the Jewiſh Sabbath. A Speech delivered in the Starr-Chamber concerning Vowes, in the Counteſſe of Shrewſburies caſe.* This Lady was convicted of diſobedience, for refuſing to anſwer or be examined, (tho' ſhe had promiſed to do it before,) alledging, that ſhe had made a ſolemn vow to the contrary. The deſign of the Biſhop's Speech is to ſhew, that ſuch vows were unlawful, and conſequently of no force or obligation upon her. Theſe pieces were printed after the Author's death at London by Felix Kyngſton, in 4to, 1629, and dedicated to King Charles I, by Dr. William Laud Biſhop of London, and Dr. John Buckridge Biſhop of Ely. *The Moral Law expounded, or Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular*; publiſhed by John Jackſon, and dedicated to the Parliament. London, 1642, in fol. *Ἀπροτυπώτια ſacra, or a Collection of poſthumous and orphan Lectures delivered at St. Paul's and St. Giles his Church.* London, 1657, fol. T.

ANDRINOPLE, as it is called in French, or ADRIANOPLE a city of Thrace. It owes its name to the folly of the Emperor Hadrian. Moreri touches upon this, and has run into great confuſion on that head [*A*]. Some ſay that this city was founded by Oreſtes, and that it bore his name [*B*]. It was likewiſe called *Uſcudama* (*a*). The two Latin verſes which Moreri has quoted, prove nothing, but that he wrote without any attention [*C*]. I ſhall not touch upon the other things, which he ſays of Adrianople; the reader may have recourſe to them.

(*a*) See the Remark [*C*].

[*A*] *In ſpeaking of the name of this city, Moreri has run into great confuſion.*] I ſhall give his own words. *Some Pagan Authors ſay that this Emperor having been cured of his dropſy by invoking the mad Oreſtes, took pleaſure in improving and adorning this city.* Theſe Pagan Authors are not the two whom Moreri quotes, Spartian and Ammianus Marcellinus; and I am much deceived if they are not to be reduced to Ælius Lampridius only. Let us now ſee a little how this laſt expreſſes himſelf. *Et Oreſtam quidem urbem Adrianus ſuo nomini vindicari juſſit, eo tempore, quo furore cœperat laborare, ut ex reſponſo, quum ei dictum eſſet ut in furioſi alicujus domum vel nomen irreperet. Nam ex eo emollitam inſaniam ferunt, per quam multos Senatores occidi juſſerat* (1). By comparing theſe words with thoſe of Moreri we find three or four conſiderable errors in the latter. I. It is falſe, that Hadrian was cured in the city of Adrianople. II. It is falſe that the diſeaſe in diſpute here was the dropſy. III. It is falſe that his cure was wrought by his invoking of Oreſtes. IV. It is falſe that after the cure he was pleaſed to adorn that city. Lampridius ſays only, that Hadrian falling into a madneſs gave his name to the city *Oreſta* in obedience to an Oracle, which adviſed him to ſeize the houſe, or aſſume the name of ſome madman; which, it is ſaid, appeas'd his phrenzy.

(1) Lamprid. *in Antonino Heliogabalo*, p. 809.

[*B*] *It is ſaid that it was founded by Oreſtes, and bore his name.*] Lampridius ſhall be my only witneſs. *Et Oreſtem quidem ferunt*, ſays he (2), *non unum ſimulachrum Dianæ, nec uno in loco poſuiſſe, ſed multa in multis. Poſtea quam ſe apud tria flumina circa Hebrum ex Reſponſo purificavit, etiam Oreſtam condidit civitatem, quam ſæpe cruentari hominum ſanguine neceſſe eſt. Et Oreſtam quidem urbem Adrianus ſuo nomini vindicare juſſit, &c.* I have quoted this paſſage at length, in order to ſhew what city of Adrianople is meant here. The Emperor Hadrian gave his own name to ſeveral cities, which are very diſtant from each other (3); but Lampridius leaves us no room to doubt but he means that in Thrace, and that it was founded by Oreſtes, where the Hebrus receives two other rivers into it. Obſerve that Pinedo repreſents Lampridius as ſaying that Heliogabalus built a city near the Hebrus, and called it *Oreſta*, and that afterwards Hadrian gave it his own name (4). Such are the common effects of hurry and diſtraction of thought. The moſt able writers are ſubject to them.

(2) Idem, ibid. p. 803.

(3) *Quum titulos in operibus non amaret; multas civitates Adrianopolis appellavit, ut ipſum Carthaginem & Athenarum partem.* Spartianus in Adriano, c. 20. See the *Theſaur. Geograph. of Ortelius.*

(4) Pinedo *in Stephan. Byzant.* p. 211. num. 48.

[*C*] *The verſes, which Moreri has quoted to this purpoſe, prove nothing but that he wrote without any attention.*] His words are theſe: "It is ſaid that it "was firſt built by Oreſtes, who called it *Oreſta* "from his own name, which was afterwards changed "to that of *Uſcada* or *Uſcudama*.

"*Tandemq; Uſcudamæ mutato nomine priſco*
"*Matricida ſuo de nomine dixit Oreſtam.*

Theſe two verſes prove the contrary of what Moreri intended. They prove plainly, that Oreſtes founded this city under the name of *Uſcudama*, and gave his own inſtead of the former. Ammianus Marcellinus, quoted in the IVth Book by Moreri (5), tells us in the IVth Chapter of his XXVIIth Book, that Adrianople had once the name of *Uſcudama*. *Poſt hanc Æmimontus Hadrianopolim habet, quæ dicebatur Uſcudama.*

(5) The thirteen firſt books of this Hiſtorian are loſt.

☞ANDRISCUS, a man of a mean extraction [*A*], who pretending to be ſon of Perſeus the laſt King of Macedonia, took upon him the name of Philip, for which reaſon he was called *Pſeudo-Philippus*, the Falſe Philip. The ſtory he invented to impoſe upon the Publick was ſo plauſible [*B*], that he had reaſon to hope for ſucceſs in his deſign, which was to make himſelf King of Macedonia, eſpecially ſince the Macedonians had been lately (*a*) ſubdued by the Romans. Andriſcus therefore reſolved to try his fortune; but no body ſtirring at firſt in his favour, he went into Syria to Demetrius King of that Country, expecting that this King, whoſe ſiſter had been married to Perſeus, would aſſiſt him; but he was diſappointed, for Demetrius ſent him priſoner to Rome, but not being very ſtrictly guarded, he eſcaped out of his priſon, and returned into Macedonia, where a great number of people reſorted to him; and having raiſed an army, he made himſelf maſter of the whole Kingdom, part of the inhabitants ſubmitting willingly to him, and the reſt being forced to it by his victorious arms. He intended alſo to invade Theſſaly, but he could not ſucceed in this attempt, the country being defended by the Roman Generals, aſſiſted by the Achæans (*b*). The Romans at firſt deſpiſed ſuch an enemy, and ſent only the Prætor Juventius againſt him. But Andriſcus

(*a*) A. M. 3816, and 168 before Chriſt. Petav. *and* Uſſer. *ad hunc Annum.*

(*b*) L. Flori. *Hiſt. Rom.* lib. 2. cap. 14.

[*A*] *A man of a mean extraction.*] In Livy's Epitome (1), and in Florus's Hiſtory (2) he is ſtyled a man of the loweſt rank, *Ultimæ ſortis homo*. The latter adds, that it is not known, whether Andriſcus was originally a ſlave or a free-man, but that he certainly had been an hireling, (*mercenarius*). But this was far from being a diſgrace to him, if after having delivered his Country from the Roman yoke, he had known how to govern it with wiſdom and moderation. But what muſt render him deteſtable in the ſight of all good men, is his unbounded avarice and exceſſive cruelty (3): To theſe muſt probably be aſcribed the ſhort duration of his authority.

(1) Cap. 39.
(2) Lib. 2. c. 14.
(3) See the text of this Article, quotation (*b*).

[*B*] *The ſtory he invented, to impoſe upon the Publick, was very plauſible.*] He ſaid he was the ſon of Perſeus by a miſtreſs; that his father truſted him to the hands of a certain perſon called Cyrtheſa, to be carefully brought up by him, in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which Perſeus was then engaged againſt the Romans, there ſhould ſtill be ſome remains of the royal blood. That after the King's death he was educated at Adramyttium (4), till he was twelve years of age, ſtill believing that Cyrtheſa was his father, and not knowing his real origin; but that his pretended father being near his death, opened the whole matter to him, and ſhewed him a writing ſealed by Perſeus himſelf, and left with his ſuppoſed mother, to be delivered to him, when he ſhould come to years of diſcretion; and that Cyrtheſa earneſtly deſired him to keep this affair very ſecret. He added, that when he was grown up, the writing was delivered to him, in which it was ſaid, that his father left him two treaſures. He added, that Cyrtheſa's wife adviſed him to leave the city before the affair was known to Eumenes, King of Pergamus, leſt that Prince, who had been Perſeus's enemy, ſhould cauſe him to be put to death; and that for this reaſon he went into Syria, hoping that Demetrius, the King of that Country would aſſiſt him; and that there he firſt openly declared who he was (5).

(4) A ſmall City in Myſia, Landrimitti, Andrimitti, or S. Dimitri, in Natolia.

(5) L. Flori *Breviar. in T. Liv.* lib. 49.

Andriſcus ſupported now not only by the Macedonians, but alſo by the Thracians, gained a complete victory over Juventius, and ſlew him. The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to find here Florus's own elegant words on this occaſion. *Dum hæc contemnit Populus Romanus*, ſays he (*c*), *Juventio Prætore contentus, virum non Macedonicis modo, ſed Thraciæ quoque auxiliis ingentibus validum, temerè tentavit, invictuſque non a veris Regibus, ſed ab illo imaginario ac Scenico Rege ſuperatur.* Andriſcus thought himſelf now above the frowns of fortune, he put on the royal garments, and aſſumed a kingly power (*d*); but he exerciſed his ſovereign authority with the utmoſt cruelty and tyranny, unjuſtly charging the richeſt of his ſubjects with the moſt heinous crimes, and putting them to death under falſe pretences, in order to ſeize upon their eſtates. Nay even his friends felt the dreadful effects of his ſavage temper; he killed a great many of them, and even in his private and familiar converſations, he behaved himſelf with an exceſſive pride and haughtineſs; in ſhort he was immerſed in the moſt ſordid avarice, and in all manner of vice (*e*). At laſt the Romans reſolved to drive this enemy out of his Kingdom; they ſent Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who was then but Prætor [*C*], againſt him with a powerful army; and beſides this, Attalus, King of Pergamus, aſſiſted the Romans with his fleet. Andriſcus divided his troops into two bodies, one of which he ſent into Thrace to plunder the country, whilſt he intended to keep the field and defend himſelf with the other. But Metellus attacking him very vigorouſly, he was obliged to retire into Thrace, and having aſſembled all his troops, he engaged the Romans again, but his army being defeated, he fled to Byſes a petty King of Thrace, by whom he was betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Metellus. Thus Macedonia came again into the power of the Romans [*D*]. This victory, in which the Romans killed twenty five thouſand men (*f*) of Andriſcus's army, gained Metellus the ſurname of *Macedonicus*, and the honours of a triumph, which Andriſcus adorned, walking in chains before the General's chariot. In his misfortune he had at leaſt this to comfort him, that the Romans triumphed over him, as over a real King (*g*). Moreri, according to his cuſtom, has committed ſome errors, in the ſhort account he has given us of Andriſcus [*E*].

(*c*) *Hiſt. Rom.* lib. 2 cap. 14.

(*d*) This happened in the third year of the 157th Olympiad, that is 149 years before Chriſt.

(*e*) Diod. Sicul. *in excerptis Valeſii*, p. 342. *apud* Uſſerium, *Annal.* p. m. 356.

(*f*) Eutrop. *Hiſt. Rom. Breviar.* lib. 4.

(*g*) L. Florus, *Hiſt. Rom. ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Metellus was then but Prætor.*] Florus, and the Latin Tranſlator of Pauſanias's *Achaïca* (6) call him Conſul; but Vellerius Paterculus rightly ſtyles him but Prætor. And indeed we don't find, that Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus was Conſul before the year 610 (7) from the building of Rome, and 143 years before the Chriſtian Æra, when he was Conſul with Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

[*D*] *Thus Macedonia came again into the power of the Romans.*] This happened not much above a year after Andriſcus had made himſelf maſter of that country, and 148 years before the Chriſtian Æra, towards the latter end of the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad, 605 years from the building of Rome, and under the Conſulſhip of Sp. Poſthumius, and L. Piſo (8). Hence it appears that there paſſed ſeveral years, ſince Andriſcus went firſt to Demetrius into Syria, and the time when he began to invade Macedonia: For in the paſſage, which we have quoted above from Flora's *Breviarium* (9), it is ſaid that Andriſcus was adviſed to quit Adramyttium for fear of Eumenes, King of Pergamus; and it appears, that Attalus was King of that Country, when Andriſcus was defeated (10). Now Eumenes died about the year 596 from the building of Rome (11), that is, about nine years before this victory of Metellus; Andriſcus muſt therefore have been ſix or ſeven years priſoner at Rome, before he eſcaped out of his priſon.

[*E*] *Moreri has committed ſome errors in the ſhort account he gives of Andriſcus.* I. He ſays, that Andriſcus pretended to be the ſon of Philip the fifth, King of Macedonia; whereas if he had but curſorily read the paſſage which we have tranſlated in the remark [*B*], he would have ſeen his miſtake, which was probably occaſioned by the name of Philip, which Andriſcus took upon him. II. Moreri ſays, that Andriſcus was put to death by order of the Roman Senate; which none of the Authors, whom he quotes, mention. Indeed he adds an *&c.* to the liſt of his Authors; thereby intimating perhaps, that if what he ſays, be not found in the Writers he names, it may be ſuppoſed to be in ſome other. But as far as we could conſult the Authors, who ſpeak of Andriſcus, not one of them ſays a word of his death. III. Moreri cites T. Livius, Lib. XLIX, & L, which way of quoting inſinuates that the 49th and 50th books of Livy are extant; whereas every body knows, that the 45th book is the laſt of thoſe we have, and that of the reſt we have only *Breviaria*, or Abridgments, which are aſcribed to L. Florus, whom ſome think to be the ſame with L. Julius Florus, who wrote a Roman Hiſtory in four books. P.

(6) *Ap.* Uſſer. *Annal.* p. m. 357. *ad* A. M. 4356.

(7) According to Sigonius, or 611 according to Petavius.

(8) Confer. Uſſer. *Annal.* p. m. 357. *cum* Sigon. *Faſt.* Col. 346. *ad An.* U. 605. not. (2). edit. Argelati, Mediol. 1732.

(9) Quot. (5).

(10) See the text of this Article above the Quotation (*f*).

(11) Petav. *Rat. Temp.* Part. 1. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. m. 152. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1724.

ANDROMACHE, the wife of the valiant Hector, was daughter to Eetion, King of Thebes in Cilicia (*a*). Her marriage was of advantage every way; for beſides that her huſband was conſidered as the bulwark of his country, and the ſtrongeſt ſupport of Troy, he had a great deal of affection for her; and it is ſaid that he never expoſed her to thoſe uneaſineſſes, which the wives of great Heroes are ſo liable to; I mean, that he kept his conjugal faith inviolate [*A*]. If Euripides does not agree in this point, yet

(*a*) Homer. *Il.* lib. 6. This Cilicia was not far from Troy.

[*A*] *Hector kept his conjugal faith towards her.*] There are ſome verſes in *Euripides*, where Andromache declares, that ſhe loved even the miſtreſſes of her husband, that ſhe might oblige him, and even ſuckled the baſtards, which he had by them (1). The Scholiaſt agrees upon this, that Anaxicrates had related, that Hector left behind him two lawful ſons (2), who eſcaped the hands of the Greeks, and one baſtard (3), who was taken priſoner in Troy (4); but he accuſes both Euripides and Anaxicrates of having falſified the Hiſtory, and aſſerts poſitively that Hector never had a baſtard, and that it is very raſh to advance the contrary. Ovid conſiders Hector as the model of a good husband, who never indulged himſelf in any change, and even wink'd at the faults of his wife.

(1) Euripid. *in Andromach.*

(2) Whoſe names were *Amphineus* and *Scamandrius.*

(3) Named Palaterus.

(4) Anaxic. Argolicor. l. 2.

Felix Andromache, certo benè nupta marito!
Uxor ad exemplum fratris habenda fui (5).

(5) Ovid. *in Ep. Oenon. ad Parid.* ver. 107.

That is,

" Happy Andromache! who juſtly art
" Poſſeſſed of a firm and loyal heart."

It is thus he repreſents Oenone, the wife of Paris, ſpeaking; in another place he ſays that in the opinion of the world Andromache was much too tall: but

yet however he ſhews us at the ſame time, that this did diſturb the happineſs of his wife, her temper being very eaſy in that particular [B]. The death of Hector was therefore a terrible blow to Andromache; however ſhe did not die of it, no more than of the extreme affliction, which ſhe ſuffered ſome time after by the deſtruction of Troy, and the loſs of her dear ſon Aſtyanax, who was thrown down headlong from the top of a Tower, and her own captivity. She fell to the lot of a maſter, who as fierce and bloody as he was, uſed his priſoner with great courteſy. Pyrrhus, the cruel ſon of the cruel Achilles, was ſoon induced to reconcile himſelf to Andromache, to take her to his bed [C], and to make her condition ſo happy, that the beautiful Hermione, whom he married after, conceived an extreme jealouſy at it (b). After the death, or even during the life of this Prince, Andromache married Helenus [D] the ſon of Priam, her companion in captivity, and reigned with him over part of Epirus. She had children by Pyrrhus [E], and likewiſe by Helenus. Some Authors are of opinion all the Kings of Epirus to that Pyrrhus, who made war againſt the Romans (c), were deſcended

(b) Euripid. in *Andromachâ*.

(c) See the remark [E].

but in her husband's eye, ſhe appeared of a very moderate ſtature.

Omnibus Andromache viſa eſt ſpatioſior æquo:
Unus, qui modicam diceret, Hector erat (6).

(6) Idem, lib. 2. *de Arte amandi*, ver. 645.

" Andromache was tall, yet ſome report,
" Her Hector was ſo blind he thought her ſhort.

(7) *Biblioth. Choiſ.* p. 169.

Mr. Colomies had reaſon to remark (7), that Mercerus in his Notes upon the fourth book of *Dictys Cretenſis*, ſhould not have ſaid, that *antiquity knew of no other amour, than what Hector had for his wife Andromache, nor of any other children, than thoſe, which he had by her*; for he gives us room to ſuppoſe that he forgot the Hiſtorian Anaxicrates and the Poet Euripides. But Mr. Colomies, who obſerves likewiſe that Voſſius knew nothing of this Hiſtorian, would have been in the right to have ſaid, that he collected from Meziriac the paſſages, which he quotes; and that Mallincrot (8) ſpoke of Anaxicrates, without making any mention of the work quoted by the Scholiaſt upon Euripides; he only ſays, that Strabo made uſe of the authority of Anaxicrates in ſpeaking of Arabia in the 16th book.

(8) In his *Paralipom. de Hiſt. Græcis*, p. 5.

[B] *With regard to the gallantries of her husband, her temper was very eaſy.*] See the preceding remark. We do not find that Andromache carried this point ſo far as Livia or Cromwell's wife did. The latter out of ambition was very favourable to the amours of her husband (9). Livia ſerved as a procureſs to Auguſtus upon occaſion, in order to maintain her credit. *Circa libidines hæſit* (Auguſtus), *poſtea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quæ ſibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur* (10). That is, " He indulged himſelf in gratifying his " luſts; and afterwards, it is ſaid, he was more " fond of debauching young Virgins, who were " procured him from all parts by his wife." Andromache propoſed nothing to herſelf but peace at home, in giving no uneaſineſs to Hector.

(9) Leti's *Life of Cromwell* in the *Journal de Mr. Beauval*, in 1692 p. 499.

(10) Sueton. *in Aug.* c. 71.

[C] *Pyrrhus took her to his bed.*] Virgil, to preſerve the *decorum*, has introduced Andromache complaining that her greateſt unhappineſs conſiſted in this; for when Æneas ask'd her whether the widow of Hector was married to Pyrrhus, ſhe caſt her eyes downwards, and told him with great confuſion of mind, that ſhe was forced to ſubmit to it in ſelf-defence, and that ſhe envied the fate of Polyxena, who was exempted by death from ſuch a neceſſity. We are not obliged to take this diſcourſe literally; but to make ſome allowance in it, and conſider it as a modeſt excuſe of her conduct.

Hectoris, Andromache, Pyrrhin' connubia ſervas?
Dejecit vultum, & demiſſâ voce locuta eſt:
O felix una ante alias Priameia Virgo,
Hoſtilem ad tumulum Trojæ ſub mœnibus altis
Juſſa mori; quæ ſortitus non pertulit ullos,
Nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!
Nos, patriâ incenſâ, diverſa per æquora vectæ,
Stirpis Achilleæ faſtus, juvenemque ſuperbum
Servitio enixæ tulimus; qui deinde ſecutus
Ledæam Hermionem, Lacedæmonioſque Hymenæos,
Me famulam famuloque Heleno tranſmiſit habendam (11).

(11) Virg. Æn. lib. 3. ver. 319.

That is,

" Still are you Hector's, or is Hector fled,
" And his remembrance loſt in Pyrrhus' bed?
" With eyes dejected, in a lowly tone,
" After a modeſt pauſe ſhe thus begun,
" Oh only happy maid of Phœbus' race,
" Whom death delivered from the foes embrace!
" Commanded on Achilles tomb to die,
" Nor forc'd, like us, to hard captivity:
" Or in an haughty Maſter's arms to lie,
" In Grecian ſhips unhappy were we born;
" Endur'd the Victor's luſt, ſuſtained the ſcorn:
" Thus I ſubmitted to the lawleſs pride
" Of Pyrrhus, more a handmaid than a bride.
" Cloy'd with poſſeſſion, he forſook my bed,
" And Helen's lovely daughter ſought to wed.
" Then me to Trojan Helenus reſign'd:
" And his two ſlaves in equal marriage join'd."

Dryden.

But we muſt do her juſtice; ſhe is never repreſented to have been of an amorous complexion. Ovid could ſcarce believe, tho' he ſaw her a mother, that ſhe ever lay with her husband.

Nunquam ego te, Andromache, nec te, Tecmeſſa rogarem,
Ut mea de vobis altera amica foret.
Credere vix videor, cum cogar credere partu,
Vos ego cum veſtris concubuiſſe viris (12).

(12) Ovid. *de arte Amandi*, l. 3. ver. 519.

That is,

" Let ſad Tecmeſſa weep in Ajax' arms:
. . . . . .
" Let Hector in Andromache delight
" Who in bewailing Troy waſtes all the night:
" Had they not both born children, to be plain;
" I ne'er could think they'd with their husbands lain.

[D] *After the death, or even during the life of this Prince ſhe married Helenus.*] This alternative ſeemed to me neceſſary, becauſe Authors do not agree in the time of Andromache's marriage with Helenus. We ſee from Virgil that this marriage preceded the death of Pyrrhus. Juſtin ſays the ſame (13). But according to Servius ſhe was induced to marry Helenus only by the command of Pyrrhus at his death (14). Pauſanias likewiſe places their marriage after the death of that Prince. Τοῦτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχη συνῴκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου (15); i. e. " For " Andromache married Helenus after the death of " Pyrrhus at Delphi.

(13) Juſtinus, lib. 17. cap. 3.

(14) Servius in lib. 3. Æneid. ver. 319.

(15) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 10.

[E] *She had children by Pyrrhus.*] Some mention three, and call them Moloſſus, Pielus, and Pergamus (16), or Pyrrhus, Moloſſus, and Æacides (17). Others ſpeak only of Moloſſus (18); and it is from him, according to Euripides (19), that the Kings of Moloſſia were deſcended. Pauſanias repreſents them as deſcending from Pielus. With regard to Pergamus, the ſame Pauſanias tells us, that he went into Aſia, and that his mother Andromache followed him; that he killed Areus, Prince of Teuthrania in a duel, which he fought with him for the Kingdom: that he gave a name to the city, and that his tomb was to be ſeen there with that of his mother. Servius ſpeaks very differently of all this in his Comment upon the 72d verſe of the ſixth Eclogue of Virgil. As for her ſon by Helenus, he was named Ceſtrinus, and went to ſettle himſelf with a company of Epirotes, who followed him voluntarily, in a Province, above the river Thyamis. This he performed after the death of his father, when the Kingdom fell to the lot of Moloſſus the ſon of Pyrrhus (20).

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) Scholiaſt. Eurip. *in Andromach.*

(18) Servius in lib. 3. Æneid. ver. 319.

(19) *In Andromach.*

(20) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 10.

cended from a ſon of Pyrrhus and Andromache. This Princeſs had ſeven brothers, who were killed by Achilles, together with their father, in one day (*d*). One Author tells us, that ſhe accompanied Priam, when he went to deſire Achilles to ſell him the body of Hector (*e*); and that to move him to the greater compaſſion, ſhe carried her two ſons with her, who were then infants (*f*). She has been the ſubject of ſeveral fine Tragedies, both antient and modern [*F*]. Her large ſtature has been well known to all poſterity [*G*]. Her dialogue with Hector in the ſixth book of the *Iliad* is one of the moſt beautiful parts of that Poem [*H*].

(*d*) Homer. Il. lib. 6. ver. 414, *& ſeq.*

(*e*) *Dictys Cretenſis*, lib. 3.

(*f*) *Aſtyanacta, quem nonnulli Scamandrum appellabunt, & Laodamanta, parvulos admodum filios pra ſe habens.* Dict. Cret. l. 3.

She

[*F*] *She has been the ſubject of ſeveral fine Tragedies, both ancient and modern.*] That of Euripides is ſtill extant; and if we would know the ſucceſs of that, which was brought upon the ſtage at Paris, we may read what the *Parnaſſe Reformé* has put into the mouth of Montfleuri a famous Comedian, to which I ſhall add a paſſage from a modern Poet. *Whoever wants to know what was the cauſe of my death*, (it is Montfleuri who ſpeaks) *he need not ask whether it was a fever, or dropſy, or gout; let him only know that it was the Tragedy of Andromache. ... I wiſh all thoſe writers of Tragedy, theſe inventors of paſſions in order to kill people, had like Corneille an Abbot d'Aubignac to deal with, they would not be ſo furious. But what vexes me moſt, is, that Andromache will become much more famous by the circumſtance of my death; and that henceforward there will be ſcarce any Poet, but will deſire to have the honour of killing a Player once in his life* (21). Add to this the following verſes;

(21) Gueret, *Parnaſſe Reformé*, p. 108, 109.

——— *Un Marquis,*
Enflé de ſon ſavoir, ches les Dames aquis,
Ennemi du bon ſens, qu'a grand bruit il attaque,
Va pleurer au Tartuffe, & rire à l'Andromaque.

That is,

" A Marquis,
" Vain of his knowledge gain'd amongſt the Ladies,
" Averſe to ſenſe, impertinent and loud,
" Weeps amidſt all the humour of Tartuffe,
" While ſad Andromache excites his laughter.

[*G*] *Her large ſtature has been well known to all poſterity.*] I have quoted two verſes of Ovid upon this ſubject in remark [*A*]. Here are two other of the ſame Author.

Parva vehatur equo; quod erat LONGISSIMA, *nunquam*
Thebais Hectorea nupta reſedit equo (22).

That is,

(22) Ovid. *de Arte Amandi*, lib. 3. ver. 777.

" The nymph that's ſmall ſhould mount the ge-
" nerous ſteed,
" But Hector's wife, whoſe ſtature was too large,
" Was never ſeen on horſeback.

Martial contradicts Ovid as well upon this point, as upon that, which I have already quoted; for he ſays thus;

Maſturbabantur Phrygii poſt oſtia Servi,
Hectoreo quoties federat uxor equo (23).

(23) Martial, Epigram 104. lib. 11. ver. 13.

Juvenal was not ignorant of this large ſtature of Andromache, for ſpeaking of ſome Ladies, who wore their head-dreſs and hair very high upon their heads, he ſays that to ſee them before, you would take them for Andromaches; but behind they appeared very ſhort:

Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput, Andromachen à fronte videbis,
Poſt minor eſt (24).

(24) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 500.

That is,

" With curls on curls, they build her head before,
" And mount it with a formidable tower.
" A Gianteſs ſhe ſeems, but look behind,
" And then ſhe dwindles to the pigmy kind."

We ſee ſomething in the faſhions of ancient Rome very like our top-knots. Another Poet expreſſes himſelf thus;

Celſæ procul aſpice frontis honores
Suggeſtumque comæ (25).

(25) Stat. Sylv. 3. l. 1. ver. 113.

The mother of the Gods with her towers upon her head (26), would be nothing compared to our women, if once they ſhould go beyond the preſent mode of their head-dreſs. See the *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ* of Mr. Almeloveen; you will find there (27) a great deal of curious learning upon the antiquity of top-knots. See likewiſe the remark [*C*] of the article CONECTE, and the following paſſage of Syneſius: Μέλλει γὰρ, ſays he (28), ſpeaking of a new married Lady, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑβδομὴν ἐσόδυμην ταινιώσεως τε καὶ πυργοφόρος καθάπερ ἡ Κυβέλη περιελεύσεως; *for till the ſeventh day following ſhe will be adorned with head-dreſs, and go about with her towers upon it like Cybele.* But to return to the wife of Hector, I muſt obſerve that Dares Phrygius gives her an hundred good qualities, without forgetting her great ſtature; *Andromacham oculis claris, candidam,* LONGAM, *formoſam, modeſtam, ſapientem, pudicam, blandam*; that is, " Andromache had ſparkling eyes, and was " fair, tall, beautiful, modeſt, wiſe, chaſte, and " courteous."

(26) *Qualis Berecynthia mater*
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes. Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 785. That is,
" High as the mother of the Gods....
" Then when in pomp ſhe makes the Phrygian Round,
" With golden turrets on her temples crown'd.
Dryden.

(27) P. 106, & *ſeq.*

(28) Syneſ. Epiſt. 3.

[*H*] *His Dialogue with Hector in the ſixth book of the Iliad is one of the moſt beautiful parts of that Poem.*] This is the judgment of Mr. Perrault. He has tranſlated this Dialogue into French verſe; which he read to the French Academy, when the Abbot Fenelon was received there (29). Before this he read a little Diſcourſe very well turned; he proteſted that he acknowledged Homer for *the moſt excellent, the moſt extenſive, and the fineſt genius, that ever appeared in Poetry*; and to perſuade the incredulous, that he honoured him according to his merit, he tranſlated that part of the *Iliad* into French. He confeſſes that he retrenched ſeveral digreſſions, which ſeemed to him too languid. This is the defect of Homer; he is too great a talker, and too ſimple; tho' he is ſo great a genius in other reſpects, and ſo copious in beautiful ſentiments, that if he was living now, he would compoſe an Epic Poem every way compleat. He would have taken care not to have given to Andromache amongſt other complaints upon the death of her husband, this reflection, that the young Aſtyanax would now no more eat the marrow and fat of ſheep upon his father's knees (30). This is painting after nature, I own; but in our age we can never bear ſuch a ſimplicity of manners in an Epic Poem. We ſhould think it too coarſe and rude, and ſuitable only for Comedy. I imagine our Ladies of Quality would be afraid of being thought very unpolite, if they ſhould ſpeak as the Queen of Carthage does in *Virgil. B. iv. Æneid. ver.* 328.

(29) The 31ſt of March. This tranſlation has been printed in the firſt part of the *Recueil de Pieces curieuſes*, at the Hague by Moetjens in 1694. JUDGMENT upon the Epic Poetry of the Antients.

(30) See above P. 55. quotation 25.

Si quis mihi parvulus aulâ
Luderet Æneas.

That is,

" Some young Æneas, to ſupply your place;
" Whoſe features might expreſs his father's face."
Dryden.

Theſe are not the defects of the ancient Poets themſelves, but only thoſe of the times they liv'd in. To ſpeak properly, the queſtion is not whether there are better genius's now than among the ancients; but whether our age has juſter ideas of perfection than they, and whether we may not apply to the great Homer what Horace does to another:

Sed ille,
Si foret hoc noſtrum fato delatus in ævum,
Detereret ſibi multa, recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur (31).

That is,

(31) Horat. Sat. x. lib. 1. ver. 67.

" Yet did he now again new life commence,
" He would correct, he would retrench his ſenſe;
" And pare off all that was not excellence."
Creech.

She took ſo great care of Hector's horſes, that ſhe gave them meat and drink before ſhe ſerved him (g). Some have carried this example ſo far, as to ſhew from thence that women are obliged to employ themſelves in the moſt mechanical offices of the houſe [I].

(g) Homer. *Il.* lib. 8. ver. 188.

[I] *Some have carried this example ſo far, as to ſhew from thence, that women are obliged to employ themſelves in the moſt mechanical offices of the houſe.*] Read the following words of Tiraqueau: *Quæ loca Franciſcus Barbarus in ſuo libello* de Re uxoria, *quem apud Gallos imprimendum primi omnium dedimus, ſolerter ſciteque annotavit, monens his exemplis uxores ne res hujuſmodi contemnant, quas Andromache &c. ... & hoc quoque è noſtris commèmoravit J. Lupus* in rep. rubr. de don. inter vir. & uxor. *&* *Bo. Curtil.* in tract. nobilitatis in 38 privilegio (32). Tiraqueau has made no reflection upon this, that Andromache's husband was not ſerved firſt; he ſuppoſed without doubt that this would prove too much, and that it was neceſſary to keep ſuch a thought from the reader's view.

(32) Andr. Tiraquell. *de Nobilitate*, cap. 20. num. 101. p. 78.

ANDROMACHUS. I ſhall mention only ſix men of this name. The Iſt Andromachus was of Sicily; he was father to Timæus the Hiſtorian, and Founder of the City Tauromenium, now called Taormine. He was a man of reſolution, and very rich. He gathered together (a) upon an eminence called Taurus near Naxus the inhabitants of that City, who had eſcaped from it when it was deſtroyed by the Tyrant Dionyſius. He maintained himſelf a long time in this poſt, and that was the reaſon why he called it Tauromenium. Thoſe who fled from Naxus proſpered ſo much in this new ſettlement, that in a little time it became a conſiderable City (b). Andromachus received Timoleon there, and permitted him to make it a place of ammunition. This Corinthian General came thither only with a deſign to deliver Sicily from the Tyrants who oppreſs'd it. Andromachus declared an open enmity againſt the Tyrants, and ſollicited for a long time the Corinthians to come to the relief of Sicily. Timoleon and he therefore ſoon reſolved to act in concert for the recovery of their liberty (c). The IId Andromachus ſerved under Alexander the Great, and was Governor of Cœlo-Syria. The Samaritans burnt him alive; but Alexander revenged this cruel action upon the Authors of it with the ſeverity they deſerved (d). I can find no other Andromachus in Quintus Curtius, though Moreri pretends there are ſeveral. The IIId Andromachus was brother-in-law to Seleucus Callinicus, King of Syria, and had a ſon (e), who ſeized upon the Provinces ſituated on this ſide Mount Taurus, and proclaimed himſelf King in the time of Antiochus the Great. This Andromachus was detained priſoner a long time in Egypt. The Rhodians obtained his liberty, not of Ptolomy Euergetes, as it is ſaid in the Supplement to Moreri, but of Ptolomy Philopator [A]. The IVth Andromachus was a traytor, who diſcovered all the deſigns of Craſſus to the Parthians, and being choſen Guide, conducted the Roman army into thoſe places, where it was impoſſible but they muſt be cut to pieces. See Plutarch, p. 562 of the *Life of Craſſus.* The Vth Andromachus was Phyſician to Nero; I ſhall ſpeak of him in the following Article. The VIth Andromachus was a Sophiſt, who taught in Nicomedia under the reign of Diocleſian. It is Suidas who mentions this.

(a) In the 105th Olympiad, about the year of Rome 395.

(b) Diod. Sicul. lib. 16. p. 411.

(c) Plutarch. *in Timol.* pag. 240. *See likewiſe* Diod. Sicul. lib. 16.

(d) Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 9. Euſebius *ad Olympiad.* 112.

(e) He was named ACHEUS. See his Article.

[A] *The Rhodians obtained his liberty, not of Ptolomy Euergetes, but of Ptolomy Philopator.*] The error of the Author of the continuation of Moreri is obvious to every one, who conſiders, that when the Rhodians procured the liberty of Andromachus, it was two years ſince his ſon had paſſed mount Taurus with Seleucus Ceraunus, King of Syria, to make war againſt Attalus, King of Pergamus. Now this expedition was made the ſame year that Ptolomy Euergetes died, and Ptolomy Philopator ſucceeded him (1). It is therefore Ptolomy Philopator, who ſet Andromachus at liberty, out of regard to the Rhodians, who intended to deprive the City of Byzantium of the favour of Acheus, and who thought nothing was more proper to gain them the friendſhip of this Prince, than to preſent him with his father. See the remark [A] of the article ACHEUS.

(1) *See* Calviſius *ad annum* 3, *Olympiad.* 139.

ANDROMACHUS, a native of the Iſland of Crete, Phyſician to the Emperor Nero (a), is chiefly immortalized by the antidote which he invented, by mixing Viper's Fleſh with Mithridate (b). This antidote was named Theriace, on account of this mixture, and it is called in Engliſh Treacle. Θηρίον ſignifies a beaſt; but the Phyſicians underſtand in particular by Θηρία venomous beaſts (c). This antidote quite ſet aſide the uſe of Mithridate, which till then had been in great eſteem (d). Andromachus wrote the *Deſcription* of his *Antidote* in Elegiac Verſe, which he dedicated to Nero (e). His ſon, whoſe name was Andromachus, wrote the ſame *Deſcription* in proſe (f). Damocrates turned it into Iambic verſe in a Poem, which he wrote upon Antidotes (g). We learn from Galen, that Andromachus the father compoſed a Treatiſe *de Medicamentis compoſitis ad affectus externos* (h), and that he was a man of great learning and eloquence (i). Erotion dedicated his Lexicon to him. I am ſurprized that Meurſius ſhould forget ſo great a Phyſician in the Catalogue which he gives of the illuſtrious men of the Iſle of Crete in the IVth book of his Treatiſe concerning that Iſle. Some Writers pretend that this Phyſician was a good Aſtrologer [A].

(a) Galenus, *de Theriaca ad Piſonem.*

(b) Voſſius, *de Philoſ.* c. 12. p. 95.

(c) *See* Galen, *de Theriaca ad Pamphil.*

(h) *Apud* Voſſium, *de Philoſoph.* p. 96.

(i) Galen. *de Antidot.* lib. 1. c. 1.

(d) Voſſius, *de Philoſ.* c. 12. p. 95.

(e) Galen. l. 1. *de Antidotis.* Tzetzes, Chil. 12. n. 397. p. 224.

(f) Galen, ibid.

(g) Idem, *de Theriacâ ad Piſonem.*

[A] *Some pretend that he was a good Aſtrologer.*] I ſhall begin with the words of Voſſius. *Circa Olympiadem CXI* (the Printer omitted a C, for it ſhould have been *CCXI*), *& deinceps, nempe extremis Neronis temporibus, & ſub Veſpaſiano, magnum ſibi decus hac ſcientiâ peperit Andromachus Cretenſis, qui primus dicitur edidiſſe Theoricas Planetarum.* That is, "About the CXI (it ſhould be the CCXI) Olympiad, and afterwards, namely, at the latter end of "Nero's reign, and under Veſpaſian, Andromachus

ANDRO-

cended from a ſon of Pyrrhus and Andromache. This Princeſs had ſeven brothers, who were killed by Achilles, together with their father, in one day (*d*). One Author tells us, that ſhe accompanied Priam, when he went to deſire Achilles to ſell him the body of Hector (*e*); and that to move him to the greater compaſſion, ſhe carried her two ſons with her, who were then infants (*f*). She has been the ſubject of ſeveral fine Tragedies, both antient and modern [*F*]. Her large ſtature has been well known to all poſterity [*G*]. Her dialogue with Hector in the ſixth book of the *Iliad* is one of the moſt beautiful parts of that Poem [*H*].

(*d*) Homer. Il. lib. 6. ver. 414, & ſeq.

(*e*) *Dictys Cretenſis*, lib. 3.

(*f*) *Aſtyanacta, quem nonnulli Scamandrum appellabunt, & Laodamanta, parvulos admodum filios præ ſe habens.* Dict. Cret. l. 3.

She

[*F*] *She has been the ſubject of ſeveral fine Tragedies, both ancient and modern.*] That of Euripides is ſtill extant; and if we would know the ſucceſs of that, which was brought upon the ſtage at Paris, we may read what the *Parnaſſe Reformé* has put into the mouth of Montfleuri a famous Comedian, to which I ſhall add a paſſage from a modern Poet. *Whoever wants to know what was the cauſe of my death*, (it is Montfleuri who ſpeaks) *he need not ask whether it was a fever, or dropſy, or gout; let him only know that it was the Tragedy of Andromache. ... I wiſh all thoſe writers of Tragedy, theſe inventors of paſſions in order to kill people, had like Corneille an Abbot d'Aubignac to deal with, they would not be ſo furious. But what vexes me moſt, is, that Andromache will become much more famous by the circumſtance of my death; and that henceforward there will be ſcarce any Poet, but will deſire to have the honour of killing a Player once in his life* (21). Add to this the following verſes;

(21) Gueret, *Parnaſſe Reformé*, p. 108, 109.

——— *Un Marquis,*
Enflé de ſon ſavoir, chez les Dames aquis,
Ennemi du bon ſens, qu'a grand bruit il attaque,
Va pleurer au Tartuffe, & rire à l'Andromaque.
That is,
" A Marquis,
" Vain of his knowledge gain'd amongſt the Ladies,
" Averſe to ſenſe, impertinent and loud,
" Weeps amidſt all the humour of Tartuffe,
" While ſad Andromache excites his laughter.

[*G*] *Her large ſtature has been well known to all poſterity.*] I have quoted two verſes of Ovid upon this ſubject in remark [*A*]. Here are two other of the ſame Author.

Parva vehatur equo; quod erat LONGISSIMA, *nunquam*
Thebais Hectorea nupta reſedit equo (22).
That is,
" The nymph that's ſmall ſhould mount the ge-
" nerous ſteed,
" But Hector's wife, whoſe ſtature was too large,
" Was never ſeen on horſeback.

(22) Ovid. *de Arte Amandi*, lib. 3. ver. 777.

Martial contradicts Ovid as well upon this point, as upon that, which I have already quoted; for he ſays thus;

Maſturbabantur Phrygii poſt oſtia Servi,
Hectoreo quoties ſederat uxor equo (23).

(23) Martial, Epigram 104. lib. 11. ver. 13.

Juvenal was not ignorant of this large ſtature of Andromache, for ſpeaking of ſome Ladies, who wore their head-dreſs and hair very high upon their heads, he ſays that to ſee them before, you would take them for Andromaches; but behind they appeared very ſhort:

Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput, Andromachen à fronte videbis,
Poſt minor eſt (24).
That is,
" With curls on curls, they build her head before,
" And mount it with a formidable tower.
" A Gianteſs ſhe ſeems, but look behind,
" And then ſhe dwindles to the pigmy kind."

(24) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 500.

We ſee ſomething in the faſhions of ancient Rome very like our top-knots. Another Poet expreſſes himſelf thus;

Celſæ procul aſpice frontis honores
Suggeſtumque comæ (25).

(25) Stat. Sylv. 3. l. 1. ver. 113.

The mother of the Gods with her towers upon her head (26), would be nothing compared to our women, if once they ſhould go beyond the preſent mode of their head-dreſs. See the *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ* of Mr. Almeloveen; you will find there (27) a great deal of curious learning upon the antiquity of top-knots. See likewiſe the remark [*C*] of the article CONECTE, and the following paſſage of Syneſius: Μέλλει γὰρ, ſays he (28), ſpeaking of a new married Lady, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡθιεῦσαν ἑβδόμην ταινιώσασθαί τε καὶ πυργοφόρος καθάπερ ἡ Κυβέλη περιελύσασθαι; *for till the ſeventh day following ſhe will be adorned with head-dreſs, and go about with her towers upon it like Cybele.* But to return to the wife of Hector, I muſt obſerve that Dares Phrygius gives her an hundred good qualities, without forgetting her great ſtature; *Andromacham oculis claris, candidam,* LONGAM, *formoſam, modeſtam, ſapientem, pudicam, blandam*; that is, " Andromache had ſparkling eyes, and was " fair, tall, beautiful, modeſt, wiſe, chaſte, and " courteous."

(26) *Qualis Berecynthia mater*
Invehitur curru
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" High as the
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" Then when in
" pomp ſhe
" makes the
" Phrygian
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" turrets on her
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Dryden.

(27) P. 106, & ſeq.

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[*H*] *His Dialogue with Hector in the ſixth book of the Iliad is one of the moſt beautiful parts of that Poem.*] This is the judgment of Mr. Perrault. He has tranſlated this Dialogue into French verſe; which he read to the French Academy, when the Abbot Fenelon was received there (29). Before this he read a little Diſcourſe very well turned; he proteſted that he acknowledged Homer for *the moſt excellent, the moſt extenſive, and the fineſt genius, that ever appeared in Poetry*; and to perſuade the incredulous, that he honoured him according to his merit, he tranſlated that part of the *Iliad* into French. He confeſſes that he retrenched ſeveral digreſſions, which ſeemed to him too languid. This is the defect of Homer; he is too great a talker, and too ſimple; tho' he is ſo great a genius in other reſpects, and ſo copious in beautiful ſentiments, that if he was living now, he would compoſe an Epic Poem every way compleat. He would have taken care not to have given to Andromache amongſt other complaints upon the death of her husband, this reflection, that the young Aſtyanax would now no more eat the marrow and fat of ſheep upon his father's knees (30). This is painting after nature, I own; but in our age we can never bear ſuch a ſimplicity of manners in an Epic Poem. We ſhould think it too coarſe and rude, and ſuitable only for Comedy. I imagine our Ladies of Quality would be afraid of being thought very unpolite, if they ſhould ſpeak as the Queen of Carthage does in *Virgil. B. iv. Æneid. ver.* 328.

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(30) See above P. 55. quotation 25.

Si quis mihi parvulus aulâ
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That is,
" Some young Æneas, to ſupply your place;
" Whoſe features might expreſs his father's face."
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Theſe are not the defects of the ancient Poets themſelves, but only thoſe of the times they liv'd in. To ſpeak properly, the queſtion is not whether there are better genius's now than among the ancients; but whether our age has juſter ideas of perfection than they, and whether we may not apply to the great Homer what Horace does to another:

Sed ille,
Si foret hoc noſtrum fato delatus in ævum,
Detereret ſibi multa, recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur (31).
That is,
" Yet did he now again new life commence,
" He would correct, he would retrench his ſenſe;
" And pare off all that was not excellence."
Creech.

(31) Horat. Sat. x. lib. 1. ver. 67.

She took so great care of Hector's horses, that she gave them meat and drink before she served him (g). Some have carried this example so far, as to shew from thence that women are obliged to employ themselves in the most mechanical offices of the house [I].

(g) Homer. *Il.* lib. 8. ver. 188.

[I] *Some have carried this example so far, as to shew from thence, that women are obliged to employ themselves in the most mechanical offices of the house.*] Read the following words of Tiraqueau: *Quæ loca Franciscus Barbarus in suo libello* de Re uxoria, *quem apud Gallos imprimendum primi omnium dedimus, solerter sciteque annotavit, monens his exemplis uxores ne res hujusmodi contemnant, quas Andromache &c. ... & hoc quoque è nostris commemoravit J. Lupus* in rep. rubr. de don. inter vir. & uxor. *& Bo. Curtil.* in tract. nobilitatis in 38 privilegio (32). Tiraqueau has made no reflection upon this, that Andromache's husband was not served first; he supposed without doubt that this would prove too much, and that it was necessary to keep such a thought from the reader's view.

(32) Andr. Tiraquell. *de Nobilitate*, cap. 20. num. 101. p. 78.

ANDROMACHUS. I shall mention only six men of this name. The Ist Andromachus was of Sicily; he was father to Timæus the Historian, and Founder of the City Tauromenium, now called Taormine. He was a man of resolution, and very rich. He gathered together (a) upon an eminence called Taurus near Naxus the inhabitants of that City, who had escaped from it when it was destroyed by the Tyrant Dionysius. He maintained himself a long time in this post, and that was the reason why he called it Tauromenium. Those who fled from Naxus prospered so much in this new settlement, that in a little time it became a considerable City (b). Andromachus received Timoleon there, and permitted him to make it a place of ammunition. This Corinthian General came thither only with a design to deliver Sicily from the Tyrants who oppress'd it. Andromachus declared an open enmity against the Tyrants, and sollicited for a long time the Corinthians to come to the relief of Sicily. Timoleon and he therefore soon resolved to act in concert for the recovery of their liberty (c). The IId Andromachus served under Alexander the Great, and was Governor of Cœlo-Syria. The Samaritans burnt him alive; but Alexander revenged this cruel action upon the Authors of it with the severity they deserved (d). I can find no other Andromachus in Quintus Curtius, though Moreri pretends there are several. The IIId Andromachus was brother-in-law to Seleucus Callinicus, King of Syria, and had a son (e), who seized upon the Provinces situated on this side Mount Taurus, and proclaimed himself King in the time of Antiochus the Great. This Andromachus was detained prisoner a long time in Egypt. The Rhodians obtained his liberty, not of Ptolomy Euergetes, as it is said in the Supplement to Moreri, but of Ptolomy Philopator [A]. The IVth Andromachus was a traytor, who discovered all the designs of Crassus to the Parthians, and being chosen Guide, conducted the Roman army into those places, where it was impossible but they must be cut to pieces. See Plutarch, p. 562 of the *Life of Crassus*. The Vth Andromachus was Physician to Nero; I shall speak of him in the following Article. The VIth Andromachus was a Sophist, who taught in Nicomedia under the reign of Diocletian. It is Suidas who mentions this.

(a) In the 105th Olympiad, about the year of Rome 395.

(b) Diod. Sicul. lib. 16. p. 411.

(c) Plutarch. *in Timol.* pag. 240. *See likewise* Diod. Sicul. lib. 16.

(d) Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 9. Eusebius *ad Olympiad.* 112.

(e) He was named ACHEUS. See his Article.

[A] *The Rhodians obtained his liberty, not of Ptolomy Euergetes, but of Ptolomy Philopator.*] The error of the Author of the continuation of Moreri is obvious to every one, who considers, that when the Rhodians procured the liberty of Andromachus, it was two years since his son had passed mount Taurus with Seleucus Ceraunus, King of Syria, to make war against Attalus, King of Pergamus. Now this expedition was made the same year that Ptolomy Euergetes died, and Ptolomy Philopator succeeded him (1). It is therefore Ptolomy Philopator, who set Andromachus at liberty, out of regard to the Rhodians, who intended to deprive the City of Byzantium of the favour of Acheus, and who thought nothing was more proper to gain them the friendship of this Prince, than to present him with his father. See the remark [A] of the article ACHEUS.

(1) *See* Calvisius *ad annum* 3, *Olympiad.* 139.

ANDROMACHUS, a native of the Island of Crete, Physician to the Emperor Nero (a), is chiefly immortalized by the antidote which he invented, by mixing Viper's Flesh with Mithridate (b). This antidote was named Theriace, on account of this mixture, and it is called in English Treacle. Θηρίον signifies a beast; but the Physicians understand in particular by Θηρία venomous beasts (c). This antidote quite set aside the use of Mithridate, which till then had been in great esteem (d). Andromachus wrote the *Description* of his *Antidote* in Elegiac Verse, which he dedicated to Nero (e). His son, whose name was Andromachus, wrote the same *Description* in prose (f). Damocrates turned it into Iambic verse in a Poem, which he wrote upon Antidotes (g). We learn from Galen, that Andromachus the father composed a Treatise *de Medicamentis compositis ad affectus externos* (h), and that he was a man of great learning and eloquence (i). Erotion dedicated his Lexicon to him. I am surprized that Meursius should forget so great a Physician in the Catalogue which he gives of the illustrious men of the Isle of Crete in the IVth book of his Treatise concerning that Isle. Some Writers pretend that this Physician was a good Astrologer [A].

(a) Galenus, *de Theriaca ad Pisonem.*

(b) Vossius, *de Philos.* c. 12. p. 95.

(c) *See* Galen, *de Theriaca ad Pamphil.*

(d) Vossius, *de Philos.* c. 12. p. 95.

(e) Galen. l. 1. *de Antidotis.* Tzetzes, Chil. 12. n. 397. p. 224.

(f) Galen, ibid.

(g) Idem, *de Theriacâ ad Pisonem.*

(h) *Apud* Vossium, *de Philosoph.* p. 96.

(i) Galen. *de Antidot.* lib. 1. c. 1.

[A] *Some pretend that he was a good Astrologer.*] I shall begin with the words of Vossius. *Circa Olympiadem CXI* (the Printer omitted a *C*, for it should have been *CCXI*), *& deinceps, nempe extremis Neronis temporibus, & sub Vespasiano, magnum sibi decus hac scientiâ peperit Andromachus Cretensis, qui primus dicitur edidisse Theoricas Planetarum.* That is, "About the CXI (it should be the CCXI) Olympiad, and afterwards, namely, at the latter end of "Nero's reign, and under Vespasian, Andromachus "of

ANDRONICUS, a Peripatetic Philoſopher, born in the Iſland of Rhodes, came to Rome in the time of Pompey and Cicero [*A*], and endeavoured vigorouſly to raiſe the character of Ariſtotle, whoſe writings he made known [*B*], after he had reſcued them from the confuſion which they were in, and reduced them to a more methodical order [*C*]. The

" of Crete, who is ſaid to have firſt publiſhed Theo-
" ries of the Planets, gained great honour in this
" ſcience." This is the text of Voſſius, p. 161 of his book *De Scientiis Mathematicis*; and now follows his Commentary upon it, which is his uſual method. *Conſentiunt in eo Lucas Gauricus & Chriſtophorus Clavius, niſi quod Gauricus perperam* ANDRONICUM *vocat, qui Clavio rectius* ANDROMACHUS. *Illum vide in Calendario Eccleſiaſtico* *, *hunc Commentario in Sphæram Joan. de Sacroboſco* †. That is, " Lucas
" Gauricus and Chriſtopher Clavius agree in this,
" only Gauricus erroneouſly calls him *Andronicus*,
" whereas Clavius calls him rightly *Andromachus*.
" See the former in his *Calendarium Eccleſiaſticum*;
" the latter in his *Commentary upon the Sphere of*
" *John de Sacroboſco*." I am ſurprized that Voſſius has not obſerved, whether he believed or not that this Andromachus the Aſtrologer was the ſame with him who invented the *Treacle*. The time, in which he makes him live, and the country, which he tells us he was of, would lead us to imagine, that there was but one Andromachus. I am of opinion however that the ſilence of Voſſius was with deſign. He could not determine this point exactly; nor venture to ſay any thing either for or againſt it. Moreri, with more aſſurance, aſſerts, that Andromachus the Phyſician of Nero, and Andromachus the Aſtrologer, who firſt wrote a Theory of the Planets, are one and the ſame perſon. I am eaſily inclined to believe that the Aſtrology of Andromachus is a mere chimera; for Mr. Drelincourt, an Oracle, whom I never conſult without having reaſon to admire the extent and exactneſs of his learning, was ſo kind as to inform me, amongſt other things, which I have made uſe of in this article, that the *Inventor Theoricarum* of Clavius is an error, which ought to be corrected and read *Inventor Theriacarum*, i. e. " the Inventor of the *Treacles*. The two authorities of Voſſius are reduced to nothing by this, as far as regards the Theory of Planets; the one ſpeaks only of Andronicus, and the other only aſcribes to Andromachus the Invention of the *Treacle*. We have here a clear inſtance of the errors, which Men of Learning are led into by the faults of the Printer and Copier. Blancanus, upon the credit of Clavius, has placed Andromachus among the Mathematicians; *Andromachus Cretenſis, quem Theoricarum inventorem facit Clavius* (1). I ſay the ſame with regard to Voſſius. We have therefore no other foundation than an error of the preſs, and an alteration of *theriacarum* into *theoricarum*, for ſaying that Andromachus was the firſt, who wrote a Theory of the Planets. Mr. Drelincourt confirms his conjecture among other reaſons by this, that the Epithet *Inventor* has nothing to do with the Theory of the Planets, which was known before Nero's time; but *Inventor* joined to *Theriacarum* is the moſt proper imaginable to Andromachus. It is probable ſuch a miſtake as this of the Printer's or Copier's raiſed our Andromachus into an Aſtrologer in the hands of Clavius, or ſome other Author, whom Clavius followed either at the firſt or ſecond hand. As for the *Andronicus of Gauricus*, or ſome ſuch name, it might poſſibly be printed *Andromachus*. And upon this account, thoſe, who know that one Andromachus of Crete was Phyſician to Nero, and the Inventor of *Treacle*, added theſe titles to the name *Andromachus* in giving a Catalogue of Aſtrologers.

[*A*] *He came to Rome in the time of Pompey and Cicero.*] We may collect this from two paſſages in Plutarch; one in the Life of Sylla (1), the other in the Life of Lucullus (2). That in the Life of Sylla acquaints us with three things; 1, That Sylla ſent from Athens to Rome the Library of Apellicon, in which was the greateſt part of Ariſtotle's works; 2, That the Grammarian Tyrannion took from Sylla's Library ſeveral books; 3, That Andronicus the Rhodian had of this Tyrannion the Works of Ariſtotle. The other paſſage of Plutarch tells us that Tyrannion was taken priſoner by Lucullus after the defeat of Mithridates, and that Murena having deſired him of Lucullus made him free. We know from other hands that this Grammarian grew rich at Rome, and formed himſelf a very large Library. It is certain therefore that Andronicus muſt have been at Rome at the time which I have mentioned, becauſe he procured of Tyrannion the works of Ariſtotle. We ſhall ſee in remark [*C*] whether father Rapin was right in ſaying that Andronicus did not come to Rome till after the death of Tyrannion.

[*B*] *He made the writings of Ariſtotle known.*] This ſuppoſes that they were not known at Rome; and there is ground for ſuppoſing this, ſince Cicero aſſures us of it, and Plutarch himſelf intimates to us, that they were but little known to the Athenians, when Sylla ſeized upon the books of Apellicon (3). Father Rapin has remarked this before me. *It was this Andronicus*, ſays he (4), *who firſt made Ariſtotle known at Rome about the time that Cicero raiſed himſelf by his vaſt reputation to the chief poſts of the Commonwealth..... Cicero had learned in Greece what Ariſtotle was*; " He knew part of his merit,
" which was not then much known at Rome, as ap-
" pears by the ſurprize of Trebatius, who in a viſit
" that he paid to Cicero at his Seat of Tuſculum,
" and going with him into his Library, fell by chance
" upon the book of Topics of Ariſtotle, which Ci-
" cero had a copy of. Trebatius asked him what
" that book was, and of what it treated; for though
" he was a man of learning, he never had heard of
" Ariſtotle. Cicero anſwered, that he was not to
" wonder at this, *for that Philoſopher was known*
" *but by very few* (5)." I cannot help ſaying here, that this agreeable writer has not exactly repreſented this paſſage of Cicero. It ſeems he has not done this out of careleſſneſs, but only that his narration might be more eaſy and conciſe. It is an inconvenience inſeparable from every one who writes with exactneſs; they cannot poſſibly avoid ſuch a circumſtantial detail of things as is tedious to the reader. Now people chooſe rather to be deceived by an eaſy and ſhort account, than to be tired with too great an accuracy. But let us ſee how this paſſage of Cicero may be repreſented in a conciſe, though proper and genuine manner. Trebatius turning over ſuch books as he thought fit in Cicero's Library, happened upon Ariſtotle's Topics. He was ſtruck with the title, and asked Cicero immediately what that piece was; and when he knew it, deſired him to explain the ſubject of it. Cicero choſe rather to adviſe him, either to read that book himſelf, or to get it explained to him by ſome able Rhetorician. Trebatius tried both theſe methods without ſucceſs; the obſcurity of the book deterred him. The Rhetorician told him, that he knew nothing of Ariſtotle. Cicero was not ſurprized at this, though this ignorance of his ſeemed inexcuſable to him. He was obliged therefore at the deſire of Trebatius, who was a learned Lawyer, to write upon the Topics of Ariſtotle (6). *Utrumque ut a te audiebam, es expertus. Sed à libris te obſcuritas rejecit. Rhetor autem ille, magnus, ut opinor, Ariſtotelica ſe ignorare reſpondit. Quod quidem minimè ſum admiratus, eum Philoſophum Rhetori non eſſe cognitum qui ab ipſis Philoſophis præter admodum paucos ignoretur. Quibus eo minus ignoſcendum eſt, quod non modo rebus iis, quæ ab illo dictæ & inventæ ſunt, allici debuerunt, ſed dicendi quoque incredibili quadam cum copiâ, tum etiam ſuavitate* (7). That I may conceal nothing from the reader. I ſhall obſerve, that Strabo acquaints us, that the Library-keeper of Sylla permitted the Librarians to copy Ariſtotle's works; but they employing ignorant Copiers, and never collating them (8), theſe works were publiſhed with a thouſand faults. This cannot confute what I have ſaid above; for I can anſwer to this; that the edition of Andronicus being much more correct excited the curioſity of the Learned, which was abated by the incorrectneſs of the former. See the marginal note (6).

[*C*] *He reduced the works of Ariſtotle to a more methodical order.*] Plutarch aſſures us that Andronicus, having

* Folio 16. edit. Venet. *apud* Juntas, *anno* 1552.
† *Commentar. in* cap. 1. p. 4.

(1) Blancan. *in Mathematicor. Chronologiâ*, pag. 50.

(1) Pag. 468.
(2) Pag. 584.

(3) Ὥυπω τότε σαφῶς γνωριζόμενα τοις πολλοις. i. e. " They
" were not then
" known much
" to the common
" people." *Plut. in Sylla*, p. 468.
(4) Rapin, *Comparaiſon de Platon & d'Ariſtote*, P. 374.

(5) Father Rapin quotes in the margin what follows. *Quod quidem minime ſum admiratus, eum Philoſophum Trebatio non eſſe cognitum, qui ab ipſis Philoſophis, præter admodum paucos, ignoretur*, Cicero Topicor. initio.

(6) He compoſed this piece after the death of Cæſar; from whence we may conclude that even the edition of Andronicus had not at firſt made Ariſtotle's Works very common at Rome.
(7) Cicero *initio Topicor.*

(8) Strabo, lib. 13. p. 419.

The fate of these writings has been very extraordinary, as I shall observe in another place (*a*). We cannot fully represent the great service which he did then to the Sect of the Peripatetics. Perhaps they would never have become so famous, if he had not taken so particular a care of the works of their founder. This care of his procured a great deal of honour to Andronicus (*b*). Some learned men do not allow him to be the Author *of the Paraphrase upon the Ethics of Aristotle* [D]; others ascribe it to him, and pretend that he likewise composed the little Treatise *upon the Passions*, which David Hoeschelius published in 1593. It is certain, that Andronicus published some piece or other; for Aulus Gellius, in a chapter of his (*c*) upon the two kinds of Lectures which Aristotle read to his scholars, gives word for word a Letter, which Alexander wrote to Aristotle, and Aristotle's answer to it; and tells us, that he found these two letters in a work of the Philosopher Andronicus. It is impossible to say, whether this work was his Paraphrase upon the Categories, or that upon the Physicks. We are assured that Andronicus

(*a*) In the Remarks upon the Article TYRANNION.

(*b*) *Quam cum unitum diligentemque Aristotelicorum librorum & judicem & repertorem judicaverit antiquitas.* Boetius, *Proœmio Libri de Interpretat.*

(*c*) It is the fifth of the xxth book.

having obtained of Tyrannion the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, published them with proper Indexes: Παρ' αὐτοῦ τον Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρονίκον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι, καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας (9). Amyot has translated the Greek thus; *Andronicus the Rhodian having by the hands of Tyrannion recovered the originals, published them, and wrote the Summaries, which we have still extant.* It is proper to join to this the following passage of Porphyrius: Μιμησάμενος δ' Ἀπολλόδωρον τον Ἀθηναῖον, & Ἀνδρόνικον τον Περιπατητικόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμον τὴν κωμῳδογραφον εἰς δέκα τόμους φέρων συνήγαγε, ὁ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος βιβλία εἰς πραγματείας διῃρε, τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταυτὸ συναγάγων, οὕτω δὴ & ἐγώ (10): That is, I have followed the Example of Apollodorus "the Athenian and Andronicus the Peripatetic, the "former of whom collected Epicharmus's Comedies "into ten tomes, and the latter divided the books of "Aristotle and Theophrastus in their several distinct "treatises; *proprias suppositiones in idem conducens*, "as the Latin translation expresses it." I own, I do not sufficiently understand the force of the Greek words, τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταυτὸ συναγάγων. I much less understand the translation, *proprias suppositiones in idem conducens*; but I imagine one of these senses may pass. Porphyrius means either, that Andronicus collected into one body all the treatises upon the same subject, or that he added to every treatise a proper summary. The former sense seems to me the truest, and agrees better with Plutarch, and with the comparison which Porphyry makes between Andronicus and himself; for Porphyry did nothing to his Master Plotinus's writings, but give their proper titles to them, and range them under distinct classes. I have met with no Author, who tells us all that I have read in Father Rapin; and as he quotes only Plotinus, I am at a loss to know whether he takes it from some book, which I have not consulted, or only Paraphrases upon Plotinus and Plutarch. However that be, he speaks in this manner; which Moreri has only copied. *After the Death of* TYRANNION, *Andronicus the Rhodian coming to Rome, and understanding very well the merit of Aristotle, as he had been educated in the Lyceum, he treated with the heirs of Tyrannion for these writings; and having got possession of them, he applied himself with so much vigour to examine and correct them, that he was in some measure the first restorer of them, as Porphyry assures us in the Life of Plotinus. For he not only restored what was injured by length of time, and the negligence of those, who had them in their hands, but he likewise recovered them from that strange confusion, in which he found them, and caused them to be copied* (11). The beginning of this passage contradicts Plutarch, who assures us that Andronicus got these writings of Aristotle from the hands of Tyrannion. Plutarch, I confess, is not so exact, that we ought to venture to contradict any of the circumstances of an action that he mentions; but when there is not one Author, who assures us, that the heirs of Tyrannion, and not Tyrannion himself, sold the writings of Aristotle to Andronicus, I think we ought to follow Plutarch, since the reasons of Chronology are not contrary to his account. See the remarks upon the article TYRANNION. We are told by a certain Author, that Andronicus was the tenth Successor of Aristotle, and that he flourished in the 180th Olympiad (12).

[D] *The Paraphrase upon Aristotle's Ethics is not absolutely attributed to him.*] Daniel Heinsius, who translated this Paraphrase into Latin, intimates very clearly that he thought it to be written by this famous Peripatetic. He published it in Greek and Latin at Leyden in 1607 in 4to. It was never before printed either in Greek or Latin. There was a prodigious number of errors in this edition, which were corrected, at least in part, in that of 1617 in 8vo. Heinsius placed the name of *Andronicus Rhodius* in the title-page of his second edition. He contented himself in the former with only ascribing it to some ancient Philosopher, an excellent Peripatetic. He confined himself to those general forms. A Parenthesis may justify Gabriel Naudé against Mr. Placcius: *Cui se Danielis Heinsii . . . . diligentiâ socium non ita pridem adjunxit Andronicus Rhodius (aut potius Olympiodorus:) talem enim appellationem in posteriore editione consultò sortitus est, cum in priori ab eodem Heinsio factâ Lugduni Batavorum sub anonymi nomine latens . . . . fuisset . . . . avide à cunctis receptus.* That is, "To this was added some time ago, "by the care of Daniel Heinsius, *Andronicus Rho-* "*dius* (or rather *Olympiodorus:*) for that name he "received in the latter edition; whereas the former "published by the same Heinsius at Leyden was "without any name; and this piece was received "with great pleasure every where." Thus speaks Naudé in his *Bibliographia Politica*, upon which Mr. Placcius makes this remark, *Ubi lapsus memoriæ sit oportet, quod de Olympiodoro memorat, cum ejus nullam unquam in alterutra editione mentionem Heinsius fecerit* (13); that is, "Mr. Naudé must have made a "slip of memory here with regard to Olympiodorus, "for Heinsius says nothing of him in either of the "Editions." The Parenthesis shews, that we ought to ascribe to Heinsius only the name of *Apollonius Rhodius*. Meursius does not the least doubt but that Andronicus wrote this Paraphrase, and the treatise Περὶ Παθῶν, i. e. "Of the Passions," which David Hœschelius published from the two manuscripts, one, which he had from Margunius, the other, which Andrew Schottus sent from Spain to Sylburgius (14). Vossius ascribes this last book to an Andronicus, who who was not so ancient as he, of whom I am speaking in this article (15). Reinesius is of the same opinion as Meursius (16); but Salmasius positively affirms, that Andronicus the Rhodian is not the Author of the Paraphrase translated by Daniel Heinsius. *It is without any reason or judgment*, says he (17), *that the first publishers of this Paraphrase, have attributed it to Andronicus*; and he ridicules those, who boast, that they had found several strong proofs of this fact in the ancient Interpreters of Aristotle (18). He shews that the true Andronicus in Aulus Gellius explains in another manner, than what the Paraphrast does, the difference, which there was between the ἐξωτερικὰ, and the ἀκροατικὰ of Aristotle. He insists very much upon this. He adds, that in several points the Paraphrastic is not of Aristotle's opinion (19). *In tam multis abit à mente Aristotelis, ut Andronici esse genuinum opus soli possint credere qui nihil in literis his vident.* He cannot be induced to believe that so great a Philosopher as Andronicus would mispend his time in writing a Paraphrase upon a Book, which is the clearest and most perspicuous in the world: *Quis credat tanti nominis Peripateticum otium suum occupâsse in Ethicis Aristotelis Paraphrasi elucidandis, quo libro nihil lucidius?* This last proof seems to me very weak and inconclusive.

(9) Plutarch. *in Sylla*, p. 468.

(10) Porphyr. *in vit. Plotini.*

(11) Rapin, *Comparaison de Platon & d'Aristote*, p. 373, 374.

(12) Ammonius, *apud* Jonsium *de Scriptor. Hist. Philosoph.* p. 60.

(13) Placcius *de Anonymis*, p. 62.

(14) Meursius, *de Rhodo*, lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 88.

(15) Vossius, *de Philosoph.* cap. 5. p. 36.

(16) Reines. *Epist. ad Rupertum*, p. 312.

(17) Salmasius *in Epictet. & Simplic.* p. 227.

(18) Id. ibid. p. 228.

(19) Idem, ibid. p. 241.

Andronicus wrote a Paraphraſe upon both theſe Treatiſes of Ariſtotle [*E*]. I am not of opinion that he was Strabo's maſter [*F*].

[*E*] *He wrote a Paraphraſe upon the Categories and Phyſicks of Ariſtotle.*] Simplicius aſſures us of this in ſeveral parts of his Commentaries. See Francis Patricius (20).

(20) *Diſcuſſionum Peripateticarum*, tom. 1. l. 4. p. 40, 41.

[*F*] *I am not of opinion that he was Strabo's Maſter.*] I cannot tell whether the Printers have omitted ſome words or lines of the copy of Reineſius, or whether Reineſius is the real Author of theſe words in p. 312 (21). *Amaſiæ Magiſter* (Andronicus Rhodius) *Strabonis : hic. l. xiv.* That is, "Strabo in his 14th "book tells us, that he was Scholar to Andronicus "Rhodius at Amaſia.". I find indeed that he was a Scholar to the Grammarian Ariſtodemus at Nyſa (22), and to the Philoſopher Xenarchus at another place (23) : but I am very much deceived, if he ſays any thing elſe of Andronicus in his 14th book, than to rank him among the illuſtrious men of the Iſle of Rhodes (24) ; and I dare affirm, that he ſays nothing in any part of his works, either that he was a Scholar of Andronicus, or that Andronicus ever taught in Amaſia.

(21) Of his Letters to Rupert.

(22) Strabo, lib. 14. p. 447.

(23) Idem, ibid. p. 461.

(24) Idem, ibid. p. 451.

ANDRONICUS (MARCUS POMPILIUS) a Syrian by nation, taught Grammar at Rome. Applying himſelf too much to the ſtudy of Philoſophy [*A*], he was not able to keep up his profeſſion of a Grammarian with the diligence that was neceſſary, ſo that his ſchool was neglected. As ſoon as he found that they preferred before him not only Anthony Gnipho, but even other Grammarians inferior to the latter, he reſolved to continue his ſchool no longer, nor to ſtay at Rome, but retired to Cumæ, where he employed his leiſure in writing books. This employment however did not ſecure him from neceſſity, for he was ſo poor, that he was obliged to ſell the beſt of his works at a very low price [*B*]. This work was ſuppreſſed for a time ; but Orbilius recovered it, and publiſhed it under the Author's name ; at leaſt he boaſted ſo. Andronicus was of the Sect of Epicurus, and lived in the time of Cicero (*a*). Moreri has committed a great many errors here [*C*].

(*a*) *Ex* Suetonio *de Illuſtrib. Grammat.* c. 8.

[*A*] *He applied himſelf too much to the ſtudy of Philoſophy.*] The words of Suetonius are very expreſſive : *Studio Epicureæ ſectæ deſidioſior in profeſſione Grammaticæ habebatur, minuſque idoneus ad tuendam Scholam.* This is a leſſon to all thoſe, who are deſirous of having a great number of Scholars. It is neceſſary either that they ſhould apply themſelves entirely to their profeſſion, or that the world ſhould not know that they apply themſelves to any thing elſe. A Profeſſor of Humanity-ſtudies, who would appear as a Philoſopher, who is curious in experiments of Natural Philoſophy, who examines with great zeal whether Mr. Des Cartes has ſucceeded better than Gaſſendi, runs a great riſque of ſeeing his School deſerted. A Phyſician very fond of medals, the Mathematics, Genealogies, will find the number of his patients diminiſh every day. It is upon this account, that Mr. Spon thought proper to tell the world, that they would be much miſtaken, to ſuppoſe that the ſtudy of Antiquity was his chief employment (1). He found by experience that ſuch a notion would be very prejudicial to him, with regard to the practice of Phyſic. It is even certain, that a Profeſſor, who is known to be engaged in writing many books, never is conſidered as very proper to make good Scholars ; it is immediately ſuppoſed that he has not time to do it. And for this reaſon, thoſe, who would make their fortune by teaching the youth, would do very wrong to become Authors.

ADVICE to thoſe, who exerciſe any particular profeſſion.

(1) See the Letter which he wrote to the Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for the month of Jan. 1685, Article 5.

[*B*] *He was obliged to ſell the beſt of his works at a very low price.*] Suetonius calls it *Opuſculum, a little Tract. Opuſculum*, ſays he (2), *Annalium Elenchorum.* The title therefore was *Elenchi Annalium.* There are ſome good manuſcripts of Suetonius, which give us this reading, *Opuſculum ſuum Annalium Ennii elenchorum* (3). Achilles Statius (4), and Voſſius (5), declare for this reading, which ſeems to me the true one. But in what manner ſoever we read it, we find that Andronicus wrote a Criticiſm upon ſome Annaliſt or other.

(2) Sueton. *de Illuſt. Grammat.* c. 8.

(3) *See* Caſaubon upon this paſſage of Suetonius.

(4) *In Sueton.* ibid.

(5) *De Hiſt. Latin.* p. 47.

[*C*] *Moreri has committed a great many errors here.*] I. He writes *Pompinius* inſtead of *Pompilius.* II. He is miſtaken in aſſerting, that *Andronicus had been Preceptor to Julius Cæſar ; and that Cicero, being then Prætor, was highly pleaſed in being one of his Auditors.* III. He tranſlates *Annalium Elenchi, Annals diſpoſed into tables.* IV. He ſays, that ſome *have aſcribed* theſe Tables *to Ennius.* This is what he underſtands by theſe words of Voſſius, *in quibuſdam tamen libris eſt Annalium Ennii elenchorum.* V. He deſtroys the reaſoning of Suetonius. That Hiſtorian had touched upon two circumſtances, which prove ſufficiently the poverty of Andronicus ; one was from the worth and importance of what he ſold ; it was the chief work of the Author ; the other was drawn from the low price, which that piece was ſold for. Moreri imagines that he has expreſſed the whole affair in this manner : *He was ſo poor, that he was obliged, in order to ſupport himſelf, to ſell a little treatiſe, which he had written.* How could he avoid ſeeing, that this manner of repreſenting took away almoſt all the force of the proof of the Latin Hiſtorian ? It will be worth while to ſee what was the occaſion of his ſecond error, which contains two or three remarkable falſities. He did not at all comprehend the reaſoning of Voſſius. The point was to prove that Andronicus lived in the time of Siſenna, Quadrigarius, and ſeveral others. Voſſius proves it by this reaſon, that Anthony Gnipho and Andronicus lived at the ſame time, and that this Gnipho, according to Suetonius, taught in Julius Cæſar's houſe, and had Cicero for one of his Auditors. He taught there, when Julius Cæſar was but a child ; and Cicero, then Prætor, went to hear him. Here are two circumſtances of time, which Voſſius takes from Suetonius, to fix the age of Pompilius Andronicus, by joining to them another fact teſtified by Suetonius ; and that is, that Andronicus and Anthony Gnipho taught a School at the ſame time. Moreri has loſt himſelf in this plain path ; he underſtands that of Andronicus which Voſſius ſpeaks of Gnipho. Beſides he ſuppoſes that to teach School in a perſon's houſe, is the ſame thing as to be Preceptor to his ſon.

ANDRONICUS of Theſſalonica was one of the Greek Refugees who brought Learning into the Weſt in the fifteenth Century. He was conſidered as the beſt Profeſſor next to Theodorus Gaza, and perhaps he exceeded him in the knowledge of the Greek Tongue ; for he had read all the Authors who wrote in that Language, and was well ſkilled in Ariſtotle's Philoſophy. He taught at Rome, and lived with Cardinal Beſſarion. The ſtipend which was given him was ſo ſmall, that he was obliged by poverty to depart from Rome. Upon this he went to Florence, where he was Profeſſor a long time, and had a prodigious number of Auditors ; but upon the expectation of meeting with a better fortune in France, he took a journey thither, where he died a little after in a very advanced age. He pronounced very ill, and applied himſelf to nothing but his ſtudies (*a*). Platina gives him the Elogium of having underſtood the Greek

(*a*) *Græca & Latina linguâ apprime eruditus.* Platina in Panegyric. Beſſarionis.

Greek and Latin Tongues to great perfection (*b*). We ſhall ſee in the remarks an error of Gabriel Naudé [*A*]. There was at the ſame time another Andronicus who taught at Bologna, and was of Conſtantinople [*B*].

(*b*) Taken from Volaterran. lib. 21. p. 775.

[*A*] *Here is an error of Gabriel Naudé with regard to Andronicus.*] Having ſaid that one Hieronymus of Sparta taught at Paris, he adds, *after this, there came another, named Tranquillus Andronicus a Dalmatian, who was the laſt of thoſe, who arrived during the reign of Lewis XI* (1). It is plain he confounds Andronicus of Theſſalonica with him, whom I ſhall ſpeak of in the next Article. Moreri has committed the ſame fault, and endeavouring to make a diſtinction, has embarraſs'd himſelf the more. He pretends, that Tranquillus Andronicus Profeſſor of Greek at Paris, is not the ſame, *who had a great ſhare in the friendſhip of Cardinal Beſſarion*; and yet it is very certain, that the friend and client of that Cardinal is the ſame with the Profeſſor at Paris. His name was not Calixtus Andronicus, as Moreri calls him, but Andronicus Calliſtus. Conſider the following words, which ſhew us that he was a relation of the famous Theodorus Gaza. *Gaudeo equidem plurimum*, (it is Philelphus who ſpeaks in a Letter, which he wrote from Milan to this Theodorus the 21ſt of January 1469,) *erudutiſſimum virum mihique amiciſſimum Andronicum Kalliſtum neceſſarium tuum apud vos agere, id eſt in Muſarum & ſapientiæ domicilio, quem ut verbis meis ſalvere jubeas abs te peto, meque τοῖς περὶ Βησσαρίωνα τὸν δεσπότην commenda* (2). This Andronicus Calliſtus was a Peripatetic, and wrote a book *de Phyſica Scientiâ & Fortunâ*, a Monody *de miſerâ Conſtantinopoli*, and ſome other pieces mentioned by Father Labbe (3). Once more, Moreri ought not to diſtinguiſh him from the Profeſſor at Paris, nor to ſay that this was a Profeſſor at Baſil. The Author of *Athenes ancienne & nouvelle* places Andronicus in the number of the learned Greeks, who paſſed into Italy *about the middle of the fourteenth Century* (4). He means without doubt Andronicus, and has put the *fourteenth* inſtead of the *fifteenth*.

(1) Naude *Addit. a l'Hiſtoir. de Louis XI.* p. 187.

(2) *Philelph. Ep.* lib. 29. See likewiſe a paſſage in lib. 16, and another in the 17th. Theſe paſſages were pointed out to me by Mr. de la Monnoie.

(3) In his *Bibliotheca nova Manuſcriptorum*. I received this of Mr. de la Monnoie, as alſo what is contained in the following remark.

(4) *Athen. ancienne & nouvel.* p. 239 of the 3d edit. at Paris in 1676.

[*B*] *There was at the ſame time another Andronicus, who taught at Bologna, and was of Conſtantinople.*] Philelphus ſpeaks of him with commendation in ſeveral of his Letters. The following paſſage in the firſt Letter of the 24th book, dated the laſt of October 1464, will be ſufficient: *Quare non poſſum vos omnes, qui Bononiæ agitis, non mirari plurimum, quod cum vobis viri doctiſſimè eruditi copia data ſit ad Græcam diſciplinam penitus conſequendam, malitis indocti eſſe quam docti. Nunquam equidem diſcendi gratiâ trajeciſſem in Græciam Conſtantinopolim, qua in urbe ſeptennium egi, ſi iſtiuſmodi mihi Andronicus Byzantinus eſſet oblatus.* That is, "I cannot but "wonder at you, who live at Bologna, very much, "that ſince you have the opportunity of learning "Greek under ſo learned a man, you chooſe rather "to be ignorant than skilled in it. I ſhould never "have paſſed over to Greece to Conſtantinople, in "which city I lived ſeven years, if I could have had "ſuch a Maſter as Andronicus of Bizantium."

ANDRONICUS (TRANQUILLUS) born in Dalmatia towards the end of the fifteenth Century, was engaged in a work, which he gave the world expectation of publiſhing [*A*]. He taught in the Univerſity of Leipſic at the ſame time as Moſellanus did [*B*]. My remark will ſhew that he publiſhed ſomething (*a*). Eraſmus wrote him a Letter, which is the tenth of the fourth book.

(*a*) See Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He engaged in a work, which he gave the world expectation of publiſhing.*] Paulus Jovius, having given an account that the ſad condition, to which the Turks had reduced Dalmatia, would not ſuffer them to cultivate the ſtudy of polite Learning, and for this reaſon his Collection of Elogiums would contain none of the men of that country, adds, *unleſs Tranquillus Andronicus ſhould undertake to ſhew the merits of his countrymen.* I ſhall give the very words of Paulus Jovius. *Sic ut nemo dignus elogio compareat, niſi in lucem ſtudioſe producat cives ſuos Tranquillus Andronicus præclarus Ciceronis æmulator, dum graviſſimarum actionum ac Othomannicæ legationis, obſcurorumque nobis itinerum Commentaria perſcribat* (1). This paſſage intimates that Andronicus had made a voyage to Conſtantinople, either as an envoy, or in the train of an Ambaſſador. Konig does not uſe ſo much reſerve; he aſſerts, that Andronicus was an Envoy in Turky, and wrote a book concerning his negotiation; *Legationem ad Turcam obiit, eamque ſuis Commentariis illuſtravit.* We cannot too often remark upon Authors, who enlarge upon every thing they quote. Paulus Jovius ſpeaks but of one work, in which Andronicus was engaged; Konig converts this into a book, which was publiſhed.

(1) Jovius *in Elogiis*, p. 299.

[*B*] *He taught at Leipſic at the ſame time with Moſellanus.*] It is Simler, who tells us this: *Hic*, ſays he (2), *literas docuit Lipſiæ, Petri Moſellani tempore.* He calls him *Tranquillus Parthenius Andronicus Dalmata*, and aſcribes to him an *Oration* printed at Augsbourg in 1518, and at Vienna in 1541. The ſubject of this Oration is to exhort all the Princes of Germany *to a war againſt the Turks*. We have another Oration of his *De Laudibus Eloquentiæ*, i. e. "in praiſe of Eloquence," and ſome Latin verſes (3). The Supplements of Du Verdier mention a *Dialogue* of the ſame Author. It is intitled *Sylla*; the Interlocutors are Cæſar, Sylla, Pompey, Minos. It was printed at Leipſic in 8vo (4). The year when it was printed is not marked in the Supplements Du Verdier.

(2) *Epitom. Biblioth. Geſneri*, p. 806.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

☞ANEAU, in Latin ANULUS (BARTHOLOMEW) a man of eminent learning in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Bourges in France, and educated under Melchior Volmar, who had an excellent talent in the inſtruction of youth. He made great advances under him in polite Literature, and embibed the principles of the Proteſtant Religion, which Volmar profeſſed, and Aneau afterwards embraced. The great reputation which he ſoon gained by his ſkill in the Latin and Greek Languages and Poetry, induced ſome of the old Echevins of Lyons, who were his countrymen, to offer him a Profeſſorſhip in Rhetoric in the College, which they were going to erect in that city. Aneau accepted this offer with pleaſure, and went thither to take poſſeſſion of his place, which he kept above thirty years till his death (*a*), He wrote ſeveral works [*A*], and diſcharged his Profeſſorſhip with ſuch applauſe, that in 1542 he was choſen Principal of the

(*a*) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 22. p. 170, 171. edit. Paris 1733.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral works.*] I. *Chant Natal, contenant ſept Noels, un Chant Paſtoral, & un Chant Royal, avec un Myſtere de la Nativité per perſonnages; compoſé en imitation verbale & muſicale de diverſes chanſons, recueilli ſur l'Ecriture Sainte, & d'icelle illuſtré*; i. e. "A Birth-day Song, containing ſeven Poems upon "Chriſtmas, and a Royal Song, &c." printed at Lyons by Sebaſtian Gryphius 1539 in 8vo. II. *Lyon marchant, Satyre Françoiſe, ſur la Comparaiſon de Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Orleans, & ſur les choſes memorables advenues depuis l'an* 1524, *ſous Allegories & Enigmes; par perſonnages myſtiques. Joué au College de la Trinité de Lyon en* 1541; i. e. "*Lyon marchant*, a Satyr "in French, upon the Compariſon of Paris, Roan, "Lyons, and Orleans; upon the remarkable things, "which have happened ſince the year 1524, under Al"legories and Enigma's, by myſtical perſonages. Re"preſented at Trinity-College in Lyons in 1541." Printed

the College. In this ſituation he propagated the doctrines of the Reformation among his ſcholars, which was done ſo ſecretly for a long time, that it was not perceived, and at firſt it was only complained of; but an accident which happened on the feſtival of the holy Sacrament in the year 1565, put a period to all his attempts in favour of Proteſtantiſm by a very fatal cataſtrophe. Upon that day, which was the 21ſt of June, as the proceſſion was paſſing on towards the College, there was a large ſtone thrown from one of the windows upon the Hoſt and the Prieſt who carried it. Whether Aneau was the Author of this inſult or not, is not certain; however the people being enraged at it, broke into the College in a body, and aſſaſſinated our Author, whom they imagined to have been the occaſion; and the College itſelf was ſhut up the next day by order of the City (*b*).

(*b*) Ibid. p. 171, 172.

Printed at Lyons by Peter de Tours 1542, in 8vo. III. *Oraiſon ou Epitre de M. Tulle Ciceron à Octavius, depuis ſurnommé Auguſte Ceſar; avec des vers de Corneille Severe, Poete Romain, ſur la mort de Ciceron. Le tout tourné de Latin en François, à ſavoir, la dite Epitre en proſe, & les dits vers in rime*; i. e. "An "Oration or Epiſtle of M. T. Cicero to Octavius, afterwards ſurnamed Auguſtus Ceſar, with the verſes "of Cornelius Severus, a Roman Poet, upon the death "of Cicero. The whole tranſlated from Latin into "French, that is, the ſaid Epiſtle in proſe, and the "Verſes in rhime," printed at Lyons by Peter de Tours 1543 in 8vo. IV. *Les Emblêmes d'André Alciat traduits vers pour vers, jouxte la diction Latine, & ordonnés in lieux communs, avec Sommaires, Inſcriptions, Schemes, & brieves expoſitions Epimythiques, ſelon l'allegorie naturelle, morale, ou hiſtoriale*; i. e. "The Emblems of Andrew Alciat tranſlated verſe for "verſe, according to the Latin ſtyle, and diſpoſed in"to common heads, with Summaries, Inſcriptions, "Schemes, and brief epimythical Expoſitions, accord"ing to the natural, moral, or hiſtorical Allegory." Printed at Lyons by Will. Roville 1549 in 8vo, and in the ſame city in 1558 in 16mo. There is another tranſlation of Alciat's Emblems into French verſe by John le Fevre of Dijon, Canon of Langres, printed at Lyons by John de Tournes in 1556 in 16mo. V. *Paſquil Antiparadoxe; Dialogue contre le Paradoxe de la faculté du Vinaigre*: i. e. "An antiparadoxical "Paſquil; or a Dialogue againſt the Paradox of the "Faculty du Vinaigre." Printed at Lions 1549 in 8vo. VI. *Exhortation rationale de S. Euchier à Valerian, le retirant de la Mondanité & de la Philoſophie profane, à Dieu, & à l'étude des ſaintes Lettres; traduite en vers François, jouxte l'Oraiſon Latine*; i. e. "A rational Exhortation of S. Euchier to Vale"rian, in order to reduce him from the purſuit of "the world and profane Philoſophy, to God and the "ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, tranſlated into French "verſe, according to the Latin original." Printed at Lyons by Macé Bonhomme, 1552, in 4to. VII. *Picta Poeſis*. Lyons 1552 in 8vo This piece is a collection of Latin and Greek verſes, which ſerve for an explication of a Century of Emblems. Aneau tranſlated them into French, and publiſhed them under the following title. VIII. *Imagination poetique, traduite en vers François, des Latins & Grecs par l'Auteur même d'iceux*; i. e. "Poetical Imagination, tranſ"lated into French verſe from the Latin and Greek "by the Author of thoſe Poems." Printed at Lyons by Macé Bonhomme 1552 in 8vo. With wooden cuts. IX. *Le Treſor d'Evonime Philiatre, des Remedes ſecrets, livre Phyſic, Medical, Alchimic, & diſpenſatif de toutes ſuſtantiales liqueurs, & appareils de Vins de diverſes ſaveurs, neceſſaires à toutes gens, principalement a Medecins & Apoticaires, traduict du Latin*: i. e. "The Treaſure of Evonimus Philiater con"cerning ſecret Remedies, a phyſical, medical, chy"mical, and diſpenſatory Treatiſe of all ſubſtantial "Liquors, and preparations of Wines of divers fla"vours, neceſſary to all perſons, eſpecially Phyſicians "and Apothecaries; tranſlated from the Latin." Printed at Lyons by Balthaſar Arnoullet 1555 in 4to. This work was tranſlated from the Latin of Conrad Geſner. X. *Art poetique François pour l'inſtruction des jeunes ſtudieux & encore peu avancez en la Poeſie Françoiſe. Avec le Quintil Horatian ſur la defenſe & illuſtration de la language Françoiſe faite par Joachim du Bellay*; i. e. "The French Art of Poetry "for the inſtruction of young Students, and thoſe "who are but little acquainted with French Poetry: "with Joachim du Bellay's Horatian Quintilius con"cerning the Defence and Illuſtration of the French "Language." Printed at Lyons by John Temporal 1556, in 16mo. Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who had placed this piece at firſt among the books of uncertain Authors, becauſe it was publiſhed without a name, was afterwards informed, that Aneau was the Author of it. This induced him to place it among his works. "Some perſons, adds Du Verdier, have "aſcribed it to Charles Fontaine; but with regard to "my own opinion, I do not think that it belongs to "either of them, but rather to Thomas Sibyle, who "afterwards in an Epiſtle prefixed to his tranſlation "of the Anteros of Baptiſta Fulgoſo, mentions a "*French Art of Poetry*, which was written by him"ſelf, and printed. And I never have ſeen any o"ther, except that of James Peletier." XI. *Le tiers Livre de la Metamorphoſe d'Ovide, traduit en vers François; avec les Mythologies & Allegories hiſtoriales, naturelles, & morales ſur toutes les Fables & Sentences*; i. e. "The third book of the Metamor"phoſes of Ovid, tranſlated into French verſe; with "the mythology and hiſtorical, natural and moral Al"legories upon all the Fables and Sentences." Printed at Lyons by Macé Bonhomme 1556, in 8vo. With the two firſt books of the Metamorphoſes tranſlated by Clement Marot, to which, as we are informed by Du Verdier, Aneau added the proper Mythologies collected from the beſt Greek and Latin Authors. XII. *Genethliac muſical & hiſtorial de la Conception & Nativité de Jeſus Chriſt par vers & chants divers, entreſemez & illuſtrez des noms Royaux & de Princes, anagrammatiſés en diverſes ſentences, ſous myſtique alluſion aux perſonnes divines & humaines. Avec un Chant Royal pour chanter à l'acclamation des Rois. Enſemble la quatre Eglogue de Virgile, intitulée Pollion ou Auguſte, extraite des vers de la Sibylle Cumée, prophetiſant la Nativité de Jeſus Chriſt advenue bientôt après, & au même tems & Empire d'Auguſte*; i. e. "A muſical and hiſtorical Ge"nethliacon upon the Conception and Nativity of "Jeſus Chriſt in verſe and various cantos, inter"ſperſed and illuſtrated with the names of Kings "and Princes, anagrammatized in divers ſentences, "under a myſtical alluſion to perſons divine and "human. With a Royal Canto to be ſung at the "acclamation of the Kings; and likewiſe the fourth "Eclogue of Virgil, intitled Pollio or Auguſtus, ex"tracted from the verſes of the Cumean Sybil, pro"pheſying of the Birth of Chriſt, which happened "ſoon after, under the reign of Auguſtus." Printed at Lyons by Godfrey Beringen, 1559, in 8vo. XIII. *Alector, ou le Coq; Hiſtoire fabuleuſe, traduite en proſe Françoiſe d'un fragment Grec*; i. e. "Alector, or the Cock; a fabulous Hiſtory, tranſ"lated into French proſe from a Greek Fragment." Printed at Lyons by Peter Fradin, 1560, in 8vo. XIV. *La Republique d'Utopie, œuvre grandement utile, demonſtrant le parfait état d'une bien ordonnée police, traduicte du Latin de Thomas More, Chancelier d'Angleterre*: i. e. "The Commonwealth of Utopia, "a work of great uſe, ſhewing the perfect ſcheme "of a well-regulated Government, tranſlated from "the Latin of Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of "England." Printed at Paris in 8vo, and at Lyons in 16mo (1).

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(1) Ibid. p. 172-177. See the *Bibliotheq. Françoiſ.* of La Croix du Maine *and* Du Verdier; and the *Hiſt. Litteraire de Lyon du P. Colonia*. tom. 2. p. 668.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.